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JAKŠA MULJAČIĆ*

# Pozdravné slovo

Chorváti a Slováci, dva staré európske národy, majú hlboké a trvalé historické vzťahy. Viac než osemsto rokov žili v rovnakých krajinách, od chorvátsko-uhorského kráľovstva (1102–1526), počas Habsburského cisárstva (1527–1867), do konca duálnej Rakúsko-uhorskej monarchie v roku 1918. Počas búrlivej minulosti, po bitke pri Moháči (1526) a prieniku Turkov k Budínu, Bratislava (Prešporok) sa stáva hlavným mestom habsburskej časti Uhorského kráľovstva. Tri storočia je sídlo Uhorského snemu v Bratislave, ktorá je zároveň korunovačné mesto uhorských kráľov. V bratislavskom Dóme sv. Martina bolo korunovaných jedenásť kráľov a kráľovien. Vládli aj Chorvátom aj Slovákom.

Chorvátsko-slovenské vzťahy obohacujú a spájajú slovenskí Chorváti a chorvátski Slováci, dnešné národné menšiny, ktoré napriek podobnosti jazykov a kultúry úspešne uchovávajú a opatrujú svoj jazyk, kultúru, tradíciu a zvyky. Chorváti sa masovo sťahujú na územie Slovenska v prvej polovici 16. storočia, keď v dôsledku nájazdov Turkov opúšťajú svoje domovy a domovinu a hľadajú záchranu v bezpečnejších oblastiach, západnej časti dnešného Slovenska, najčastejšie v okolí Bratislavy, Trnavy a Nitry. Majetky získavajú chorvátski šľachtici, ktorí privádzajú aj svojich poddaných, no taktiež hrdinovia bojov s Turkami. Dnes Chorváti žijú najmä v okolí Bratislavy v obciach Chorvátsky Grob, Devínska Nová Ves, Jarovce a Čunovo a v Dúbravke, ktorá je mestskou časťou Bratislavy. Slováci sa sťahujú na územie dnešného Chorvátska po stiahnutí Turkov, v druhej polovici 18. a prvej polovici 19. storočia, predovšetkým z chudobných častí východného Slovenska. Ich príchod do oblasti Slavónska organizuje chorvátska šľachta a Josip Juraj Strossmayer, biskup z Đakova, veľký panslavista, bojovník za slovenskú autonómiu, rovnoprávnosť slovenského jazyka a zastúpenia Slovákov v Uhorskom sneme, po ktorom sú na znak vďaky pomenované dve slovenské obce, Josipovac a Jurjevac.

Pred nami je veľký historický projekt *Slovensko a Chorvátsko, historické paralely a vzťahy (do roku 1780)*, vyčerpávajúce a hodnotné dielo mnohých popredných slovenských a chorvátskych historikov. Táto epochálna práca minuciózne a vedecky spracúva všetky aspekty bohatých historických vzťahov dvoch veľmi priateľských a blízkych národov do konca vlády Márie Terézie. Ako také sa stáva nenahraditeľným prameňom skúmania tých vzťahov, a to nielen pre historikov a iných vedcov humanistickej proveniencie, ale aj pre všetkých čitateľov, ktorí majú radi Chorvátsko a Slovensko.

Koniec prvej svetovej vojny ja zároveň aj koncom spoločného života Chorvátov a Slovákov v spoločnom štáte. Oba národy začali zdieľať svoje osudy v nových krajinách s inými slovanskými národmi (Česko-Slovensko a Juhoslávia) a začiatkom deväťdesiatych rokov minulého storočia sa stali nezávislými a suverénnymi národmi v Chorvátskej republike a Slovenskej republike.

Medzičasom, ohromný sen slávnych štátnikov o zjednotenej Európe sa stal skutočnosťou prostredníctvom projektu Európskej únie, veľkého spoločenstva rovnoprávnych európskych národov a štátov. Spočíva v demokracii, právnom štáte, hospodárskej súťaži a voľnom pohybe osôb a tovaru. Staročia vojen a veľkých sporov, deľby a neznášanlivosti na Starom kontinente sú za nami a historický projekt zjednotenej Európy dnes kompletne ožil. Slovensko sa v roku 2004 stalo hrdým, plnoprávnym členským štátom Európskej únie a Chorvátsku sa to podarilo v tomto roku, 2013.

Vstupom Chorvátskej republiky do Európskej únie sa Slováci a Chorváti opäť stretli v novom spoločenstve európskych národov a štátov pod jednou strechou. Osud nás opäť zblížil a vo všestrannom a nerušenom rozvoji našich celkových vzťahov, ruka v ruke s príbuznosťou jazykov a temperamentom, zohrávajú špeciálnu úlohu tisícročné priateľské historické vzťahy a kontakty. A tým je tento projekt o chorvátsko-slovenských spojitostiach dôležitý a vzácny pre prehlbovanie a pochopenie viac než priateľských vzťahov Chorvátskej republiky a Slovenskej republiky.

* Mr. Jakša Muljačić, JUDr., veľvyslanec Chorvátskej republiky v Slovenskej republike.



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JAKŠA MULJAČIĆ*

# Pozdravna riječ

Hrvati i Slovaci, dva stara europska naroda, imaju duboke i trajne povijesne veze. Više od tisuću godina živjeli su u istim državama, od Hrvatsko-ugarskog kraljevstva (1102–1526) preko Habsburškog carstva (1527–1867) do konca dualne Austro-ugarske monarhije 1918. godine. Tijekom burne povijesti, nakon Mohačke bitke (1526) i prodora Turaka prema Budimu, Bratislava (Požun) postaje glavni grad habsburškog dijela Ugarske. Tri stoljeća u Bratislavi je sjedište Ugarskog sabora i krunidbeni grad ugarskih kraljeva. U bratislavskoj katedrali sv. Martina okrunjeno je jedanaest kraljeva i kraljica koji su vladali i Hrvatima i Slovacima.

Hrvatsko-slovačke odnose obogaćuju i povezuju slovački Hrvati i hrvatski Slovaci, danas nacionalne manjine koje unatoč sličnostima jezika i kulture uspješno čuvaju i njeguju svoj jezik, kulturu, tradiciju i običaje. Hrvati masovno doseljavaju u Slovačku u prvoj polovici 16. stoljeća kada pod najezdom Turaka napuštaju svoje domove i domovinu i traže spas u sigurnijim područjima, zapadnom dijelu današnje Slovačke, najčešće oko Bratislave, Trnave i Nitre. Posjede su stjecali hrvatski plemići koji dovode i svoje podanike, a imanja su dobivali i junaci bitaka s Turcima. Danas Hrvati u Slovačkoj uglavnom žive u okolici Bratislave u naseljima Hrvatski Grob, Devinsko novo selo, Jarovce (Hrvatski Jandorf) i Čunovo, dok je naselje Dubravka dio grada. Slovaci pak na prostore današnje Hrvatske doseljavaju nakon povlačenja Turaka, u drugoj polovici 18. i prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća, pretežito iz siromašnih dijelova istočne Slovačke. Njihovo doseljavanje na područje Slavonije organizira hrvatsko plemstvo i đakovački biskup Josip Juraj Strossmayer, veliki panslavist, zagovornik slovačke autonomije, ravnopravnosti slovačkog jezika i zastupljenosti Slovaka u Ugarskom saboru po kojem su, u znak zahvalnosti, dobila ime dva slovačka sela, Josipovac i Jurjevac.

Pred nama je veliki povijesni projekt *Slovačko-hrvatske veze i odnosi (do 1780. godine)*, vrlo iscrpno i vrijedno djelo brojnih uglednih slovačkih i hrvatskih povjesničara. Taj epohalan rad minuciozno i znanstveno obrađuje sve aspekte bogatih povijesnih odnosa dvaju vrlo prijateljskih i bliskih naroda do kraja marija-terezijanske vladavine. Kao takvo, bit će nezaobilazno vrelo proučavanja tih veza ne samo za povjesničare i druge znanstvenike humanističke provenijencije već i za sve one čitače koji vole Hrvatsku i Slovačku.

Kraj Prvog svjetskog rata obilježio je i kraj zajedničkog života Hrvata i Slovaka u zajedničkoj državi. Oba naroda svoje su sudbine tada počeli dijeliti u novim državama s drugim slavenskim narodima (Čehoslovačka i Jugoslavija) da bi tek početkom 90. tih godina prošlog stoljeća postali neovisni i suvereni u Republici Hrvatskoj i Slovačkoj republici.

U međuvremenu, veliki san znamenitih državnika o ujedinjenoj Europi ostvario se kroz projekt Europske unije, velike zajednice ravnopravnih europskih naroda i država koja počiva na temeljima demokracije, vladavine prava, tržišnog natjecanja i slobodnog kretanja ljudi i dobara. Stoljeća ratova i velikih sukoba, podjela i netrpeljivosti na Starom kontinentu su iza nas i povijesni projekt ujedinjene Europe danas je u cijelosti zaživio. Slovačka je 2004. postala ponosna, punopravna članica Europske unije, a Hrvatskoj je to uspjelo ove, 2013. godine.

Ulaskom Republike Hrvatske u Europsku uniju, Slovaci i Hrvati ponovno su se našli u novoj zajednici europskih naroda i država pod istim krovom. Sudbina nas je iznova zbližila, a u svestranom i neometanom razvitku naših svekolikih odnosa uz bliskost jezika i temperamenta, posebnu ulogu imaju tisućljetni prijateljski povijesni odnosi i veze. Utoliko je ovaj projekt hrvatsko-slovačkih povijesnih veza važan i dragocjen u produbljivanju i razumijevanju više nego prijateljskih odnosa Republike Hrvatske i Slovačke Republike.

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KAROL MIČIETA*

# Namiesto úvodu

Rok 1989 sa stal míľnikom a pre národy stredovýchodnej Európy znamenal prebudenie do novej reality. Niektorí politológovia tento jav metaforicky prirovnávajú k zdvihnutiu pokrievky na vriacom kotli. O tom, čo bolo vo vnútri sa pred týmto dátumom nikto (radšej) neodvážil hovoriť. Tí, čo boli vo vnútri, však dobre vedeli, že prístup k slobodnému vzduchu nemusí ešte nutne znamenať, že hrniec nevykypí. Desaťročia neriešenia základných demokratizačných, štátoprávnych, národno-emancipačných a tým aj všeobecne i hlboko ľudských problémov totiž spôsobili, že hrniec musel predsa len vykypieť.

Zaiste bude zaujímavé sa raz, niekedy v blízkej, či vzdialenej budúcnosti, pozrieť na deväťdesiate roky minulého storočia a teraz už aj tisícročia z istého odstupu a pokúsiť sa zhodnotiť, čo sa vlastne stalo. Dnes je isté len jedno, že krajiny a národy západného Balkánu združené vo federácii socialistických republík známej ako Juhoslávia, na rozdiel od našich krajín a národov žijúcich vo federácii socialistických republík známych ako Česko-Slovensko, či Československo prešli kvôli vyriešeniu toho, čo z vonku nechcel nikto nikdy vidieť, mimoriadne ťažkou a bolestnou cestou. Nie je našou úlohou pýtať sa, prečo sa tak stalo? Alebo prečo nie inak? Historické procesy majú svoju logiku, aj keď niekedy, žiaľ, prinášajú nesmierne ľudské utrpenie a bolesť. Po všetkých ťaživých strádaniach sa obracajú veci z hlavy, zasa na nohy. Súčasťou tohto procesu je prijatie Chorvátskej republiky do Európskej únie 1. júla 2013.

Chorvátsko a chorvátsky národ sa ocitajú v spoločnosti národov, s ktorými ho spájajú nielen spoločné historické skúsenosti a kultúrna spojitosť, ale aj presvedčenie o spoločnej európskej budúcnosti. Zaiste aj v tomto politickom zoskupení má Chorvátsko krajiny bližšie (nielen geograficky) a vzdialenejšie. Slovensko patrí do tej prvej skupiny. V Chorvátsku sa písmo, ktoré v 9. storočí priniesli na naše územie sv. Cyril a sv. Metod, udržalo až do 19. storočia, pričom školy hlaholiky tam existujú aj v súčasnosti. A v deň, keď si pripomíname príchod solúnskych bratov, oslavujú v Chorvátsku sviatok Ciril a Metodije. S Chorvátskom nás spája vyše 800 rokov spoločnej štátnosti v rámci bývalého Uhorského kráľovstva i tradícia spoločnej politiky v rokoch meruôsmych, či v rámci krajín Malej Dohody po roku 1918. Nie je preto náhodou, že práve Slovenská republika sa stala jedným z prvých a preto aj najdôležitejších tlmočníkov i advokátov záujmov Chorvátska v prístupových rokovaniach.

Na tomto mieste si opäť dovolím použiť metaforu. Predstavte si príbuzných, ktorí sa dlho nevideli a celkom náhodou sa znovu stretli. Napriek tomu, že sa na prvý pohľad nepoznali, už po prvých spoločne prežitých chvíľach začnú chápať, že ich navzájom spája aj niečo viac, než len bežná ľudská sympatia. Toto je aj prípad národov Slovenska a Chorvátska. Po desaťročiach viac-menej nanútenej odluky sa znovu ocitli vedľa seba a spolu. Tisícky novovzniknutých spontánnych väzieb, či už v najprostejšom slova zmysle ľudských, alebo hoci aj ekonomických, či kultúrnych sú toho iba ďalším dôkazom. Nie som ani prvý, ani posledný, ktorý sa pýta, ako a prečo je to všetko vôbec možné? A nejde tu teraz len o to, že si pomerne ľahko rozumieme aj bez tlmočníka. Z tohto a ďalších dôvodov s veľkou radosťou vítam iniciatívu dvoch profesorov histórie, pána Nevena Budaka a pána Martina Homzu, ktorí v júni roku 2011 zorganizovali medzinárodnú konferenciu „*Slovensko a Chorvátsko : Historické paralely a vzťahy (do roku 1780)*“. Dnes po dvoch rokoch, keď vidím v reprezentatívnej tlačenej podobe výsledok ich práce – publikáciu, navyše v anglickom a nemeckom jazyku, môžem konštatovať, že práve im dvom pripadne historické prvenstvo v úsilí odpovedať na túto moju, ale nielen moju, otázku. Myslím si totiž, že na fenomén slovensko-chorvátskej blízkosti nemožno odpovedať inak, len neustálym spytovaním múzy Kleio, patrónky všetkých historikov. Preto je dobré, že máme túto knihu k dispozícii. Nepochybujem o tom, že práve historický výskum sa stane východiskom ďalších bádaní aj v iných spoločenských vedách, ako sú dejiny našich literatúr, jazykov, architektúry, hudby, či vôbec umenia, a tak nám napomôže k tomu, že naše národy sa budú poznať a tým i chápať ešte lepšie ako doteraz. Verím, že sa v roku 2014 nielen podarí zrealizovať druhé kolo konferencie historikov, tentoraz venované slovensko-chorvátskym vzťahom od roku 1780 do roku 1993; ale, a to tiež, čo najskôr kreovať aj spoločnú Slovensko-chorvátsku komisiu humanitných vied. Cieľom takejto komisie bude spoločné a dlhodobé interdisciplinárne bádanie a výskum nášho spoločného kultúrneho dedičstva.

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KAROL MIČIETA*

# Instead of a Foreword

The year 1989 was a milestone and a harsh wake-up call for the Central and Eastern European countries. Some political scientists metaphorically compare it to raising the cover of a boiling pot. Before that date nobody dared to talk about what was happening inside it. Those who were inside knew very well that the access to free air would not necessarily mean that the pot does not boil over. Decades of not solving basic problems concerning democracy, state, self-determination of nations and, thus, generally and deeply human issues finally caused the pot to boil over.

It might be interesting some time in the near or distant future to look back at the nineties of the last century and millennium from a certain distance and try to evaluate what happened. Nowadays it is clear, in contrast to our countries and nations living in a socialist federation called Czecho-Slovakia, or Czechoslovakia that the countries and nations of the Western Balkans united in the federation of socialist republics of Yugoslavia overcame the problems which nobody from the outside world wanted to see in an extremely difficult and painful way. Is it not our task to ask why it happened? Or why did it not happen otherwise? Historical processes have their own logic and sometimes, unfortunately, bring enormous human suffering and pain. After years of turbulence things have started to normalize again. A part of this process is Croatia's accession into the European Union on 1 July 2013.

Croatia and Croatians are now a member of nations which are connected with each other not only through historical heritage and cultural links but also through a shared vision of a common European future. Certainly, some countries in this political alignment are closer (not only geographically) to Croatia than others. Slovakia belongs to that first group. In Croatia the letters brought to our land by St. Cyril and St. Methodius were used until the nineteenth century and there are still schools where Glagolitic alphabet is being taught. And on the same day when we commemorate the arrival of the brothers from Thessaloniki, the Croatian calendar celebrates the name-days of Ciril and Metodije. We share with Croatia 800 years of common history within the former Hungarian Kingdom and the tradition of common policy in the years around 1848 and within the countries of Little Entente after 1918. It is not a coincidence that the Slovak republic became one of the first and most important ambassadors and advocates of Croatia's interests in entry negotiations.

Let me use another metaphor at this point. Imagine relatives who did not see each other for quite some time and just by chance they happen to meet again. In spite of the fact that at first they do not recognize each other, after some time spent together they begin to realize there is a special link between them that is more than mere sympathy. This is the case of the Slovak and Croatian nations. After decades of a more or less forced separation, we happen to find ourselves next to each other again. Thousands of spontaneous, newly-formed bonds, human, economic or cultural, are the evidence of it. I am neither the first nor the last one to ask how and why all this is possible in the first place. And it is not only because we understand each other very well even without the help of an interpreter. For this reason and others, I am glad to welcome the initiative of two professors of history, Neven Budak and Martin Homza, who in June 2011 organized an international conference on *Slovakia and Croatia* : *Historical parallels and connections (until 1780)*. Two years later when I see the results of their work in print in representative form, moreover in English and German, I may say that these two gentlemen share historical primacy in the efforts to find an answer to my, but not only my, question. I think the phenomenon of Slovak-Croatian closeness can be explained in no other way than by constant questioning of Muse Kleio, the patroness of all historians. That is why it is so good that this book is available. I have no doubt that historical research will become the basis for further studies in social sciences, such as history of our literatures, languages, architecture, music, and generally art. Thus it will enable our nations to get to know and understand each other even better than we could have done until now. I do believe that in 2014 a second conference bringing together historians will take place, this time dealing with Slovak-Croatian relations from 1780 till 1993. I also firmly believe that a Slovak-Croatian commission of humanities will be created as soon as possible. The aim of such a commission will be common and long-term interdisciplinary research of our common cultural heritage.

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JAROSLAV ŠUŠOL*

# Úvodné slovo

Slovensko a Chorvátsko spájajú väzby, ktoré však už dnes, bohužiaľ, pre väčšinu obyvateľov týchto dvoch blízkych slovanských krajín prikryl prach času. Slováci cestujú do Chorvátska najmä za morom a prekvapuje ich nečakaná blízkosť ľudí tejto krajiny. Netušia, že sa pohybujú po „neviditeľných koľajniciach", po ktorých sa ich predkovia pohybovali po stáročia. Chorváti prichádzajú na Slovensko a úprimne sa čudujú, že štatisticky najčastejším používaným slovenským priezviskom je Horvát(h), alebo, povedzme, že aktuálny prezident Slovenskej republiky Ivan Gašparovič, nemá najmenší problém prihlásiť sa k svojim chorvátskym predkom. Jednoducho preto, lebo nevedia, že práve Slovensko sa stalo druhou vlasťou Chorvátov, ktorí museli utekať pred osmanskou okupáciou ich vlasti v 16. a ďalších storočiach.

Ani v prvom, ani v druhom prípade nejde o náhodné pocity, ale o dôsledky dlhotrvajúcich historických procesov, ktoré v minulom storočí, vďaka strate priameho kontaktu našich národov postupne upadali do zabudnutia. Uvedomujúc si tento problém, potešil som sa v konečnom dôsledku iniciatíve profesorov histórie Nevena Budaka a Martina Homzu započať so systematickejším výskumom komparatívnych historických dejov, ktoré prebiehali na Slovensku i v Chorvátsku najintenzívnejšie v čase ich spoločného súžitia v Uhorsko-chorvátskom kráľovstve. Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave tu zaiste nezačínala na zelenej lúke. Spomeňme napríklad bohatú tradíciu našej slavistiky, pod ktorú patrí aj slovenská chorvatistika, alebo dlhodobé výskumy vzťahov slovenskej politiky k Chorvátom a vôbec balkánskej otázke v posledných dekádach Habsburskej monarchie, ktoré prebiehali a prebiehajú na našich historických katedrách. Systematickejšieho výskumu tejto širokospektrálnej tematiky však nebolo. Len takéto výskumy však, v konečnom dôsledku, môžu pomôcť uvedomiť si, čo nás vlastne spája. Aj preto by som privítal v blízkej dobe ustanovenie spoločnej Slovensko-chorvátskej komisie humanitných vied, pri našich ministerstvách školstva, ktorá by dlhodobo skúmala vzájomné slovensko-chorvátske vzťahy. Som totiž presvedčený, že len takýto dlhodobý a interdisciplinárny výskum toho, čo nás spája môže viesť k nášmu obojstrannému sa znovupoznaniu. Tematizácia tohto uvedomenia, môže mať nakoniec aj veľmi praktický význam. Môže sa pretaviť do mnohých rovín nášho spoločenského a ekonomického života, ktorý nás od 1. júla 2013 čaká v našej obnovenej spoločnej štátnosti. Tento raz v rámci Európskej únie. A nejde pritom len o turistický ruch.

Z tohto a iných dôvodov vítam túto publikáciu a ďakujem jej zostavovateľom za všetku vykonanú prácu. Keďže ide o dielo, ktoré uvedenú tematiku mapuje len do roku 1780, nezostáva mi nič iné, len sa tešiť na jej pokračovanie. Vzhľadom na to, že sa v roku 2014 odohrá druhé kolo spoločnej slovensko-chorvátskej konferencie, ktorá má reflektovať aktuálny stav výskumu našich slovenských a chorvátskych dejín od uvedeného roku, do roku 1993, verím, že sa tak stane už čoskoro.

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JAROSLAV ŠUŠOL*

# Introductory Address

The people of Slovakia and Croatia, as two Slavic nations, are bound by close links which : have been covered by the dust of time for most of the inhabitants. Slovaks travel to Croatia predominantly to spend their holidays at the seaside, and they are often surprised by the unexpected similarity they recognize between Slovaks and Croats. They have no idea that they are moving along the "invisible rails" along which their ancestors used to move for centuries. Croats, on the other hand, arrive in Slovakia and are astonished by the statistics which show that the most frequently used Slovak surname is that of Horvát(h), or that the current president of the Slovak Republic, Ivan Gašparovič, is proud to acknowledge his Croatian ancestors. The people do not seem to know that Slovakia became the second homeland for the Croats who had to flee the Ottoman occupation of Croatia in the sixteenth and subsequent centuries.

These are not just random feelings. They have been determined by long-term historical processes which had gradually fell into oblivion in the previous century due to the weakening of direct contacts between our nations. Having realized this fact, I appreciated the initiative of the professors of history, Neven Budak and Martin Homza, who came up with the idea to begin more systematic research into comparative historical events both in Slovakia and in Croatia, which used to be most intensive in the period of their coexistence within the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. The Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University in Bratislava definitely did not have to start from scratch. Let us mention, for example,the long tradition of our Slavic studies, of which Slovak Croatian studies are an integral part, and the long-term research into the relationship between Slovak political representatives and Croats and the Balkan issue in the last decades of the Habsburg monarchy in general which has been carried out at our departments of history. What was missing, however, was more systematic research into this broad topic. It is this kind of research which will enable us to realize the meaning of links by which the two nations are tied together. This is also the reason why I would welcome the establishing of a joint Slovak-Croatian Commission of Humanities at our respective ministries of education in the near future. This commission would look into the Slovak-Croatian relations from the long-term perspective. I am sure that our bilateral recognition can only be achieved through long-term and interdisciplinary research of all aspects that we have in common. This subject can prove to be of very practical importance. It can be transferred into several levels of our social and economic life which our respective countries will be facing from 1 July 2013 within the renewed common statehood in the framework of the European Union. And it does not concern tourism only.

This is the main reason why I appreciate this publication and I would like to thank the editors for all the work that has been carried out. However, as this publication only covers the period before 1780, I am only too happy to look forward to the sequel. As the second round of the joint Slovak-Croatian conference which should reflect the current state of the research into Slovak and Croatian history from 1780 to 1993 will take place in 2014, I trust this will happen soon.

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MATÚŠ KUČERA*

# O počiatkoch slovenskej a chorvátskej stredovekej historickej tradície

Vážené auditórium, milé dámy, vážení páni.
Dovoľte mi, aby som na tejto pôde pripomenul kúsok histórie. Pokiaľ ma pamäť neklame, je to prvá väčšia vedecká konferencia chorvátsko-slovenských historikov od roku 1951. Aj keď je pravda, že v tom roku to bola aj konferencia národov vtedajšej Juhoslávie a Česko-Slovenska. Je to trochu hanba, že sme sa 60 rokov nestretli. Dôvodom je aj zlý politický osud, ktorý si s malými národmi v Európe zahral a často aj zahráva. Nielen v posledných rokoch. Na tú konferenciu si dobre pamätám. Bol som poslucháčom prvého ročníka Filozofickej fakulty UK a konferencia sa týkala Ľudovíta Štúra a základných otázok našich národných dejín. Delegáciu viedol z chorvátskej strany už nebohý profesor Jaroslav Šidak. Po jeho vystúpení ho tvrdo skritizovali slovenskí komunisti na čele s akademikom Ondrejom Pavlíkom, lebo profesor Šidak sa nedal zmiasť a nevyhlásil našich štúrovcov za kontrarevolucionárov tak, ako to robil Marx a Engels. Bola to dobrá pôda. Potom však nastalo obdobie Informbyra a zhoršili sa vzťahy medzi štátmi podliehajúcimi Moskve s Juhosláviou. Každého, kto mal blízko k dejinám národov Juhoslávie, zavreli. Možno naši chorvátski priatelia nevedia, že to bola veľmi početná skupina Slovákov, ktorá zohrievala naše väzenia. Iní museli odísť do núteného exilu…

O to viac sa teším, že sme našli organizačnú platformu, chuť a vôľu sa trochu porozprávať o vzájomných vzťahoch dvoch našich národov, pretože pravda je taká, že s chorvátskym národom Slováci žili skoro 800 rokov v rámci zväzku národov Uhorského kráľovstva. Čiže bolo to viac rokov ako s národom českým. Je to nezanedbateľný, a pritom málo reflektovaný historický fakt. Cieľom tejto konferencie je prispieť k prekonaniu tohto mlčania.

Osobne by som sa rád na margo tohto podujatia vyjadril k samotným počiatkom slovensko-chorvátskych vzťahov. Sú nesmierne dôležité a budem veľmi rád, keď sa mi podarí aj neprofesionálom trochu priblížiť dobu, základné fakty a priebeh udalostí, ktoré k tomu viedli. Všetci, ktorí sa zaoberáme najstaršími národnými dejinami, totiž vieme, že ani Chorvátsko, ani Uhorsko nemajú pre počiatky svojich národných dejín zodpovedného dobového historika, tvorcu príslušného „národného konceptu“. Nemajú kronikárov typu českého Kosmasa, poľského Gala Anonyma alebo východoslovanského Nestora. Všetky dejiny o počiatkoch Uhorského kráľovstva, rovnako ako Chorvátskeho, píšu ľudia z polovice 13. storočia, teda pamätníci až po piatich-šiestich generáciách. Tieto pramene sú, pochopiteľne, nesmierne nespoľahlivé. Často sa navyše hľadá ich filiácia… Po hĺbkovej kritike sa zvažuje, čo chcel autor svojím textom povedať? Aké bolo jeho auditórium? Kto bol odberateľ? Kto ho objednal? Aké bolo sociálne zázemie autora? Aké svetonázorové nazeranie? Dnes už vieme, že kronika, ktorá po prvýkrát poslúžila uhorským dejinám – tzv. *Anonymova kronika* – stojí na hranici literatúry faktu a historického románu. Navyše je naplnená prílišným stredovekým nacionalizmom – predstavou víťazného uhorského politického stavovského národa, ktorý zaujíma svoju vlasť podľa vzoru starozákonného Izraela zaujímajúceho Zem zasľúbenú. O niečo spoľahlivejší je splitský archidiakon Tomáš, ktorý sa predsa trochu viac pridržiaval niektorých prameňov, ale aj on tiež písal dejiny Chorvátska až v polovici 13. storočia. Ťažko datovateľné a ešte ťažšie dešifrovateľné je však posolstvo *Kroniky Popa Dukljanina*. Je preto povinnosťou nás historikov obrátiť sa na tradíciu. Veľakrát to zdôrazňujem vo svojich posledných prácach. Ak ste čítali poslednú knižku o kráľovi Svätoplukovi, možno ste túto myšlienku postrehli. Poukazujem tu na to, že tradícia je fenomén, ktorý stojí často nad ojedinelými historickými faktmi. Prečo? Pretože tradícia, pokiaľ má svojho nositeľa, potiaľ funguje v spoločnosti. Často ako korelatív „oficiálnych dejín“. Usmerňuje spoločenské vedomie a spoločenskú prax. Je tvorivým fenoménom spoločenstva. Jedine ak by bola prerušená sídlisková a iná etnická kontinuita, vtedy tradícia zomiera a zaniká. Tradícia zabezpečuje integritu spoločenstva a jeho trvanie. Vždy, keď ju spoločnosť potrebuje, sa oživuje a vyberá sa z nej to, čo by spoločnosť práve potrebovala. Zachováva sa najmä ústne.

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Pokiaľ ide o pramenno-vednú základňu, túto tradíciu sčasti zachytávajú životy (*vitae*), legendy, zákonníky a iné pramene dobovej proveniencie. Túto tradíciu v prameňoch treba vypreparovať, sledovať, poznávať a znova a znova sa pokúšať ju definovať. Spoločnosť ňou totiž žila. Nielen panovníckym dvorom, nielen určitými inštitucionálnymi spormi, alebo osudmi niektorých kniežat, vojvodov a podobne. Spod tohto zorného uhla sa pozeráme aj my na počiatky slovensko-uhorských dejín. A sledujeme tu veľmi pozoruhodný zjav. Očakávali by sme, že i na Slovensku sa bude najsilnejšia tradícia vzniku Uhorského kráľovstva viazať na tradíciu prvého svätého uhorského kráľa – na svätoštefanskú tradíciu. Pretože uhorský štát, ako je vám známe, vznikal a konštituoval sa v sídelnom oblúku: Nitra – Bratislava – Stoličný Belehrad – Ostrihom.

Priestor, v ktorom vznikal uhorský štát, sa v podstate kryje s priestorom starej Veľkej Moravy, ktorý obsadil už Rastislav, no a po ňom Svätopluk. Ako píšu dobové *Franské anály*, práve Svätopluk mal v Nitre svoje *regnum*. A z neho po páde Rastislava zaujal aj úrad zvrchovaného vládcu Veľkej Moravy. Vo svojej politike bol natoľko úspešný, že ho najvyššie autority vtedajšieho sveta – pápež aj cisár – uznali za kráľa všetkých Slovanov (*rex Sclavorum*). Ako veľkého kráľa ho zachovala česká, chorvátska i nemecká stredoveká kronikárska tradícia. Práve tento najdôležitejší panovník Veľkej Moravy, ako dejiny ukazujú svätých patrónov panovníkov, sa dostal do ľudovej, všeľudovej tradície a pretrval v nej na rôznych miestach Uhorského kráľovstva až do konca 13. storočia, ako na to poukazuje napríklad ešte uhorský kronikár Šimon z Kézy. V slovenských dejinách však zotrval ešte dlhšie. Prostredníctvom vyššie spomínanej kontinuitnej tradície pretrval vo vedomí spoločenstva Slovákov cez celý stredovek, novovek až do súčasnej najnovšej doby. Prakticky sa stal našou životnou otázkou – otázkou národného citu, a to v každom z období nášho národného vývoja a v konečnom dôsledku i symbolom našej štátnosti. Sociologicky čitateľné, a preto aj dokázateľné sa toto mnohokrát intuitívne vyjadrenie našej tradície naposledy zviditeľnilo v zápase o náš hrad – v zápase o postavenie jazdeckej sochy kráľa Svätopluka ako symbolu počiatkov našej národnej historickej tradície.

Napriek povedanému sa však konštitutívnou myšlienkou Uhorského kráľovstva stala idea svätého kráľa Štefana, ktorá je dnes veľmi populárna v pokrútenej podobe najmä u našich susedov a to až do tej miery, že pseudokoruna svätého Štefana, ktorú od 13. storočia voláme *corona sacra*, sa z neutrálneho Maďarského národného múzea preniesla do maďarského parlamentu, kde sa jej verejne klania. Deje sa tak i napriek tomu, že dnes všetci vieme, že jej spodná – grécka časť (*corona greca*) bola vyrobená v Konštantínopole štyri desaťročia po smrti Štefana pre pôvodne nitrianskeho vojvodu Gejzu, vtedajšieho kráľa Uhrov. Veľavravné je tiež prevzatie západoslovanskej intitulatúry byzantským cisárom Michalom VIII., ktorý pre Gejzu nechal vyrobiť korunu (s nápisom *Geovitas pistos krales Tourkias*). Prezrádza totiž, aký titul pre svojho panovníka uprednostňovali politické elity tvoriacej sa uhorskej štátnosti. Aj toto *sacrum* Uhorského kráľovstva teda smeruje k Slovensku. A to veľmi programovo. Historicky vzaté – bolo to okolo roku 978, teda na prelome tisícročia, keď zomrel zakladateľ uhorskej štátnosti Gejza. Za svoje sídlo si zvolil Ostrihom, staroslovanské mesto tak, ako to vysvetlil už Konrád Schuneman, nemecký historik, ktorý ukázal, že to je centrálny bod na Dunaji, pri ústí rieky Hron, odkiaľ sa striehlo. Oproti Ostrihomu, v chotári dnešného Štúrova, v polohe Mužla, sa našlo a sčasti odkrylo rozsiahle veľkomoravské hradisko. Analogicky to tiež možno predpokladať i priamo v Ostrihome, najskôr v polohe Pilišské Moravce, kde na tejto strategickej vodnej i suchozemskej ceste sídlila osada veľkomoravských strážcov. Ostrihom sa totiž odvodzuje od striehnuť, ochrániť. Tento strategický bod si Gejza teda nezvolil náhodou. Po jeho smrti si jeho vdovu zobral knieža Kopáň, ktorý sídlil kdesi vo Vespréme, v jednom z významných centier Pribinovcov. So ženou veľkokniežaťa mala Kopáňovi pripadnúť aj zvrchovaná vláda nad územiami, ktoré Gejza ovládal. Ten však za svojho následníka ustanovil svojho syna Vajka – Štefana, ktorý bol dovtedy údelným kniežaťom v Nitre. O tomto nepochybuje ani maďarská historiografia. Gejzu a Štefana pokrstil misijný biskup Bruno v čase, keď Salzburské arcibiskupstvo v Zadunajsku obnovovalo po niekoľkých desaťročiach svoju jurisdikciu. Štefan sa postavil a uchopil moc. Iba na krátko. Kopáň s vdovou chceli Štefana odstrániť. Štefan vtedy z Ostrihomu prekročil Dunaj. Prišiel na slovenskú stranu Dunaja, do oblasti dnešnej Bíne a začal tam stavať obrovské hradisko. Hradisko je sčasti preskúmané. Už nebohý kolega profesor Alojz Habovštiak predstavil výsledky svojich bádaní a keď tam niekedy pôjdete, uvidíte, že to bolo obrovské pozemné hradisko refugiálneho charakteru. Tam sa sústredili *agmina Nitriensis*, *agmina Posoniensis*, čiže vojská domobrany nitrianskeho a bratislavského komitátu, sem sa dostavili aj vojská kňažnej Gizely,



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Štefanovej manželky, ktorá pochádzala z bavorskej vetvy rodu Liudolfingovcov (Otovcov). Nebol to rod hocijaký, ale rod, ktorý v osobe Ota III. vládol v celej neskorej Východofranskej ríši, čo bol najmocnejší politický útvar vtedajšej západnej Európy. Viedol ich nejaký Vencelinus, nem. Wenzel, čiže Václav, zrejme Čech. Podľa mena teda aj vojsko mohlo byť z Čiech, ktoré boli ich tradičnými ríšskymi spojencami. Nuž, a na tomto mieste sa stalo niečo, čo bolo vtedy i počas celého stredoveku veľmi typickým rituálom Európy. Tu Štefana, podľa neskoršej tradície, pasovali za rytiera. Udial sa tu akt, ktorý poznáme v celých európskych dejinách – prísaha vernosti – *fidelitas*. Na *fidelitas* – vernosti stojí celý život a celá politika vládnucich dynastií. Promótormi tohto aktu boli potomkovia starých veľkomoravských rodov Hont (*Gąt*) a Poznan. Spoľahlivo to dokázal tu prítomný profesor Ján Lukačka a pred ním profesor Juraj Hodál, že títo pasovali Štefana za rytiera a v mene svojho bratislavského a nitrianskeho vojska mu sľúbili vernosť. Takto posilnení prekročili Dunaj a porazili Kopáňa. Podľa *Života svätého Štefana* jeho telo rozštvrtili na štyri kusy a na výstrahu ho povesili na štyri hlavné brány štyroch hlavných miest krajiny, aby každý videl, ako skončí ten, kto chce podryť legitimitu moci najvýznamnejšieho rodu Karpatského bazéna, budúcu kráľovskú moc. Štefanovo víťazstvo zabezpečilo staré Nitriansko, prakticky Slovensko. Aj preto je vo všetkých symbolikách od 14. storočia Štefan spodobovaný okrem meča so štítom, na ktorom je dvojkríž s troma kopcami, a v rukách drží zástavu, ktorá sa, (celkom logicky) podobá na dnešnú prezidentskú štandardu Slovenskej republiky.

Ak dovolíte, rozvinul by som teraz túto malú odbočku k štátnej symbolike dnešnej Slovenskej republiky a Maďarska. V jednej časti sú totiž identické. Odlišuje ich len farba. Počas jari národov v roku 1848 romantickí štúrovci vymenili zelené trojvršie za modré, domnelo viac slovanské. Teraz ku genéze tohto znaku. Ako je známe, posledným kráľom Lotrinska ako centrálneho kráľovstva Franskej ríše, medzi Západofranskou a Východofranskou ríšou, bol istý Sventibald. Bol to najstarší syn cisára Arnulfa, hoci aj ľavoboček, pripravený po otcovi prevziať moc v celej Franskej ríši. Zhodou okolností to však bol aj krstný syn nášho Svätopluka, ako rozprávajú *Fuldské anály*. Po ňom dostal aj meno. *Sventibald*, *Zwentibald* totiž neznamená nič iné ako Svätopluk. To je zaujímavé. Je ešte zaujímavejšie, že od čias posledného Karolovca na lotrinskom tróne má toto kráľovstvo znak ako staré Slovensko. Logicky sa tu núka riešenie, že Svätopluk Lotrinský nezískal pri svojom krste len meno od moravského Svätopluka, ale prevzal aj jeho symbol. Celkom jasne sa tiež ukazuje kontinuita tohto znaku v symbolike Nitrianskeho kniežatstva. V ikonografickej podobe zo 14. storočia, ako ju poznáme z *Obrázkovej kroniky* (*Chronicon Pictum*), sú jeho nositeľom nielen králi zakladatelia Štefan I. a Ladislav I., ale v 13. storočí ešte aj Ondrej II., vodca V. križiackej výpravy. Ako som už povedal, vladári a dynastie sa menia, tradícia zostáva.

Tradícia a symbolika vždy poukazovali na to, že horná a hornatejšia časť Uhorského kráľovstva – Preddunajsko, ak chcete, zohrala významnú úlohu pri vzniku Uhorského kráľovstva. Ešte aj vo fragmentoch zachovaná písaná história tvrdí, že to bolo Slovensko (Nitriansko), ktoré zachránilo Štefanovi život a zabezpečilo nástup na ústredný veľkokniežací stolec, ktorý sa už o chvíľu mal stať posvätením a pomazaním pápeža Silvestra II. kráľovským. Tradícia prvého kresťanského kráľa Uhorského (najskôr Panónskeho) kráľovstva postavila silu kresťanstva nad pohanskými vzburami a približne polstoročie po smrti kráľa začala byť nosnou ideou tohto kráľovstva. Očakávali by sme, že takto sa svätoštefanská tradícia a legenda uchytí aj na našom území. Nestalo sa tak. Slovensko šlo inou cestou. Zvláštnou.

Svätoštefanská tradícia sa na Slovensku dlho neujímala. Nemáme o nej do 13. storočia veľa dokladov. Legendy stvorené na konci 11. a začiatkom 12. storočia v slovenskom prostredí akosi nerezonovali. Ukázalo sa, že nitrianske elity veľmi citlivo zareagovali na to, že ľudia okolo Štefana odstránili Vazula (*Vasila* od gréckeho *Bazil* – *bazileos* = vládca), nitrianske knieža. Ako podávajú akokoľvek tendenčne spísané *Gesta Hungarorum vetera*, Štefan si po smrti svojho prvorodeného syna Imricha (na poľovačke ho kanec napichol a – zomrel) uvedomil, že bez následníka trónu hrozí nebezpečenstvo, že príde iný uchvatiteľ trónu, a to Arpádovci z Nitrianskeho kniežatstva. Tu sa stihlo vytvoriť v počiatkoch uhorského štátu takzvané kniežatstvo – *ducatus* – a nebolo to malé kniežatstvo. Pokiaľ išlo o územnú rozlohu, zaiste bola zhodná s rozlohou Ostrihomského arcibiskupstva. S Bihorskom tvorilo dokonca *tertia pars regni* – tretinu kráľovstva. Razilo svoju mincu, často lepšiu ako bola kráľovská, malo svoje vojsko, viedlo vlastnú dynastickú i zahraničnú politiku. Jednoducho to bol štát v štáte. Štefan a jeho suita nemohli pripustiť, aby toto prešlo z rúk Štefana do rúk najstaršieho Arpádovca nitrianskeho kniežaťa Vazula s východným menom, ktoré sa



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inak vyskytuje aj v Bulharsku. Dal ho preto oslepiť a zamurovať v nitrianskej veži. Nebezpečenstvo však hrozilo i celému jeho potomstvu. Mal troch chlapcov, Bela, Ondreja a Leventeho. Títo, keď videli, že je zle a oni môžu skončiť podobne ako ich otec, ušli. Ušli do Čiech na Břetislavov dvor. Tam dlho nevydržali a pokračovali ďalej. Belo odišiel do Poľska a Levente s Ondrejom až do Kyjevskej Rusi. Tam sa chlapci všade priženili. Na Kyjevskej Rusi dostal Ondrej Anastáziu, dcéru Jaroslava Múdreho, v Poľsku Belo Rychézu či Adelaidu, sestru Kazimíra Obnoviteľa. Keď sa v roku 1046 Ondrej vracal do Uhorského kráľovstva, jeho manželka, vychovaná vo východnej cirkvi, si zobrala so sebou aj východných mníchov, ktorí sa usadili pod hradom Vyšehrad (Visegrád) a v Tôni (Tichoni, dnes maď. Tihany), na brehu Blatného jazera – dnešného Balatonu. Ondrej sa stal kráľom. Jeho brat Belo za svoju pomoc pri získaní kráľovstva získal tretinu kráľovstva.

Jedným zo synov Bela a Rychézy (Adelaidy) bol Ladislav. Pôvodne jeho meno znelo s „V" – Vladislav – ten, ktorý vládne sláve. Tak ho píšu dodnes Poliaci. Tí rozumeli tomuto menu a neprijali maďarské čítanie tohto mena s „L" – Ladislav (maď. *László*). Mládenec vyrastal v Poľsku, naučil sa materinčine – poľštine a podľa svedectva najstaršej poľskej kroniky Galla Anonyma bol jazykom a spôsobmi dokonca lepším Poliakom ako hocikto iný. Po historických turbulenciách, ktoré nastali po smrti jeho otca uhorského kráľa Bela I., v roku 1063, získal s bratom Gejzom a Leventem opäť útočisko v Poľsku u svojho strýka mocného poľského kráľa Boleslava II. Štedrého. Po bitke pri Mogyoróde a korunovácii svojho brata Gejzu za uhorského kráľa zaujal Ladislav vo veku 28 rokov kniežací stolec v Nitre, teda to miesto, kde pred ním sídlil jeho dedo, otec a Svätopluk Veľký, ako už o tom bola reč.

Po smrti kráľa Gejzu v roku 1077 Ladislav zaujal miesto svojho brata. Práve tento nitriansky a uhorský panovník stojí na začiatku slovensko-chorvátskych dejín ako najvýraznejšia osoba, ako zakladateľ chorvátsko-uhorskej personálnej únie. Ešte pred uhorským kráľom Kolomanom Učeným. Ladislav bol veľmi zvláštny mládenec. Jeho životopisec na konci 12. storočia hovorí, že bol veľmi urastený, vysoký a zdatný muž. Vraj o hlavu prečnieval nad všetkými. Charakterizovalo ho to, že bol skvelý bojovník s obrovským a pevným ramenom. Vedel držať onen dvojsečný meč, ktorý bol vtedy módny a bol základným bojovým prostriedkom. A práve jeho víťazné rameno sa stalo povestné vo všetkých ďalších vojnách, ktoré začal viesť. Pravdepodobne sa stalo symbolom už za života Ladislava a ako také prešlo do symboliky Nitrianskeho kniežatstva, ktorú nám podnes zachoval mestský erb Nitry, ktorý znázorňuje víťazné rameno svätého kráľa Ladislava, nesúce štandardu Nitranov – vodorovný strieborný dvojkríž na červenom poli; ale o tom som už tiež trochu hovoril. Ladislav veľmi skoro pochopil funkciu kresťanstva – možno lepšie ako sám svätý Štefan a veľmi funkčne ju inštrumentalizoval. Je to práve Ladislav I., ktorý po dohode s pápežom rozhodol o kanonizácii Štefana. Možno nie spôsobom, aký sa stal záväzným od polovice 13. storočia – životy a legendy sa pri kanonizácii vo Vatikáne v tom čase nečítali. Jednoducho prišiel legát z Vatikánu a dovolil otvoriť hrob Štefana, hrob Taliana Gerharda, vzal ostatky dvoch mučeníkov Svorada a Benedikta… mučeníkov, ktorí vtedy vyšli z kláštora na Zobore. Do toho prišiel ďalší svätý – Imrich, a tak vznikla stará galéria uhorských svätcov. Odrazu Uhorsko pochopilo cez Ladislava I. to, čo Európa začala dosť dobre chápať už dávno: že rôzni svätí, ktorí bojovali v rímskych arénach za kresťanstvo, už nevzrušovali veriacich, neboli atraktívni, moderní… Je zaujímavé pozerať sa na tieto kanonizácie. Dvaja Slovania – Slováci, jeden Nemec z Talianska a na záver dvaja Arpádovci. Neodzrkadľuje to etnické a náboženské pomery v Uhorskom kráľovstve? No a nezabúdajme ešte na ďalšieho Slovana, svätého Adalberta – Vojtecha, do dnešného dňa nazývaného Belo/Bela, teda biely, od ktorého si uhorskí králi zobrali svoje slávne meno. Toto sú základy Uhorského kráľovstva a „spoločenská zmluva" všetkých jeho národov. Toto je nový nosný pilier, bez ktorého by nebolo možné budovať štát. Dnešná predstava, že kresťanstvo je len náboženstvom, vierovyznaním, je zavádzajúca. Kresťanstvo bolo v tom čase predovšetkým civilizačným fenoménom. V Európe nemohol byť štát a spoločenstvo, ktoré by ignorovalo ideu kresťanstva a bolo niečo viac ako nejakou tlupou kočovníkov, nomádov alebo pohanských divochov. Ladislav toto geniálne pochopil. Po Štefanovi spísal ohromne zaujímavú knihu zákonov, kde v niekoľkých knihách uviedol do poriadku najmä praktické otázky riadenia štátu. Nuž, život mu doprial, aby rýchlo zasiahol aj do chorvátskych dejín. V Chorvátsku – ako iste dobre viete – vymrel rod veľkých Trpimirovcov. Vymrel za zvláštnych okolností. Historici sa nevedia dohodnúť, lebo pramene si protirečia. Pápež Urban II. vyhlásil krížovú výpravu. Vyzval všetkých európskych panovníkov, aby sa zúčastnili tejto výpravy a išli bojovať do Svätej zeme za záujmy kresťanstva i Cirkvi samej. Chorvátov tiež oslovil. Posledný panovník Zvonimir z rodu



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Trpimirovcov sídlil v tom čase v Knine. Nevieme presne, čo sa tam stalo. Došlo k nezhodám. Možno prišlo aj k „ruvačke“ a posledného Trpimírovca pri nej veľmoži krajiny utĺkli. Chorvátsko zostalo bez legitímneho panovníka. Zrejme sa rozdelilo a bez panovníka, ústrednej postavy krajiny, nastali v krajine krušné časy, zložité vzťahy. Viete si to predstaviť?! Skrátka a dobre – dosť dobre chápem popredné rody Chorvátska, že sa im do Svätej zeme nechcelo. Zaiste mali dosť problémov doma. Zvonimir však mal manželku z Nitrianska. Bola to Ladislavova sestra. Volala sa Helena, ale Chorváti ju nazvali Krásna – *Ljepa*. Tak jej Chorváti hovorili. A táto krásna žena, zrejme s ohromným vplyvom, keďže zostala osamotená, sa s prosbou o pomoc obrátila v zložitých pomeroch na brata Ladislava. Tento nemeškal a vtiahol so svojimi víťazmi do Chorvátska. A správal sa ako každý dobyvateľ. Bol to odvážny kúsok. Pápežský obľúbenec sa však týmto činom dostal do nemilosti Svätej stolice. Táto si nárokovala patronátne právo na Chorvátske kráľovstvo, a tým i právo rozhodovať o tom, koho má určiť na kráľovský prestol. Ladislav však ignoroval pápežské rozhodnutia. Oproti tomu sa pokúsil nakloniť si miestne elity. Chorvátskemu kléru dovolil aj naďalej sa ženiť. Starým rodom sľúbil zaistiť ich staré privilégiá. Otriasol hegemóniou Splitského arcibiskupstva, tradičného centra kresťanstva na východnom pobreží Jadranského mora. Zdá sa, že to bol práve on, kto založil biskupstvo v Záhrebe a podriadil ho Kaločskému arcibiskupstvu, ktoré ležalo na území Uhorska. Nemáme o tom zakladaciu listinu. Nie je to až také zvláštne v kontexte celého Uhorského kráľovstva. Je však zvláštne to, že zhruba o 70 rokov neskôr sa spomína, že prvým záhrebským biskupom bol nejaký muž menom Duch. Najčastejšie sa to vykladá, že to musel byť Čech alebo Slovák. Prikláňam sa k myšlienke, že to bol Slovák aj preto, lebo niekto musel preniesť do Záhrebu a Istrie legendy o svätom Svoradovi a Benediktovi. Kult najstarších krajinských svätcov, nitrianskych svätcov, nemohol prísť na územie dnešného Chorvátska bez toho, aby ho nesprostredkovali jeho nositelia – nitrianske vojenské a cirkevné elity. Nakoniec nie nepodobne, ako sme o tom informovaní v prípade päťkostolského biskupa Maura, ktorý u seba v Päťkostolí schovával vzácnu relikviu – reťaz z tela svätého Svorada. Čiže zo Slovenska prišiel do Chorvátska kult svätého Svorada a Benedikta a s ním aj prvá Ladislavovi lojálna, zakladateľská generácia Záhrebského biskupstva. Časť chorvátskych historikov sa domnieva, že to boli francúzski benediktíni, ktorí založili a na čas viedli toto biskupstvo. Pochybujem. Nebudem však zasahovať do argumentácie v tejto problematike. Pán profesor Budak nám to zrejme objasní, aký je súčasný stav názorov chorvátskej historiografie, pokiaľ ide o túto tému. Ladislav vtiahol, dobyl krajinu – okrem Prímoria – a pravdepodobne sa nechal korunovať za chorvátskeho kráľa. Takto *de facto* vznikla personálna chorvátsko-uhorská únia a my, tak Slováci, ako aj Chorváti, sme sa stali súčasťou stále pevnejšej, v tom čase už do značnej miery stabilizovanej uhorskej štátnosti. Tá síce už predtým pokukávala po Balkáne, všímala si však najmä Vojvodinu, Sriemsku Mitrovicu a Belehrad. Poškuľovala aj po niektorých ďalších južných územiach, ale nemala sily, aby tam vstúpila vojensky, vybojovala, no najmä udržala nové krajiny.

Ladislavom I. sa začínajú kreovať politické a kultúrne vzťahy medzi Slovenskom a Chorvátskom. Za čias kráľa Kolomana Knihomoľa došlo na chorvátskej pôde k prvému „uhorsko-chorvátskemu vyrovnaniu“. Sú to oné známe *Pacta conventa*, nekonečná vedecká epopeja chorvátskej historiografie, na ktorej sa formujú dve názorové skupiny chorvátskej historiografie.

Samotný Ladislav I. neporazený zomrel počas ťaženia proti Čechom v roku 1095. Ako každý neporazený vladár ako historický kráľ sa stal legendou. Do písanej podoby ju zvečnili až na konci 12. storočia na dvore Bela III. vo Varadíne. Všimnite si však, priatelia z Chorvátska, keď pôjdete po Slovensku, že až v 27 románskych a ranogotických kostoloch je do dnešného dňa na stenách namaľovaná legenda o tomto rytierskom svätcovi. Tento Ladislav, spodobovaný so slovanskou sekerou, je muž, hrdina, vojvodca, kresťan, zbožný rytier, ktorý pomáha ubiedeným; muž, ktorý bráni krajinu pred východnými nomádmi a západnými votrelcami. Je to muž, ktorý si však popri vojne nájde i čas sadnúť si a pomodliť sa. Je preto logické, že ladislavovská legenda prevrstvila v slovenských dejinách svojím významom svätoštefanskú legendu. Svätoštefanská idea sa potom už obnovovala len ako nové a moderné politikum spojené najmä s nástupom Habsburgovcov na uhorský trón. Títo sa v pronemecky orientovanom katolíckom Arpádovcovi priamo vzhliadli a s veľkou chuťou ho ako ideologickú zbraň nasadzovali najmä v zápase proti uhorsko-maďarským stavom v 17. storočí a na počiatku 18. storočia.



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MATÚŠ KUČERA*

# On the Beginnings of the Slovak and Croatian Medieval Historical Tradition

Dear audience, ladies and gentlemen!
Let me start by reminding you of a bit of history at this place. If I remember well, this is the first large academic conference of Croatian and Slovak historians since the year 1951. Although, it is true that at that time it was a conference of the nations of former Yugoslavia and Czecho-slovakia. It is quite a shame that we have not met for 60 years. One of the reasons was also the bad political destiny, which has often played and still does play with the small nations of Europe, not only in recent years. I remember the conference very well. I was a first-year student of the faculty of philosophy and the conference was related to Ľudovít Štúr and the basic questions of our national history. The delegation of the Croatian side was led by already the late Professor Jaroslav Šidak. After his contribution he was heavily criticised by the Slovak Communists led by academician Ondrej Pavlík. The reason was that Professor Šidak was not misled and he did not describe our "Štúr's generation" as counter-revolutionaries, as Marx and Engels used to do. It was a good platform. However, then the period of the Informburo came and the relations between the states subordinate to Moscow and Yugoslavia deteriorated. Everybody who had a close connection to the history of the nations of Yugoslavia was put in prison. Our Croatian friends may not know that there was a rather numerous group of Slovaks who sat in our prisons. Some others had to leave to forced exile…

The happier I am now that we have found an organizational platform, the desire and will to talk a little about the mutual relations of our two nations, because the truth is that the Slovaks lived together with the Croatian nation within the union of the nations of the Hungarian Kingdom for almost 800 years, that is, for more years than with the Czech nation. This historical fact is significant but at the same time little reflected upon. This conference aims to contribute to breaking the silence.

Personally, commenting on this event, I would like to reflect upon the very beginnings of Slovak-Croatian relations. They are enormously important and I will be very glad if I manage to shed some light on the time period, the basic facts, and the course of the events which led to it also for the non-professionals. All of us who deal with the field of our ancient national history know that neither Croatia nor medieval Hungary have their reliable contemporary historian of the origins of their national history, the author of the relevant "national concept." They do not have chroniclers such as the Czech Cosmas, the Polish Gallus Anonymus, or the Eastern Slavic Nestor. All histories of the beginnings of the Hungarian Kingdom, as well as of the Croatian one, are written by men of the mid-thirteenth century, i.e. the witnesses after five to six generations. Understandably, these sources are enormously unreliable. Moreover, one frequently has to look for their filiation… Having analyzed them thoroughly, one has to consider what the author wanted actually to say with his text, who his audience were and who commissioned the text, what the social background of the author was, what his world-view was. Nowadays we already know that the chronicle which for the first time served for the Hungarian history – the so-called *Chronicle of the Anonymous* – stands on the borderline of fact and historical novel. Moreover, it is filled with excessive medieval nationalism – with the idea of the victorious Hungarian political nation of the estates, which takes his country after the model of the Old-Testamental Israel taking their Promised Land. Thomas, the archdeacon of Split, is a bit more reliable: he followed some sources to a greater extent after all, but he also wrote his history of Croatia in the mid-thirteenth century only. However, the message of the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (*Pop Dukljanin*) is difficult to date and even more difficult to decipher. Therefore, we, historians, have the duty to turn to the tradition. I have emphasised it many times in my recent works. If you have read my last book on King Svätopluk, you may have noticed this idea. Here I point to the fact that tradition is the phenomenon which often ranks above the scarce historical facts. Why? Because the tradition functions in the society as long as it has its bearer. It works

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often as a correlative of the "official history." It directs social consciousness and social practice. It is a creative phenomenon of the community. The tradition dies and perishes only if the settlement-related and other ethnic continuity were interrupted. The tradition guarantees the integrity of the community and its duration. Whenever the society needs it, tradition is revived; the society selects from it what is exactly needed at that time. It is preserved mostly orally. As far as the source basis is concerned, the tradition has been partially captured in lives (*vitae*), legends, law collections, and other sources of contemporary provenance. However, the tradition has to be dissected, followed, and studied in the sources; and it is necessary to try to define it again and again. Because the society lived with this tradition. Not only with the ruler's court, not only with certain institutional disputes, nor with the destiny of some princes, dukes, and alike.

We look at the beginnings of the Slovak-Hungarian history from this point of view, and we can observe a highly remarkable phenomenon here. Namely, we would expect the strongest tradition of the origin of the Hungarian Kingdom in Slovakia to be bound with the tradition of the first holy Hungarian king – the tradition of St. Stephen, because the Hungarian state, as you know, was originating and being constituted in the settlement area: Nitra – Bratislava – Székeszéhérvá/ Stoličný Belehrad – Esztergom.

The space in which the Hungarian state was being formed coincides essentially with the area of old Great Moravia, which Rastislav and after him Svätopluk had occupied. Contemporary *Frankish Annals* write that it was Svätopluk who had his *regnum* in Nitra. From there he took the position of the sovereign ruler of Great Moravia after the fall of Rastislav. He was so successful in his policy that the highest authorities of the contemporary world – the pope and the emperor – recognized him as the king of all Slavs (*rex Sclavorum*). He was depicted as a great king in Bohemian, Croatian and German medieval chronicle tradition. The history of the patron saints and rulers shows that it was this most important ruler of Great Moravia who got to the folk, universal tradition and survived in it at various places of the Hungarian Kingdom until the end of the thirteenth century, which, for example, the Hungarian chronicler Simon of Kéza still points out. However, Svätopluk remained even longer in the Slovak history. Through the above-mentioned continuous tradition he has remained in the consciousness of the Slovak community throughout entire Middle Ages and modern era until the present, most recent times. He has practically become our life issue – the issue of national sentiment (and that is true for every period of our national development) – and in the end also the symbol of our statehood. This expression of our tradition, in many cases intuitive, has shown itself as sociologically readable and therefore verifiable for the last time in the struggle for our castle – in the struggle concerning the installation of the riding statue of King Svätopluk as the symbol of the origins of our national historical tradition.

In spite of what has been said, the constitutive idea of the Hungarian Kingdom became the concept of holy king St. Stephen, which is still very popular in a distorted form especially with our neighbours, and to the extent that the pseudo-crown of St. Stephen, which we call as *corona sacra* since the thirteenth century, has been moved from the neutral Hungarian National Museum to the Hungarian parliament, where it is publicly worshipped. This is being done despite that we all know now that its lower, Greek part (*corona greca*) was produced in Constantinople four decades after the death of St. Stephen for Geysa (Gejza, Géza), the king of the Hungarians and former duke of Nitra. The takeover of the western Slavic intitulation by the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII, who had the crown produced for Geysa (with the inscription *Geovitas pistos krales Tourkias*), is also telling. It reveals the title which the political elites of the emerging Hungarian statehood preferred for their ruler. This *sacrum* of the Hungarian Kingdom also points to Slovakia, and it does so in a very programmatic way. From the historical point of view – it was around 978, i.e. at the turn of the millennium, when the founder of the Hungarian state Geysa died. He chose Ostrihom (Esztergom), an Old Slavic town, as his seat; Conrad Schuneman, a German historian, demonstrated that it was the central point on the Danube, at the estuary of the river Hron (Gran), from where they watched (watch – "*striehnuť*" in Slovak). Opposite Ostrihom, in the territory of present-day Štúrovo, in the locality Mužla, a Great-Moravian fortification was found and partially unearthed. Analogically, we can suppose something similar directly in Ostrihom, most probably in the locality *Pilišské Moravce* (today Pilismarót), the place of the settlement of Great-Moravian guardians on the strategic water and land routes. Because Ostrihom is derived from "striehnuť" – to watch, to protect. Thus, Geysa did not select this strategic point by accident. After Géza's death, Duke Kopány, who had his seat



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somewhere in Veszprém (Bezpriem), one of the important centres of Pribina's lineage, married his widow. Along with the grand duke's wife, Kopány was supposed to get the sovereign rule over the territories controlled by Geysa. Nevertheless, Geysa had appointed as his successor his son Vajk – Stephen, who had been the duke of Nitra until then. This fact is not doubted even in Hungarian historiography. Geysa and Stephen were baptised by the missionary bishop Bruno at the time when the archbishopric of Salzburg was restoring its jurisdiction in Transdanubia after several decades. Stephen stood up and seized the power, but only for a short time. Kopány and the widow wanted to remove Stephen. Then Stephen crossed the Danube from Ostrihom to the Slovak side of the Danube, to the area of present-day Bíňa, and started to build a large fortification there. The fortification has been researched partly: our late colleague Professor Alojz Habovštiak submitted the results of his research; and if you ever go there, you will see that it was a huge land fortification of refuge character. The *agmina Nitriensis* and *agmina Posoniensis*, i.e. the troops of the home guards of Nitra and Bratislava counties, gathered there. The troops of Princess Gisela, the wife of Stephen from the Bavarian branch of the Liudolfing (Ottonian) house, also arrived there. It was not an arbitrary family but the lineage which in the person of Otto III ruled later entire East-Frankish Empire, which was the most powerful political entity in contemporary western Europe. The forces were led by a certain Vencelinus, Wenzel in German, i.e. Wenceslas/*Václav-Viacslav*, most probably a Bohemian. According to the name, also the forces could have been from Bohemia, which was the traditional ally of the empire. Well, something which was a very typical ritual in Europe then and throughout entire Middle Ages happened at this place. Here, due to later tradition, Stephen was knighted. Here an act which we know from entire European history – the oath of fidelity – *fidelitas* – took place. Entire life and policy of ruling dynasties stands on the *fidelitas*. The promoters of this act were the descendants of the old Great-Moravian lineages of Hont (*Gąt*) and Poznan. Professor Ján Lukačka, who is present here today, and before him Professor Juraj Hodál have demonstrated reliably that they knighted Stephen and pledged fidelity to him on behalf of the Bratislava and Nitra troops. Strengthened in this way, they crossed the Danube and beat Kopány. His body, as the *Life of St. Stephen* has it, was cut into four pieces and hanged for warning on four main gates in the four main towns in the country, so that everybody could see the end of those who would have liked to undermine the legitimacy of the most important lineage in the Carpathian Basin, the future royal power. Stephen's victory was secured by the old Nitra principality, practically Slovakia. Therefore too, Stephen is depicted in the symbolic sphere with the following attributes since the fourteenth century: a sword, a shield with a double-cross on three hills, holding a banner in his hands; this representation, logically, resembles present-day presidential standard of the Slovak Republic. If you allow me, now I would develop this small digression on the state symbolic of current Slovak Republic and Hungary. They are identical in one part, differing only in colour. The green triple-hill was changed into blue, seemingly more Slavic, by the romantic Štúr's generation during the spring of nations in 1848. Let us get to the genesis of the symbol now. It is known that the last king of Lotharingia as the central kingdom of the Frankish Empire, in between the Western- and Eastern-Frankish Empires, was a certain *Sventibald*. He was the oldest son of Emperor Arnulf, who, although illegitimate, was prepared to take over the power in entire Frankish Empire after his father. Coincidentally, he was also the godson of our Svätopluk, as the *Annals of Fulda* say. He also got a name after him, because *Sventibald/Zwentibald* does not mean anything else but Svätopluk. It is interesting. However, it is even more interesting that from the times of the last Carolingian on the Lotharingian throne this kingdom has the same emblem as the old Slovakia. Logically, a solution offers itself: Svätopluk of Lotharingia not only got his name from the Moravian Svätopluk at his baptism, but he also took over his symbol. The continuity of this emblem in the symbolic of the principality of Nitra shows itself absolutely clearly. We know its fourteenth-century iconographic form from the *Illustrated Chronicle* (*Chronicon Pictum*), where its bearers are not only the founding kings Stephen I and Ladislas I, but also Andrew II, the leader of the Fifth Crusade in the thirteenth century. As I have already said – rulers and dynasties change, the tradition remains.

Thus, the tradition and the symbolic have always pointed to the fact that the upper and more mountainous part of the Hungarian Kingdom, *Hungaria Cis-danubiana*, if you will, played an important role in the origins of the Hungarian Kingdom. Even the extant fragments of written history assert that it was Slovakia (Nitra principality) which saved Stephen's life and secured his succession to the central grand duke's throne,



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which in a while was to become the king's throne with the blessing and anointment of Pope Silvester II. The tradition of the first Christian king of the Hungarian (originally Pannonian) Kingdom posed the power of Christianity above the pagan revolts and started to be the essential idea of the kingdom approximately half a century after the king's death. We would expect that the tradition and the legend of St. Stephen thus took root at our territory. Nevertheless, it did not happen. Slovakia took a different road, a special one.

The tradition of St. Stephen did not take root in Slovakia for a long time. We do not have many pieces of its evidence until the thirteenth century. The legends which originated at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century did not somehow resonate in Slovak environment. It has turned out that the elites of Nitra reacted highly sensitively to the fact that the people around Stephen had removed Vazul (*Vasil* – from Greek *Bazil* – *bazileos* = ruler), the duke of Nitra. The *Gesta Hungarorum vetera*, although a based work, write that Stephen, having lost his first-born son Emeric (he was pierced by a boar while hunting and died), realized that he was threatened without an heir and that someone else, most probably the Arpadians from the principality of Nitra, could seize the throne. The so-called principality – *ducatus* – succeeded to take shape in Nitra at the beginnings of the Hungarian kingdom, and it was not a small principality. Its geographical territory was certainly identical with the area of the archbishopric of Ostrihom. It even formed *tertia pars regni* together with Bihar. It minted its own coins (often better quality than the royal ones), it had its own troops, and its own dynastic and foreign policy. Simply, it was a state in the state. Stephen and his suite could not accept that all this passed from the hands of Stephen to the hands of the oldest Arpadian, Vazul, the duke of Nitra with an eastern name which is found elsewhere in Bulgaria. Thus, he had him blinded and walled up in a tower in Nitra. However, all Vazul's descendants were threatened too. He had three boys, Bela (*Béla*, *Belo*), Andrew, and Levente. When the sons saw that the situation was bad and that they could end up like their father, they fled; they escaped to the court of Břetislav in Bohemia. They did not stay there for long and continued a little further: Bela went to Poland and Levente with Andrew even to Kievan Rus'. The boys married there: in the Kievan Rus' Andrew got Anastasia, the daughter of Yaroslav the Wise; in Poland Bela married Richeza, or Adelaide, the sister of Casimir the Restorer. When Andrew returned to the Hungarian Kingdom in 1046, his wife, who had been brought up in the eastern Church, took the eastern monks with her; they settled under the castle of Visegrád (*Vyšehrad*) and in *Tôna* (*Tichoň*, presently Hungarian Tihany) at *Blatné jazero* ("muddy lake") – present-day Balaton. Andrew became the king and his brother Bela got a third of the kingdom for his help in acquiring the kingdom.

One of the sons of Bela and Richeza (Adelaide) was Ladislas. His name originally had a "V" at the beginning – meaning in Slovak the one who rules the glory ("vládne sláve"). That is how the Poles write his name until now. They understood this name well and did not accept its Hungarian reading with an "L" – *Ladislas* (Hungarian *László*). The boy grew up in Poland, he learned his mother tongue – Polish; according to the testimony of the oldest Polish *Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus*, he was by his language and manners even a better Pole than anybody else. After the historical turmoil which occurred after the death of his father, Hungarian king Bela I, in 1063, he got shelter in Poland again, together with his brothers Geysa and Levente, at the court of his uncle, the powerful Polish king Boleslas II the Bountiful. After the Battle of Mogyoród and the coronation of his brother Geysa as Hungarian king, twenty-eight years old Ladislas took the ducal throne in Nitra, once the seat of his grandfather, his father and of Svätopluk the Great, which was mentioned above.

After the death of King Geysa in 1077, Ladislas took the place of his brother. It was this ruler of Nitra and Hungary who stood at the beginnings of the Slovak-Croatian history as the most outstanding person and the founder of the Croatian-Hungarian personal union, still before the Hungarian king Coloman the Learned. Ladislas was a very special boy. At the end of the twelfth century his biographer says that he was a big, tall and able man; allegedly taller by head than everybody else. He was known as a great warrior with a big strong arm, which skilfully held a double-edged sword, fashionable then, being the basic means of battle. His victorious arm became truly legendary in all upcoming wars which he started to wage. It probably became a symbol already during the life of Ladislas. As a consequence, it got to the symbolic of the principality of Nitra, which is nowadays preserved in the municipal coat-of-arms of Nitra, depicting the victorious arm of the holy king Ladislas carrying the standard of Nitra – a horizontal silver double-cross in red field; but I have already talked about it a little. Ladislas understood the function of Christianity rather



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early – maybe better than St. Stephen did – and he made use of it in a very functional way. Ladislas I decided about the canonization of Stephen after an agreement with the pope. Maybe not in the way which became compulsory from the mid-thirteenth century – the lives and legends were not read at the canonization in the Vatican at that time. Simply, a legate from the Vatican arrived and they allowed to open the tomb of King Stephen and the one of Italian Gerhard, they took the remains of the martyrs *Zoerardus* and Benedict… the martyrs who came from the monastery at Zobor… Then another saint – Emeric – appeared. That is how an old gallery of Hungarian saints originated. Suddenly, Hungary through Ladislas I understood what Europe had started to understand sufficiently already a long time ago: that various saints who fought for Christianity in the Roman arenas did not excite the faithful any more, they were not attractive, modern… It is interesting to look at these canonizations: two Slavs – Slovaks, one German from Italy, and in the end two Arpadians. Does this not reflect the ethnic and religious situation in the Hungarian Kingdom? Additionally, let us not forget another Slav, St. Adalbert – *Vojtech*, still called also Belo/Béla, i.e. white, from whom the Hungarian kings took their glorious name. These are the foundations of the Hungarian Kingdom and the "social contract" of all its nations. This is the new supporting pillar without which it would not be possible to build a state. Present-day idea that Christianity is only a religion, a belief, is misleading. At that time, Christianity was first of all a civilizational phenomenon. In Europe there was no state, no community, which would have ignored the idea of Christianity and at the same time would have been more than a bunch of nomads or pagan savages. Ladislas understood it brilliantly. He wrote up after Stephen an enormously interesting book of laws, where he put into order especially the practical issues of state governance in several books.

Furthermore, the life favoured Ladislas with the opportunity to get involved quickly in Croatian history. In Croatia – as you certainly know well – the great Trpimirović dynasty dies out. It dies out under strange circumstances, on which historians disagree because the sources contradict each other. Pope Urban II announces a crusade. He invites all European rulers to take part in the crusade and go to fight for the interests of Christianity and the Church itself to the Holy Land. The Croatians were addressed too. Their last ruler Zvonimir from the lineage of Trpimirović resided in Knin at that time. We do not know exactly what happened there. There were some disagreements, perhaps even a "brawl", in which the magnates of the country beat up the last Trpimirović. Croatia remained without a legitimate ruler. It perhaps got divided; without a ruler, the country's central figure, hard times arrived in the land. Can you imagine?! By and large, I can easily understand the reluctance of Croatia's prominent families to go to the Holy Land. They must have had enough problems at home. However, Zvonimir had a wife from Nitra; she was Ladislas' sister; her name was Helena, but the Croatians called her *Beautiful* – "*Ljepa*". That is how the Croatians called her. And as this beautiful woman, surely enormously influential, stayed alone, she turned to her brother Ladislas for help. He invaded Croatia with his victorious forces without delay; he behaved like every conqueror. It was a bold act. The papal favourite got to the disgrace of the Holy See by this deed though. The papacy claimed the patronage right to the Croatian Kingdom and thus also the right to decide about the candidate for the royal throne. However, Ladislas ignored papal decisions. On the contrary, he tried to gain the local elites. He allowed the Croatian clergy to continue to marry. He promised to secure the old privileges to the old families. He shattered the hegemony of Split archbishopric, the traditional centre of Christianity on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea; because he probably founded the bishopric in Zagreb and subordinated it to the archbishopric of Kalocsa, which was located in the territory of today Hungary. We do not have its foundation charter. It is not so strange in the context of entire Hungarian Kingdom though. It is strange, however, that a certain man named *Duch* was mentioned as the first bishop of Zagreb roughly 70 years later. Due to the name it is most often argued that he must have been a Czech or a Slovak. I am inclined to the hypothesis that he was a Slovak; also because somebody must have transferred the *Legends of Sts. Zoerardus and Benedict* to Zagreb and Istria. The cult of the oldest saints of the country, the saints of Nitra, could not have got to the territory of present-day Croatia without mediation of its bearers – the military and ecclesiastical elites of Nitra. In the end, the way is not dissimilar to the well-known case of Maurus, the bishop of Pécs (*Päťkostolie*), who had a precious relic hidden in Pécs – a chain from the body of St. Zoerardus.

Thus, the cult of Sts. Zoerardus and Benedict came to Croatia from Slovakia together with the first founding generation of Zagreb bishopric, loyal to Ladislas. Some Croatian historians maintain



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that the French Benedictines founded and led the bishopric for some time. I doubt it; but I will not get into the argumentation regarding this issue. Professor Budak will probably explain the current state of hypotheses concerning this topic in Croatian historiography to us. So Ladislas invaded and conquered the country – except for the seaside – and he was probably crowned as Croatian king. Thus, personal Croatian-Hungarian union originated *de facto*; both Slovaks and Croatians became part of an increasingly stronger Hungarian statehood, rather stabilized already at that time. Although it had eyed the Balkans (especially Vojvodina, Sriemska Mitrovica, and Belgrade) and some other southern areas earlier, it did not have the power to invade militarily, conquer, and especially hold the new lands.

The political and cultural relations between Slovakia and Croatia start to form with Ladislas I. The first "Croatian-Hungarian settlement" took place during the times of King Coloman the Bookworm in Croatia; it was the well-known *Pacta conventa*, the neverending scientific epic of the Croatian historiography, on which the opinions are divided. Ladislas I died unbeaten during the warfare against Bohemians in 1095. Like every unbeaten ruler, the historical king became a legend. The written form of his legend originated at the court of Bela III in Várad at the end of the twelfth century only. Dear friends from Croatia, when you travel around Slovakia, you can notice that the legend about this knightly saint is painted in the walls of as many as 27 Romanesque and early Gothic churches until today. Ladislas, depicted with a Slavic axe, is a man, a hero, a military leader, a Christian, a pious knight who helps the poor; a man who protects the land from eastern nomads and western intruders. He is a man who finds a time to sit down and pray besides the war. Therefore, it is logical that the legend of St. Stephen was overlaid with that of St. Ladislas by its significance. The concept of St. Stephen then revived only as a new, modern *politicum* related especially with the succession of the Habsburgs to the Hungarian throne. They found their reflection in the pro-German oriented Catholic Arpadian and used him with great gusto as an ideological weapon especially in the struggle against the Hungarian estates in the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

I hope that I kept the time. Gentlemen, thank you very much…



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MARTIN HOMZA*

# Úvod

Keď mi pred mnohými a mnohými rokmi môj učiteľ prof. Matúš Kučera zadal seminárnu prácu o vzťahoch stredovekého Spiša a Malopoľska, netušil som, aké dôsledky môže môj budúci výskum mať. Popri tom, ako som dlhodobo skúmal všetko, čo sa týkalo stredovekého Slovenska a jeho vzťahov s Poľskom, lebo práve cez územie dnešného Slovenska šla väčšina stredovekých kontaktov s Poľskom, posunul som sa nenápadne, ale o to plynulejšie aj k reláciám stredovekého Slovenska a Kyjevskej Rusi. Odtiaľ ma môj záujem celkom prirodzene čoraz častejšie a častejšie viedol na Balkán. Možno to niekomu ešte i dnes pripadá trochu neobvyklé, veď čo má spoločné západná Rus, južné Poľsko, Slovensko a Balkán? Prekvapujúco viac ako dosť. Takto som začal objavovať niečo, čo ma fascinovalo počas mnohých ďalších rokov. Pracovne som si to nazval „Zahraničná politika kráľov z Arpádovského rodu" a od roku 1996 som tento predmet začal vyučovať v podobe seminára na našej Katedre slovenských dejín Filozofickej fakulty UK v Bratislave. Čoraz zreteľnejšie sa tak predo mnou začali objavovať vnútorné siločiary krajiny, ktorá sa najskôr nazývala Panónske a neskôr, až do roku 1918, *Regnum Hungariae* – Uhorské kráľovstvo. Zaiste predstavenie všetkých týchto väzieb, tvorených jej vladármi a ich politickými ambíciami, ale aj obyvateľstvom tejto krajiny (v celej šírke svojho spektra), ich náboženstvom, duchovnou, či materiálnou kultúrou, ekonomickými a inými záujmami, bolo vždy nad rámec možností jedného človeka. Ambícia o jeho intelektuálne uchopenie a tým aj pochopenie však nepochybne stála aj pri zrode tohto projektu.

Ako je všetkým jasné, stredoveké Uhorské kráľovstvo nevzniklo z ničoho nič, z jedného dňa na druhý. Jeho genéza akoby bola predestinovaná v geopolitickej logike, ktorú spolu vytvárajú Karpaty a Dunaj. Hrebene Karpát lemujú Karpatský bazén od Bratislavy na Slovensku až niekde k mestu Vršac v dnešnom Srbsku. Ten istý kus Európy potom zahŕňa rieka Dunaj so svojimi prítokmi. Túto neúprosnú logiku postrehli už Rimania a po nich ďalšie politické útvary, ktoré tu po stiahnutí Ríma na dolný Dunaj začali vyrastať ako huby po daždi. Spomeniem len tie najúspešnejšie – Avarský kaganát, ktorý tu pretrval v 6. až 8. storočí a *Regnum Sclavorom* – Kráľovstvo Slovanov Svätopluka I. z veľkomoravského rodu Mojmírovcov v posledných dekádach 9. storočia. Uhorské kráľovstvo počas prvých troch stoviek rokov svojej existencie však nielen prekročilo svojimi hranicami aj maximálny rozsah Veľkomoravskej ríše, ale aj svoju vyššie naznačenú geopolitickú polohu. Je takmer isté, že už Svätopluk I. prekročil hrebene Karpát na severe, aby sa zmocnil Visliana a krajiny Lendzanov, keďže potreboval opanovať strategickú časť veľkej kontinentálnej cesty smerujúcej od Bagdadu, v niektorých prípadoch až z ďalekej Číny, do španielskej Córdoby. Ten istý vládca však nikdy neprekročil rieku Drávu. Na to sa, podľa všetkého, odvážil až dvesto rokov po ňom iný kráľ, Ladislav I., keď spolu so Slavónskom pripojil silou svojho ramena k Uhorskému kráľovstvu aj Chorvátsko a časť Dalmácie. Ako je z neskoršej histórie známe, túto anexiu legitimizoval spolu s poprednými mužmi Chorvátskeho kráľovstva až jeho nástupca Koloman Knihomoľ, ktorý sa stal prvým chorvátskym kráľom nielen *de facto*, ale už aj *de iure*. Ako to prebehlo, prečo a ako sa to stalo, a ako vôbec bolo možné, že toto politické usporiadanie pretrvalo až dlhých osemsto rokov, tým sa zaoberajú už naše štúdie, a preto nemá zmysel písať o tom v úvode našej knihy. Nadčasovým faktom však asi zostane, že týmto činom sa Slováci ocitli popri Maďaroch a Rumunoch, neskôr Srboch a Rusínoch, v jednej a tej istej krajine spolu s Chorvátmi. Nemohlo to zostať bez dôsledkov na priebeh našich dejín a ich vplyvy sa prejavujú až po dnešné dni.

Idea pustiť sa do medzinárodného projektu takéhoto typu teda nevznikla, akoby sa na prvý pohľad zdalo, náhodou, a už vôbec nie spontánne. Bola výsledkom už existujúceho historického poznania, ako ho kolektív našich autorov prezentoval napríklad v niektorých tézach knihy *Historia Scepusii*: *Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526*. Toto poznanie však už čoskoro nemalo zostať len teoretickým, ale aj praktickým poznaním. Na tomto mieste treba totiž povedať, že Katedra slovenských dejín uskutočňuje každoročne historické exkurzie do bývalých krajín Uhorského kráľovstva. Preto bolo celkom prirodzené, že jedným z takýchto cieľov

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muselo byť aj Chorvátsko. Udialo sa to na konci apríla v roku 2009. K našim študentom sa vtedy pripojili aj študenti medievalistiky zo Záhrebu. Viedol ich profesor Neven Budak. Cieľom poznávacieho zájazdu bolo porovnať najstaršiu politickú, cirkevnú a hospodársku štruktúru Slavónska a Slovenska ako dvoch pohraničných území Arpádovcov. Výsledky boli natoľko prekvapujúce, že sme sa s profesorom Nevenom Budakom rozhodli zorganizovať medzinárodnú konferenciu, ktorá by sumarizovala aktuálne poznanie na túto tému.

Podujatie sa uskutočnilo v dňoch 20. – 24. júna 2011 v Bratislave a Levoči. Konferenciu sme nazvali *Slovensko a Chorvátsko: Historické paralely a vzťahy (do roku 1780)*. Zúčastnilo sa jej viac ako 50 vedcov zo Slovenska, z Chorvátska, Ukrajiny, Ruska, Poľska, Česka, Maďarska a zo Srbska. Referáty tejto konferencie sa stali podkladom na spracovanie predkladanej publikácie.

Pokúsime sa teraz zosumarizovať výsledky tohto podujatia v niekoľkých tézach. Predovšetkým organizátorov prekvapil už samotný fakt ohromného záujmu o tému, ktorá sa nejakým spôsobom dotýka slovensko-chorvátskych vzťahov v stredoveku a novoveku. Pozoruhodné tiež bolo zastúpenie jednotlivých tematických okruhov. Okrem všeobecných kapitol zameraných na otázky etnogenézy oboch našich národov, na historiografické, hagiografické a iné otázky, prekvapil najmä ohromný počet textov, ktoré sa dotýkajú genézy a evolúcie šľachty na Slovensku a v Chorvátsku. Hoci nemožno povedať, že problematiku vyčerpávajú, je pozoruhodné, že poukazujú na isté, nie zanedbateľné paralely, ktoré možno v oboch teritóriách bývalého Uhorského kráľovstva na základe uvedených analýz pozitívne doložiť. I napriek tomu, že táto vec si zaslúži ešte hlbšie štúdie, môžeme už dnes konštatovať, či už išlo o nižšiu šľachtu vrátane kolektívne privilegovaných komunít ako napríklad Malá Stolica (*Sedes decem lanceatorum*) na Spiši, či o šľachticov zo Záhrebského poľa (*Campus Zagrebiensis*), o strednú i vysokú šľachtu, ktorá mala svoju majetkovú bázu tak na území dnešného Slovenska, ako aj v krajinách Chorvátskeho kráľovstva, že je evidentné, že tu nejde o náhodnú historickú eventualitu, ale o dlhodobý proces. Jeho ozajstné vnútorné zákonitosti odhalí v plnej miere až komplexný budúci výskum. Taktiež je zaujímavé aj konštatovanie o vzájomnej prepletenosti cirkevnej štruktúry Slovenska a Chorvátska, špeciálne však Slavónska, na ktorú poukazuje napríklad kult nitrianskych svätcov – svätého Svorada a Benedikta v Záhrebe už v 12. storočí, spoločný kult svätého Ladislava kráľa vrátane jeho obrazových výjavov, či existencia paralelných cirkevných(?) štruktúr tvorených prepoštstvom a rôznymi cirkevnými rádmi (na počiatku najmä cistercitmi). Zaiste sa to nemohlo udiať bez vzájomného ľudského prepojenia, ako na to koniec-koncov poukazuje už prvý záhrebský biskup známy podľa mena – Duch, ktorý nastúpil do Záhrebu z Nitry. Podobne veľmi prekvapujúce sú však aj iné objavy, ktoré vyplynuli z publikovaných textov. Nezanedbateľná je napríklad v doterajšej historiografii do istej miery neverbalizovaná kontinuita medzi údelom potenciálneho následníka trónu na Slovensku (pôvodne v Nitre, neskôr na Spiši, Šariši a Liptove) a v Chorvátsku. Veľmi konzekventne tento objav ilustruje aj umenovedná časť, v ktorej významní slovenskí a chorvátski kunsthistorici dokladajú túto tézu celým radom architektonických a iných umeleckých artefaktov.

V relatívne menšom počte sú zastúpené príspevky s cirkevnou tematikou. Osobným prekvapením bolo pre nás aj slabšie obsadenie tém s novovekou problematikou. Nie azda preto, že by nebolo o čom písať, práve naopak, ale preto, že výskumy v tejto oblasti sú stále ešte na počiatku. Spomeňme za všetky témy napríklad problematiku pôsobenia jezuitov či františkánov na Slovensku a v Chorvátsku, používanie miestnych jazykov v rekatolizačnej praxi po tridentskom koncile, ale tiež fenomén novolatinizmu. V konečnom dôsledku je veľmi pozitívnym faktom, že si v rámci našej konferencie historici ujasnili to, čo vlastne nevedia. Zistené chýbajúce skutočnosti pomôžu nasmerovať budúci výskum nielen slovenskej a chorvátskej historiografie. Definovanie „bielych miest" v našich spoločných dejinách preto treba chápať aj ako progresívny jav. Dobre položené otázky nás totiž v našom poznaní neúprosne posúvajú o krôčik ďalej. Téma spoločnej koexistencie Slovákov a Chorvátov v kráľovskom Uhorsku, ktoré bolo na rozdiel od Sedmohradska lojálne dvoru viedenských Habsburgovcov v čase, keď územie dnešného Maďarska bolo súčasťou Osmanskej ríše, je totiž nepochybne jedným z období, ktoré prispeli k zintenzívneniu kontaktov oboch našich národov. V tejto súvislosti zostáva otvorená napríklad aj otázka úlohy vysokej chorvátskej šľachty z viedenských dvorských kruhov pri šírení kultúrnej západnej slovenčiny (takzvaný jezuitský úzus slovenského jazyka) na území priamo kontrolovanom Habsburgovcami. Nuž a významnou kapitolou v uvedenej problematike zostanú dejiny významnejších etnických posunov. Tými zaiste boli novoveké osídlenie Chorvátov na západnom Slovensku, či prvé presuny Slovákov do Chorvátska



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v časoch úspešných protitureckých kampaní okolo polovice 18. storočia.

Ako je z uvedeného jasné, naša publikácia nielen sumarizuje doterajšie poznatky o slovensko-chorvátskych vzťahoch v stredoveku a novoveku, ale, a to najmä, otvára široký priestor na budúci systematický výskum. Až tento, ako sa domnievame, bude v stave odpovedať uspokojivo na aktuálne nastolené otázky. V tejto súvislosti je pre nás viac ako radostné konštatovanie, aj napriek celkovej fragmentárnosti výsledkov nášho aktuálneho projektu, že samotný projekt vyvolal živý záujem odbornej, ale aj laickej verejnosti tak na slovenskej, ako aj na chorvátskej strane. Je pritom dôležité zdôrazniť, že práve tento záujem nám pomohol aj v praktickej rovine realizácie našej práce. Nebyť totiž jednotlivých dobrodincov a praktických sympatizantov, rovnako ako aj rôznych grantových agentúr, neboli by výsledky nášho úsilia nikdy uzreli svetlo toho sveta.

Na prvom mieste sa nám patrí preto poďakovať reprezentantom Medzinárodného vyšehradského fondu (International Visegrad Fund); Ministerstva školstva, vedy, výskumu a športu Slovenskej republiky a Ministerstva kultúry Slovenskej republiky. Konkrétne ide o nasledujúce granty: IVF štandardný grant IVF 21020074 – „Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)“, Ministerstvo školstva SR „Tvorcovia slovenských dejín“ (Vega 1/0245/10). Projekt bol tiež realizovaný s finančnou podporou Ministerstva kultúry SR ako „Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)“, a to v rámci Podprogramu 4.5 – Literatúra a knižná kultúra, oblasť 4.5.4 –Vydávanie pôvodnej a prekladovej umenovednej a spoločenskovednej literatúry.

Vydanie knihy na našu radosť podporili aj súkromné osoby, ktorým by sme touto cestou chceli poďakovať. Ide o pána Jána Čarnogurského, ktorý ako jeden z prvých pochopil historický a kultúrny význam našej iniciatívy. Ďalej musíme spomenúť pána Tomáša Malatinského, ako aj pána Mareka Ihnaťa.

Náš projekt by však bol celkom nemysliteľný bez mentálnej podpory ďalších priaznivcov. Na prvom mieste by sme radi uviedli pani Dagmar Hupkovú a pani Martinu Stiffelovú. Naša vďaka tiež patrí aj vysokým predstaviteľom našej Alma Mater – rektorovi Karolovi Mičietovi a dekanovi Jaroslavovi Šušolovi za všetku ich ochotu a pomoc, najmä pokiaľ šlo o poskytnutie reprezentatívnych priestorov Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave, ale tiež ich radám, ktoré nám počas realizácie projektu udelili. V neposlednom rade chceme svoju vďačnosť preukázať aj reprezentantom Veľvyslanectva Chorvátskej republiky v Bratislave, veľvyslancom Tomislavovi Carovi a Jakšovi Muljačićovi za pomoc pri prezentovaní našich prác.

Každý podobný projekt však musí mať za sebou kvalitný tím ľudí, ktorý je v stave ho realizovať. Preto tiež musíme poďakovať nášmu grafikovi, pánovi Matúšovi Brillovi. Ďalej našim doktorom a doktorandom a spolupracovníkom. Paniam Stanislave Kuzmovej a Veronike Kucharskej za dozor nad jazykovou úrovňou publikovaných textov. Pánovi Adamovi Mesiarkinovi za nevyhnutnú apretáciu poznámkového aparátu našich prispievateľov. Tiež by sme radi poďakovali aj nášmu nemeckému lektorovi pánovi Robinovi Volkmarovi, našim odborným lektorom pánom Jozefovi Baďurikovi a Vladimírovi Rábikovi, ako aj všetkým tým, ktorí sa v tej, či onej forme podieľali na vzniku tejto kolektívnej monografie.



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MARTIN HOMZA*

# Introduction

When I was given a topic on the relations between medieval Spiš and Little Poland for a seminar paper many, many years ago by Professor Matúš Kučera, I had no idea what impact my future research on this theme might have. During the long time that I was investigating anything which was connected to medieval Slovakia and its relations with Poland – because it was the territory of present Slovakia that most medieval contacts with Poland passed through – I moved inconspicuously but all the more smoothly towards the relations of medieval Slovakia with Kievan Rus'. From there my interest rather naturally led me more and more often to the Balkans. Even today it may still seem slightly unusual to some; after all, what do western Rus', southern Poland, Slovakia, and the Balkans have in common? Surprisingly – a great deal. This is how I started to discover something which fascinated me for many years to come. I gave it a working title "The foreign policy of the kings of the Arpadian dynasty" and in 1996 I started to teach a course with this title as a seminar at our Department of Slovak history of the Faculty of Philosophy in Bratislava. The inner lines of force of the country which was first called the Pannonian Kingdom and later, until 1918, the Hungarian Kingdom, *Regnum Hungariae*, started to appear in front of me increasingly clearly. Surely, it has always been beyond the possibilities of one man to describe all these links drawn by its rulers and by their political ambitions, but also by the country's inhabitants (in the full range of its spectrum), by their religion, spiritual and material culture, economic (and other) interests. No doubt, the ambition to intellectually grasp and understand all of this led to the start of this project.

It is clear to everybody that the medieval Hungarian Kingdom did not come into being out of nowhere, all of a sudden. Its genesis was, as it were, predestined by the geopolitical logic formed together by the Carpathians and the Danube. The ridges of the Carpathians frame the Carpathian Basin from Bratislava in Slovakia to the town Vršac in present-day Serbia. The river Danube with its tributaries covers the same part of Europe. Already the Romans, and after them other political units, which after the withdrawal of Rome to the lower Danube started to grow like mushrooms after the rain, noticed this inexorable logic. I will mention only the most successful ones – the Avar kaganate, which lasted from the sixth to the eighth centuries, and the *Regnum Sclavorom* – the Kingdom of the Slavs of Svätopluk I from the Great Moravian lineage of Mojmirids – in the last decades of the ninth century. During the first three centuries of its existence, however, the Hungarian Kingdom not only exceeded the maximum range of the Great Moravian Empire but also the abovementioned geopolitical location with its boundaries. Already Svätopluk I almost certainly crossed the ridges of the Carpathians in the north in order to seize the Vistula region and the territory of the Lendians (Ledzanie), as he needed to gain control of the strategic part of the great continental route leading from Baghdad, in some cases even from distant China, to Spanish Córdoba. This ruler never crossed the Drava river though. Two hundred years after him only, another king, Ladislas I, seems to have ventured on this when he joined Croatia and a part of Dalmatia, together with Slavonia, to the Hungarian Kingdom with the strength of his arm. It is well-known from later history that this annexation was legitimized only later, by his successor Coloman the Bookworm together with the elites of the Croatian Kingdom, who became the first Croatian king not only *de facto* but also *de iure*. Various studies address the questions of how this was done, why and how this happened and how come this political arrangement lasted as long as 800 years; therefore, there is no sense discussing it in the introduction to our volume. It is beyond question, however, that thanks to this the Slovaks found themselves, besides the Hungarians and the Romanians, later Serbians and Ruthenians, in one country together with the Croatians. It could not stay without consequences for the course of our history, and its impact is visible to the present.

Thus, the idea to embark on an international project of this type did not originate, like it could seem at first sight, by chance, and not at all spontaneously. It resulted from the already existing historical knowledge, which our team of authors

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presented, for example, in some theses of the volume *Historia Scepusii*: *Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526* ("The History of Spiš until 1526"). This knowledge, however, was soon to be translated from the theoretical level to the practical one. It should be said at this point that the Department of Slovak History organizes historical excursions to former countries of the Hungarian Kingdom every year. Naturally, Croatia had to be one of its destinations too. The excursion took place at the end of April 2009. Our students were joined by the students of medieval studies from Zagreb led by Professor Neven Budak. The aim of the field trip was to compare the oldest political, ecclesiastical, and economic structures of Slavonia and Slovakia as two frontier regions under the Arpadians. The results were so surprising that in Zagreb we decided with Professor Neven Budak to organize an international conference which would summarize our current knowledge on this topic.

The event became a reality from 20 to 24 June 2011 in Bratislava and Levoča. The conference had the following title: *Slovensko a Chorvátsko: Historické paralely a vzťahy (do roku 1780) – Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*. More than 50 scholars from Slovakia, Croatia, Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Serbia took part in the conference. The papers presented at the meeting became the basis for the publication of this volume.

Now we will try to summarize the results of this event in several points. First of all, the organizers were surprised by the great interest in the topics touching upon the Slovak-Croatian relations in the Middle Ages and the modern era. The distribution of particular thematic areas is also noteworthy. Besides general chapters devoted to the issues of ethnogenesis of our two nations, historiographic, hagiographic, and other issues, we were surprised especially by the high number of texts dealing with the origin and evolution of the nobility in Slovakia and in Croatia. Although we cannot say that they have exhausted the topic, the papers notably point at certain significant parallels which are positively demonstrated in both territories of the former Hungarian Kingdom in the mentioned analyses. Although this issue deserves further deeper studies, we can say already now that – be it lesser nobility, including the communities with collective privileges such as the "Small County" (*Parvus comitatus* or *Sedes decem lanceatorum*) in Spiš and the noblemen from the Zagreb field (*Campus Zagrebiensis*), or the middle and high nobility, who had their property basis at the territory of present-day Slovakia and in the countries of the Croatian Kingdom – we clearly have to do here with no accidental historical eventuality but with a long-term process. Only future complex research will reveal its actual inner patterns in full. Interestingly, we can also observe that the ecclesiastical structures in Slovakia and in Croatia, especially Slavonia, are mutually intertwined. The following examples point to this thesis: the cult of the saints of Nitra, Sts. Zoerard and Benedict, in Zagreb already in the twelfth century, the common cult of the holy king Ladislas, including visual representations, and the existence of parallel structures like prepository and various religious orders (at the beginning mainly Cistercians). It could not happen without mutual human connections, which is, after all, demonstrated already by the first bishop of Zagreb known by his name – *Duch*, who came to Zagreb from Nitra. Similarly, other surprising discoveries have emerged from the published texts. For example, we have to mention the continuity between the duchy in Slovakia (originally in Nitra, then in Spiš, Šariš and Liptov) traditionally granted to the potential successor to the throne and the one in Croatia, which has not been verbalized in historiography until now in some respects. This discovery is clearly illustrated in the section on Art History, in which important Slovak and Croatian art historians provide a whole range of architectural and other artefacts as the evidence for this thesis.

Ecclesiastical topics are represented by a relatively small number of papers. Personally, we were surprised by the rather weak representation of topics relating to the modern era: not perhaps because there would be nothing to write about – on the contrary; but because the research in this area is still at its outset. Among these topics, let us mention the activities of the Jesuits and Franciscans in Slovakia and in Croatia, the use of local languages in the Recatholicization practice after the Council of Trent, and also the phenomenon of Neolatinism. In the end, the clarification of what are the issues that we do not know is also a very positive result of our conference, which will help to direct future research in not only Slovak but also in Croatian historiography. Therefore, identification of the gaps in our knowledge of our common history should be understood as a positive phenomenon. Well-formulated questions move us a little step forward in our knowledge. The topic of the coexistence of Slovaks and Croatians in Royal Hungary, which unlike Transylvania was loyal to the Vienna Habsburg court at the time when the territory of present-day Hungary was part of the



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Ottoman Empire, was undoubtedly one of the periods which contributed to the intensification of contacts between our two nations. In connection to this, for example, the role of the Croatian high nobility at the Viennese court in the spread of the cultural language of western Slovakia (so-called Jesuit usage of the Slovak language) in the area directly controlled by the Habsburgs remains an open issue. The history of major ethnic shifts will remain an important chapter in the mentioned thematic area. The settlement of Croatians in western Slovakia in the early modern era and the first transfers of Slovaks to Croatia in the times of successful anti-Turkish campaigns around the middle of the eighteenth century are surely part of the same topic.

We have made it clear that our volume not only summarizes the previous knowledge about Slovak-Croatian relations in the Middle Ages and modern era, but also, most importantly, opens a whole new area for future systematic research. We believe that only such enquiry will be able to satisfactorily answer the questions posed now. We are more than happy to observe in this connection that despite the general fragmentation of its results, our present project aroused keen interest on both the Slovak and Croatian side, among both the professional and general public. At the same time, it is important to state that precisely this interest helped us with the practical side of implementation of our work. Had it not been for individual benefactors and practical supporters, and also various grant agencies, the fruit of our efforts would never have seen the light of day.

In the first place, therefore, we want to thank the representatives of the International Visegrad Fund, the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic, and the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. It concerns these particular grants: IVF standard grant IVF 21020074 – "Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)," the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic "Tvorcovia slovenských dejín" (The makers of Slovak history) (Vega 1/0245/10). The project was realized also thanks to the financial support of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic under the title "Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)," in the framework of the Programme 4.5 – Literatúra a knižná kultúra (Literature and Book Culture), area 4.5.4 – Vydávanie pôvodnej a prekladovej umenovednej a spoločenskovednej literatúry (Publication of Original and Translated Literature in Art History and Social Sciences).

We are glad that the publication of the book was also supported by individuals to whom we would like to thank at this place: Ján Čarnogurský, who was among the first to understand the historical and cultural significance of our initiative; then Tomáš Malatinský and also Marek Ihnaťo.

Our project would have been entirely unthinkable without the moral support of those who sympathize with our aims. In the first place we would like to name Dagmar Hupková and Martina Stiffelová. Our thanks belongs also to high representatives of our *Alma Mater* – Rector Karol Mičieta and Dean Jaroslav Šušol for all their willingness and help, especially for providing the representative premises of Comenius University and also for the advice they offered to us during the project. Last but not least, we want to extend our gratitude also to the representatives of the Embassy of the Croatian Republic in Bratislava – Ambassadors Tomislav Car and Jakša Muljačić for their help with the presentation of our work.

Behind every similar project is a quality team of people who are able to accomplish it. Thus we are also grateful to our graphic editor, Matúš Brilla, then to our doctors and doctoral students and colleagues: to Stanislava Kuzmová and Veronika Kucharská for overseeing the language side of the published texts; to Adam Mesiarkin for the necessary editing of our contributors' footnotes. We would also like to thank our German proofreader, Robin Volkmar, our scientific reviewers, Jozef Baďurík and Vladimír Rábik, and to all others who in one form or another participated in the creation of this collective monograph.



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# ETHNOGENESIS, HISTORIOGRAPHY, HAGIOGRAPHY

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ADAM MESIARKIN*

# The Basis of Research into Croatian and Slovak Ethnogenesis**

## Základy pre výskum chorvátskej a slovenskej etnogenézy / Pristupi istraživanju hrvatske i slovačke etnogeneze

*In this paper I would like to present the methodological approaches which are currently used within research into early medieval ethnicity. Previously, the focus was on criteria such as material culture or a common language of the special group. However, the emphasis has shifted from objective categories to the mental level. We know that the ethno-social units were created situationally, in various different circumstances, and not by means of an inherited biological code. Early medieval ethnicities survived thanks to the common myths which stood behind the existence and appearance of the group. The warrior class, being the political elite as well, represented the compound of historical memory, symbols, and collectively directed emotions. I will try to apply the theories of ethnogenesis using the example of the names "Slovak" and "Croat", as well as to present the most widespread opinions with regard to this topic from the perspective of various scientific disciplines.*

Keywords: early Middle Ages, ethnogenesis, tradition, myths, memory, Croats, Slovaks

Within the research of ethnogenesis the emphasis has always been on the localization and chronologization, while the whole process has often been neglected. Where the written sources speak weakly about the roots of the ethnic group, the scholars traditionally turn to archeology and linguistic science. Another problem is to see the beginning or the dawn of an ethnic group or a nation in biological categories: it was born, it lives and today's bearers of its name are its direct consanguineous descendants. These views are present in Slovak historical science, where the effort to push the roots of the nation as far as possible into the past still lasts.

We know how difficult it is to connect an archeological culture with a particular ethnic group. One archeological culture can represent more groups, the culture can change with migrations, can be inspired by other cultural enviroments, and we know that the culture does not have to reflect the real material culture of the whole group or tribe: "*Changes in material culture do not have to mean the change or migrations of population, they can be caused by progress or regress of the whole standard of living, which are liable to internal and external factors.*"[1] Traditionally, from Tacitus or Isidore of Seville, language is used as the strongest distinguishing method. Isidore, as a scholar of his epoch, saw the birth of the nations under the Babylonian tower because until that time the nations had had one language. The nations start to differ when they start to have their languages, because for Isidore the nations emerge from languages. He shows the controversy of this approach by himself in the next (previsou, earlier) citation where he writes: "*At the beginning, there where as many languages as gentes, and then more* gentes *than languages, because many nations from one language sprang.*"[2] One language within the heterogeneous tribal units could not play the unifying, cementing role. Moreover, in the early Middle Ages language borders did not overlap with political borders, as we know it from many centuries later.

Group that is bound by the knowledge of mutual interconnection (emotional, economical, etc.) is created situationally (revolutionary) thanks to some common mark or feature and thanks to the cultivation of those features. The central mark of

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[1] Mačala, Pavol: *Etnogenéza Slovanov v archeológii.* Košice: Slovo, 1995, p. 59; Siân, Jones: *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present.* London: Routledge, 1997, p. 115; Urbańczyk, Przemysław: Archeologia etniczności – fikcja, czy nadzieja? In: *Archeologia w teorii i praktyce.* Ed.: Andrzej Buko – Przemysław Urbańczyk. Warszawa: PAN, 2000, p. 140.

[2] Isidor ze Sevilly: *Etymologiae*, vol. 9. Trans.: Irena Zachová, notae: Irena Zachová – Hana Šedinová. Praha: Oikoymenh, 1998, p. 17 and than 13.



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the group is its common emotional tie (war, blood, danger), which is formed to common myth and memory. Identity of those groups is not inherited, it is not a biological category of a self-conscious homogenous community. Those groups rise neither in a misty, mythical, and distant past, nor in legendary locations, but at the background of real political contexts.

We can observe common evolutional points for the territories of Slovakia and Croatia. It is the collapse of Roman power on the Danube frontier and its retreat from Illyricum. Mutual birthmark is the political domination of the Avar khaganate and its destruction by the growing Frankish power. The khaganate has shown a special know-how to the warrior groups and created a space for social and ethnic (political) identities. We can mention the case of Kuber from *Miracula Sancti Demetri.* Sixty years after the khagan towed many captives from various regions into Pannonia, they mixed with Avars, Bulgars, and "others" and created a new ethnic group. They had a special consciousness of being different and a sentiment related to the will to return home. "The khagan started to consider them as a different nation and according to tribal custom he chose Kuber for their leader."[3]

Later the expansion of the Frankish Empire to the east brought a new model of social relations and ideological-religious patterns, which created a new environment for the construction of identities within the Carolingian Empire and on its peripheries. Imperial mechanism cooperated with local elites and institutionalized their power through its offices.

The first essential identification character with which these elites work is the name, which is trying to push through in some geographical frame. The second substantial element (often connected with the first) on which the ethnic group stands is the myth. We use the myth as a single term that covers other categories like symbols, memory, and common communication. The myth of a common ancestor, common origin, and fate, as well as enemies or goals. The common selective memory works well and produces emotions and premises. Common communication produces a set of symbols and their interpretation, rituals, feasts, colours, terms, and the feeling of solidarity (at least within the elite).

The creator of the new tribe of Goths collected from various groups, Alaric, was a Roman officer. He was elected king by a group of soldiers around him. He represented the dominant power in region, with contacts, money, and people. He needed a past, a myth. Alaric could choose Athanaric, he was from the House of the Balts. But the Balts became glorious thanks to him. Alaric created the ground for ethnogenetic tradition, he had the myth and a strong sentimental background. This tradition was forming and grew into a new quality in Gaul in the fifth century. Theodoric Amal (accidentally) came from Constantinople just in the right time to finish the ethnogenetical work of the Goths waiting under the domination of the Huns for too long. Walamir surely created a good base with the wars against *Suebi*, *Scirii*, Rugians, and Sarmatians. On the one hand, from warrior groups of the conquered tribes, and, on the other hand, from a good bloody myth which was born during those battles. According to Cassiodorus, a legendary dynasty of Amals has to live somewhere in *Barbaricum.* The Goths were warriors, they accepted the legendary past and after that they started to create their own culture. Athaulf married Galla Placidia, Geiseric tried to marry his son with Eudoxia; both Theodoric Amal and Burgundian Gibichungis were well known for their dynastic policies. These efforts to create succession do not go together with legends of mythical family tree. Leaders of these tribes have more Roman titles for their bloody services than real legendary ancestors.

We can see analogical process in the case of Turkish khagan: "*My father, the khagan, went off with seventeen men… Having gone on campaigns forward and backward, he gathered together and collected men; and they all numbered seven hundred men. After they had numbered seven hundred men, [my father, the khagan] organized and ordered the people who had lost their state and their khagan, the people who had turned slaves and servants, the people who had lost the Turkish institutions, in accordance with the rules of my ancestors.*"[4]

With military might and attractivity he gains followers, who will become the root of a new ethnic group. With the rules of ancestors he obtains legitimacy and politically creates an ethnic group. The key to the unity of a tribe is invincibility,

[3] Cuda św. Dymitra, cap. 2, 5. In: *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian, Seria Grecka, zv. 2, Pisarze z V. – X. w.* Ed.: Barbara Kozłowska. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989, p. 210.

[4] Geary, Patrick J.: Barbarians and Ethnicity. In.: *Interpreting Late Antiquity. Essays on the Postclassical World*. Ed.: Glen Warren Bowerstock – Peter Brown – Oleg Grabar. Cambridge – Massachusetts – London: Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 108.



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which in this case proves the interconnection of the heaven with the person of khagan. It shows to the others that it is worthy. It is the same in the case of Germanic tribes, where much depends on the cleverness, brutality, and nimbleness of the ruling family or basically of the elite that manipulates the myth and the memory of the society. Many a time the elite searches for the proofs of legitimisation through God, gods, and legendary beings just as khagan through the heaven. The Amals, or Merovingians, helped themselves to the divine origin with military might and violence. The combination of myths and symbols together with the operations of military and political elites constitute the ground for the functioning of the ethnic group. Myth-symbol complex as an inception and warriors as bearers and representatives.

It is interesting that the population of the regions of Croatia and Slovakia was in the sources of the era described mainly as Slavs. As we will see, this description in the case of either region did not always have to reflect a literary stereotype of Latin writings.

The name "Croat" appears for the first time in *De administrando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, which would like to describe the events from the times of Emperor Heraclius. It is well known that the name Croat (and Serb as well) appeared in various parts of Slavic speaking world, so it can be a case of a wandering name. The analysis of *De administrando* or the motivation and goals of Constantine's work are not the object of my paper.[5] Trpimir is described as *dux Chroatorum* in a charter from the middle of the ninth century, preserved in a manuscript from the sixteenth century. Its language has the signs of multiple authorship and shows some discrepancies with the political terminology in the era of Trpimir. Therefore, the oldest evidence of Croatian identity remains the title of Branimir, *dux Cruatorum*, found in the basilica in Šopot in Ravni Kotari region, dated to the 880s. The majority of Latin sources use classical literary stereotypes when describing the population of Dalmatia as Dalmatians and Slavs. Majority of them entitles Croats as *Sclavi*. Trpimir is mentioned in the 840s as a *rex Sclavorum*; Mislav, Domagoj, Zdeslav are described as *principes* or *duces Sclavorum* in the writings of John the Deacon. The pope wrote the letters to *comes*, *dux*, or *princeps Sclavorum*[6] until the year 925 and the council in Split, when Tomislav was mentioned as *rex Chroatorum.*

The fact that Constantine Porphyrogenitus did not have to describe the situation from the first half of the seventh century is not important at this moment. It is important that he wrote down a myth, which lived and stood in the centre of the ethnogenesis, of the memory of the elite – which created a political-ethnic group. They maintain the myth of the arrival to the country with a permission of the emperor – for the absolute right for taking the land.[7] In this story they definitely turned away from the past linked to the khaganate, using instead the fight against them, with wandering from far-away (or maybe not so far just North-White Croatia) and with the baptism from the hands of a glorious emperor. The Biblical *topos* of wandering to the Promised Land might have been chosen by Constantine for an easier explanation of the complicated ethnical situation and transformation to his son.

In spite of naming the Croats as Slavs in Latin sources, probably due to their language, Croatian identity was not Slavic. They turned away from the Slavs and Avars in their *origo* and the Slavic identity probably existed beside the Croatian identity. In addition, it is not the subsequent evolutional phase of the development of Illyrian (if there was something like that) identities mixed with Gothic or Slavic identity.[8] It is something new, created at the time of the changes inside the khaganate[9] and the transformations in the orbit of Frankish domination in Europe. In the context of the uprising of Louis/Ljudovit in *Pannonia Inferior* the Frankish annals mention his Frankish ally, Borna, who is *dux Dalmaciae*, or *dux Dalmatiae et Liburniae* and *dux Guduscanorum*. *Dux Dalmatiae et Liburniae* was for the Franks a real term from the late antique political geography, according to which those regions were included into the Friulian mark; and *dux Guduscanorum* could be a name for his ethnopolitical identity. The Croats appear on the scene

[5] We agree with the author in the question of a „general" construction of the mentioned parts of the text of DAI: Borri, Francesco: White Croatia and the arrival of the Croats: an interpretation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the oldest Dalmatian history. In: *Early Medieval Europe*, vol. 19, 2011, pp. 207–210.

[6] Budak, Neven: Identities in Early Medieval Dalmatia. In: *Franks, Northmen and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe.* Ed.: Ildar H. Garizpanov – Patrick J. Geary – Przemysław Urbańczyk. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008, p. 236.

[7] Třeštík, Dušan: Mýty kmene Čechů. Praha: Lidové Noviny, 2008, p. 89.

[8] Mužič, Ivan: Nastajanje hrvatskog naroda na Balkanu. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, a. 35, 2008, nr. 3, p. 31.

[9] Pohl, Walter: Osnove Hrvatske Etnogeneze. In: *Etnogeneza Hrvata.* Ed.: Neven Budak. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1996, p. 95.



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when Borna's family is replaced with Mislav and Trpimir, and the Croats replaced the Guduscans in the control of Dalmatian (and Liburnian) *ducatus* with the Carolingians as nominal rulers.[10]

We hear about the Slavs from the region of present Slovakia for the first time (except a mention by Procopius, which can be interpreted in many ways, and the existence of Samo's Empire) within the last phase of the dying khagante. In the year 805 *kapkan* complained in front of the emperor that he could not stay at his old place because of the attacks of Slavs from the neighbourhood of the Danube. The emperor therefore sent an army to the Pannonias (!) in order to end the conflicts between Avars and Slavs in 811. After this military intervention, the *primores ac duces Sclavorum* had to get to the emperor in Aachen. Just few years later, in 828, the archbishop of Salzburg, Adalram, consecrated the first church in Pribina's domain in the Principality of Nitra, in *Nitrava ultra Danubium*. The Principality of Nitra but mainly Great Moravia and its tradition stand in the center of the ethnic myth of the Slovaks; for example, it found its way to the preamble of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. The name of those who lived in Great Moravia has more forms in contemporary Frankish sources. Rastislas is *rex Margorum*, his land is *regnum Margorum*.[11] He is also *regulus Winidorum*.[12] Svatopluk appears in sources as *dux Maravorum gentis*,[13] or *rex Marorum*. Comparably, they are recorded as *rex*, or *dux Sclavorum* (sometimes specified as Moravian Slavs) and the population is described as Slavs.[14]

The exact form of the name "Slovak" does not appear until the fourteenth century. In Latin sources the name was simply *Slavus*/*Sclavus* or *Slavi*/*Sclavi*.[15] The terms "Slav" and "Slovak" (in Slovak language "Slovan" and "Slovák") acted or were used like synonyms until the eighteenth century. For example, in Polish and Czech literature of the sixteenth and eighteenth century, the name "Slovak" serves in larger sense, same as the name "Slav".[16] The name *Slovak* is a shorter derivation of the description *Slovjenin*, *Slovän*, in English "Slav". This original form (*Slovienin*, *Slovän)* has been preserved in a female form *Slovenka*, as well as in the adjective *slovenský*, or in the name of the country *Slovensko*.[17] We can say that in this sense the Slovak identity is Slavic. Some tribes took or kept the name of a small *gens* which we know from the Byzantine sources from the sixth century. Others became Slavs because they were described like Slavs from the outside, or thanks to later fate of the mission of Constantine and Methodius.[18] There is one text which possibly reflects the ethnic memory of the population of Moravia and it could probably lighten up why the population used the name Slav for a long time. It found its way into the chronicle of monk Nestor from Kiev Monastery of the Caves, through a part called *Skazanie o preloženii knig na slavjanskij jazyk* (*Tale about the Translation of the Books into Slavic Language*), which according to some specialists was written in Pannonia. It speaks about the homeland of the Slavs on the Danube river: "*There was one Slavic language: Slavs who sat on Danube*",[19] it speaks about their dispersion and adoption of new names from the lands where they settled down. Nestor uses their new names in his descriptions of various tribes. For example, he speaks about the leaders of Drevlyans, or the land of Polans. He always uses the regional names except the cases when the groups called themselves simply as Slavs. When he writes about the Hungarian "arrival", he always mentions Slavic dukes, or Slavic land. In the letter to Emperor Michael III, Svatopluk and Rastislav speak for themselves: "*We, the Slavs* (from Moravia, Nitra, Balaton principality), *we are simple*

[10] Dzino, Danijel: *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*. Leiden: Brill, 2010, p. 189.
[11] Annales Xantenses. In: *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici* (deinde *MMFH*), vol. 1. Ed.: Lubomír Havlík. Praha – Brno: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1966, p. 66.
[12] Annales Bertiniani. In: *MMFH* 1, p. 74.
[13] Annales Fuldenses. In: Ibidem, p. 112.
[14] *Annalista Saxo, Reginonis Chronicon, Sigiberti Gemblacensis Chronica, Cosmae Chronica…*
[15] Múcska, Vincent: Uwagi na temat etnogenezy Słowaków. In: *Wędrówka i etnogeneza w starożytności i w średniowieczu*. Red.: Maciej Salamon – Jerzy Strzelczyk. Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2010, p. 350.
[16] E. g. Hieronim Spiczyński in *O ziołach tutejszych i zamorskich i mocy ich* (1556), in Czech translation of Bible of Kralice (1579–1593), in Dictionary of Linde by the entry "Slav" (1812). Cfr. Otrębski, Jan: *Słowianie. Rozwiązanie odwiecznej zagadki ich nazw*. Poznań: Księgarnia Ziem Zachodnich, 1947, pp. 66–67.
[17] Stanislav, Ján: Slovienin – Slovan – Slovák – Tót. In: *Etnogenéza Slovákov*. Red.: Richard Marsina – Peter Mulík. Martin: Matica Slovenská, 2009, p. 120; Avenarius, Alexander: Začiatky Slovanov na strednom Dunaji: Autochtonistická teória vo svetle súčasneho bádania. In: *Historický časopis*, a. 40, 1992, nr. 4, passim.
[18] Homza Martin: Niekoľko téz k počiatkom slovenského etnika. In: Marin Homza – Naďa Rácová. *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2010, pp. 9–21.
[19] *Najstarsza kronika kyjowska*: *Powieść minionych lat.* Trans.: Franciszek Sielicki. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2005, p. 5.



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*people*." The Hungarian Anonymous described the defeated group in Nitra as *Sclaui Nytrienses*.[20]

In the region of the Principality of Nitra a new special identity started to emerge, probably thanks to its territorial peculiarity (namely within the mountains of the Tatras, the Little Carpathians, and the Slanské mountains, and between the Danube and the Tisza rivers), distinct liturgy and thanks to some sort of autonomy within Great Moravia and later within the borders of the Hungarian Kingdom. This distinction maybe stood behind the break-up of Great Moravia, when in 902 the Moravians chose the Bavarian side, while the Nitrans selected the Hungarians as allies.[21] The Principality of Nitra had its special position within the frame of the Hungarian Kingdom until the year 1108. Thanks to the confrontation with other, different ethnic group, the ethnic Slavic identity persevered. The stories of Svatopluk, which complete the Great-Moravian tradition, have had a special place in the ethnic myth of Slovaks. His tradition appears in two main images – in a negative and a positive one. Nevertheless, the oldest Hungarian historiography tried either not to mention him, or to contaminate him with other persons. But those efforts were counter-productive and they rather affirm the strong position of Svatopluk's myth in the elite circles and in oral tradition as well.

Neither the exact localization, nor close dating of the beginnings of those ethnic groups were the aims of my paper. I just wanted to show that the approach to the ethnogenesis of Slovaks and Croats is no longer on the level of the nineteenth century. Ethnic groups were created at the background of complicated and colourful political and social conditions. Some of them are similar in these two cases. The transformation of the system of relations within the khaganate (and on its periphery) and later within the Carolingian Empire have given the opportunity for ethno-political units to strengthen their position against the others in the region. The material back-up and the more advanced organization of the region were the assistant factors. These ethnic names survived to this day thanks to the power of their myth and name. In the case of the Croats it is the arrival to Dalmatia with the permission of the glorious emperor and in the case of Slovaks it is the Slavic tradition of Great Moravia with king Svatopluk.

[20] P. Magistri Gesta Hungarorum, 36. In: *MMFH* 1, p. 227.
[21] Homza, Martin – Rácová, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*, p. 18.



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HRVOJE GRAČANIN*

# Ethnicity and Migrations in the Late Antique and Early Medieval Middle Danube Region: Examples Linking the Areas of Modern Croatia and Slovakia

## Etnicita a migrácia v neskorom staroveku a včasnom stredoveku. Povodie stredného Dunaja. Príklady spájajúce oblasti súčasného Chorvátska a Slovenska / Etnicitet i migracije u srednjem Podunavlju u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjem vijeku. Primjeri koji povezuju današnje hrvatsko i slovačko područje

*This brief paper endeavours to give an outline of complex processes of ethnic changes and ethnogenesis, i.e. identity formation, in the late antique and early medieval middle Danube region from the late fourth until the late ninth century A.D. with special regard to the areas of modern Croatia and Slovakia, that is to say, more precisely, the areas of northern Croatia and western Slovakia. Chronologically, the paper will be centered around more or less distinct periods: 1) the movements of various ethnic groups in the late fourth and early fifth centuries; 2) the time of Hunnic domination; 3) the period of Germanic "polities" in the Carpathian Basin; 4) the arrival of the Avars and establishment of the Slavic populations; 5) the situation under Avar domination; 6) the creation of new political realities in the ninth century. The question of ethnic changes and ethnogenesis, i.e. identity formation, in the transitional period between Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages is in itself a very intricate one, still more so for the middle Danube area, given the conspicuous lack, for the most part and especially for the early Middle Ages, of written sources and due to the interpretatively inconclusive archaeological evidence (or not conclusive enough). The study aspires to illustrate differences and similarities in historical patterns between both areas.*

Keywords: late antiquity, early Middle Ages, barbarians, migrations, ethnicity, Pannonia.

The territories of modern northern Croatia and western Slovakia entered Late Antiquity in fundamentally different circumstances. Whereas the northern Croatian area, roughly encompassing the provinces of *Pannonia Savia* and *Pannonia Secunda*, was fully incorporated into the Late Roman administrative and economic system, the area of western Slovakia existed outside the *orbis Romanus*, albeit not totally devoid of Roman presence: there was a *castellum* Gerulata, which existed from the first to the fourth century A.D. and whose remains are located in today's Rusovce in Bratislava, and another *castellum* Celemantia on the left bank of the Danube, at the village of Iža to the east of Komárno, opposite Brigetio (Szőny), which was operational until the late fourth century A.D. The latter fort was one of the so-called counter-fortresses, military strongholds that the Romans had a habit, strategically and tactically very sound one, of establishing on the soil of *Barbaricum* along their northern borders as forward defensive outposts (bridgeheads). There were presumably more such military installations on the territory of modern south-western Slovakia along the northern bank of the Danube, as the example of Devín shows, where there was a counter-fortress of Carnuntum (Petronell-Carnuntum / Bad Deutsch-Altenburg).[1]

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[1] Barkóczi, László: History of Pannonia. In: *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*. Ed.: Alfonz Lengyel – George T. B. Radan. Lexington – Budapest: Kentucky UP – Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980, p. 103; Fitz, Jenő: Administration and army. In: Ibidem, p. 132; Fülep, Ferenc: Pannonia research in Hungary. In: Ibidem, p. 35; Soproni, Sándor: Limes. In: Ibidem, pp. 220–221, 223; Thomas, Edit: Religion. In: Ibidem, pp. 200–201. Cfr. also Kolnik, Titus: Römische Stationen im slowakischen Abschnitt des nordpannonischen Limesvorlandes. In: *Archeologické rozhledy*, a. 38, 1986, pp. 411–434, 467–472; Kraskovská, Ľudmila: *Gerulata-Rusovce. Rímske pohrebisko I. Fontes Archeologického ústavu Slovenského národného múzea v Bratislave*, vol. 2. Martin: Vydavateľstvo Osveta, 1974, pp. 165–166; Pieta, Karol – Plachá, Veronika: Die ersten Römer im nördlichen



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The closing decades of the fourth century brought new developments in the wider region of the Carpathian Basin that were marked by the advance of the Huns. Their arrival in the East-Central Europe directly influenced the ethnic shifts in the middle Danube region. Many ethnic groups were forced either to submit to the new overlords or flee from them to the Roman soil. These movements affected the Roman provinces along the Danube. In the late 370s and the early 380s, the southern and eastern Pannonian areas came under the pressure from the so-called tripartite group of peoples (the Ostrogoths, the Alans, and the Huns) who were part of the refugee wave that, crossed the Danube and settled in Thrace in 376, after the Gothic kingdoms collapsed due to the Hunnic onslaught, but then rose in rebellion against the Roman authorities in 377 and inflicted a heavy defeat upon the Romans at Adrianople in 378. Devastating raids of the tripartite group of peoples against Pannonia contributed substantially to depopulation processes, but stopped after they were settled as federates along the *limes* in Pannonia. The influx of the new ethnic groups, detectable to some extent in the archaeological finds which show arguably less-Romanized material culture, affected additionally the ethnic composition of the provincial population and enabled its further barbarization. Their presence was always felt as a potential source of instability and from the second half of the 390s crisis practically never ceased to exist in the middle Danube area. Probably in 395, the federates rebelled following the example of the Visigoths under their new leader Alaric.[2]

Simultaneously, the area of south-western and southern Slovakia experienced the movements of peoples when the Marcomanni, the Quadi, and the Vandals, along with the Sarmatians, crossed the Danube into the northern Pannonia and ravaged the area probably in 395.[3] They might have been provoked into the action by Alaric's rebellion and presumably a similar stir among the Pannonian federates who, as it seems, failed to check the raiders. The situation was resolved a couple of years later, around 397, when the general Stilicho made a treaty with the Marcomanni who were settled in *Pannonia Prima*. Only in 399 Stilicho managed to pacify the middle Danube area, but the peace did not last for long.[4]

New disturbances followed for Pannonia after Alaric and his Visigoths passed through the Sava-Drava-Danube region in 401, meeting no resistance, and invaded Italy, affecting also the unity of the federate Ostrogothic-Alanic-Hunnic group by triggering their separation. Alaric retreated from Italy in 402, and again passed through southern Pannonia. However, in the late 405, a barbarian multitude led by Radagaisus crossed the Danube into the northern Pannonia and by the spring of 406 invaded Italy. They moved through the area of southern Slovakia, pushing forward other peoples who, on the last day of 406, crossed the Middle Rhine and invaded Gaul (primarily the Vandals, the Alans, and the Suevi). This new migrational impetus was initiated by the Huns who already approached the middle Danube area by then. Finally, in the spring of 408, Alaric again moved through the Sava – Drava – Danube region and, in the early autumn, made a renewed attack

Mitteldonauraum im Lichte neuer Grabungen in Devín. In: *Germanen beiderseits des spätantiken Limes. Materialien des X. Internationalen Symposiums „Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im nördlichen Mitteldonaugebiet", Xanten 2.–6. Dez.* 1997. Ed.: Jaroslav Tejral – Thomas Fischer – Gundolf Precht. Köln – Brno: Archäologisches Institut der Universität in Köln – Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 1999, pp. 179–205; Pieta, Karol – Plachá, Veronika: Die Römerzeitliche Besiedlung von Bratislava – Devín. In: *Archeologické rozhledy*, a. 38, 1986, pp. 339–357; Schmidtová, Jaroslava: Die vorrömische und frührömische Besiedlung von Gerulata. In: *Legionsadler und Druidenstab. Vom Legionslager zur Donaumetropole. Textband.* Katalog zur Sonderausstellung aus Anlass des Jubiläums 2000 Jahre Carnuntum. Ed.: Franz Humer. Bad Deutsch-Altenburg: Archäologisches Museum Carnuntinum, 2006, pp. 133–137; Visy, Zsolt: *Der pannonische Limes in Ungarn*. Budapest: Corvina, 1988, pp. 40–41.

[2] For details cfr. Gračanin, Hrvoje: The Huns and South Pannonia. In: *Byzantinoslavica*, a. 64, 2006, pp. 29–39. On archaeological finds and their interpretation, see Sopron, Sándor: *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes*. München: C. H. Beck, 1985, pp. 91–93 with Salamon, Ágnes – Barkóczi, László: Pannonien in nachvalentinianischer Zeit (376–476). Ein Versuch zur Periodisation. In: *Severin zwischen Römerzeit und Völkerwanderung.* Katalog der Ausstellung Enns. Ed.: Dietmar Straub. Linz: Oberösterreichischer Landesverl., 1982, p. 159, 162 and studies in *Germanen am Plattensee.* Ausstellung des Balatoni Museums Keszthely im Museum für Frühgeschichte des Landes Niederösterreich. Ed.: Rober Müller – Peter Straub. Traismauer: NŐ Landesmuseums, 2002, along with cautionary remarks by Tejral, Jaroslav: Zur Chronologie der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit im mittleren Donauraum. In: *Archaeologia Austriaca*, a. 72, 1988, pp. 252–253.

[3] Cfr. Gračanin, Hrvoje: *The Huns and South Pannonia*, pp. 39–40. For the location of Marcomannic, Quadic and Vandalic groups on the middle Danube in the late fourth and early fifth centuries vis-à-vis modern Slovakia's territory, cfr. Lotter, Friedrich: *Völkerverschiebungen im Ostalpen-Mitteldonau-Raum zwischen Antike und Mittelalter (375–600).* Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 2003, p. 90, 92, pp. 99–100.

[4] For details cfr. Gračanin, Hrvoje: *The Huns and South Pannonia*, pp. 40–41.



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against Italy, bringing about the final disintegration of the Pannonian federates.[5]

These raids and movements caused depopulation processes among the provincial population and shifting of various ethnic groups, but some still remained in their old areas. By the 430s they all had to submit to the Huns who effectively became the masters of the middle Danube area after the Romans ceded the control over the majority of Pannonian provinces to them. The Huns completed the occupation of these areas in 441 following the capture of Sirmium. The Hunnic dominance in the middle Danube area was marked by the final breakdown of the Roman administrative system in Pannonia as well as by opening the gate for the Germanic peoples to become new power-players in the region after the collapse of the Hunnic empire in the mid-450s.[6]

After the disappearance of the Hunnic superpower, the Germanic peoples were left as the true winners, regardless of whether they supported the Huns or rebelled against them in the conflict that arose after the death of the Hunnic king Attila in 453 and climaxed in the battle at the river Nedao. As it seems, the new ethnic situation along the middle Danube was, starting from the west to the east, as follows: the Herulians in the southern Moravia, western Slovakia and northern Austria; the Suevi (who probably incorporated other West Germanic groups that previously disappeared from sources, namely the Marcomanni and the Quadi) in the northern Austria, southern Slovakia, and northern Hungary; the Gepids in the area between the Maros and the Criş (Körös), while by the end of the fifth century A.D. they controlled the area between the Tisza, the Danube, the Olt, and the Carpathians; the Scyri in the middle part of the region between the Danube and the Tisza; the Sarmatians to the south of the Scyri; and the Ostrogoths in the former Pannonian provinces. The Ostrogoths established three separate settlement groups, stretching from the north-western to the south-eastern Pannonia, and soon proved themselves as power wielders in the region, winning the status of the imperial federates and waging incessant offensive or defensive wars against their neighbours. Probably in 467, the Suevi, under their king Hunimundus, traversed the western parts of Pannonia *en route* to plunder Dalmatia, capturing the Ostrogothic cattle on the way, but were crushingly defeated by the Ostrogoths when they were returning from their successful raid in Dalmatia. In 469/470, the Ostrogoths attacked and plundered the Suevic area north of the Danube, forcing King Hunimundus to flee to the Alamanni who lived in the upper Danube area, while the rest of the Suevi had to submit to the Ostrogoths. Due to these uncertainties, the remaining local Romanized Pannonian population was under a constant pressure, but they nevertheless maintained their distinctive identity.[7]

After the Ostrogoths left Pannonia in 473, the Gepids became a new dominating power in the region. The remaining Suevi used the departure of the Ostrogoths to move into the northern Pannonia and, if the hypothesis is correct, to establish themselves in the former Late Roman province of *Pannonia Savia* since the province was known as *Suavia* in the first half of the sixth century A.D. (as testified in Cassiodorus, Jordanes, and Procopius[8]), which is clearly reminiscent of the Suevic name. It is also possible that these Savian Suevi received a populational influx when the Ostrogothic king Theodoric ordered the Alamanni,

[5] For details cfr. Idem: *The Huns and South Pannonia*, pp. 41–44, with Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju (od konca 4. do konca 11. stoljeća)*. Zagreb: Plejada, 2011, pp. 62–65.

[6] For details cfr. Idem: *The Huns and South Pannonia*, pp. 49–66, with Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 69–76.

[7] For details cfr. Idem: Goti i južna Panonija. In: *Scrinia Slavonica,* a. 6, 2006, pp. 90–103; Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 77–86. For the location of the mentioned Germanic and Sarmatic groups along the middle Danube, cfr. Pohl, Walter: Die Gepiden und die Gentes an der mittleren Donau nach dem Zerfall des Attilareiches. In: *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert.* Ed.: Herwig Wolfram – Falco Daim. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980, p. 261, 263, 268, 269, 273, 275, 279. On the archaeology of Ostrogothic groups in Pannonia, see Kiss, Attila: Ein Versuch, die Funde und das Siedlungsgebiet der Ostgoten in Pannonien zwischen 456–471 zu bestimmen. In: *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, a. 31, 1979, pp. 329–339 and Kiss, Attila: Archeologia degli Ostrogoti in Pannonia (456–473). In: *I Goti*. Catalogo della mostra. Ed.: Volker Bierbrauer – Otto von Hessen – Ermanno A. Arslan. Milano: Electa Lombardia, 1994, pp. 164–169.

[8] Cassiodori Senatoris Variae. In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*: *Auctores Antiquissimi* (deinde *MGH AA*), vol. 12. Ed.: Theodor Mommsen. Berlin: Weidmann, 1894, cap. 4.49, 5.14.1, 5.15; Castritius, Helmut: Barbari – antiqui barbari. K poselitveni zgodovini jugovzhodnega Norika in južne Panonije v pozni antiki (od konca 4. do srede 6. stoletja). In: *Zgodovinski časopis*, a. 48, 1994, p. 139; Getica in: Iordanis Romana et Getica. In: *MGH AA,* vol. 5.1. Ed.: Theodor Mommsen. Berlin: Weidmann, 1882, p. 273; Romana in: Ibidem, p. 218; Bellum Gothicum. In: Procopii Caesariensis *Opera omnia*. vol. 2. Ed.: Jakob Haury. Leipzig: Teubner, 1963, cap. 1. 16. 8–9.



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after they were defeated by the Franks in 506, to be resettled in the wider Italian area.[9]

The new period of Ostrogothic presence in Pannonia, limited to its southern parts, lasted from the late fifth century A.D. until the 530s, and was marked by transient efforts of administrative and economic renewal which also benefited the local Romanized Pannonian population. At the same time, in the late 500s, the Lombards defeated their former masters Herulians, forced them south, and made them seek safety among the Ostrogoths and the Gepids. In 512, the Herulians were finally settled by the East Roman government in the eastern parts of modern Syrmia and in the neighbouring area around Singidunum (Belgrade), where they were used as a bulwark against the Ostrogoths and the Gepids. There, some of the Herulians survived until 551, when they were absorbed by the Gepids.[10] Due to Herualians' long presence, the easternmost part of *Pannonia Secunda* was commonly known in the second half of the sixth century A.D. as the Herulian land as indicated by Menander Protector.[11]

The Lombards became the new power in the middle Danube region and were recognized as such when, in 526 or 527, the East Roman government formally sanctioned the Lombard presence in the northern Pannonia and concluded a federate treaty with them. The East Roman – Lombard relations were strengthened further when, in 547, the Lombards received parts of the *Noricum Mediterraneum* and both South Pannonian provinces. This gave rise to a fierce rivalry between the Lombards and the Gepids, who were the masters of the eastern Carpathian Basin, which resulted in a war that broke out in 549 and reached its climax in 551, when the Lombards, to some extent aided by the East Roman army, defeated the Gepids probably in modern eastern Slavonia.[12]

The power struggle between the Lombards and the Gepids also saw an active participation by a Lombard royal claimant (H)ildigis, who was supported by the Gepids and, in the 540s, twice sought help from the Slavs. It is usually believed that these Slavic groups were settled in the territory of modern Slovakia, but there are also opinions that they lived in Galicia. Since no archaeological finds in the middle Danube area can be attributed with certainty to the Slavs, the question of their early presence must remain unsolved, although one cannot exclude the possibility of the inflow of some Slavic groups in the western Carpathian Basin by the mid-sixth century A.D.[13]

The peace between the Lombards and the Gepids lasted until 566, when the hostilities broke out once again. The Gepids now asked and received the help of the East Romans, promising in exchange to return the Gepidic possessions in South Pannonia to the Empire, but after the victory was won they failed to fulfill their promise. The Lombards, on the other hand, decided to rely on the Avars, who appeared at the edge of the Carpathian Basin in the 560s. Faced with such a danger, the Gepids tried once again to win the favour of the Empire. However, the East Romans left them in the lurch this time and, in 567, the Gepids were decisively defeated by the allied Lombards and Avars. The Avars were left in the control of the eastern Carpathian Basin and, following the departure of the Lombards for Italy in 568, they remained the sole masters of the middle Danube area. Leaving Pannonia, the Lombards took with them many ethnic groups, among others the Suevi, the Pannonians, the Gepids, and the Sarmatians.[14] The modern Slovakia's territory

[9] For details cfr. Gračanin, Hrvoje: *Goti i južna Panonija*, pp. 99–101 with Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 223–225. With regard to the hypothesis about the Suevi in *Pannonia Savia*, it is worth stressing that Procopius (*Bellum Gothicum*, 1. 15. 25–26) clearly distinguishes between the Siscians (*Siskioí*) and the Suevi (*Soúaboi*), which makes it improbable that in both cases the provincial population is meant as some researchers have inferred (cfr. Stein, Ernst: *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. 2. Paris – Bruxelles – Amsterdam: Desclée de Brouwer, 1949, p. 349, nota 1; Barišić, Franjo: The critical apparatus of Procopius. In: *Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. 1. Beograd: Vizantološki institut Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, p. 34, nota 51; Grafenauer, Bogo: *Ustoličevanje koroških vojvod in država karantanskih Slovencev.* Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1952, p. 407).

[10] For details cfr. Gračanin, Hrvoje: *Goti i južna Panonija*, pp. 108–113, 2007, 22–26, 34, with Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 94–99, 106, 225.

[11] Menander Protector, fr. 5.4 in Blockley, Richard: *The History of Menander the Guardsman. Introductory Essay, Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes.* Liverpool: Francis Cairns Publications, 1985, p. 2–6. On the testimonies for the Herulian identity in the sixth century, see also Ellegård, Alvar: Who were the Eruli? In: *Scandia*, a. 53, 1987, pp. 26–28.

[12] For details cfr. Gračanin, Hrvoje: Gepidi, Heruli, Langobardi i južna Panonija. In: *Scrinia Slavonica*, a. 7, 2007, pp. 36–42, with Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 101–102, 106–114.

[13] For details cfr. Idem: *Gepidi, Heruli, Langobardi i južna Panonija*, pp. 40–41, nota 162; Idem: Slaveni u ranosrednjovjekovnoj južnoj Panoniji. In: *Scrinia Slavonica*, a. 8, 2008, p. 24; Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 112–113.

[14] For details cfr. Idem: *Gepidi, Heruli, Langobardi i južna Panonija*, pp. 43–45, 2009, pp. 7–9, with Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 115–117, 119–121.



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remained outside the power struggle between the Lombards and the Gepids as a peripheral area. However, in the 560s it was probably traversed by the Avars who attacked the Frankish borders twice (in 562 and 566, respectively).[15]

In the 580s and the 590s, South Pannonia became a regular corridor for the advancement of the Slavic groups helped by the Avars. The same may be contended for the area of Slovakia, although recent archaeological research supposes that the Slavic settlement of Slovak territory occurred in the mid-sixth century A.D.[16] Thanks to the Avar support, the Slavic groups gradually managed to establish themselves in the broad region of the Carpathian Basin, which enabled the far-reaching Slavicization of old populations. The relationship between the Slavs and the Avars was not a mere relationship between subject people and their overlords; it was considerably more stratified. It had to be, if for nothing else, because of the numerical superiority of the Slavic and Slavicized groups in comparison with the class of Avar power-holders. The Avars relied on their Slavic dependents in many ways, but they were careful to impede the ethnogenetic and identity-formation processes and the creation of the autonomous warrior elite among the Slavs, because they could have generally jeopardized the Avar position. The case of the Sermesians, a new identity group formed by the 680s from the East Roman captives and the Avar, Bulgar, and probably Slavic groups and settled in the southern parts of the region between the Danube and the Tisza, clearly shows that such ethnogenetic and identity-formation processes were not unusual. The Sermesian rebellion in the mid-680s and the fact that Slavs under Samo and the Bulgar groups broke free of the Avar rule indicates what might have become of the Avar state if the Avars had not managed to suppress such processes. It is therefore no wonder that the more substantial ethnogenetic and identity-formation processes among the Slavs in the middle Danube area (and broader) started only after the Avar khaganate collapsed under the attacks of the Franks in the late eighth and the early ninth centuries.[17]

With the arrival of the Frankish power in the middle Danube region, the situation dramatically changed. Soon there were new identity groups evident in the sources, such as the Moravians. The warrior buried in Blatnica was undoubtedly a representative of the elite that emerged following the destruction of the Avar khaganate and that enjoyed the support of the Frankish authorities.[18] Similar archaeological finds have also been detected in the area of north-western Croatia, in Cirkovljani near Prelog north of the Drava, in Medvedička near Đurđevac south of the Drava, in Podsused on the western edge of Zagreb, and in Požeški Brestovac near Požega, invoking the same conclusions.[19]

The elite of the South-Pannonian Slavs did not succeed in an attempt to establish their independence since the Franks crushed, in the early 820s, the rebellion of Liudewit, prince of the Lower Pannonia south of the Drava, centred probably at Sisak, and then ousted another South Pannonian prince, Ratimar, in the late 830s. Eventually, the situation might have changed under Braslav who is mentioned as prince of the *regnum* between the Drava and the Sava in the 880s and the 890s, and enjoyed, as a Frankish vassal, the trust of the East-Frankish king (and later emperor) Arnulf of Carinthia and was even entrusted by him with the control over the Lower Pannonia north of the Drava, which was created in the late 830s and centred at Mosapurc (Zalavár). However, any possibility for Braslav to acquire independence in the long run was frustrated by the arrival of the Magyars who destroyed both Lower Pannonian principalities in the early 900s.[20]

The Slavic elites in the present-day Moravia and Slovakia also created their respective principalities, Moravia and Nitrava (Nitra). Nitrava was incorporated into the Moravian principality in the early 830s, after which its ruler Priwina (Pribina)

[15] Cfr. Pohl, Walter: *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.*. München: C. H. Beck, 2002, pp. 45–46.

[16] Cfr. Godłowski, Kazimierz: Das Aufhören der germanischen Kulturen an der mittleren Donau und das Problem des Vordringens der Slawen. In: *Die Völker an der mittleren und unteren Donau im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert*. Ed.: Herwig Wolfram – Falco Daim. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980, pp. 225–232; Szydłowski, Jerzy: Zur Anwesenheit der Westslawen an der mittleren Donau im ausgehenden 5. und 6. Jahrhundert. In: Ibidem, pp. 233–237; Pohl, Walter: *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.*, p. 97.

[17] For details cfr. Gračanin, Hrvoje: *Slaveni u ranosrednjovjekovnoj južnoj Panoniji*, pp. 24–29, 37–38, with Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 129–132, 137–139, 144–145.

[18] Cfr. Curta, Florin: *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages 500–1250*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 130–131.

[19] For details cfr. Gračanin, Hrvoje: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 165–166 with respective entries in the gazetteer of archeological finds (Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, p. 285ff).

[20] For details cfr. Idem: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 169–196.



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sought safety on the Frankish territory, then went to the Bulgars, and soon to the Franks again, and was finally given the rule of the Lower Pannonian principality north of the Drava. The Principality of Moravia, first under Mojmir I in the 840s, and again, more successfully, under Rastislas in the 850s, tried to shake off the Frankish overlordship, which was finally achieved under Svatopluk who, in the 870s and the 880s, created a political entity powerful enough to compete with the Franks for the control over the middle Danube region.[21] Eventually, the Principality of Moravia also succumbed to the Magyars in the early 900s, and the devastating Magyar attacks caused the Moravian population to flee south arriving also on the south Pannonian territory.[22] The collapse of the Principality of Moravia left an open field for the creation of new political entities in the region, the principalities of Hungary and Bohemia.

The circumstance that the respective territories of the present-day Slovakia and northern Croatia were only referred to in the medieval texts by the generic Slav names as *Sclavonia* points to a conclusion that specific identity-formation processes were frustrated due to the disintegration of existing political entities in the early tenth century A.D. It also seems that there were no groups bearing particular names in the present-day Slovakia and northern Croatia during the early Middle Ages strong enough to effectively transfer or impose their ethnonyms onto the respective Slav or Slavicized populations. This may be connected with the fact that the Avars had been a dominating force in the Carpathian Basin for so long, successfully curbing even on the edges of their khaganate any ethnogenetic and identity-formation processes that could imperil their rule. The same is also valid for the South Pannonian area.

[21] Cfr. Wolfram, Herwig: *Die Geburt Mitteleuropas. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung 378–907*. Wien: Kremayr & Scheriau, 1987, pp. 361–367.

[22] Cfr. Gračanin, Hrvoje: *Južna Panonija u kasnoj antici i ranom srednjovjekovlju*, pp. 230–231 with *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio*. Ed.: Gyula Moravcsik. Trans.: Romilly James Heald Jenkins. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967, cap. 13, pp. 5–7, cap. 38, pp. 57–60, and especially cap. 41, pp. 19–25.



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MATEJ KLIKA*

# Pannonia as a Space and the Importance of Pribina in the Integration Process of the Pannonian Area into the Frankish Empire

## Panónia ako priestor a dôležitosť Pribinu v integračnom procese panónskeho priestoru do Franskej ríše / Panonija kao prostor i značaj Pribine u integracijskom procesu panonskog područja u Franačku državu

*According to generally accepted opinion, the area gained by the Roman legions after having fought the Illyrian and Celtic tribes who were settled on the right bank of Danube at the end of the first century, became the foundation for the Roman province of Pannonia. The Romans succeeded to strengthen their rule only after heavy fighting between the years 16–6 BC. when an uprising of the native population was successfully defeated. The stabilization of the situation as well as the consolidation of power became prerequisities for the foundation of the Pannonian province in 10 AD. The city of Sirmium (Sriem,nowadays Sremska Mitrovica), one of the centres of the developing province, obtained the statute of Roman colony already at the end of the first century, during the reign of the Flavian dynasty. It meant its promotion among the most significant centres of the Empire.*[1] *Later on, another world power designed a new way of organization of these border lands. And a significant role in this historical development was played by Pribina, a duke expelled from Nitra.*

Keywords: early Middle Ages, organization and administration, Pribina, Pannonia, Blatnohrad (Mosapurc)

The area of the province quickly spread out. Emperor Trajan divided Pannonia into two smaller parts at the beginning of the second century (some time after 103 AD). The first part, called Upper Pannonia (*Panonia superior*), covered the northern and western regions, whereas Lower Pannonia (*Panonia inferior*) consisted of southern and eastern regions of the former province. The middle and lower Raba created their border no later than in the third century AD.[2] The outer border of the province (north, east) had been stabilised on the river Danube for a long time. It also bordered with Dalmatia and Moesia in the south. This border was established according to particular points *Ad Fines*, approximately 30 kilometres south of the river Sava.[3] As the location was exposed to neighbouring barbaric tribes, it was necessary to build several garrisons not only along the Danube – so-called *Limes Romanum*, but also in the inland. The most important and archaeologically best researched are *Sabaria* (Szombathely, Hungary), *Sopiniae* (Pécs, Hungary), and especially *Valcum* (Fenékpuszta, Hungary).[4] Pannonian provinces became one of the areas with the biggest concentration of armed forces within the Roman Empire. Such development was naturally accompanied by development of infrastructure of communication arterial roads as well as the places on these roads which ensured their operation.

Diocletian's reforms at the turn of the third and fourth centuries brought some other changes as far as the administration of the Pannonian provinces was concerned. Territorial and administrative reform of 293 divided the original area of Pannonia into four small parts – therefore, the Upper Pannonia north of the river Dráva became *Pannonia prima* with its centre in *Savaria*/*Sabaria*; another province, *Savia* (*Pannonia Savia*), emerged south of this river with the capital of *Siscia* (present-day Sisak). The Lower Pannonia on the left

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[1] Bystrický, Peter: *Sťahovanie národov (454–568): Ostrogóti, Gepidi, Longobardi a Slovania*. Bratislava: HÚ SAV, 2008, pp. 27–28.

[2] Wolfram, Herwig: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*: *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit*. Wien: Oldenbourg, 1995, p. 68.

[3] Eggers, Martin: Die Verwendung und Bedeutung des Begriffes „Pannonien" in „westlichen" (fränkischen) Quellen des Frühmittelalters. In: *Südostforschungen*, a. 65/66, 2006/2007, p. 3.

[4] Bogyay, Thomas von: Mosapurc und Zalavár: eine Auswertung der archäologischen Funde. In: *Südostforschungen*, a. 14, 1955, pp. 351–353.



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bank of the Danube was named after the emperor's daughter – *Valeria* (*Pannonia Valeria*) with its centre in *Sopiniae*. At last, the southern part of Lower Pannonia became *Pannonia secunda* and *Sirmium* became its capital. The Dráva became the border between the northern and the southern Pannonias.[5] The reform which divided the rule among four emperors (so-called *tetrarchia*) brought further flourishing to Pannonia – Sirmium became one of four capital cities of the realm. A bishopric was established there, according to the tradition possibly by Saint Andronicos, one of seventy apostles. Its authority stretched over the whole area of Pannonia. Five synods took place there only during the fourth century.[6]

The pressure of the barbaric tribes on the Danubian border intensified from the second half of the fourth century. The Huns occupied the province of *Pannonia prima* since 433. When their realm was disrupted, the area of Pannonia as well as the rest of the Carpathian basin became "an ethnogenetic centre" of many Germanic tribes. These took advantage of mutual conflicts between the East and the West, applying apt politics. The collapse of border organisation and the later fall of the West Roman Empire in 476 only solidified the Germanic dominance within the area.[7] The situation changed only during the Langobard-Gepid wars. The Langobards (Lombards), supported by the East Roman Empire which was threatened by the Slavs, chose an unknown nomadic tribe as their allies in 558. This tribe – the Avars – were operating in the Caucasian region at that particular time.[8] This alliance turned out to be lethal for the union between the Gepids and the Slavs. At that time, Langobards could not know that only a year later they would willingly step aside while facing the spreading Avar power. They left the Carpathian basin in 568 and set out for Italy where they filled the vacuum that had remained after the departure of the Ostrogoths. Therefore the Avars started to dominate the lowlands area surrounded by the Carpathian mountains. Slavs, who had not left the region, managed to find a way of coexistence with them. Some of them were ruled directly by the Avar Khaganate, some became dependant on it. However, others became their *foederati* and took part also in the Avar expansion.

The precise idea concerning the borders of Pannonia had gradually declined after the fall of the Roman Empire. This was a result of political instability brought to the area between the rivers Drava and Raba by Germanic tribes. These conquered also the western part of the Roman Empire in the end. The absence of a constant political partner within the Carpathian basin caused that it was not possible to establish stable communication networks, which had to be repeatedly renewed. The emergence of the Avar Khaganate brought some stabilisation of situation in the second half of the sixth century. However, the khagans completely isolated themselves from the surrounding world. Therefore, at the beginning of the ninth century, nobody had really an idea where Pannonia exactly was, and how it looked like. The river Enns became *limes certus*[9] – a solid, safe, and real border – *die Grenze* between the known and the unknown, between the West and the East – *Occident* and *Orient*. Only the merchant caravans on the route between Córdoba and Baghdad (or China, respectively) dared to face the fear of the unknown. Contemporary scholars dealt with this unfamiliar world by creating new myths or returning to traditions, often uncritically picked up from classical authors. Wandering bards of Germanic tribes (*ioculatores*) referred to hazy *plaga orientalis* – "eastern lands" as their cradle, the place of their mythical origin – *origo gentis*. Annalists – monks educated according to the tradition of Antiquity – brushed up the terminology of the Roman Empire. Only the renaissance of the idea of the restoration of the Roman Empire meant an increasing intellectual interest in these "forgotten areas" in the Frankish Empire at the end of the eighth century.[10] These tendencies were

[5] Wolfram, Herwig: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, p. 68.

[6] Kalhous, David: The Significance of the Sirmian and Apostolic Tradition in Shaping Moravian Episcopal Organization. In: *Early Medieval Europe*, a. 17, 2009, nr. 3, pp. 272–273.

[7] Bystrický, Peter: *Sťahovanie národov (454–568)*, p. 201; Wolfram, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*: *Österreichische Geschichte (378–907)*: *Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung*. Wien: Ueberreuter, 1995, p. 21–65; Steinhübel, Ján: *Nitrianske kniežatstvo*. Budmerice: Rak, 2004, p. 15–21.

[8] Pohl, Walter: *Die Awaren*: *ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567–822 n. Chr.* München: C.H.Beck, 1988, pp. 18–21, 37, 180.

[9] Ibidem, p. 308–311; Reimitz, Helmut: Grenzen und Grenzüberschrietungen im karolingischen Mitteleuropa. In: *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter*. Ed.: Walter Pohl – Helmut Reimitz. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000, pp. 150–151.

[10] Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg. In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (deinde *MGH*): *Studien und Texte*, vol. 15. Ed. et trans.: Fritz Lošek. Hannover: Hahn, 1997, p. 120; Wolfram, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, pp. 84–86.



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motivated by and later also resulted in its magnificent expansion – the first real *Drang nach Osten*.

Uncertainties as well as differences within the concepts of the scholars emerged fully in the confrontation of these two worlds. The ideological comprehension of the area as well as its real organisation became the number-one problem in the Central Europe in the ninth century. Frankish desire to settle the situation in central and southern parts of East Central Europe accelerated economic, social, and political changes. Several rival forces struggling for political and cultural hegemony in this area fought for the final form of these changes. A period of *pax Francorum* which started with a conquest of the Avar *hrink* (the residence of Avar khagans) in 796 can be divided into a few stages. Firstly, the Frankish domination was completely distinctive. After having defeated the Avars, Franks were the only ones able to secure a coordinated organisation of the area. However, they were failing to succeed in the long-term horizon. On the other hand, they managed to find a relevant ally in the Great Moravian Empire, which they had helped to establish and strengthen. Mutual conflicts resulted in an open military confrontation between the East Frankish Empire and Great Moravia in the first half of the 890s, during the reign of kings Arnulf (King 887, Emperor since 896) and Svätopluk (having held this title in 884–894),[11] respectively. The invasion of the Old Hungarian tribes put a surprising end to the mentioned fights when they won the Battle at Bratislava (*Preslavaspurk*) in 907. Therefore, all previous Frankish (or maybe even Great Moravian) achievements were marred. The Frankish border was moved back to the river Enns and remained there for another half a century. A partial restitution of the "eastern regions" in favour of the East Frankish Empire was enabled only after the Old Hungarian tribes federation had been defeated by Otto I on the river Lech, on St. Lawrence feast day (August, 10) in 955. However, the sources remain silent as far as any further existence of Great Moravia is concerned. When the young emperor Otto III started with his plan of *renovatio imperii* at the end of the millennium, he had to count with strong counterparts that had grown on the ruins of Great Moravia – the Kingdoms of Hungary (Pannonia) and Poland.

## Pannonia in the ninth century

During the Carolingian period, the geographical terms of Classical origin experienced an intense revival. This was related to the idea of a restoration of the Roman Empire, to strengthening of political forms of the Roman Empire organisation and, at last, to the Carolingian reform of education.[12] Therefore, the term *Pannonia* formally continued the traditions of the Antiquity, but with quite a new content which was the result of contemporary political development.[13]

Real goals of Frankish raids were very unclear at the end of the eighth century and during the whole ninth century. Any relevant ideas are only very generally described in contemporary sources, especially as far as the focus on the East is concerned. This area was to a larger extent characterized by mythical traditions and imperial relicts than delimited by particular geographical points.[14] Carolingian Pannonia (though also distinguished into *superior* and *inferior*) had not much in common with reality. It was just a reflection of a specific author's education or his political and ideological intentions.[15] Some evolution of the opinions concerning this region was enabled only after the Avars had been defeated. The evidence is often contradictory; terminology of contemporary sources is so ambiguous that even the outer borders of this formerly Roman province within the Frankish administration are questionable. It is also impossible to either confirm or decline any inner division of Pannonia.[16] The Frankish perception of ideological organisation of eastern regions is also difficult to systematise even after the defeat of the khaganate. This problem persisted during the whole ninth

[11] Homza, Martin: *Počiatky Svätoplukovskej tradície u Slovákov (čierna a biela Svätoplukovská legenda)*. In print (quoted according to the manuscript).

[12] Eggers, Martin: *Die Verwendung und Bedeutung des Begriffes „Pannonien" in „westlichen" (fränkischen) Quellen des Frühmittelalters*, p. 2

[13] Wolfram, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 68.

[14] Reimitz, Helmut: *Grenzen und Grenzüberschrietungen im karolingischen Mitteleuropa*, p. 149–151.

[15] Eggers, Martin: *Die Verwendung und Bedeutung des Begriffes „Pannonien" in „westlichen" (fränkischen) Quellen des Frühmittelalters*, p. 30.

[16] Havlík, Lubomír: Panonie ve světle franských pramenů 9.století. In: *Slavia Antiqua*, a. 17, 1970, p. 5; Sós, Ágnes: *Die slawische Bevölkerung Westungarns im 9. Jahrhundert*. München: C. H. Beck´sche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1973, pp. 10, 22; Wolfram, Herwig: *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum: das Weissbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien*. Wien: Böhlau, 1979, p. 129.



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century. Walahfrid Strabo explains in his foreword to *Vita Galli* the reasons why *Alemannia* and *Svebia* won over the old Roman names in these areas.[17] Within this context, it is also not surprising that one capitulary of Charlemagne (811) mentions *provincia Karentana*, unknown for Classical terminology.[18] However, as far as the central Danube region is concerned, the Roman terminology remained valid during the whole ninth century. This was partly caused by the fact that the "old good names" (*vera antiqua et nomina*) were considered right to stick to and signified the particular author's education. However, usage of the new terminology did not signal any worse education. Therefore it is obvious that Pannonia was insuperably alienated from the mental world of the western intellectual.[19] The term *Pannonia* gradually left its Classical limits and broadened to signify also the regions which had never belonged to the Roman Empire. After the establishment of the Avar Khaganate in the Carpathian basin, the terms *Pannonia* and *Avaria* (*patria Avarorum*) had been frequently confused and used interchangeably. Yet, both terms are related also to the areas between the rivers Danube and Tisza.[20] *The Annals of Fulda* attest the small success of the Franks in incorporating Pannonia into their own ideological concept of the future realm. The account comes from 900 when the Avars, who had suddenly disappeared, reappeared as the Hungarian tribe federation. The annalist was able to notice their invasion to Bavaria only on the basis that they had crossed the Enns, the old *limes certus*.[21] One hundred years ago, it was Charlemagne who had crossed this border in order to fight the Avars.

Even despite the above mentioned facts, it can be concluded that according to usual ideas of the second half of the ninth century, the Upper Pannonia was located between the Enns and Raba, while the Lower Pannonia lay between the Raba valley and the Drava. This perception of Pannonia definitely suppressed the perception of Pannonia of the first half of the ninth century when the Drava separated the Upper and Lower Pannonia and the whole region was identical with *Avaria*. Both were also related with the tradition of Attila's Hun realm.[22] This ideological connection between the Huns and the Avars was renewed at the end of the ninth century when the Old Hungarian tribes arrived in the Carpathian basin (*Hunni* = *Avaros* = *Ungri*/*Hungari*). The Classical notion of *Pannonia* as well as its early Carolingian equivalent, *Avaria*, had to step aside and create a space for a new term – *Transdanubia* – naturally, with quite a new content as well as meaning.

The terms Pannonia and Transdanubia were originally not identical, as Transdanubia is above all a geographical notion. It refers to a hilly land south of Bratislava/Hungarian Gate (*Porta Hungariae*), that is, the middle Danube between the point where the river Morava flows into the Danube down to the Drava. The Latin term of Transdanubia was also used by rulers of the Arpadian dynasty. Its Hungarian version is known only since the modern period.[23] Its etymology itself goes back to the second half of the ninth century and is connected with the terminology settled in *Frankish annals*. They clearly distinguish between the campaigns from Bavaria against the Moravians across the Danube, to the lands "on the other side" – *ultra Danubium* – and those led in the opposite direction when the Moravians crossed the Danube to Bavaria – *supra Danubium*.[24]

As it has been mentioned, there was an unknown and unpredictable land east of the Enns from the point of view of the centre of the Frankish Empire. Helmut Reimitz has proved that Frankish politics focused on relations and communication between the centres. The Avars (or khagan himself) represented such a centre for Franks in Pannonia at the beginning of the ninth century. Although it had been also somehow initiated by the Franks themselves, the collapse of the khaganate was an unpleasant and not wished result of their own expansion. Campaigns had not aimed at total destruction of the organisation structures, which was the real result. The Frankish Empire needed a partner in order to understand this geopolitical space and its further comprehension as

[17] Reimitz, Helmut: *Grenzen und Grenzüberschrietungen im karolingischen Mitteleuropa*, pp. 124–126, 151.
[18] Ibidem., p. 150.
[19] Ibidem., p. 152; Wolfram, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 71.
[20] Štih, Peter: Die Ostgrenze Italiens im Frühmittelalter. In: *Grenze und Differenz*, p. 26.
[21] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi. In: *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (deinde *SRG*), vol. 6. Ed.: Friedrich Kurze. Hannover: Hahniani, 1895, p. 134.
[22] Wolfram, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 70.
[23] Engel, Pál: Das mittelalterliche Transdanubien als eine geschichtliche Landschaft. In: *Pannonia Regia: Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541*. Ed.: Arpád Mikó – Imre Takács. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994, p. 543.
[24] Dopsch, Heinz: Passau als Zentrum der Slawenmission: ein Beitrag zur Frage des „Großmährischen Reiches". In: *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, a. 28/29, 1985/1986, p. 25, notae 101–103.



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well as pragmatical incorporation. In the end, the realm lost such a partner. Desperate attempts to keep at least some remnants of the Avar realm between *Carnuntum* (near Vienna) and *Sabaria* only confirm the above mentioned. For the following more than thirty years, the Franks were trying to find a new solution for this situation. They tried to apply a united government under one count or division into more administrative units. "Native" nobles turned out not to be reliable. On the other hand, people "from the empire" did not prove to be successful when facing a strange, unknown, and incomprehensible world. In the end, the Franks found a suitable way of possible combination of these antipodes in the person of Pribina of Nitra, who was himself also a product of the older Bavarian or Frankish policy within the area. Or at least the Franks had hoped so.

## The frontier districts organisation and its milestones

The rise of the Carolingian dynasty in the eighth century represents a breakthrough in the military history of the Latin West.[25] Charles Martel, Pippin III, and especially Charlemagne reorganised the army system, having laid the foundations of feudalism in Europe. That enabled them to abandon the outdated methods of the Late Roman period and its successive states. They not only applied an offensive approach towards the neighbouring regions, formerly incorporated into the Roman Empire, but penetrated also the areas beyond the *limes*.[26] From a military point of view, the decisive turning point was an emergence of possibility to unleash long-term field campaigns in order to force an enemy to capitulate. During Charlemagne's reign, the Franks applied the principle of a stunning supremacy which was based on the ruler's ability to mobilise, collect, send forth, and sustain numerous armies to enemy countries regularly each year in different places at once. Systematic Frankish raids put their enemies under such pressure that these were unable to renew their resources, which usually resulted into surrender.[27] This practice can be illustrated by an account in the *Annals of the Kingdom of the Franks* from 791 concerning a campaign during the wars against the Avars. Charlemagne himself led his army. Troops from all over the empire set out from garrisons along the Enns and were proceeding along both banks of the Danube, supported by boats. The Avars got so scared that they abandoned their fortresses and fled.[28] However, even the kings could not send their armies to remote lands without having taken geographical circumstances into consideration. Logistic support of military operations was a primal task of frontier district's administration. Rulers appointed commanders of particular marches, who were responsible for the infrastructure in order to secure roads as well as sufficient food and feed.[29] Frankish military commanders during the reign of the above mentioned rulers as well as their successors in the ninth century were preparing military campaigns with the highest caution, having first secured the logistic infrastructure.[30]

Unfortunately, sources remain silent as far as Charlemagne's motifs for the conquest of the Avar Khaganate are concerned. It is known that the attack started by crossing the Enns, starting positions had been thoroughly prepared. *The Annals of the Kingdom of the Franks* inform (under the year 774) that Charlemagne conquered the Kingdom of Langobards, two years later he suppressed the revolt of Hrodgaud, Duke of Friuli.[31] By obtaining the north-eastern Italy, the Franks had a comfortable road to Pannonia open. The year 788 turned out to be the milestone when Charlemagne gained control over Byzantine Istria[32] (and thus extended

[25] Bachrach, Bernard S.: Grand Strategy in the Germanic Kingdoms: Recruitment of the Rank and File. In: *L´Armée Romaine et Les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe Siècle.* Ed.: François Vallet – Michel Kazanski. Rouen: Association Française d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, 1993, pp. 55 – 63.

[26] Ehlers, Caspar: *Die Integration Sachsens in das fränkische Reich (751–1024).* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007, 417 p.

[27] Bowlus, Charles R.: Warfare and society in the Carolingian Ostmark. In: *Austrian History Yearbook*, a. 14, 1978, pp. 3–7.

[28] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, p. 88.

[29] Bowlus, Charles R.: The Military Organisation of Carinthia and Pannonia (818–846). In: *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*: *Festschrift für Karl Bosl zum 80. Geburtstag*, vol.1. Ed.: Ferdinand Seibt. München: Oldenbourg, 1988, p. 168; Bosl, Karl: *Land an der bayerischen Donau*: *Geist, Religion, Kirche und Kultur an der bayerischen Ostgrenze*. Passau: Andreas-Haller, 1987, p. 128; Idem: *Franken um 800*: *Strukturanalyse einer fränkischen Königsprovinz*. 2. erweiterte Auflage. München: Beck, 1969, p. 210.

[30] Bachrach, Bernard S.: *Grand Strategy in the Germanic Kingdoms*, p. 61; Bachrach, Bernard S.: Charlemagne's Cavalry: Myth and reality. In: *Military Affairs*, a. 57, 1983, pp. 181–187; Bowlus, Charles R.: Carolingian Military Hegemony in the Carpathian Basin 791–907. In: *Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen.* Ed.: Franz-Reiner Erkens. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001, pp. 153–158.

[31] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, pp. 37–40, 42–44.

[32] Wolfram, Herwig: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, pp. 256–257.



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the area of newly emerged March of Friuli) and took over Bavaria again. When the last duke of Bavaria, Tassilo III, was deposed and interned together with his wife in a monastery, the western border of the Avar Khaganate became the direct border with the Frankish Empire.[33] The change of the geopolitical situation influenced relations between the new neighbours.

## A conflict with the Avars

Foundations of the Frankish south-east expansion were already lain during the reign of the Agilofings in Bavaria (the middle of the sixth century).[34] Formally, the Dukedom of Bavaria was a part of the Kingdom of Franks, but up to Tasillo III's deposition, the Agolfings ruled quite independently, particularly due to their successful *Ostpolitik* – "eastern policy."[35] The centre of this dukedom was south-east of the river Inn and west of the Enns. Political orientation was influenced by the course of Danube, as was the direction of the road network (to the south-east).[36] In 741, Duke Odilo used a request for help from the prince of Carinthian Slavs, Borut, in his conflict with the Avars as a pretext. The *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* states that Odilo also subdued Carinthian prince after having defeated the Avar armies and took members of Borut's family as hostages. They were supposed to be brought up at Bavarian court in Christian way.[37] Despite this fact, the Principality of Carinthia managed to keep some sort of formal independence for the following thirty years. In 772, the Bavarian duke Tasillo succeeded in incorporating Carinthia into the Dukedom of Bavaria. Thus, the road to the central part of Danubian region was open.[38] The first stage of the breakthrough to Pannonia is reflected by the foundation of the monastery in Kremsmünster in 777. In Carinthia, it was the same with the monastery in Innichen in 769 – both located on the traffic artery heading towards the east.[39] For instance, Innichen is in Pustertal, directly at the watershed of the Drava and Rienz, by the spring of the Drava and actually by the gate to the whole Carinthia. It was also a strategic point during the revolt of Ljudevit (Louis), prince of the Sava principality. In 822, the monastery was donated the lands between Trixen and Griffen at the crossroads of a road leading from *Traungau* to *Salzburggau* and the one coming from Pustertal along the Drava. The road led even southwards near Trixen, through the low passes to the upper Sava. These properties were supposed to secure the natural gate between Carinthia and Bavaria.[40] Such a dislocated position of the monastery did not only reflect the religious zeal of its founder but had also its pragmatic and political functions. Establishing monasteries on strategic places in the borderlands as well as the spread of parish network abroad and the import of saints' cults symbolised the first step of a gradual integration of individual lands into the area of the political body that had initiated the process of transition. Similar tendencies are visible in case of Saxony,[41] but also in Moravia and Nitra principalities. Lands on the right bank of the Enns remained for the Bavarians impossible to cross for long. This was a sort of no man's land, separating Bavaria from the Avar Khaganate, though there were traditionally good relations between these two neighbours.[42]

[33] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, p. 80.

[34] Jahn, Joachim: *Ducatus Baiuvariorum: Das bairische Herzogtum der Agilolfinger*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1991, 686 s.

[35] Bowlus, Charles R.: *Warfare and society in the Carolingian Ostmark*, p. 8, note 11.

[36] Störmer, Wilhelm: *Früher Adel*: *Studien zur politischen Führungsschicht im fränkisch-deutschen Reich vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1973, pp. 200–236; Bowlus, Charles R.: Die militärische Organisation des karolingischen Südostens (791–907). In: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, a. 31, 1997, p. 52.

[37] *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg*, pp. 104–105.

[38] Rohr, Christian: *Zwischen Bayern und Byzanz*: *zur Missionsgeschichte Osteuropas im Früh – und Hochmittelalter*. In: *Das Bild und die Geschichte Osteuropas im Mittelalter*. Ed.: Ulrich Müller. Salzburg, 2003 http://www.uni-salzburg.at/pls/portal/docs/1/544327.PDF, p. 2; Wolfram, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, pp. 277–279.

[39] Ibidem, pp. 42–56.

[40] Bitterauf, Theodor: *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, vol. 1. München: M. Rieger´sche Universität, 1905, Nr. 472, pp. 403–404; Bowlus, Charles R.: Krieg und Kirche in den Südost-Grenzgrafschaften. In: *Der heilige Method, Salzburg und die Slawenmission*. Ed.: Theodor Piffl-Perčević – Alfred Stirneman. Wien-Salzburg: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1987, pp. 75, 80, 85–90; Störmer, Wilhelm: Zum Problem der Slawenmission des Bistums Freising in 9. Jahrhundert. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 212–214.

[41] Röckelein, Hedwig: *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert: über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter*. Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002, 500 p.; Ehlers, Caspar: Franken und Sachsen gründen Klöster : Beobachtungen zu Integrationsprozessen des 8.–10. Jahrhunderts am Beipsiel von Essen, Gandersheim und Quedlinburg. In: *Gandersheim und Essen*: *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zu sächsischen Frauenstiften*. Ed.: Martin Hoernes – Hedwig Rockelein. Essen: Klartext, 2006, pp. 11–31; Schmauder, Michael: Überlegungen zur östlichen Grenze des Karolingischen Reiches unter Karl dem Großen. In: *Grenze und Differenz*, p. 58.

[42] Bowlus, Charles R.: *Warfare and society in the Carolingian Ostmark*, p. 8.



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When Bavaria was taken over by the Franks, the prominent Bavarians even sought refuge with the Avars.[43] The last Avar attack on Bavarian positions took place in 680, causing no heavy losses. The garrisons along the Enns were already repaired at the end of the seventh century. In 780 at the latest, this fortified line formed *terminus Huni* (i.e. "Avar border") at the eastern edge of the Dukedom of Bavaria.[44] However, the Carolingians did not hesitate to cross it.

Their progress had been first opposed by the Agilofings, but the Franks turned out to be unstoppable. The crisis between the Frankish king and the Bavarian duke resulted into Tassilo III's deposition in 788. Then, Charlemagne continued in Agilofings' south-eastern policy.[45]

The disintegration of the Kingdom of Langobards ended the good relations between this realm and the khagans.[46] According to Charlemagne's biographer Einhard, the Avar envoys visited Charlemagne concerning the issue of peace (*pacis causa*) in 782. The king granted them an audience, but dismissed them anyway.[47] The disappointed Avars contracted an alliance with the Bavarians in 787. Therefore, Tassilo's deposition turned out to be the last drop resulting into an open fight. Charlemagne had to face Avar raids in the Danubian region as well as in Italy.[48] As the *Annals of the Kingdom of the Franks* inform, he successfully repulsed the attack and Frankish armies commanded by Graman and Otakar managed to suppress the Avars deep beyond the Enns. The Avars suffered the ultimate defeat on the field of Ybbs.[49] According to one source,[50] Charlemagne determined *fines vel marcas Baioariorum* ("borders of Bavarian March") in Regensburg in order to secure defence of the newly obtained lands.[51] Carinthia was also afflicted by this change of administration. Charlemagne deposed Prince Valtuns, appointed by Tassilo III.[52] In return, the king's brother-in-law, Gerold I, was chosen to rule the region.[53]

In 790, the diplomatic negotiations between the Frankish Empire and the Avar Khaganate began. However, these talks failed to reach an agreement concerning their mutual borders. This led to another war, described in detail in *Frankish annals*. In 791, Charlemagne mustered an army in Lorch. His son Pippin, King of Italy, was, however, the first to attack. He conquered a fortified Avar camp on the border of Italy. Charlemagne crossed the Enns, conquered Avar fortresses over the river Kamp and at the edge of the Vienna Woods. The armies proceeded almost unchallenged further on to the Raba and its confluence with the Danube. They were actually stopped only by the plague which infected their horses. The return road went through *Sabaria*. The gain of this city was crucial

[43] Deér, Josef: Karl der Große und der Untergang des Avarenreiches. In: *Karl der Große: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 1. Ed.: Helmut Beumann – Wolfgang Braunfels. Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1965, pp. 719–791.

[44] Bowlus, Charles R.: *Warfare and society in the Carolingian Ostmark*, p. 8.

[45] *Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, pp. 80–83.

[46] Štih, Peter: *Die Ostgrenze Italiens im Frühmittelalter*, p. 36,

[47] Pohl, Walter: *Die Awaren*: *ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567 – 822 n. Ch.*, p. 314; Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, p. 59.

[48] Wolfram, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 91; Pohl, Walter: *Die Awaren*: *ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567 – 822 n. Ch.*, p. 314.

[49] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, p. 82; Mitterauer, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*: *fränkische Reichsaristokratie und bayerischer Stammesadel im österreichischen Raum*. Wien: Böhlaus, 1963, p. 5;

[50] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, p. 84.

[51] We agree with the hypothesis of Herwig Wolfram that this does not refer to an establishment of the Avar March but to appointing Gerold I (Bavarian prefect) and Erich (margrave of Friuli) as protectors of the borders. Wolfram, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 179. Porovnaj Steinhübel, Ján: Division of Pannonia among Franconian Marches. In: *Studia Historica Slovaca*, a. 19, 1995, pp. 10–12. a Idem: *Nitrianske kniežatstvo*, pp. 48–51. According to Steinhübel, the county of Traungau, changed into a march in 788, together with Carinthia were the centres of the Avar March. He claims that the whole Pannonia was divided into border marches in 796. This statement is based on the assumption that not only ecclesiastical (attested only by *Conversio*) but also secular administrative division took place at the Synod at the Danube. The sources do not confirm such a division at all. It seems that Steinhübel had already accepted the thesis that the integration of *plaga orientalis* into the Frankish Empire was realised by its tight incorporation into the administrative structures – by an establishment of marches. However, the procedure had been quite different in Saxony – first a division into ecclesiastical units, then the constitution of secular centres. Only then, the real integration was enabled. It seems that the Frankish kings applied the same processes also in Pannonia. The strong motivation to avoid the mistakes that had happened in case of Saxony (especially as far as violence was concerned) can be seen e.g. from the correspondence between Alcuin and Arno, the archbishop of Salzburg.

[52] Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg, pp. 108–109.

[53] Mitterauer, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 80–81.



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for the following development, as it had a strategic position on the crossroads of the routes leading south-eastwards.[54] The control of this site also enabled possibility to lead an attack at the khaganate also from the region south-east of the Vienna Woods, as for instance in years 795 and 796, when the Franks attacked the Tisa/Tisza region from different directions.[55] Thus, the Frankish Empire expanded to the Sava region in the south (and incorporated the area into the March of Friuli) and to the lands between the Enns and Raba, which became the County of Traungau.[56] In 795, some Avars led by one of the *tuduns* were willing to surrender to Charlemagne and even accept the baptism. The *tudun*'s surrender was just an outer demonstration of a disruption of the khaganate. This process reached its peak when the khagan and the *jugur* were murdered.[57] The khaganate was no longer able to defend itself. A campaign of Erich, Margrave of Friuli, (with a participation of Vonomir, Prince of Slavonia) managed to get to the very centre of enemy's land. Armies plundered the "Ring" of the Avars, the centre of their power, and stole a treasure that was sent to Aachen. One year later, a group of the Avars led by the above mentioned *tudun* came to the royal court in Aachen. They were baptised by members of the Frankish episcopate. However, another part of Avars rejected to surrender and elected a new khagan. Therefore, the Ring was plundered again and remnants of the Avars were forced to flee beyond the Tisa.[58] The power of the Avars was definitely over.

According to the Frankish annals, the Slavs took an advantage in the weakening of the Avar power. The king was trying to calm down the situation in the east. He even allowed the Avars to settle down in the area between *Carnuntum* (present-day Petronell and Bad Deutsch-Altenburg in Lower Austria) and *Sabaria*.[59] He also forbade any export of weapons from the realm to the east. In 811, he even sent an army to stabilise the situation and end conflicts between the Slavs and the Avars. These attempts turned out to be useless and the name *Avaros* appears in 822 for the last time.[60]

At first, the conquered lands were united with the province of Bavaria and governed by Charlemagne's brother-in-law, Gerold I. In 799, Gerold together with Archbishop Arno installed a new *chorepiscopus* (suffragan bishop) Teoderic in Carinthia.[61] The form of this administration was reflected by the office of *missaticum*, which meant that this function was executed by royal, or rather, imperial messengers. They were fulfilling especially military tasks, among them the command of frontier troops was the most essential one. They were also in charge of construction of frontier fortifications and they chaired the court of justice. They were also authorised to confirm donation charters. Their position was permanent in comparison with *missi ad hoc*, temporarily appointed messengers.[62] Such practice opened new possibilities regarding the frontier lands organisation. The area of Pannonia was divided into four *foederati* principalities ruled by Slavic princes Privislav (*Priwizlauga*), Čemič (*Cemicas*), Stojmír (*Ztoimar*), and Edgar (*Etgar*).[63] In Upper Pannonia between the Raba and the Danube, a residue of the Avar Khaganate was established. This was ruled by *kapkan* Theodor since 805 and by certain Abraham after his predecessor had died. The area between the Drava and Sava was under the authority of the prefects of Friuli. Specific conditions were applied in order to integrate the region more tightly. Traungau, the area between the Enns and the Raba, had been already governed by the counts in Agilofing period. After the Avars had been expelled, Graman was appointed as a count

[54] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, p. 86–89.
[55] Szöke, Béla Miklós: Karolingische Kirchenorganisation in Pannonien. In: *Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft: Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. in Mittel – und Nordeuropa*: *Akten des 59. Internationalen Sachsensymposions und der Grudprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im Mitteldonauraum*. Ed.: Uta von Freeden. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2009, p. 395; Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, p. 98; Bowlus, Charles R.: Die militärische Organisation des karolingischen Südostens (791 – 907). In: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, a. 31, 1997, p. 52.
[56] Steinhübel, Ján: *Division of Pannonia among Franconian Marches*, p. 10.
[57] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, p. 98–100.
[58] Ibidem, pp. 99–100.
[59] Ibidem, p. 105.
[60] Ordinatio Imperii. In: *MGH Capit*. 1/8. Ed.: Alfred Boretius. Hannover: Hahniani, 1883, pp. 123, 271.
[61] Dopsch, Heinz: Zwischen Salzburg, Byzanz und Rom. Zur Missionierung Pannoniens im 9. Jahrhundert. In: *Christentum in Pannonien im ersten Jahrtausend: Internationale Tagung im Balaton-Museum in Keszthely vom 6. bis 9. November 2000.* Zalaegerszeg: Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2002, p. 269.
[62] Mitterauer, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 1–6.
[63] Steinhübel, Ján: *Veľkomoravské územie v severovýchodnom Zadunajsku*. Bratislava : Veda, 1995, pp. 29–46.



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here. Another county was established between the Enns and the Vienna Woods and ruled by Count Otakar (*Otachar*). Graman and Otakar governed the counties but also were fulfilling the tasks of the *missi*. As such, they were subordinated to the prefect (*comes confinii*) of the province of Bavaria.[64]

It seems that Charlemagne genuinely cared about the anti-Avar campaign. This is confirmed by preparations for the invasion in 791 which were commanded by Charlemagne himself. He was also present in Regensburg, close to the eastern frontier, in 792 and 793, although there were some unrests in the west. It is important to mention the plans for the construction of a connecting channel between the Main and the Danube in this context. People appointed to rule eastern regions were also not chosen accidentally, all were to be found very close to the king. His brother-in-law Gerold was appointed to rule conquered lands and command the armies coming from Bavaria. Arno, bishop of Salzburg, was promoted to the rank of an archbishop and was to be in charge of missionary activities in Pannonia as far as the Drava. His own son Pippin, the king of Italy, was in charge of the armies from Friuli, later Margrave Erich became a protector of borderlands. Paulinus, the patriarch of Aquileia, appointed to form some church organisation in the area south of the Drava, was also a prominent person within Charlemagne's court.[65]

## The revolt of Ljudevit (Louis), prince of the ava principality

Charlemagne's heir Louis the Pious never personally took part in military campaigns. However, he was still very much interested in Pannonian affairs, particularly in years 818–822 when the revolt of Prince Ljudevit (Louis) took place in an area around the Upper Sava. In this period, Louis organised at least four huge military campaigns. His effort was finally rewarded by a victory.

A claimed reason for revolt had been the cruelty of Cadolah, the margrave of Friuli, towards Ljudevit. The prince had complained, but had not succeeded at court; therefore he had decided to find a solution by the means of war. The whole conflict lasted for four years; both Cadolah and Ljudevit became its casualties. The latter was betrayed by his own people.

The campaign in 820 was particularly interesting within this context. It did not break Ljudevit's power but, on the other hand, the Franks gained control over the watercourse of Drava and the surrounding road network as well as Alpine passes. Thus, the passage to Lower Sava region, the centre of Ljudevit's power, was open for the Franks.[66]

An account of the annalist offers several observations.[67] Firstly, the Franks were able to act also from the regions north of the Alps (via *Sabaria*). The source also emphasises that these troops proceeding through Upper Pannonia faced various logistic problems. Secondly, the campaign clearly showed how important it would be to develop a reliable military organisation in both Carinthia and Pannonia. Regions of Carniola, Carinthia and Pannonia turned out to be crucial. Ljudevit's rebellion had been first successful since he had been able to rely on the support of Carinthian Slavs who had blocked the passes in the eastern Alps. As long as Carinthia was ruled by an enemy, the Franks were failing to reach central regions of Ljudevit's domain. The connection between Bavaria and south-east was disrupted. The road from Bavaria through Upper Pannonia was passable, but also longer, more difficult, and more dangerous, too. Especially, when the Upper Drava and Sava regions were controlled by the enemy.

The war proved the importance of the control over Carinthia when there was an ambition to control the central Danube region. Holding *Sabaria* without any other options for a fluent passage through Pannonia proved to be useless. Moreover, a conflict emerged between the sons of Louis the Pious. It is therefore possible that Louis the German attempted to secure the support of Carniola, bordering with Italy. There was a way leading to the imperial crown.

## A conflict with the Bulgarians and its consequences

According to the *Frankish annals*, their armies reached regions on the Lower Danube controlled by Bulgarians during their operations in the Sava region.[68] Between 824 and 827, Bulgarian

[64] Mitterauer, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 5–6.
[65] Bowlus, Charles R.: *Carolingian Military Hegemony in the Carpathian Basin 791–907*, p. 153.
[66] Třeštík, Dušan: *Vznik Velké Moravy: Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2001, p. 94.
[67] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, pp. 152–153.
[68] Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, p. 116



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emissaries visited the royal court in Aachen in order to agree upon mutual borders. However, the negotiations failed and Bulgarian troops launched an attack. And so, just several years after Ljudevit's revolt, the Franks had to face other unexpected problems in the eastern part of their realm.

The *Annals of Fulda* claim that the attack took place in 827. Bulgarian fleet managed to sail up the Drava to Pannonia. There is just scarce information available about the fights that followed. However, it is known that the Franks dismissed Slavic princes in conquered lands and appointed their own stewards – *rectores*. The annalist further informs that the Count of Friuli, Balderich, was because of his inaction (*propter eius ignaviam*) deposed in 828 at the imperial diet in Aachen.[69] His competencies and lands were further divided among four counts. Louis the German was appointed to lead the offensive against the Bulgarians.[70] However, sources reveal only one realised expedition, as annalists rather focused on conflicts within the imperial family. However, it is known that the conflict was pacified and relations between the Carolingians and the Bulgarian Khanate remained on friendly terms for the rest of the ninth century. Despite various complications, the Franks also succeeded in renewal of their Pannonian dominion.[71] Since 838, the Upper Sava region was under Bavarian jurisdiction after Radbod (Gerold II's successor as a steward of the border/*comes confinii* since 833) had expelled the Slavonian prince Ratimir and passed his post to Count Salacho.[72]

## A re-organisation of the administration

At least during the first period of the Frankish dominion, the defence of eastern frontiers consisted of several Slavic tributary principalities (*foederati*) who were enjoying relatively high rate of inner independence. Besides, these principalities were creating outer impact zone of the realm. This structure is obvious in the *Ordinatio imperii* (817). Louis the German was given Bavaria as an enclosed unit as well as a certain number of nations/tribes at its eastern edge. Already in the 820s, the organisation concept started changing as a result of Ljudevit's rebellion and Bulgarian invasion. The tribal principalities were substituted by counties. Conflicts in the 820s showed unreliability of Slavic princes who had previously declared their loyalty towards the empire. Carinthia (the region which had been the part of Bavaria for the longest time) was given to Count Helmwin. He was succeeded by Count Albgar who was, however, soon deposed as he had compromised himself in mutual conflicts of Louis the Pious' sons. Pabo, probably a member of the Wilhelm dynasty, was elected to the position of Carinthian duke (*dux*). A part of historiography supposes that he was superior to three other counts (according to places mentioned in *Conversio* where the first churches were founded). Another part claims that a source expression *Pabo cum sociis comitibus* rather indicates existence of other counts equal to Pabo and subordinated to a margrave. This group could have included Count Witagowo, whose county was located on the upper Enns, or Guntram, who is a few times mentioned in the context with Kocel' (*Chozil*) and Lower Pannonia region. This indicates he could have been in charge of the Sava region as a successor of Salacho (mentioned in 838).[73]

Personal changes did not omit the highest positions, too. Balderich was dismissed and his territory was divided into four smaller organisation units. The margrave of Friuli was left only with a small area which had formerly belonged to the Kingdom of Langobards. There could have been more than just "inaction" behind his dismissal. Balderich had already proved his soldierly abilities during the fights against Louis. If Bulgarian presence had been such a threat, it is just appropriate to question the annalist's statement about "negligence" of such a commander. Further division of the land into smaller organisation units also diminished its real coordinated defensive capacity. Therefore the real reason could have been the fact that Louis the German feared the power possessed by Balderich. He could have hoped to weaken his influence when he divided his lands. Conflicts between the royal brothers could have played some part as well.[74] Regardless of the real

[69] Ibidem, pp. 173–174.
[70] Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum Orientalis ad 900. In: *MGH SRG*, vol. 7. Ed.: Friedrich Kurze. Hannover: Hahniani, 1891, p. 25.
[71] Schwarcz, Andreas: Pannonien im 9. Jahrhundert und die Anfänge der direkten Beziehung zwischen dem Ostfränkichen Reich und den Bulgaren. In: *Grenze und Differenz*, pp. 102–105.
[72] *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg*, pp. 122–123.
[73] Mitterauer, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 206–210.
[74] Bowlus, Charles R.: The Military Organisation of Carinthia and Pannonia (818–846), pp. 170–172.



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reason, this power division in Friuli turned out to be only temporary. In 836, Lothar I made his brother-in-law Eberhard a governor and the former march was put together again. Eberhard did not influence events in Pannonia much. However, his son Berengar would play a significant part in the history of the Apennine Peninsula.

At the beginning of the 830s new people appear in sources. Radbod was appointed to rule the province of Bavaria in 833. His own county was, however, located in Upper Pannonia. In 838, King Louis made him a commander of the campaign against the Slavonian Prince Ratimir. Radbod's victory bound the valley of the Sava to the East Frankish Empire and any hopes of the March of Friuli to take over these areas were marred. Werner II, mentioned since 830, was another new figure. Most probably, he governed a region between the Enns and the Vienna Woods. Another county, with *Sabaria* as its centre, was ruled by Riherri of the House of Wilhelm. His son Wilhelm II also kept continuity of his family as a ruling house in Traungau.[75]

Yet the question remains whether these changes of native nobles for Bavarian counts were inspired by Bulgarian invasion or inner Frankish conflicts. If an explanation of Charles R. Bowlus is to be accepted (that Louis the German wanted to prevent possible conflicts on two battlefronts and therefore secured the stability in the east at first), Pribina's installation can be viewed from quite a different perspective.[76] It could have been a final step of formation process of administrative organisation within the lands of Louis the German.

However, this "experiment Pribina" did not turn out well for the Frankish Empire. Pribina was close to Bavarian noble families associated not only with Louis the German but also with former dukes of Agilofing dynasty.[77] However, he possessed an unbeatable advantage of being a Slav in the Slavic milieu.[78] When the realm was divided between three grandsons of Charlemagne by the Treaty of Verdun in 843, the pacification and a tighter bind of south-east lands became an essential issue for Louis the German. By this treaty, he obtained this part of the empire also *de iure* and thus became the first East Frankish king. His dream about a solid empire was reflected in personnel changes in Carinthia, Slavonia and Danubian counties, in installation of Pribina in Pannonia or even in substitution of unreliable Mojmir for "reliable" Rastislav. It was a region along the Central Danube which formed a base of Louis' power; therefore, its stabilization was the first step in order to achieve his dream. Pannonia was no longer a periphery. Strengthening of ecclesiastical and secular structures should have led to tighter connections between the region and the centre. Pribina obtained Pannonia as a hereditary property for his house and started with the transformation of this area into a stable part of the Archbishopric of Salzburg as well as of the East Frankish Empire. His son Koceľ commonly used the title of *comes* – count. From the Frankish point of view, he presented a pillar of their administration. However, his activities showed also some decentralizing tendencies, even more obvious in Great Moravia, reaching its peak during Svätopluk's reign. Nothing is known about other descendants of Pribina. However, when Old Hungarian tribes shifted the frontier back to the Enns, they did not dissolve efficient Frankish-Slavic structures, as also archaeological findings attest. The same was the situation in the Principality of Nitra, almost untouched by the devastating plunder of these tribes. It is no coincidence that these were the structures taking part in constituting the Kingdom of Hungary, as also Matúš Kučera reminds.[79] Western Frankish power (of *Abendland*) with its legal, economic, ecclesiastical and cultural structures never succeeded in establishing itself within the Carpathian basin again as much as it had been within duration of *pax Francorum* (796–907). However, this power reached as far as the Leitha for centuries. Countries which defended their independence against a new wave of expansion of this power in the eleventh century (Kingdoms of Pannonia/Hungary and Poland) were thus developing partly individually combining their own customs and traditions with conveniences of the western civilization.[80]

[75] Mitterauer, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 86–88, 91–102, 109–120, 125–131, 180–182.
[76] Bowlus, Charles R.: *Carolingian Military Hegemony in the Carpathian Basin 791–907*, p. 156.
[77] Tönsmeyer, Hans Dieter: […] in castro Chezilonis noviter Mosapurc vocato […]: Die Beziehungen des pannonischen Fürsten Kozel zu Bayern und der Beginn der Ethnogenese der Slowaken. In: *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte*, a. 76, 2007, p. 37–77.
[78] Stanislav, Ján: *Slovenský juh v stredoveku*, vol. 1. Bratislava: Národné literárne centrum, 1999, passim.
[79] Kučera, Matúš: *Slovensko po páde Veľkej Moravy*: *Štúdie o hospodárskom a sociálnom vývine v 9.–13. storočí*. Bratislava: Veda, 1974, passim.
[80] Szücs, Jenő: *Tri historické regióny Európy*. Trans.: Vincent Múcska. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2011, p 136.



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NORA MALINOVSKÁ (VEREŠOVÁ)*

# Geographical Concepts of *Sclavinia* in Historical Sources from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century, with an Emphasis on the Moravian-Pannonian and South Slavic Traditions

## Geografické koncepcie *Sclavinie* v historických prameňoch 6.–14. storočia s dôrazom na moravsko-panónsku, respektíve južnoslovanskú tradíciu / Zemljopisne koncepcije *Sclavinije* u povijesnim izvorima 6.–14. stoljeća, s naglaskom na moravsko-panonsku, odnosno južnoslavensku tradiciju

*In the present article the author aims to explain and present the results of the research into the rarely discussed concept of Sclavinia. Analyzed and interpreted in detail are historical sources of various origins from the sixth to the fourteenth centuries. Depending on the time and the place of origin of the particular sources, the literal content of the toponym of Sclavinia, or its analogical, synonymic names and adapted variants (such as* Sklavania, Weonodland, *etc.) acquire in different contexts different meanings, which are to be evaluated and classified thoroughly. In addition to defining the very concept of the geographical term of Sclavinia, various other coherences are coming to the surface. We trace how the geographical term of Sclavinia is gradually extended into the ethnic dimensions and later, approximately at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries already, even into the ethno-political. In connection with the developing meaning shifts recorded when researching upon the term of Sclavinia, we simultaneously perceive changes in the attitude of the "Slavs" to their own "Slavhood", i.e. to their own ethnic identity and unity. Gradually, at first through the outcoming "imprinting" rooting out from the surrounding peoples (a process which began in the sixth century, particularly in the Byzantine Empire and thanks to their mediation in other countries as well) the Slavs started to identify themselves with that particular cultural, lingual and civilizational circle which was named as "Slavic." The idea of the ethno-cultural unity of the Slavs, developing among the Slavs themselves openly resonates for the very first time much later in the Primary Chronicle which fixed the archaic (West) Slavic tradition about the original Slavic motherland on the Danube. We come across an analogical concept in connection with the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle as well as other later sources, referring back to the Moravian-Pannonian school. Thus, by researching into the term of Sclavinia we come to touch on questions of the ethnogenesis of the Slavs and the gradual development of consciousness and knowledge concerning the unity of the Slavs.*

Keywords: *Sclavinia*, Slavs, ethnogenesis, the *Primary Chronicle*, (West) Slavic tradition, the *Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin*, the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*.

In the following article we will introduce the topic of *Sclavinia* as it was developing throughout the large period of time, approximately from the sixth, respectively the seventh, century up to the fourteenth century. The results present a very basic insight into this problematics, analysing and interpreting a rather wide range of historical sources, which not only mention but also depict somehow, possibly in detail, the geographical concepts embraced in the toponym of *Sclavinia* or in its adapted synonymical variants such as *Sclavania*, *Sclavonia*, *bilād as-Saqāliba*, *Slavyanskaya zemlya*, etc.

The selected texts of varied origin were arranged and analysed in chronological order so that we could better trace the so-to-say evolutional changes that the term of *Sclavinia* went through during the centuries. Finally, on the basis of the abovementioned, various classifications of the particular concepts of *Sclavinias* crystallised and many other interesting connections came to light

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alongside. And that is what we are going to focus on in the following lines.[1]

The toponym of *Sclavinia* comprises an abundance of the meaning layers and conceptual nuances. Making the cross-section through the historical sources listed above, the following main concepts are to be traced:

## 1. *Sclavinia* as the territory above the Lower Danube River

Almost as a rule, the earliest historical mentions of a particular topic are rather dubious. So it is in the case of *Sclavinia*, where the first mention is ascribed to Theofylaktos Simokattés.[2] However, the translation of the Greek text has served as a fertile soil for scholarly debates. Theofylaktos mentions the toponym of *Sclavinia* only once in his *Oikumeniké historia* to describe or point out to the territory of the *Sclavins* on the Lower Danube beyond the boundary of the Byzantine Empire, i.e. somewhere in the ancient province of Dacia. This particular mention of *Sclavinia* is connected with the Byzantine attack of 602 against the Slavs and its description is very vague, lacking the proper territory definition. Within this first mention, we have also analysed the other historical sources of the fifth–seventh centuries supporting Theofylaktos' references, however, not making use of the toponym of *Sclavinia* (Pseudo-Cesarius, Jordanes, Procopius, Moses Chorenaci, Ananius Shirakaci).

## 2. *Sclavinia* / *Sclavinias* as the autonomic territories on the Balkans

The following concept, presented in the works of such authors and historians as Theofanes the Confessor,[3] Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos,[4] Ibn Ḥurdāḏbih[5] or in *Hodoeporicon* of Saint Willibald,[6] is much better and more comprehensively defined as the previous one. In this case we move from the vague areas beyond the Danube to the very specific, little autonomic Slavic tribal territorial units on the Balkans. These *Sclavinias* were to be found on the territories officially belonging to the Byzantine Empire, however, in fact they

[1] For a better orientation in the topic, before we start describing the concepts of *Sclavinias*, we will briefly list the selected historical texts on *Sclavinias*:
1. The Early Byzantine Greek historical sources: *Theofylaktos Simokattés, Theofanes the Confessor, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos*;
2. The Anglo-Saxon historical sources: *Alfred the Great, the marginal references to the Old English heroic epic "Widsith"*;
3. The Oriental historical sources: this group of sources comprises a fairly large amount of historical texts, with two basic branches –the Islamic texts: *Arabic-written and Persian Texts (Al-Istaḫrī, Ibn Haukal, Al-Mascūdī, Ibrāhīm ibn Jacqūb & Abū cUbajd al-Bakrī, Hudūd al-cālam /The Countries of the World, Abū cAbdallāh al-Idrīsī*) and Hebrew texts (*Maẏmon b. Ẏosep, Benjamin of Tudela*);
4. The Old Church Slavonic historical sources*: The Primary Chronicle / Povestj vremennykh let and the so-called archaic Pannonian Extracts / Skazanie o prelozhenii knig na slavyanskiy yazyk*;
5. The Latin historical sources: *Hodoeporicon / The Life of St. Willibald, Adamus Bremensis: Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclessiae Pontificum, The Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus, Helmold´s Chronicle of the Slavs, The Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin, Hungarian-Polish Chronicle, Bartholomeus Anglicus: De proprietatibus rerum, The Chronicle of Mierzwa, William de Rubrouck: Itinerarium, Roger Bacon: Opus Maius*;
6. The French-written historical sources: *Benoit de Sainte-Maure: Chronique des ducs de Normandie / The Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy*.

[2] For more detail, see – Teofylakt Simokatta: Historia. Ed.: Wincenty Swoboda, trans.: Alina Brzóstkowska. In: *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian: Seria grecka* 2. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989, pp. 254–257. See also – Theofylaktos Simokattes: *Na přelomu věků*. Ed. et trans.: Václav Bahník. Praha: Odeon, 1986, pp. 261–270. Also – Feofylakt Simokatta: Istoria. Ed. et trans.: Sergej Arkad'evich Ivanov. In: *Svod o drevnejshih pismennych izvestij o slavjanach*, vol. 2. (VII–IX st.). Ed.: Gennadij Grigor'evich Litavrin et al. Moskva: Vostochnaja literatura, 1995, pp. 10–64; also – Feofylakt Simokatta: *Istoria*. Ed.: Anatolij Ivanovich Utkin, trans.: Sergej Petrovich Kondratjev. Moskva: Arktos, 1996, 268 p.

[3] For more detail, see – Feofan Ispovednik. Ed. et trans.: Gennadij Grigor'evich Litavrin. In: *Svod drevnejshih*, t. 2, pp. 248–318. Also – Teofanes: Kronika. Ed.: Wincenty Swoboda, trans.: Alina Brzóstkowska. In: *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian: Seria grecka* 3. Warszawa: Sławistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 1995, pp. 35–37; as well as – Bibikov, Mihail Vadimovich: *Istoricheskaja literatura Vizantii*. Sankt-Peterburg: Aletejja, 1998, pp. 80–88.

[4] More comprehensively, see – Constantine Porphyrogenitus: *De administrando imperio*. Ed.: Gyula Moravcsik, trans.: Romilly J. H. Jenkins. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985, pp. 7–11. Also – *Konstantin Bagrjanorodyj*: *Ob upravlenii imperiej*. Ed. et trans.: Gennadij Grigor'evich Litavrin – Anatolij Petrovich Novosel'cev. Moskva: Nauka, 1991, pp. 10–31.

[5] See – Ibn Ḥurdāḏbih: Kitāb al-masālik wa l-mamālikin. In: *Arabské správy o Slovanoch (9.–12. storočie)*. Ed. et trans.: Ján Pauliny. Bratislava: Veda, 1999, pp. 89–96.

[6] *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany*: *Being the Lives of Ss. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba, and Libuin, Together with the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald and a Selection from the Correspondence of St. Boniface*. Ed. et trans.: Clarence H. Talbot. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1954, pp. vii.–xviii., pp. 153–180. Also – Zhitie Villibal'da, episkopa Jejhshtettskogo. Ed.: Vladimir Karlovich Ronin. In: *Svod drevnejshih*, t. 2., p. 439.



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developed into rather independent units. Analysing the palette of historical sources, we traced their formation, genesis and finally the gradual "dismission" of these *Sclavinias* by the Byzantine power, which since the end of the seventh century systematically strived to recover and reconstruct its former territorial unity. Thanks to the change of the political climate in the East and very effective transformation of the territorial and governmental structure of the Byzantine territory on the Balkans, the most of the Thracian, Peloponnesian and Macedonian *Sclavinias* lost their independence as late as by the end of the ninth century.

## 3. *Sclavinia* as the Carpathian Basin

*Sclavinia* as the Carpathian basin is the first concept which originated among the Slavs themselves. The fundamental source for this very significant turnover is the *Primary Chronicle* (*Povestj vremennykh let*),[7] but we have found similar or the same testimony in many other historical sources such as the Persian anonymous chronicle *Hudud al-alam* or *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*.[8] All of these present the idea of the archetypal, original homeland of the Slavs, which is said to have spread over the lands of the Carpathian Basin, i.e. the territory of the historical Dacia, Pannonia and partly Noricum. This very archaic, solidly preserved tradition is alleged to fix and reflect the historical memory of the Slavs themselves about their first "statehood" on the Danube – the river which in their memories, consciousness, and oral and written tradition received the sacral character.

Considering this "Slavic" concept, we witness the phenomenon of interjection of the Byzantine tradition, since the sixth century systematically connecting the Slavs with the Danube, with the own Slavic Moravian-Pannonian tradition of the ninth–tenth centuries. This concept, having originated in the Slavic world, influenced all other following ideological streams about the common origin and the homeland of the Slavs. Reviving the Great Moravian tradition, it spread into the other parts of the Slavic world, where it left its mark for long.

## 4. *Sclavinia* as Great Moravia

In the previous part there resounded the thesis about the ideological legacy of Great Moravia, which served as a fundamental platform for the later medieval authors of Slavic origin or those somehow adherent to it. *Sclavinia*, as portrayed in their works, stood for the successor of the Great Moravian tradition. Now, we will look at those historical sources where the concept of *Sclavinia* represents Great Moravian Empire directly. Here again appears the already mentioned *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* with its reference to the territory of historical Hungary originally called *Sclavonia*. Even more important, however, is the ideological overlap incorporated in the text of the Hungarian chronicle, by which it accepted the heritage of this first Slavic kingdom – *Regnum Sclavorum*.

The other historical sources backing up the analysed concept are those of the Oriental origin. A Persian Ibn Rusta explicitly identifies Great Moravia with the country of Svatopluk (*bilād as-Saqāliba*) and Al-Masʿūdī as the first Arabic writer used the term of *Slavonia* to denote the Slavic territories later occupied by the Magyar tribes.

The concept of *Sclavinia* as Great Moravia seems to be the crucial one in evolution of the idea of *Sclavinia* as it stands at the foundations of many other concepts having their origin in the Central European area.

## 5. *Sclavinia* as the territory of historical *Illyricum*

The forthcoming fourth concept has the support of numerous sources, represented especially by the *Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin*,[9] the *Chronicle of Mierzwa*, Bartholomeus Anglicus' *De proprietatibus rerum*, William de Rubrouck's *Itinerarium* and Roger Bacon's *Opus Maius*. The concept can be

[7] The detailed analysis of the chronicle, see Danilevskij, Igor' Nikolaevich: *Povest' vremennyh let: germenevticheskie osnovy istochnikovedenija letopisnyh tekstov.* Moskva: Aspekt-Press, 2004, pp. 85–111. Also – Shahmatov, Aleksej Aleksandrovich: *Istorija russkogo letopisanija 1. Povest' vremennyh let i drevnejshie russkie letopisnye svody, kn. 1. Razyskanija o drevnejshih russkih letopisnyh svodah*. Ed.: Viktor Kuz'mich Ziborov – Vasilij V. Jakovlev. Moskva – Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2002, pp. 309–328.

[8] The detailed research upon the chronicle see in the works of Homza, Martin: *Mulieres suadentes* : *Presviedčajúce ženy*. Bratislava: Lúč, 2002, 182 p., further in – *Uhorsko-poľská kronika. Nedocenený prameň k dejinám strednej Európy*. Ed.: Martin Homza, trans.: Jana Balegová. Bratislava: Post Scriptum a Libri Historiae, 2009, 224 p. Also see the research Grzesik, Ryszard: *Kronika węgiersko-polska.* Poznań: PTPN, 1999, passim; as well as – *Żywot Św. Stefana króla Węgier czyli Kronika węgiersko-polska*. Ed. et trans.: Ryszard Grzesik. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2003, passim.

[9] *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina: Latinski tekst sa hrvatskim prijevodom i „Hrvatska kronika"*. Ed.: Vladimir Mošin, trans. Stjepan Mencinger – Vjekoslav Štefanić. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1950, pp. 11–36. Also – Jovanović, Neven: Marulićev prijevod Hrvatske kronike i ovo izdanje. In: *Marko Marulić, Latinska manja djela*, vol. 2. Split: Književni krug, 2011, pp. 125–168.



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labelled as the one carrying the South Slavic "Illyrian" tradition, which embraces the signs and testimony of the Great Moravian tradition. This South Slavic tradition of *Sclavinia* (taking the form of *Sclavonia*) dates back to the twelfth or the thirteenth century and its fundamental work is the *Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin*. The interjection of the Great Moravian tradition with the tradition of the Slavonic-Croatian statehood laid the foundations of the South Slavic tradition of *Sclavinia* as the large and archaic Balkan country of the Slavs.




Fig. 1. *Emperor Otto III. enthroned receiving homage from Sclavinia, Germania, Gallia, Roma.*

Transiting this Great Moravian history on the Balkan territories, the South Slavs received a stamp of the historical legitimacy for their own country.

To sum up the abovementioned discussion in a simple scheme, we can say that in the historical memory of the Slavs the Danube river was always connected with the origins of the Slavhood so as Great Moravia was connected with the origins of the Slavic statehood. Great Moravia served as a kind of a model matrix, an archetype of the powerful Slavic state, and in the ideological line many later Slavic traditions derived their origins first of all from it. As a result, also here depicted *Sclavinia* (*Sclavania* in *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*, *Regnum Sclavorum* in the *Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin*) represented a direct follower and successor of the Great Moravian legacy.

Another interesting moment to be noticed and highlighted in connection with the fourth concept of *Sclavinia*, i. e. the South Slavic Dukljanin's notion, is the fact that this concept of *Sclavinia* in particular was widely spread by the monks of the Franciscan order, more precisely, by their Balkan branch settled at the beginning of the thirteenth century in the territory of Bosnia. From this moment on, we come across the historical texts of very miscellaneous provenience, belonging to the Franciscan authors exclusively, where the concept of *Sclavinia* (*Sclavonia*) represents the country of the South Slavs.

## 6. *Sclavinia* as the territory inhabited by the Slavs in general, or by their western and southern branch

The concept of *Sclavinia* as the territory of the Slavs as such moved the researched issue to a new evolutional level, the next and simultaneously the last originally Slavic. *Sclavinia* is presented here as the country of all Slavs, or at least their western and southern branch. Within this widest portrayal and territorial depiction of *Sclavinia* we witness the gradual evolution of an idea of the ethnic unity of the Slavs. The original consciousness of the Slavs about their interrelationship or brotherhood gradually grew into the geo-political concept. At this point it is inevitable to make a reference to St. Adalbert's plan of *Sclavinia* as the political union of the West and possibly also the South Slavs.[10] This attempt can be

[10] The concept of St. Adalbert's *Sclavinia* researched in detail in Fried, Johannes: *Otton III. i Bolesław Chrobry*. Trans.: Elżbieta Kaźmierczak – Witold Leder. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 2000, passim.



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grasped as a piece of evidence demonstrating the maturity of the ethnical consciousness of this part of the Slavic world. Again, the Great Moravian tradition plays a very significant role here, because it was especially "its" territory where many later and younger Slavic traditions on *Sclavinia* derived their origin from. Following St. Adalbert, Emperor Oto III also planned to make use of the legacy of the Central European territory. He is believed to have planned to widen the already formed territorial-ethnical conception of *Sclavinia* by the spiritual, Christian dimension and incorporate it into his project *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*.

Despite the fact that neither of these projects of *Sclavinia* was transformed into a reality, we can see its influence in the historical sources starting from the eleventh century on.

## 7. *Sclavinia* as the territory of the East Slavic tribes, of the Kievan Rus, or of the Ilmen Slavs

Concerning the obtained research results and the overall evaluation of the idea of *Sclavinia*, the following concepts seem more marginal. *Sclavinia* as the territory of the East Slavic tribes or its proportional part is to be found exclusively in the Oriental historical sources. The Muslim travellers and traders were very tightly related and well-informed about the territories in their vicinity and because the East Slavic lands, later Kievan Rus, belonged to their sphere of interests, they profoundly described them in their records.

## 8. *Sclavinia* as the territory of the Volga River, in particular of the Volga Bulgaria

The concept of *Sclavinia* as the Volga Bulgaria has just an additional character as it appears only in one historical text, namely, in the work of an Arabic diplomat and traveller Ahmad ibn Fadlān.[11] Despite the fact that his record from the official diplomatic visit of the Volga Bulgaria is very detailed and exact as far as various historical facts are concerned, he refers to this Islamic state as to *Sclavinia* (*bilād as-Saqāliba*). Such identification has no other parallel in the history as well as no reliable explanation, but we list it within our overview of the numerous concepts of *Sclavinia* as it presents a unique and rather peculiar concept with solid and tangible content.



Fig. 2. *Frescos showing the nations of Europe marching towards the cross (Fourteenth century). Sclavinia is one of them.*

## 9. *Sclavinia* as the whole Europe

The last portrayal of *Sclavinia* is of the same quality as the previous one – it diversifies the whole complex of the concepts of *Sclavinia* in an interesting way only. However, on the other hand, it extends the analysed term of *Sclavinia* with the new meanings and territorial content and as a result it has a place in our survey.

*Sclavinia* as the whole of Europe, or at least its northern and central part, appears exclusively in the Persian sources of the ninth century of Al – Fargānī, Ibn Ḥurdādbih and Ibn al-Faqih. Such out-of-focus projection was rooted in the fact that the Muslim world tended to label all "blonde-haired people" as *Saqlab*, i. e. the Slavs, not differentiating between the real Slavs and other Europeans.

Despite the undeniable ignorance of the authors concerning the geographical notions, it proves that thanks to the dominance of the Slavs in Europe in numbers, the European territory as whole was viewed by the distant Orient world as the Slavic.

At the end of this paper, let us sum up our findings, highlighting the most significant outcomes

[11] *Puteshestvie Ibn-Fadlana na Volge*. Ed.: Ignatij Julianovich Krachkovskij, trans.: Andrej Petrovich Kovalevskij. Moskva: Izdvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1939, pp. 7–53.



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concerning the topic of *Sclavinia*. Analysing and interpreting the rich sample of miscellaneous historical sources we have come to a conclusion that a very large complex of the historical sources of the Slavic origin fixes several concepts of *Sclavinia* – these concepts origin from and reflect the three basic Slavic traditions: 1. Moravian-Pannonian tradition, 2. South Slavic tradition, 3. Latin West Slavic tradition. The most striking result, however, is the assumption that they all have one common nominator – Great Moravia and its ideological-territorial legacy. The testimony and experience of this strong and in all directions important Slavic state stamped the history of all its further Slavic descendants. Subsequently, they preserved, adapted, modified, and spread further, as a sign of their own legitimacy, the memory concerning the common Slavic land, called *Sclavinia*. Simultaneously, there were many attempts to utilize this example and revive its legacy of the famous past, as it was demonstrated in many a concept of *Sclavinia*. However, these particular concepts never crossed the boundary of the planned and stayed preserved in the sphere of visions and projects only. Nevertheless, all that bears priceless witness of the Slavic history in general, its oral and written traditions and historical memory, which were all in the various ways embraced in the term of *Sclavinia*.



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RYSZARD GRZESIK*

# Great Moravia as the Basis of the Central European Medieval Historical Tradition

## Veľká Morava ako základ stredoeurópskej stredovekej historickej tradície / Velika Moravska kao temelj srednjoeuropske srednjovjekovne povijesne tradicije

*This study presents the role of the Great-Moravian state in the creation of the historical tradition of some Central European states. Several medieval chronicles are used (*Gesta of the Anonymous Notary *and of* Simon of Kéza *and* the Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*; the works of Priest of Duklja, Christian and Cosmas of Prague, Povest' vremennykh let). Several motifs reflect events from Great-Moravian political and cultural history and they were used as the legitimization factor of dynastical and "national" power in Central and East Europe; for example, the fights of the Hungarian conquerors with the local rulers, the colloquium in Duklja, the baptism of the Czechs and the creation of Slavic literature* (Povest' o prelozhenii knig).

Keywords: source criticism, Middle Ages, Central and Eastern Europe, Great Moravia

The development of source-criticism made historians aware that chronicles are historical facts, and not only simple notes about them.[1] We can read the hidden information which was unconsciously written by their authors, such as their mentality, the world of their imagination and the image of the reality. We know also that the creation of the past served to some ideas. There were the ideas of the search for the origins and the praiseworthy past of one's own community. This community could be a monastery, a defined territory like a principality or – later – a town. Most often, the state as a relatively fresh kind of social organization was the subject of the chronicles. The state in the Central Europe has a relatively late genesis. The earliest states existing up to nowadays originated in the seventh century, such as Bulgaria, but mainly at the turn of the eighth and the ninth century, such as Croatia, in the ninth century as Rus', Bohemia or Hungary, or in the tenth century as in the case of Poland. A century or two later, the first chronicles were written to legitimize the existence of states and to create the canon of their history.[2]

The state created its own elites, that is, groups of people living from their service to this state. The rulers and their relatives, the ruler's retinue, the courtly officers and the representatives of the ruler in the provinces belonged to the elite. They were all interested in the existence and development of the state. The common consciousness of interests, past and future was created. The past had been an important adhesive of a community, giving the myths and legends, which legitimized the state society. One over-tribal language was created, which integrated the representatives of the tribes ruled by the common ruler. The unique, over-tribal religion strengthened the state community; the Christianity was such religion, it was

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[1] Let us quote two most popular definitions of historical source in Polish historiography. Topolski, Jerzy: *Metodologia historii*. Warszawa: PWN, 1984, p. 324: "… *so all the information about human life in the past together with the information channels are historical facts*. Labuda, Gerard: Próba nowej systematyki i nowej interpretacji źródeł historycznych. In: *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, a. 1, 1957, p. 22 (new edition as a separate book with author's extensive commentary published in Poznań by Wydawnictwo Poznańskie in 2010): historical sources are "*all psychophysical and social remains are the results of human work and at the same time participate in social life. Therefore they are able to reflect the development* [of this society – R. G.]. *Thanks to these attributes (i. e. being a product of work and having an ability to reflect), the historical source is the means of recognition, making the scientific reconstruction of the social development in each of its aspects possible.*"

[2] Kersken, Norbert: *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der „nationes". Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellyngen im Mittelalter.* Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1995, pp. 7–8 dates the origins of the "national historiography" to the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth century. Cfr. Bagi, Daniel: *Królowie węgierscy w Kronice Galla Anonima*. Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny, vol. 108. Kraków: PAU, 2008, pp. 45–47. The Hungarian version: *Gallus Anonymus és Magyarország. A Geszta magyar adatai, forrásai, mintai, valamint a szerző történetszemlélete a latin Kelet-Közép-Európa 12. század eleji latin nyelvű történetírásának tükrében*. Irodalomtörténeti füzetek, vol. 158, Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 2005, pp. 52–55.



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consequently accepted by the states of the former *Barbaricum*. It was very close to the origin of the state consciousness, which evolved into the national consciousness after several centuries. Its roots stay in those ancient times of the creation of the state structures.[3]

The stories about the "prehistory" or *origines gentium* in the original parts of the chronicles are very interesting research subject. They answer the questions what the genesis of the state was, who its inhabitants were, where they came from, why they formed a state, what its place on the political map of the Christianity was and is. They stress the necessity of having the 'natural lords', that is, the members of the dynasty which ruled at the time of chronicle writing.[4] Let us see, therefore, what the origins of the Central European states looked like. I will analyze a picture given to us by some chosen chronicles from the region, including the Ruthenian *Primary Chronicle*. Rus' also belonged to Central Europe until the Tartar incursion in the first half of the thirteenth century, although it accepted the Byzantine Christianity, opposite to the countries lying more to the West, which accepted the Latin model of this religion. We will see which events from the past were underlined. We will observe a hidden tradition connected to a state which does not exist yet. This tradition seems to distinguish our region from other European territories.

We will start our analysis from the first South Slavic chronicler, called conventionally the Priest of Duklja. He noted that in the time of King Svetimir: "*floruit, ut rosa, ex civitate Thessalonica quidam philosophus Constantinus nomine, filius cuiusdam Leonis patricii, vir per omnia sanctissimus atque in divinis scripturis profundissime a pueritia edoctus*".[5] We read further that the holy man went to Khazaria, which he converted to Christianity. Afterwards he converted *totam gentem Bulgarorum*.[6] The chronicler wrote in the next chapter that after Svetimir's death: "*accepit regnum* [*filius* – ed.] *eius Svetopelek nomine*".[7] Constantine-Cyril[8] was called to Rome by Pope Stephen, who heard a lot about his missionary and translation activity.[9] He crossed the territories of King *Svetopelek*, whom he also baptized and firmed in the faith. In the following passage of the story, the chronicler concentrates on the acts of the ruler, who let the Latin speaking Christians rebuild the towns[10] and decided to organize the state anew. The congregation of all inhabitants of the Kingdom on the Dalma Plain with participation of the papal and imperial (Byzantine) legates was devoted to this purpose. The regular Church organization with two metropolises, in Salona (Split) and in Dioklea, as well as the administrative organization and the rules of the state administration served to this purpose. "*Multas leges et bonos mores instituit, quos qui velit agnoscere, librum Sclavorum qui dicitur Methodius legat, qui reperiet qualia bona instituit rex benignissimus*".[11] The chronicler finishes the narration about King *Svetopelek* with the information

[3] There is a vast literaturę about the relationship between the state and national consciousness. Cfr. e. g. Graus, František: *Lebendige Vergangenheit. Überlieferung im Mittelalter und die Vorstellung vom Mittelalter*. Köln – Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1975 (he paid attention to the integration role of a patron-saint, as St. Wenceslas in the case of Bohemia); Zientara, Benedykt: *Świt narodów europejskich. Powstawanie świadomości narodowej na obszarze Europy pokarolińskiej*. Warszawa: PWN, 1985; Szűcs, Jenö: „Nationalität" und „Nationalbewußtsein" im Mittelalter. Geschichtspunkte zur Herausgestaltung einer einheitlichen Begriffssprache. In: *Nation und Geschichte. Studien*. Ed.: Jenö Szűcs. Köln – Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1981, pp. 161–243 (with scepticism concerning the use of the term 'nation' in its contemporary sense when talking about the Middle Ages).

[4] For *origines gentium* cfr. Banaszkiewicz, Jacek: *Polskie dzieje bajeczne w Kronice Wincentego Kadłubka*. Wrocław: Fundacja Nauki Polskiej, 1998, passim (large comparative analysis of the legendary motifs creating the "prehistory"); Bagi, Daniel: *Królowie węgierscy w Kronice Galla Anonima*, pp. 67–68; Idem: *Gallus Anonymus és Magyarország*, pp. 86–88.

[5] *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina. Latinski tekst sa hrvatskim prijevodom i „Hrvatska Kronika"*. Ed.: Vladimir Mošin. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1950, cap. 8, p. 48. Polish translation: *Historia królestwa Słowian czyli Latopis popa Duklanina*. Ed.: Jan Leśny. Warszawa: PWN, 1988, pp. 67–73.

[6] Ibidem.

[7] *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, cap. 9, p. 48. According to Martin Homza the name Svätomír in Slovak (in Polish: Świętomir) is a real name of Svätopluk's father; Homza, Martin – Rácová, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia. Kapitoly k základom slovenskej historiografie*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2010, p. 40.

[8] *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, cap. 9, p. 48: "*Tunc vir dei Constantinus, cui nomen postea Kyrillus a papa Stephano impositum est, quando consecravit eum monacum*".

[9] Ibidem, cap. 9, p. 49: "*Itaque Constantinus, vir sanctissimus, ordinavit presbyteros et litteram lingua sclavonica componens, commutavit evangelium Christi atque Psalterium et omnes divinos libros veteris et novi testamenti de graeca litera in sclavonicam nec non et missam eis ordinans more Graecorum, confirmavit eos in fide Christi.*"

[10] The author's knowledge of the language situation in Dalmatia is obvious in this chapter. *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, p. 50: "*Post haec Svetopelek rex iussit christianis, qui latina utebantur lingua, ut reverterentur unusquisque in locum suum et reaedificarent civitates et loca, quae olim a paganis destructa fuerunt*"; p. 52 in the description of a council on the Dalma Plain: "*Igitur omnes congregati, tam latina quam et sclavonica lingua qui loquebantur.*"

[11] Ibidem, cap. 9, p. 56.



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about the period of his rule: "*Regnavit praeterea rex sanctissimus XL annos et menses quatuor genitque filios et filias, et septima decima die intrante mense martio mortuus est sepultusque est in ecclesia sanctae Mariae in civitate Dioclitana honorifice et cum magnis exequiis*".[12] His son Svetolik was his successor, but the chronicler does not devote any attention to him.[13]

And now it is time for a story of the *Primary Chronicle*, which belonged to the Slavic-Greek culture circle. We read about the course of the Hungarians near Kiev, who went through the Hungarian Mountains and fought against the settled Slavs and the Vlachs.[14] It was in the year 6406 of the Byzantine era, which is the year 898 AD. They expelled the Vlachs and started to reign over the Slavs living amongst them. Therefore this territory was called the Hungarian land. The Hungarians started to fight against the Greeks and they conquered the land of the Franks and Macedonia even to Thessalonika. They started to fight against the Bohemians and Moravians. Only one Slavic language existed at that time. It was used by the Danubian Slavs, who accepted the Hungarians, as well as by the Moravians, Czechs, Ljakhs and the Polyanians, "*which are now called* Rus'." There were books which were translated in Moravia and written in the Slavic script, which was used by the Ruthenians and the Danube Bulgars.[15] Then we learn that the princes of the Slavs, Rastislas, i Svjatoplk, i Kocel,[16] sent a legacy to Emperor Michael after their baptism with a request to send them teachers who could explain the holy books to them in an understandable language. They understood neither Greek nor Latin.[17] The emperor asked two sons of Leo of Thessalonika, clever philosophers, *Mefodija i Konstantina*, after the consultations.[18] They both went to the Slavs, they composed the Slavic script and translated the *Acts of the Apostles*, the *Gospel*, afterwards the *Psalter*, the *Octoich* and other books. The Roman pope[19] supported their work and excommunicated their opponents. Constantine went afterwards to Bulgaria, and Methodius stayed in Moravia, where he was proclaimed a bishop of the see of St. Andronicus, St. Paul's disciple, by Prince Kocelj. The chronicler adds that St. Paul Apostle taught also in Moravia, a territory identical with Illiricum, where he was present and it was the primary territory of the Slavs. Therefore, St. Paul taught in Slavic, and because Rus' descended from this language, St. Paul was the Apostle of Rus'. He designated Andronicus as a bishop of the Slavs.[20]

The *Legenda Christiani* is the next source which is worth mentioning in our context. It is a *life* of St. Wenceslas and his grandmother Ludmila. Its time of origin has been the subject of a long-lasting discussion. The opinion which places its writing at the end of the tenth century seems to be correct. The author was probably a member of the Přemyslid dynasty; he is very well known from the hagiography of St. Adalbert and from the *Chronicle of Cosmas*, who named him as Christian – Strachkvas. He was also a relative

[12] Ibidem, cap. 9, pp. 56–57.

[13] Ibidem, cap. 10, p. 57. The analogies with Aquila – Attila from the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*, who organized his state too, are obvious.

[14] The Author of the Polish translation consequently used the name: the Italians (Włosi). The name волохи, волохове with a variant волхи, волъхве was noted in the original text. The name волохи, I think that more appropriate, was used, also, in the Russian translation. *Powieść minionych lat* (deinde *PWL*). Ed.: Franciszek Sielicki. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Ossolineum, 1968, p. 228; *Povest' vremennyh let* (deinde *PVL*). Commentaries by Dmitry S. Lihachjov – Boris A. Romanov. Moskva – Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1950, vol. 1, pp. 21, 218, vol. 2, p. 184 nota 97, 98.

[15] *PVL* 1, p. 21. *Сѣдяху бо ту преже словѣни, и волохове прияша землю словеньску. Посемъ же угри прогнаша волъхи, и наслѣдиша землю ту, и сѣдоша съ словѣны, покорившe я подъ ся, и отколе прозвася земля Угорьска. И начаша воевати угри на греки, и поплѣниша землю Фрачьску и Макидоньску доже и до Селуня. И начаша воевати на мораву и на чехи. Бѣ единъ языкъ словѣнскъ: словѣни, иже сѣдяху по Дунаеви, их же приняша угри, и морава, и чеси, и ляхове, и поляне, яже нынѣ зовомая Русь. Симъ бо первое преложены книги, моравѣ, яже прозвася грамота словѣньская, яже грамота есть в Руси и в болгарѣх дунайскихъ.* I use the letter of the Serb alphabet, describing 'ć' to express the 'yat'' letter from the technical reasons. The English translation of the text was inaccessible for me during the text composition. Cfr. *The Russian Primary Chronicle*. Ed.: Samuel H. Cross – Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor. Cambridge: Mass, 1953. The excerpts of this edition are accessible in the Internet. Cfr. e.g. http://web.ku.edu/~russcult/culture/handouts/chronicle_all.html (seen on 9th June, 2011).

[16] *PVL* 1, p. 21.

[17] Ibidem, p. 22: "*Не разумѣмъ бо ни гречьску языку, ни латыньску.*"

[18] Ibidem.

[19] Ibidem: "*папежь римьский*".

[20] Ibidem, p. 23: "*В Моравы бо ходилъ и апостолъ Павелъ училъ ту; ту бо есть Илюрикъ, его же доходилъ апостолъ Павелъ; ту бо бѣша словене первое. Тѣм же и словеньску языку учитель есть Павелъ, от него же языка и мы есмо Русь, тѣм же и нам Руси учитель есть Павелъ, понеже учил есть языкъ словѣнескъ и поставилъ есть епископа и намѣсника по себѣ Андроника словеньску языку.*"



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of St. Adalbert, the second bishop of Prague, to whom he dedicated his work.[21] He starts with a historiographical introduction about Moravia. Allegedly, this country accepted the Christianity in St. Augustine's time. Afterwards, *Quirillus quidam, nacione Grecus, tam Latinis quam ipsis Grecorum apicibus instructus*, came to this country.[22] He invented a new script there *et vetus novumque testamentum pluraque alia de Greco seu Latino sermone Sclavonicam in linguam transtulit*.[23] He beat the attacks of opponents off, then he accepted the monk's habit and died *relinquens supra memoratis in partibus fratrem suum nomine Metudium, virum strenuum omnique decoratum sanctitate*.[24] He was designated as a *summus pontifex* and ruled over seven bishoprics. Svatopluk (*Zuentepulc*) captured the throne at that time, knocking off his paternal uncle, the supporter of the whole Christianity, and blinding him. Christian says that the new ruler served partly to Jesus Christ and partly to the devil, therefore he was cursed. The Bohemian Slavs lived as beasts without rule at that time. When they were plagued, they asked a prophetess, who advised them to build a new city, Prague. They designated a ploughman named Přemysl a prince, who married the prophetess. The Czechs were pagans until the time of Premysl's descendant, Borivoj. The new ruler of the Czechs, who depended on Svatopluk, went to his court. During the feast, Borivoj was not sitting at the table but on the floor, apart from the Christians. Only archbishop Methodius had mercy on him. He proposed a baptism to the Czech ruler, he taught him and finally baptized him and his thirty comrades. When Borivoj went away, Methodius gave him a priest named *Caych*. When he returned to the Czech land, Borivoj founded the Church of St. Clement, pope and martyr, in Gradic. Afterwards we read about the rebellion of Strojmir, who was supported by the Germans, about Borivoj's escape to Svatopluk and, after his return, about the building of Virgin Mary's Church in Prague.[25]

Cosmas knew about Borivoj's baptism accepted from the Moravian bishop Methodius as well. He notes some new information about King Svatopluk, which are unknown to the other sources. The ruler rebelled against Emperor Arnulf. He felt pangs of conscience, therefore, he escaped from the camp secretly and went to the hermitage on the edge of the Mount Zobor, where he lived unrecognized until his death. He disclosed who he was only on his death-bed. His sons started to rule Moravia, which was divided between the Hungarians, the Germans and the Poles during their rule.[26]

The Anonymous Notary of King Bela knew about the Hungarian conquest of the Nitra land.[27] He mentions also the prince of Bihar, Menumorout, who was twice defeated by the Hungarians. He made peace with the Hungarians and married his daughter to the Hungarian dauphine Zulta.[28] It was Simon of Kéza who wrote about the fights of the Hungarians with Svatopluk *Zvatapolug*. It was a Polish prince, who conquered Pannonia after the Huns receded. He subordinated Bracta, the Bulgarians and the Mesians as well. He opposed the Hungarians *prope fluvium Racus, iuxta Banhida*, but he was defeated. However, some people mentioned that it was Morot who was defeated by the invaders. According to the chronicler *Morot pater eius nomine maior erat, sed confectus senio repausabat in castro, quod Bezprem nominatur. Audito infortunio, quod filio acciderat, morte subita ob dolorem*

[21] Cfr. recently a very good monograph by Kuźmiuk-Ciekanowska, Agnieszka: *Święty i historia. Dynastia Przemyślidów i jej bohaterowie w dziele mnicha Krystiana.* Kraków: Avalon, 2007 and a critical note by Matla, in: *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, vol. 47, 2009, pp. 226–228.

[22] Christianus monachus. Kristiánova Legenda (Kap. I–III). In: *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici* (deinde *MMFH*), vol. 2. Ed.: Lubomír Havlík et al.. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1967, cap. 1, p. 188.

[23] Ibidem, p. 189.

[24] Ibidem, p. 190.

[25] The whole text in Latin with Czech translation, *MMFH* 2, pp. 186–199.

[26] I use the excerpt of the *Chronicle of Cosmas* in: *MMFH* 1, Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1966, pp. 200–203 (here: 200–201, cap. 1, 10 and cap. 1, 14). The canonical edition*: Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*. Ed.: Berthold Bretholz. Berlin: Weidmannischen Buchhandlung, 1923 (Nachdruck München: *Monumenta Germaniae Historiae*, 1980), p. 22, 32–34.

[27] The most recent edition: *Anonymus and Master Roger. Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Ed. et trans. et notae: Martyn Rady – László Veszprémy. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2010 *(Central European Medieval Texts*, vol. 5), cap. 35–37, pp. 76–81 (Latin text with English translation). Cfr. Latin-Polish edition: *Anonimowego notariusza króla Béli Gesta Hungarorum*. Ed.: Alexandra Kulbicka – Krzysztof Pawłowski – Grażyna Wodzinowska-Taklińska, with intraduction and footnotes by Ryszard Grzesik. Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2006, pp. 120–127. The Latin-Slovak edition: *Kronika anonymného notára kráľa Bela. Gesta Hungarorum*. Ed.: Vincent Múcska. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo RAK, 2000, pp. 80–85.

[28] *Anonymus*, cap. 51–52, pp. 110–113; *Anonimowego notariusza*, pp. 166–171; *Kronika*, pp. 104–109.



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*finivit vitam suam*.[29] Master Simon knew also that the Hungarians defeated Svatopluk Zuatapolug opposite the fort of Zub (present-day Szob).[30]

It is time to summarize all the information collected here. We have analyzed the chronicles which were written in several countries and in different time periods. The *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* originated in the second half of the twelfth century in Bar (Antibari) in present-day Montenegro. The *Primary Chronicle* was the work of several anonymous writers, but it was the monk of the Cave Monastery in Kiev, Nestor, who played an important role during its redaction in the second decade of the twelfth century. I have already mentioned that *Legenda Christiani* was written at the end of the tenth century and the *Chronicle of Cosmas* ca. 1125, both in Bohemia. Finally, the Hungarian chronicles which I mentioned were written in the thirteenth century, the *Gesta* of the Anonymous Notary at the very beginning of this century, and the work of Master Simon in the years 1282–1285. These sources are independent. Nevertheless, we find the motifs and persons which show the political and cultural reality. It was the Moravian state. We learn about the mission of St. Constantine (the Priest of Duklja, the *Primary Chronicle*) – Cyril (The Priest of Duklja, Christian) and of his brother Methodius (the Priest of Duklja, the *Primary Chronicle*, Christian and Cosmas). We learn about their role in the development of the Slavic culture. The *Primary Chronicle* deserves a special attention because it tells a long account about the invention of the Slavic script, which was used after the time of its composition in Rus' and in Bulgaria.[31] We read about the ethnogenesis of the Slavs. The chronicler adds splendour to the Slavic culture by connecting it to St. Paul's activity.[32] This story is known as *Povest' o prelozhenii knig*, the *Story of the Translation of the Books*, in historiography. It is generally connected with the oldest stage of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia.[33] It is understandable that the Bohemian sources pay great attention to Borivoj's baptism. They stress that the Czech Christianity rooted in the Moravian one and in St. Methodius' activity.

Apart from the cultural motifs, we find another kind of stories in the abovementioned chronicles. We can call them political ones. One of them

[29] *Simonis de Kéza, Gesta Hungarorum. Simon of Kéza, The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Ed. et trans.: László Veszprémy – Frank Schaer, with a study by Jenõ Szûcs. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999 (Central European Medieval Texts, vol. 1), cap. 23 pp. 74–76 (English text pp. 75–77).

[30] Ibidem, cap. 26, pp. 80–81.

[31] It is well known that the Brothers of Thessaloniki invented the Glagolitic script. The largest part of their disciples found refuge in Bulgaria after they were expelled from Moravia by Svatopluk. The Greek culture developed there at that time. A new alphabet, based on the Greek, was designed, to spread the Slavic culture easier. It was the Cyrillic script, which dominated the culture of *Slavia orthodoxa*. Cfr. Leszek Moszyński: Cyrylica. In: *Wczesna Słowiańszczyzna. Przewodnik po dziejach i literaturze przedmiotu*, vol. 1. Ed.: Andrzej Wędzki. Warszawa: SOW, 2008, pp. 103–104 and Ibidem, pp. 176–179. The English version of this lexicon is in preparation.

[32] It is interesting that the origins of Christianity in Dalmatia were also connected to St. Paul. *The Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*, which was written probably at the turn of the 1220s and 1230s, notes probably the common opinion about the origins of the Split Church. *Chronica Hungaro-Polonica*, pars 1 (Textus cum varietate lectionum). Ed.: Béla Karácsonyi, Szeged 1969 (Acta Universitatis Szegedensis de Attila József nominatae, Acta Historica, t. 26), cap. 3, p. 19: "*Rex uero sclauonie et chrwacie circa mare delectaba{n}tur in ciuitate, que Sipleth dicitur, quam sanctus Paulus apostolus ad fidem christianam conuertit, et ipsam episcopalem kathedram V annis tenuit, deinde ordinate episcopo romam peciit*." Thomas, the Archdeacon of Split, notes that it was Domnius, St. Paul's disciple, who erected the diocesis in Salona, whose tradition continued the bishopric in Split, from 925 the metropolis. Thomas wrote: "*Primus itaque beatus Paulus apostolus (fuit), qui ab Jerusalem usque Illiricum repleuit euangelio Christi: non tamen ipse per se intrauit Illiricum predicare, sed misit Titum discipulum suum, sicut dicit ad Timoteum: Crescens abiit in Galatiam, Titus in Dalmatiam*." Thomas Archidiaconus: *Historia Salonitana*. Ed.: Fraňo Rački. Zagrabiae: JAZU, 1894, cap. 3, p. 7; most recent edition: Thomae Archidiaconi: *Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*. Latin text by Olga Perić, ed.: Damir Karbić – Mirjana Matijević Sokol – James Ross Sweeney. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2006, p. 12–13. Constantine Porphyrogenitus in cap. 36 of his *De administrando imperii* describes the islands of Dalmatian *Pagania*. He writes: "*another large island, Meleta, or Malozeatai, which St. Luke mentions in the Acts of the Apostles by the name of Melite, in which a viper fastened upon St. Paul by his finger, and St. Paul burnt it up in the fire*." Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administratio imperio*. Ed.: Gyula Moravcsik. Budapest: Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetemi Görög Filológiai Intézet, 1949, p. 165 (Greek text p. 164). Greek text with Polish translation: *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian. Seria grecka*, vol. 3, Pisarze z VII–X wieku. Ed.: Alina Brzóstkowska – Wincenty Swoboda. Warszawa: SOW, 1995, pp. 449–450. Wincenty Swoboda mentions in the commentary on this fragment, ibidem, p. 473 n. 67: "*It is, however, possible that this mention by Constantine reflected a local tradition*". I think that this story of the Byzantine emperor confirms that there was a tradition of St. Paul's stay in Dalmatia in the tenth century. Homza, Martin – Rácová, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*, p. 34. (Martin Homza) – according to the Author, St. Paul's mission in Dalmatia was one of the arguments legitimating the existence of St. Methodius's metropolis.

[33] Łużny, Ryszard: Święci Misjonarze Słowiańszczyzny w piśmiennictwie wschodniosłowiańskim. In: *Cyryl i Metody apostołowie i nauczyciele Słowian*. Studia i dokumenty, part 1, studia. Ed.: Jan Sergiusz Gajek – Leonard Górka. Lublin: KUL, 1991, pp. 98–99.



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is a story about the constitution of the state by *Svetopelek* (The Priest of Duklja[34]), about the fights of the Hungarians against Svatopluk and about the marriage of Menumorot's[35] daughter with Zulta (the Hungarian chronicles), the tradition about Svatopluk's resignation from the power and about the decline of Moravia (Cosmas).

This tradition served to the rooting of the described reality in the past in each case. It legitimized the existence of the Dukljan state, of Bohemia and Hungary. The tradition preserved after the fall of Great Moravia was the basis of these stories. Great Moravia was the first state of the Western Slavs (not counting the ephemerid Samo's kingdom) which lasted for a longer time and contained contemporary Moravia and Slovakia. Svatopluk's rule (870–894) was the highest point of its development, when it enlarged, perhaps as far as North Transylvania, North Tisza-land and a part of former Roman province Pannonia called Dunántúl by the Hungarians and Zadunajsko (*Transdanubia*) by the Slovaks. The tradition of its fall was preserved both in the rich literary activity, produced in Old-Church-Slavonic, Greek, and Latin, and in the oral tradition, present mainly in the Hungarian Kingdom and transferred by the minstrels called *igrici*.[36] Cosmas used also this tradition, unlike the Hungarian chroniclers.[37] We can observe, therefore, that Great Moravia stood at the roots of the existence and culture of some Central and East European countries thanks to the memory based on its historical tradition.[38]

Let us summarize our analysis:

1. The Moravian state, known in historiography, thanks to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, as Great Moravia, left cultural and political heritage.
2. The tradition of the Slavic mission of Sts. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius belonged to the cultural heritage. It was fruitful mainly in the territory of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The *Story of the Translation of the Books*, a part of the *Primary Chronicle*, proves this observation. All mentions about the baptism of the local population by Constantine-Cyril and/or Methodius seem to belong to this stream as well.
3. It is mainly the Hungarian tradition which seems to preserve the political heritage of Great Moravia. It legitimated the Hungarian statehood through the fights against the Great-Moravian rulers and thanks to the dynastical connections. The story of the creation of the state noted by the Priest of Duklja and the late medieval tradition of the crown translation from Moravia to Bohemia, which I do not analyze here, seem to belong to this stream.
4. I think that there were two groups of sources of this tradition. The first group is represented by the written sources, creating the stream of the literacy tradition. I describe them as creating the cultural heritage. The oral tradition could be a basis of the political heritage, and was, naturally, written in the form of political stories. I think that it was especially the Kingdom of Hungary which was rich in this tradition, transferred by minstrels, mainly of the Slavic origin. The Hungarian culture should be analyzed anew from this point of view.

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[34] Homza, Martin – Rácová, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*, p. 58 describes the motif of *rex iustus*; p. 71–72: Svätopluk of the *Priest of Duklja* as a *rex iustus*.

[35] He undoubtedly symbolizes a Great-Moravian ruler and he could be identified with Svatopluk. The Anonymous Notary did not know this name. There is a very similar motif of a marriage of an invader and a daughter of the local ruler in the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*, cfr. Grzesik, Ryszard: Sources of a Story About the Murdered Croatian King in the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle. In: *Povijesni Prilozi*, a. 22, vol. 24, 2003, p. 97–104.

[36] Szegfű, László: Regös. In: *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9. –14. század).* Ed.: Gyula Kristó. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994, pp. 573–574.

[37] There is an extensive analysis of Svatopluk's tradition in the monograph by: Steinhübel, Ján: *Nitrianske kniežatstvo. Počiatky stredovekého Slovenska. Rozprávanie o dejinách nášho územia a okolitých krajín od sťahovania národov do začiatku 12. storočia.* Bratislava: Rak, 2004, pp. 165–186. Recently Martin Homza studied this tradition Homza, Martin – Rácová, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*, pp. 39–74. According to Homza (pp. 46–56), the Hungarian tradition about Svatopluk was a variant of his black legend. The Cosmas' story about the repentant ruler was a variant of his white legend and a kind of legitimisation idea of the *translatio regni*, cfr. op. cit., p. 63 and the following footnote. He reached independently very similar conclusions as presented above. I am very grateful to Martin Homza for sending the electronic version of this book to me.

[38] I do not analyze the Bohemian idea of *translatio regni* developed by a Czech chronicler, the so-called Dalimil, written in Czech at the beginning of the fourteenth century, cfr. *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*, part 1. Vydání textu a veškerého textového materiálu. Ed.: Jiří Daňhelka – Karel Hádek – Bohuslav Havránek – Naděžda Kvítková. Praha: Academia, 1988, cap. 26, p. 316: "*Tuto chci moravské kroniky málo zajieti, / abych mohl k svéj řěči přijíti, / kako jest koruna z Moravy vyšla, / povědět, kakť je ta země k Čechám přišla.*" Analysis in Bláhová, Marie: *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila v kontextu středověké historiografie latinského kulturního okruhu a její pramenná hodnota. Historický komentář. Rejstřík.* Praha: Academia, 1995, pp. 227–228.



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MARTIN HOMZA*

# The Theory of the Hospitable Acceptance of the Old-Hungarian Tribal Federation in the Carpathian Basin and Slovak History**

## Pohostinná teória prijatia starouhoroského kmeňového zväzu v Karpatskej kotline a slovenské dejiny / Teorija gostoljubivog prihvaćanja starougarskog plemenskog saveza u Karpatskoj kotlini i slovačka povijest

*The* Hungarian-Polish Chronicle *creates an atmosphere of reconciliation and equality of the nations within the Hungarian state* (pax gentium), *which is an inevitable pre-condition for the formation and duration of the Hungarian nationhood as such. In this way the chronicle becomes indirectly, inasmuch as it was unknown to Hungarian historiography as late as the year 1831, a medieval variant and a direct forerunner of the theory of the pactional, hospitable reception of the Hungarian tribal confederacy in the Carpathian Basin. This is nothing but a theory which originated among a few representatives of the Slovak historiography (Martin Sentivány, Ján B. Magin, Samuel Timon, etc.) no later than the end of the seventeenth century, without their knowing the content of the* Hungarian-Polish Chronicle. *Thanks to this theory no later than in the eighteenth century the Slovak historiography managed to separate itself from the originally homogenous Hungarian historiography.*

Keywords: Slovak historiography, origins of the Hungarian Kingdom, theory of the hospitable

"Thinking about history" (a term of Bohemian historian Dušan Třeštík) in the Central-East Europe (but not only there) throughout the twentieth century was influenced by "thinking about history" in the nineteenth century, when the strongest inducement was to create a history as perfect as possible for every single European nation. *Historicism* was making up a tradition. On the one hand, this tradition legitimated the right of a revivified nation for life (e. g. the Bohemians/Czechs). On the other hand, it served as a tool to indoctrinate other nations (e. g. the Hungarians/Magyars), creating an ideological base of the modern *etatisms* and justifying the right to control others. In such a simplified logic, howbeit still lingering, a number of problems emerge for a contemporary historian. What to do with the nations "without history"? Understood in the sense of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some nations of East-Central Europe cannot boast with their medieval statehood (the Slovaks, Slovenes, Romanians, Ruthenians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Latvians and from the certain point of view the Croats, as well) and their history became a part of the official histories of their mightier neighbours. Purely theoretically, these nations are either later products and were established no sooner han the nineteenth century, or there is something dubious in the theory of the smooth transition of the medieval statehood into the modern nation (for instance, see the disputation between Jenő Szűcs[1] and Benedikt Zientara[2] in the 1980s).

Fortunately, it seems that de-enchanting of history is coming. Recently, we have evidently been observing a shift in the conception of the medieval statehood. Particularly, if we consider its ethnical dimension. *Regnum Teutonicorum*, for instance, which had been understood as the Kingdom of the Germans, became again the country of the Austrians, Bavarians, Saxons, as well as the

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[1] Szűcs, Jenő: Theoretische Elemente in Meister Simon von Kézas "Gesta Hungarorum" (1282–1285). In: *Nation und Geschichte. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte.* Trans.: Johanna Kerekes. Köln – Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1981, pp. 263–328. Recently in English: Theoretical Elements in Master Simon of Kéza's "Gesta Hungarorum." Trans.: Frank Schaer. In: Simon of Kéza: *The Deeds of the Hungarians.* Ed. and trans.: László Veszprémy – Frank Schaer. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999.

[2] Zientara, Benedikt: Struktury narodowe średniowiecza próba analizy terminologii przedkapitalistycznych form świadomości narodowej. In: *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, a. 84, 1977, nr. 2, pp. 287–309.



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Czechs, Moravians, Lusatian Serbs and Slovenes; and even the Silesians (noting that the Prussians disappeared!). However, *Regnum Bohemorum* (the Kingdom of the Czechs) may be viewed as the Czech-German civilization basically. And yet, a bit Silesian and Moravian. Unfortunately, an exemplary Czech-German discussion of this issue has not brought satisfactory reception further eastwards yet. Namely, all the Eastern Slavic nations, except for the Russians, have the right to claim their connection to *Regnum Poloniae* (the Polish Kingdom), which embraced them for a certain period of time, at least until the end of the eighteenth century. The present-day ethnically pure and Catholic Poland is, however, Stalin's abstraction that had not existed before 1945. Nonetheless, the time when the Belorussians, right-bank Ukrainians and Latvians will be able to perceive their history in the sphere of the Polish crown as their own is approaching.

On the other side, the "dispossession of the history" and its simultaneous appropriation by some nations went in the East-Central Europe hand in hand with "resignation" from the history by other nations and consecutively creating new theological, philosophical, and historical constructions with identical function in order to confirm their own identity in the cauldron of the European nations. As an example of this we can mention the senseless, but officially well received theory about the Dacian-Roman origin of the present-day Romanians (on behalf of this they sacrificed their Orthodox-Slavonic culture). However, what is the Slovak case?

"An Image of the Ancient Hungarian Kingdom" – *Imago antique Hungariae*, that is the title that a Jesuit Samuel Timon gave to the last common history book of the Hungarians and the Slovaks in 1733, is today doubtlessly more than ever before misshapen. Objectively, the Slovaks have just a little knowledge about it, and even what they know corresponds with the notion that their disillusioned fathers created about Hungary as soon as their fathers and their fathers' fathers had been forced to abandon the concept of an Old-Hungarian country and had started searching for the new alliances further more westwards. A Slovak image of the ancient Hungarian Kingdom is the image of those who are overwhelmed with hatred. In the political rhetoric and pub talk it represents the so-called "Millennium of the Hungarian oppression" – *magyarisation*. Slovaks suffer from both the lack of history and the complex of an ahistoric nation.

*Imago antique Hungariae* of Slovaks' southern neighbours is just the opposite. The Hungarians "bathe" in the congenial Hungarian, that is, Magyar, history that merges very stealthily with the splendor of the last decades of the ancient Hungarian Kingdom – with the great Count Andrássy, the Academy, enthralling Budapest, Hungary in the sense of "Magyarország" with sixty districts – counties – and access to sea. In all those mentioned moments, and other including too, Magyars project themselves as if in a mirror, a sad and a bitter one, particularly if contrasted with the present day. Greatness and smallness at the same time. Loneliness in the *puszta*, where nobody understands you. Let us look, however, at the genesis of this alienation.

In 1722, Michael Bencsík, professor of Hungarian law at Trnava University, published a book dedicated to the then-gathering Hungarian Diet: *Novissima diaeta nobilissima principis statuumque et ordinum regni Hungariae*. Therein he scorned the Slovaks for their beer drinking. But not only. Slovaks became very upset with this. As a result, a scholar and a favourite of the high nobility of the Trenčín county (*Comitatus Trenciniensis*) on the request and with the support of this nobility wrote a glorifying tractate on beer as an answer to such accusation. He supported his work with a very exact historical argumentation starting from the Germanic king Gambrinus. The controversy together with other arguments became the part of the first famous Slovak apology with a really Baroque title: *Maurices nobilissimae et novissimae diaetae Posoniensis scriptori sparsi Apologia…* [*The Thorns Written for an Author of the Treatise "Nobilissimae et novissimae diaetae Posoniensis" or A Defence of the Famous Trenčín County and the Town of This Name Against the Smear the Mentioned Author Unjustly Endowed a Stag and a Lamb with*] without the place of edition (Púchov) 1723 (properly probably 1728), 114 p.] Its author was nobody else but a parson from Dubnica, Ján Baltazár Magin. (En passant, the book has been recently published in Slovak translation.[3])

As a matter fact, the point was not in what the Slovaks drink. In categorisation of the higher and the lower, those who drink beer occupy the lower ranks than those who drink wine do. The example of beer – wine was to shift the Slovaks into the

[3] Magin, Ján Baltazár: *Obrana slávnej župy Trenčianskej a mesta tohože mena.* Ed. and trans.: Vincent Sedlák. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2002. See the fundamental analysis by Baník, Anton A.: *Ján Baltazár Magin a jeho politická, národná a kultúrna obrana Slovákov roku 1728*. Trnava: Spolok svätého Vojtecha, 1936.



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second-class carriage on the Hungarian train. The parson of Dubnica dedicated his treatise therefore to a governor of Trenčín county Joseph Ilešházi (Illesházi) – a son of Francis Ilešházi – a man born in Trenčín but resident in Vienna. This was how one-and-a-half century-lasting war for *natio Hungarica*, the war for the Hungarian nobility – the Hungarian political *nation* – was launched. The battlefield was the common Hungarian history. There were two "armies" facing each other, both traditionally raised by the most significant stars of the Hungarian educated society: the Hungarian Magyars and the Hungarian Slovaks. For a long time *aliteritas* – "otherness" had been present as the natural part of the diversity of the social, cultural and ethnic bonds of the Hungarian statehood. An integral power of the main idea of the monarchy, the Crown of St. Stephen, was simply stronger.

The mutual mockery had had its place before as well as then. However, nobody put the folk forms on a pedestal of the reputable "academic theory." The Slovaks and the Hungarians, as the pillars of the estate "*natio Hungarica*" – the political estate nation, had rather been united than separated in their common battle against the "non-Hungarians." To illustrate this, for instance, the *Articles 13* from 1608 and *44* from 1609[4] provided for the parity representation in the mayor and judge election, freedom to build houses in the town squares for both Slovaks and Hungarians. Among all above-mentioned factors that cemented the feeling of closeness of the Hungarian ethnic entities, we have to include, paradoxically, also the Ottoman danger,[5] and the estate uprisings of the Hungarian nobility against the Habsburg centralising and re-Catholisation policy. In 1722 it was all over. The treatise of M. Bencsík, casting doubts upon the equality of the Hungarian nations within the country, brought about turmoil into the air of the "sudden peace" that came after 200 years of civil wars (since Mohács onwards). Paraphrasing Austrian Professor Herwig Wolfram, rather *religio* – religion than *origo* – origin should have prevailed in the Kingdom of Hungary. The Renaissance and Reformatory interest in folk languages had been present in "homogeneous" Latin medieval culture a long time ago. However, the ideas of the last ideological integrator of Hungary, Peter Pázmaň (Petrus Pazmanus/Péter Pázmány), and his Jesuits had not lost their weight yet. For instance, in 1744 Sts. Constantine and Methodius are on one page and, simultaneously, St. Stephen is juxtaposed on the opposite page of the Latin edition *Acta sanctorum Hungariae* ("Deeds of the Hungarian Saints").[6] After Michal Bencsík had published his treatise in 1722, it was more and more obvious that the scope of the common interests of the Hungarian Magyars and the Hungarian Slovaks would be diminishing. Both these groups would look through the different optics of the symbols (becoming more and more complicated), which would flow into the new ideological structure. Two sets of identification signs of Magyars and Slovaks, definitely deconstruct the Hungarian kingdom earlier than it would come to its own disintegration under the stirs of the First World War.

The study of history as a well or a database of these symbols will play an important role. It was not by chance but intentionally when the above mentioned professor of law reemployed the tradition of medieval Hungarian historiography – a famous "fable about the white horse," a mocking narrative about Svätopluk (Suentibald) selling his motherland to the ancestors of the Magyars just for a horse. The anecdote was a part of a chain of the historical myths connected with the name of the most significant pre-Hungarian ruler in the Carpathian basin – Svätopluk. The "problem" lies, however, in the fact that later Bavarian historian Aventinus entitles one and the same Svätopluk as *Magnus* – that is, the Great. It is Svätopluk, more precisely, the idea of Svätopluk, that both Croatian and Czech statehood is built upon (*rex iustus* of Pop Dukljanin, *idea translatio regni Bohemorum* of Cosmas).[7] The name Svätopluk, similarly to the name Charles (Charles the Great), is the name of the noblest princes of both the surrounding and

[4] Tibenský, Ján: *Chvály a obrany slovenského národa*. Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1965, pp. 16–17.

[5] See also the first Slovak attempts at historical synthesis by Jacob Jacobeus (?1591–1645) in his famous poem *Gentis Slavonicae lacrumae, suspiria et vota* (Leutschoviae/Levoča 1642) and Daniel Sinapius Horčička (1640–1688) in his Foreword to the work *Neo-forum Latino-Slavonicum* (Leszno 1678). Both authors express their patriotism towards Hungary as a political entity while maintaining their Slovak ethnical identity. Analysed in detail by Rácová, Naďa: K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky v 17. storočí. In: Homza, Martin– Rácová, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia* : *Kapitoly k základom slovenskej historiografie*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2010, pp. 121–246.

[6] *Acta sanctorum Hungariae, ex Joannis Bollandi, S.J. theologi, continuatoribus, aliisque scriptoribus excerpta, & Prolegomenis, ac Notis illustrate*. Tyrnaviae: Typis Academis Soc. Jesu, 1744.

[7] Schmidt, Róbert: *Svätoplukovská legenda a jej funkcie v stredoveku* . Diploma thesis. Bratislava: Katedra slovenských dejín, 2000.



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the remote Slavic countries. The name of a son of the Polish ruler Mescho I (Mieszko I) as well as that of a son of the Rus' Vladimir the Great (Saint) is Svätopluk. It is the name of the important princes of Bohemia but also of the far-off Eastern Pomerania (e. g. Svätopluk 1220–1266).

It is highly probable that already the Nitra branch of the Arpadian played with the legend of Svätopluk. When Cosmas, canon of Vyšehrad, stops in the *ducatus* of Nitra when travelling from *Strigonium* (Esztergom / Ostrihom / Gran) to Prague, he is told a story about a ruler who does not die, but disappears in the midst of his soldiery. Due to his sin, the ruler gives up not only his control over the country but also the attributes of his power: he kills his horse and buries his sword. Unknown he enters the Benedictine monastery on Zobor, which he founded himself, and there, he unrecognised makes penance. Only when he is dying he reveals to his brethren who he really is. In a succinct form, the myth captures some essential information (some of them have already been fairly clearly named in the Slovak historiography[8]). Particularly, Svätopluk's empire – *Regnum Sclavorum*, came to its end owing to his sin. The ruler was great and the Great never dies, but disappears in the midst of his soldiery (similarly like Arthur[9]). The messianic trace enciphered in the legend has two sides. The first one is a frequent hagiographic element of *ruler-monk*. The other one: the one who finds the sword of Svätopluk will become – the successor. A renewal of the power and the fame of the Nitra principality, the original land of Svätopluk, is then only a question of time. The legend reveals its own creators at the point when Svätopluk lying on the deathbed says who he really is. The authors and the propagators of the legend were the Benedictines of Nitra themselves. The Nitra Benedictine Abbey, however, more than anything else, is the oldest seat of the Nitra branch of the Arpadians in the country.

Due to this it might have been necessary to dishonour the name of Svätopluk in the "official" Hungarian doctrine. The anonymous notary P. of King Bela (*rex iunior*, future Bela IV ?) does not remember any Svätopluk at all. Instead he uses other names in the function which belonged to Svätopluk.[10] He taboos Svätopluk. Nevertheless, not less famous Simon of Kéza, active at the court of Ladislas the Cuman sometimes in the 1280s, comes to know Svätopluk. Thereby he unintentionally reveals that the fact which the Anonymous so much strived to conceal was well known at the Arpadian court. Owing to an immense effort to blacken the name of Svätopluk, he offered another, this time Trans-Danubian variant of *The Legend about Svätopluk*. Svätopluk – "*the son of Morot*, (…), *proceeded to make himself lord of Pannonia, once the Huns had been eliminated*" – bravely dies in the battle against the ancestors of Magyars near present-day Bánhid. His father Morot dies subsequently – "*in his castle called Bezprem*" (Veszprém) – unable to overcome the great woe over his son's loss. To make the negative image of this ruler within the scope of the Hungarian medieval historiography complete, we cannot leave out *The Compiled Chronicles of the Fourteenth Century*. Therein Svätopluk is dishonourably drowned. Acceptance or non-acceptance and even misuse of the importance of the legendary figure of Svätopluk becomes as if en explosive stuck on the body of the Hungarian statehood.[11]

A positive image (*imago*) of Svätopluk was not the subject of discussion for the Hungarian Slavs, particularly for the Slovaks. Svätopluk is the one to bring back the kingdom and prosperity for the Slovaks. It will cost the existence of Hungary. As this legend found itself in the arsenal of the Slovak Jesuits in Trnava and through them in the official hymnals of the Slovak Catholics as early as in the middle of the seventeenth century (Benedict of Rybník / Sollöši / Szőllősi),[12] it is apparent that it played an important role in the treatise *Apology* by Ján Baltazar Magin, too. According to the same author, Svätopluk did a deed pleasing God when he had accepted the ancestors of the Magyars: "*To shelter the unknown strangers, whom we often find suspect, is a rare act of charity* (…) *Not to flout a gift that is beneath your dignity but, on the contrary, to pay for it as generously as possible, that points out at the high-mindedness of Xerxes kindly looking at a peasant who offered him water from his palms, or at*

[8] For instance, Kučera, Matúš: O historickom vedomí Slovákov v stredoveku. In: *Historický časopis* (deinde *HČ*), a. 25, 1977, pp. 227–230.
[9] Steinhübel, Ján: Veľkomoravská historická tradícia zadunajských Slovákov. In: *HČ*, a. 33, 1990, pp. 693–705.
[10] *Anonymi* Bele Regis Notarii: *Anonymus Deeds of the Hungarians*. Ed., trans. et notae: Martyn Rady – László Veszprémy. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2010, *passim*.
[11] Simon of Kéza: *The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Ed. and trans.: László Veszprémy – Frank Schaer. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999, pp. 75–76.
[12] See quotation from Tibenský, Ján: *Chvály a obrany slovenského národa*, p. 47.



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*the frank goodness of that Gallian ruler who paid hard for a peasant's beet. Instead of a horse trimmed with a bridle and a saddle, Svätopluk presented the Magyars with the most fertile and productive fields, as well as with the most advantageous seats. To respect and honour a messenger more than it is necessary and even to waste the gifts that all is a sign of the royal dignity.*"[13] This way the author, however, defined the base of the theory about the hospitable acceptance of the Magyars' ancestors in the Carpathian basin.

The medieval Hungarian theory, which stood for a violent seizure of the country by the Old Hungarians or Huns, had been creating for centuries a framework for legal superiority of the Hungarian aristocracy (*natio Hungarica*) on the ladder of the Hungarian society (likewise the analogous myths of the Polish Sarmatians, the German rittern, the French chevaliers as well as the English knights). Beginning with M. Bencsík, this theory, firstly fairly inconspicuously, then in the following century yet unveiled, adapted itself into the position of the ethnical myth of the Magyars. Against this concept, the hospitable theory offers continuation of *pax gentium*, profound peace of the nations of ancient Hungarian Kingdom. It would have sufficed to accept it and to include Svätopluk within the list of the Hungarian kings as it was suggested by later generations of Slovak historians.[14] Similarly, the Norman kings of England did not hesitate to profess their affiliation to their subject Anglo-Saxon predecessors.

Traditional equality of various ethnic groups within a single Hungarian political nation was, however, against the conviction of M. Bencsík and a part of the Hungarian aristocracy represented by his treatise. The professor of law at Trnava University brought the blackening of Slovaks to its very peak by his labelling of the Slovaks as strangers, foreigners (*hospites*) in a land belonging to them. He deduced this argument from the *Article nr. 80* of King Coloman dating back to the beginning of the twelfth century. To all counter-arguments gathered [autochthonous theory of the Slovak roots, that is, their ancientness; the other authorities of law as Peter *de Reva*, Martin Svätojánsky (Sentiváni/Szentiváni, etc.); an example of St. Paul, who was a Jew by origin but a Roman citizen, etc.] J. B. Magin added one more: "*As the Romans in those ancient times were entering the wedlock with the Sabine women and the virgins of the neighbouring towns, similarly, the Magyars marry the Slovak maidens or women and the other way round the young Slovaks, many a time even the puerile greybeards, marry the Magyar women.*"[15] From the very beginning, equality, egality, of the nations of Hungary was to be guarded by interfusion of the inhabitants of Hungarian kingdom, by their intermarriage. *Exogamy* was a guaranty of peace in the country. The cult of Svätopluk (who accepted the Magyars in a hospitable manner and a good will), together with the cult of the Greek brothers St. Constantine and St. Methodius; then referring to the autochthony, ancientness of the Slovaks in the kingdom (often derived from the Biblical Japheth); intentional replacing of the ethnonym Slovak for Slav (besides others it compensated for low numerousness of the Slovaks); pointing to the deeds of the Slovaks in their protection of the Hungarian country and that way of the Western civilisation too; the cult of the national language; the feminine referent – the mother of the Slovaks…[16] All the listed elements and many others formed an ideological range within which the mind of the contemporary Slovak scholar of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was moving.[17] Neither the first acts sustaining the dominance of Hungarian over Latin at the Hungarian Diet in the twilight of the eighteenth century, nor gradual beginnings of the Magyarisation policy in the first half of the nineteenth century, nor the tempting ideas of Panslavism managed to question a feeling of the Hungarian compatriotism, especially of the Catholic branch of the Slovaks.[18] A practical implementation of the achievements of the revolutionary years of 1848/1849 shook up the mutual relationship of the Slovaks and Magyars more than the monarchy itself. Bench warrants of the spring of 1848 on Ľ. Štúr, J. M. Hurban and M. M. Hodža, the then leaders of the Slovak revival process, their participation in the Prague

[13] Magin, Ján Baltazár: *Obrana slávnej župy Trenčianskej a mesta tohože mena*, p. 118.
[14] Tibenský, Ján: Problémy výskumu vzniku a vývoja slovenskej feudálnej národnosti. In: *HČ*, a. 9, 1961, pp. 397–419. See also the polemical work by Rapant, Daniel: K pokusom o novú historicko-filozofickú koncepciu slovenského národného obrodenia. In: *Slovenská literatúra*, a. 12, 1965, pp. 493–506.
[15] Magin, Ján Baltazár: *Obrana slávnej župy Trenčianskej a mesta tohože mena*, p. 112.
[16] See Homza, Martin: „Večneženské" ako súčasť konceptu slovenského mesianizmu. In: *Literárny archív*, nr. 36–37. Ed.: Terézia Kaššayová. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2002, pp. 128–139.
[17] See Tibenský, Ján: Predhovor. In: Magin, Ján Baltazár: *Obrana slávnej župy Trenčianskej a mesta tohože mena*, passim.
[18] Eliáš, Štefan: *Uhorské vlastenectvo a Slováci*, vol. 1, part 1–2. Košice: krajská knižnica, 1991, pp. 34–35.



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Slavic Congress as well as in the consecutive engagement, the main goal of which focused on relieving Slovakia out of the St. Stephen's Crown and its consequent affiliation to the lands of the Austrian crown.

This fatal process, however, went hand in hand with the emanation of the Slovaks out of the Hungarian history (although they had been there before!). In contrast to the Magyars, their former *amices* – friends, who appropriated the common Hungarian past through usurping the original Nomad-Hunnish myth mentioned above, the Slovaks stayed historically naked. That, however, did not prevent them from turning this into their advantage.

"*You, Slavs, will be the Word!*" ("*Vi buďeťe Slovom Sloveňi!*"), Peter Kellner-Hostinský promises to his fellows. *Slovom – the Word*, that is, the *Logos*.,. Another Protestant, a leading ideologist of Communist Slovakia of the twentieth century, Vladimír Mináč, just jiggered all that up – you, Slovaks, were the last and now you are going to be the first: "you are the most plebeian nation in the world." (?!)[19] That is the knowledge of the unique mission opposing the élite-aristocratic view of the world. Thereby the Slovak élite renounced the famous Hungarian past (in fact, what else could they do?).[20] As a result the nation was deprived of the ethnically Slovak-friendly aristocracy (the process was crowned in the 1870s) and the main role in the further development was left to the intelligentsia (however, as Professor J. Hučko researched, 20 percent of the movement led by Štúr was comprised by the nobility).[21]

Let us get back to the hospitable theory at last. Adoption of this theory actually equalled the reluctance against participation in the aforementioned mainstream Slovak movement. These changes can be observed at least from the 1840s on. Štefan Launer, a former friend of Ľudovít Štúr and later one of his fiercest critics, wrote: "*As long as the Arpadians were occupying the Hungarian throne, they could not do without the Slavs' blood, the Slavic way of life, the Slavic customs and manners; the Slavhood is the mother of the Arpadians; it was the Slavic women who taught them to speak. Let no one stand in my way either with anger or foolishness and say that a woman has no influence upon her child at all.*"[22] Another significant Slovak historian of the second half of the nineteenth century and a founder of the Slovak critical historiography, Jozef Hložanský, argues in *An Introduction to the Cognition of the Hungarian History* in 1871 that one of few historically trustworthy pieces of information in *The Anonym's Chronicle* is: "*the reign of Zoltas and his marriage with the only daughter of Mojmir II of Belegrad*." Once again, he proclaims the following continuation of the Hungarian history: "*The present-day Hungarian Kingdom with the so-called Marahani empire, that is the Great Moravian Empire, is one and the same…*"[23] The historical question of the arrival of the Old-Hungarian tribal federation into the Carpathian basin gradually becomes a question of the future of this part of Europe. The course of the further controversy chose a discontinuity slant – and therewith condemned the ancient Hungarian Kingdom to doom. In coherence with this, it is fairly useful to cite another essential statement of the Slovak branch of the Hungarian historiography from the twilight of the eighteenth century, namely Juraj Sklenár,[24] a favourite of the Esztergom archbishop Alexander Rudnay: "*The one who arouses hatred against other peoples in Hungary, calls for the doom of this state. Similarly, everything therewith connected heads towards destruction of all the keystones Hungary has been standing on – therefore such citizen is dangerous for the country.*"[25]

Nowadays, it is of no importance whether this prophetic sentence was or was not heard. Nor does it matter that the Slovaks finally decided to "divorce" the Magyars after 1000 years. However, the question of the evolution of the historical-legal theory that argued for the rights of the non-Magyars, particularly the Slovaks, and for their equal standing within the Hungarian statehood, is relevant. Samuel Timon, quoted above, formulated this theory in his book *Imago antique Hungariae* before 1733[26] in a slightly different manner than Ján Baltazár Magin. "*Those Slovaks, I have mentioned*

[19] "Historicky sme plebejci – neviem, ktorý moderný národ je plebejský v takej čistej podobe ako my." ("Historically, we are plebeians – I do not know any other modern nation plebeian in such pure form as we are."). See Mináč, Vladimír: *Dúchanie do pahrieb*. Bratislava: Tatran, 1990, p. 70.

[20] See Homza, Martin: Slovenský variant mesianizmu. In: *Kontinuita romantizmu* : *Vývin – súvislosti – vzťahy.* Ed.: Jozef Hvišč. Bratislava: Slovensko-poľská komisia humanitných vied, 2001, pp. 83–100.

[21] Hučko, Ján: *Sociálne zloženie a pôvod slovenskej obrodeneckej inteligencie.* Bratislava: Veda, 1974.

[22] Launer, Štěpan: *Povaha Slovanstva se zvláštním ohledem na spisovní řeč Čechů, Moravanů, Slezanů a Slováků.* Leipzig 1847.

[23] Hložanský, Josef: Úvod k poznaniu historie uhorskej. In: *Letopis Matice slovcenskej*, vol. 8, part. 2, 1871, pp. 56 and 61.

[24] Tibenský, Ján: *Juraj Papánek – Juraj Sklenár* : *Obrancovia slovenskej národnej minulosti v XVIII. storočí*. Martin: Osveta, 1958.

[25] Tibenský, Ján: *Chvály a obrany slovenského národa*, p. 130.



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*above, accepted the Magyars in a very hospitable way.* (…) *Together they kept on resisting enemies; together they found themselves many a time in danger. Many of their descendants were later embellished with the noble status and once they got mature both in fortune and potency, they became the founders of the branchy and nowadays already immemorial families, which have been in the service of the country's prosperity as much as it has been necessary.*" Pointing at the Slavic share in the Christianization of the country, he underlines: "*One might be surprised that plenty of Magyars accepted Christianity through their Slavic relatives.*" In addition to that, he also says: "*As the Polish record, Gejza (when his first wife Charlotte died) was bound by gratefulness in his second union with Adelaide, a sister of the Polish prince Mescho (Mečislav); the woman who did pretty much to help to the Christian matters in Hungary.*" [27]

Thereinbefore, J. Hložanský apprises: "*The Hungarian historiographers have sinned against the continuity of the Hungarian historiography as they have not presented St. Stephen's era in the natural continuity with the era of Svätopluk I. of Belegrad but with the history of the Huns and Avars, where no inherent bond can be traced.*"[28]

The attractiveness of this theory for "the peace of the peoples" of Hungary was apparent. Only one thing was missing therein. Unlike the Nomadic or Hunnish theory adopted as the programme by the swelling Magyar etatism, it was not tied up with the medieval Hungarian ambience. As we have already stated, historicism has always been a powerful weapon in our world.

The further story of dissension and misapprehension sounds like a fairy tale. As if by waving a magic wand, another historic text appears on the scene. H. Kownacki published a Latin transcription together with a Polish translation of the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* (further on as *HPC*) in Poland in 1823.[29] Virtually no one took notice of this moment in Hungary. Ľudovít M. Šuhajda, however, makes use of some of its arguments in his well-known defence, *Magyarisation in Hungary* (Lipsiae 1834), citing Samuel Timon therein.

Stanisław Pilat published the critical edition of the chronicle in 1861 within the first volume of *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* of August Bielowski.[30] Together with further Slovak-friendly commentaries of Bielowski, it aroused an unusual sensation among the Slovak historians. Besides others, also with the question: Who was the mother of St. Stephen? Since Anonymus, the Hungarian tradition has attributed this role to Charlotte, a daughter of Transylvanian Gyula (Ďula). *HPC*, however, mentioned a Cracovian, that is, a Slavic princess Adelaide instead. She brought him round to Christianity in the same way as Clotilde had once persuaded Merovingian Clovis. In addition to this, *HPC* offers an interesting story about Attila/Aquila (Arpad?) conquering Pannonia in favour of the Hungarians. Thereafter, being already an illustrious commander, he marches triumphantly across the world (herein Europe), similarly to Alexander of Macedonia. It is a dream that prevents him from seizing Rome. In this dream an unknown angel promises him a country in which the nobles murdered their king, a favourite of God. Because of their sin, Attila and his posterity are to take over not only the country but also the royal crown from Rome. The mentioned country is *Sclavinia*, which he manages to seize control of in an eight-day battle. Afterwards he spends the days in sadness and meditation until he is advised to marry *a principe Sclavorum filiam*, a daughter of the Slavonic prince and likewise his soldiers the local Slavonic women. Again we trace the same model as in the case of Alexander the Great, or, in the more mythological story about Aeneas by Virgil. Thus, *Sclavinia* was called *Hungaria* after Attila's soldiers, as the unknown chronicler records. To elation of all the Slovak scholars, the editor Stanisław Pilat dated the chronicle back to the eleventh century. When Reimund Kaindl, the professor of history in Černivcy (Czernovitz), backed up this dating, the adoption of the hospitable theory seemed to be within reach.

The First World War came and the first Czecho-Slovak Republic was founded. It was necessary then to "de-hungarise" the official Czecho-Slovak history. Virtually, it meant to rewrite the whole of the Slovak history anew. Political order was one thing, historical competence the other.

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[26] Timon, Samuel: *Imago antique Hungariae representans terras, adventus et res gestas gentis Hunnicae.* Cassoviae: Typis Academicis Soc. JESU, per Joan. Henricum Frauenheim,1733. Some parts were translated into the Slovak language. See Timon, Samuel: *Obraz starého Uhorska.* Trans.: Ján M. Dubovský, ed.: Jozef Šimončič. Cambridge: Dobrá kniha, 1991.

[27] Ibidem, p. 60.

[28] Hložanský, Josef: *Úvod k poznaniu historie uhorskej*, p. 51.

[29] *Kronika węgierska na początku wieku XII. (…) Z rękopismów rożnych Bibliotek.* Ed. and trans.: Hipolit Kownacki. Warszawa: Drukiem N. Glucksberga, Księgarnia i typografia Król. War. Uniwersytetu, 1823.

[30] Kronika Węgiersko-Polska. Ed.: Stanisław Pilat. In: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 1. Ed.: August Bielowski. Lwów: W drukarni zakładu narodowego imienia Ossolińskich, 1864, pp. 495–513.



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The future hotshots of the Slovak historiography, Daniel Rapant and Branislav Varsik, gradually entered the discussion on the Slovak history. Another professor-to-be, František Hrušovský, observed the gravity of *HPC* in his essays from the twilight of the 1930s on the Slovak-Polish relations in the early Middle Ages.[31] He had to go to exile in 1945. In 1969, Béla Karácsonyi published in Hungary a critical edition of *HPC* with an extensive Latin foreword, which has served up to today as a reputable premise to the research of the chronicle.[32] In 1998 Ryszard Grzesik from Poznań published his dissertation on the theme of *The Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*.[33] Therein he labelled Adelaide as a non-historic figure and properly placed the origin of the chronicle to the court of Coloman of Galicia, the king of *Galiciae et Lodomeriae*, the Slavonian and Croatian duke, the brother of Bela IV. Since the 1990s we both have been participating in the research of this historical source. I have been polemizing with R. Grzesik as far as the historicity of Princess Adelaide is concerned. I have tried to restore her to history at least as a literary phenomenon – a *mulier suadens* – "a persuading woman." Simultaneously, however, I have tried to point at the significance of this chronicle for the conception of both the Slovak and Hungarian history. If the chronicle really originated at the court of Coloman of Galicia, then it is apparent that the idea of unity in diversity of the ancient Hungarian Kingdom by the means of the hospitable theory was a topic for discussion among the Arpadians themselves.[34]

The *HPC* presents a different concept: By stressing the importance of the marriage between Aquila (Attila) and an unknown Slavic princess as well as by emphasizing the role of the Divine Providence in the settling of the Hungarian tribal confederacy in the Carpathian Basin [Attila/Aquila could settle in the Slavonic country – *Sclavonia* – only thanks to the fact that the domestic magnates (Slavs and Croats) murdered their own God's anointed King Casimir],[35] the *HPC* creates an atmosphere of reconciliation and equality of the nations within the Hungarian state (*pax gentium*), which is the essential pre-condition for the formation and duration of the Hungarian statehood as such. This way the *Chronicle* becomes indirectly, forasmuch as it was unknown for the Hungarian historiography until as late as the year 1823, a medieval variant and a direct forerunner of the theory about the contractual, hospitable reception of the Hungarian tribal confederacy in the Carpathian Basin. The same theory was formulated among the most important representatives of the Slovak and Hungarian historiography (Martin Sentiváni, Ján B. Magin, Samuel Timon, etc.) at the end of the seventeenth century at the latest, without their knowing of the content of the *HPC*. Thanks to this theory, no later than in the eighteenth century the Slovak historiography managed to separate itself from the originally homogenous Hungarian historiography.

The *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* had both direct and indirect impact on the formation of the major ideological directions of the Slovak historiography in the period of its more than tercentenary existence. The Slovak historians almost until today entirely depended on the early Hungarian patterns, they were conservative, and they directly depended on the scholarly research of their Magyar (Hungarian) counterparts. As a result we witness the fact of ignoring the importance and the legacy of the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* and at the same time of giving inadequate attention to the *Gesta Hungarorum* of the Anonymous *notarius* P. It sounds even more paradoxical in the light of the above-mentioned thesis, considering that it was the Slovak historiography which created and persistently pushed forward the concept of the hospitable reception of the coming nomadic peoples into the Carpathian Basin in the ninth century. However, it is not the only historical example of such contract-based reception of the new peoples in the new environment.

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[31] Hrušovský, František: Boleslav Chrabrý a Slovensko. In: *Sborník na počesť Jozefa Škultétyho.* Ed.: Andrej Mráz. Turčiansky sv. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1933, pp. 454–482.

[32] Chronica Hungaro-Polonica. Ed.: Béla Karácsonyi. In: *Acta Historica Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae*, nr. 26, 1969.

[33] New Polish translation with a commentary, see *Żywot św. Stefana króla Węgier czyli Kronika węgiersko-polska.* Ed. and trans.: Ryszard Grzesik. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DIG, 2003. See also Grzesik, Ryszard: *Kronika węgiersko-polska*. Poznań: PTPN, 1999.

[34] Homza, Martin: *Mulieres suadentes = Presviedčajúce ženy: Štúdie z dejín ženskej panovníckej svätosti v strednej a vo východnej Európe v 10.–13. storočí*. Bratislava: Lúč, 2002. More detailed in Homza Martin – Balegová Jana (Ed., trans. and comment.): *Uhorsko-poľská kronika*. Bratislava: Post scriptum, 2009.

[35] See also – Nemet Dražen: Smrt hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira – problem, izvori a tlumačenja. In: *Radovi*: *Zavod za hrvatsku povijest*, a. 38, 2006, pp. 73–91.



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The marriage between Alexander the Great and the Persian Roxana or Trojan Aeneas and Latin Lavinia, seems to have served as a direct model for the author of the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*. At the same time, the analogical marriage constituted a legal frame for a host of the similar acts in the European and world history, one of the most vivid examples being the marriage of the Norman Henry I, the grandson of William the Conqueror, and Edith (Matilda), the daughter of St. Margaret of Scotland, from the subjugated Saxon-Danish dynasty, at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The biggest advantage of this pattern proved to be its simplicity and universality.



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ANDRIANA STETA*

# The *Pacta Conventa* as the Result of the Arpadian Dynasty's Policy

## Pacta Conventa ako výsledok Arpádovskej dynastickej politiky / Pacta Conventa kao rezultat politike Arpadovića

*In our contribution we will deal with the medieval document Pacta Conventa contextualized into the dynamics of the Arpadian dynasty's modus operandi, the dynasty that began to rule in Croatia at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in Slovakia at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries. We will explain Ladislas' and Coloman's foreign policy focusing our attention on the Croatian military campaigns.*

Keywords: *Pacta Conventa*, Ladislas I, Coloman I, Arpadian dynasty, Croatia, the eleventh century, the twelfth century, *interregnum*.

War in the Middle Ages was generally an action taken with the intention to change the balance of power in order to obtain favourable agreements and arbitration. The settlement of conflicts and the limitation of violence are basic steps to legitimize power. Using these tactics, the ruling party gained the consent of the subjected populations and was allowed a controlling action.[1] Both Hungarian kings Ladislas I (1077–1095) and his successor Coloman I (1095–1116), in attempting to affirm the power of the Arpadian dynasty (which ruled in Hungary from the end of ninth century until 1301) over Croatia, acted according to this "diplomatic" scheme, paying attention to the international and legal dimensions.

King Ladislas was embroiled in the Investiture Controversy in part as a result of his political approach to Croatia. Two specific political interests exacerbated the king's conflict: his desire to obtain papal consent; and, related to the first reason, the coronation[2] which would assure him legitimacy to the throne.

Upon his entry into Croatia in 1091, due to the claims of succession to the throne after the death of king Zvonimir, Ladislas sent a delegation to Pope Urban II. The king recognized the importance of obtaining papal support not only to improve his political position with the Croats but also to foster diplomatic relations with Byzantium and Venice. Pope Urban II maintained a strong relationship with *Basileus* Alexios I Komnenos until 1096 and he was troubled by the fact that the Arpadian dynasty was settling the affairs of the Church in Hungary single-handedly. For these primary reasons, the pope refused to sway his support to Ladislas. It appears that the papal legate urged Ladislas to give up investiture[3] and that he was unwilling to comply. So he aligned with Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106) and antipope Clement III, acting as a popularizer of Christianity, and the foundation of the Bishopric of Zagreb around 1094 could be considered part of this work.

Many sources discuss the arrival of Ladislas in Croatia and its impact. The oldest source and also the most trusted account is the document from Zadar of 1091.[4] Essentially, it states that King Ladislas, *Chroatie invadens regnum*,[5] established his nephew Almos as king.

There are three chroniclers (Thomas the Archdeacon, Simon of Kéza and Anonymous from Split) who speak of a call that came from different senders. The invitation was, therefore, a wilful expression of different parties wanting to put an end to the disputes.

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[1] Provero, Luigi: *L'Italia dei poteri locali. Secoli X–XII*. Roma: Carocci, 1998, pp. 140, 179.

[2] As the one his brother-in-law, Croatian King Zvonimir (1075–1089), had.

[3] Only after King Geza II (1141–1162), another "Guelph" of the Arpadian dynasty, were the Hungarian kings allowed to exercise the right of investiture of bishops.

[4] A short note that comes from a verdict of the prior of Zadar, Drago, in favour of a nun named Vecenega whose relatives wanted to subtract her inheritance.

[5] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 1. Ed.: Marko Kostrenčić – Jakov Stipišić – Miljen Šamšalović. Zagreb: Izdavački Zavod Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1967, p. 200.



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After the death of Zvonimir, Stephen III (1089–1091 approximately) arrived to the throne. Stephen was the last descendant of the only Croatian ruling dynasty, the Trpimirović. He died early in his reign, and left no heirs, having spent his years in a monastery.[6] Croatia thus became the scene of bloody civil wars as Croatian magnates failed to agree on an appropriate succession.

From the letter Ladislas wrote[7] in 1091 to Oderisio, the abbot of Montecassino, we get to know that they were or were to be neighbours. But from the twelfth-century *Chartularium Tremitense,* it is evident that Byzantium sent *sebastos* Count Guifredo di Melfi (son of Amico) into Dalmatia in 1093 during the period when Ladislas was attempting to settle the Croatian coastal region.[8] The most plausible conclusion is that Guifredo's mission in Dalmatia was to secure the loyalty of the cities and islands of Zadar, Trogir, Split, Krk, Osor and Rab, which he probably managed to do. Evidence of this theory's probability is found in a document, dated March 7, 1095.[9] Then we have an account of the Cumans' attack of Hungary in agreement with Byzantium.

After Byzantium forced Ladislas' abandonment of his mission to take over the coastal regions in 1091, Ladislas never again returned to the destabilized Croatia, dying in 1095. So he failed to secure power in Croatia and it can be assumed that Álmos withdrew from Croatia either immediately after or together with his uncle. Anarchy, again, is the key word for that period. Since Ladislas died without providing any male heirs, the Hungarian throne, after a year-long dispute between Coloman and Almos, went to his nephew Coloman.

King Coloman I, who was exceptionally cultured, had a conciliatory attitude towards the *regnum Croatiae et Dalmatiae*.[10] There could have been many reasons for this. Having been educated in an ecclesiastical environment and also having been appointed as a bishop, Coloman wanted to please the pope, and to honour his ancestor, King Saint Stephen, whose motto was that a kingdom was weak and fragile if it spoke only one language and if there were customs of only one people. Coloman also wanted to continue Ladislas' work and devoted himself to the reorganization of the Hungarian "state." Led by the ecclesiastical element, he respected the rights and customs of the subjected populations. Coloman inherently understood the power of being aligned with the Church.

To reconcile the ongoing argument between the Hungarian kings and the Roman pope[11] (from the leadership of Solomon, then Geza, and finally Ladislas), and in order to begin the campaign of conquest in Croatia, Coloman launched a series of strategic actions.

The abbot of St. Gilles, Odile, was put in charge of the mediation between the Hungarian king and Urban II as the pope was interested in the creation of a political force favourable to the papacy and geographically placed between the Germans and the Byzantines. When the pope gained confidence and was sure of the return of Coloman and Hungary into the sphere of his Church's influence, he sent a letter of this acknowledgement to Coloman, dated July 27, 1096.[12] But by the time Coloman received the pope's letter, the spring, typically the crucial period for opening a military campaign, had passed. The problem of Crusaders had escalated. During the First Crusade (1096-1099), the positive relationship between the pope and *basileus* had been severed. Byzantium was concentrating all its forces (both diplomatic and military) on issues related to the Crusaders.

In 1097 Coloman made another strategic move by marrying Felicia (Busilla) of Hauteville (Altavilla), the daughter of Count Roger I of Sicily, a loyal ally of Pope Urban II.[13]

Meanwhile, in 1096, Emperor Henry IV wrote a letter to Almos claiming that the Hungarians

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[6] *CDCr* 1, pp. 164–165.

[7] Ibidem, p. 197.

[8] *Codice diplomatico del Monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005–1237)*, vol. 3. Ed.: Armando Petrucii. Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1960.

[9] *CDCr* 1, pp. 203–205.

[10] According to the *Life of St. John of Trogir* (*Traguriense*), Coloman sent a message to the citizens of Zadar where he announced that he preferred to make friends in a voluntary way and not govern by force, and that they would see it on their own.

[11] Cfr. Kosztolnyik, Zoltan J.: *Five Eleventh Century Hungarian Kings: their Policies and their Relations with Rome*. New York: Columbia University press, 1981, passim.

[12] Epistolae Et Privilegia. In: *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 151. Ed.: Jacques Paul Migne, pp. 481–482, http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/01p/1088–1099,_SS_Urbanus_II,_Epistolae_Et_Privilegia,_MLT.pdf

[13] Šišić, Ferdo: *Povijest Hrvata za kraljeva iz doma Arpadovića (1102–1301)*. Zagreb: HAZU, 1944, pp. 14–19; Idem: *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije, dio I. cest. 1.(do god. 1107)*. Zagreb: Kraljevska zemaljska tiskara, 1914, pp. 375–377, 593–599; Goldstein, Ivo: *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek,* Novi Liber. Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta, 1995, pp. 437–440.



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were ready to undertake a military campaign against Byzantium (perhaps towards the Dalmatian cities). Furthermore, the emperor attempted to dissuade Almos from moving his forces against Byzantium. Henry IV also tried to persuade Almos to convince his brother Coloman to remain faithful to the alliance made between him and Ladislas.[14] But even though Coloman had pulled himself back, and although the Holy Roman Empire was interested in Dalmatia and "Croatia," this was a moment of too many intense disagreements with the pope and therefore the emperor could not devote himself to that prob1em. As a result, the road for Croatia was free for Coloman's military pursuits.[15]

The political climate in the Croatian territories during this period was well chronicled by Godfrey Malaterra. As late as 1099, this respectable Benedictine monk of the Norman court of Roger I wrote *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis* and described the arrival of Princess Felicia in Biograd in 1097, received by *comes* Mercurie with the army of knights. There are several divergent accounts of who controlled Biograd during this period – the Venetians, Croats, or Hungarians – despite Malaterra's statement *qui iuris regis Ungarorum est*.[16] This dispute arose due to the fact that the princess was greeted and escorted by five thousand soldiers, a significant number of troops during this period. The inference is that the road Felicia had to cross to reach Hungary was considered very dangerous. If there had been a king in Croatia at that time, it would have been improbable for him to allow a formidable foreign force to travel freely through its territory, even under the title of escort of honour, given the fighting between the Croats and Hungarians. Under any circumstances, an army of knights of this size would have been viewed as a threat.[17]

It is therefore plausible that there was no ruling authority of Croatia at the time of Felicia's journey, given the continuous struggle for power after the death of Stephen III, and in the absence of the Arpadians in these territories.[18] Particularly in this challenging political climate, there could have been several aspirants to the throne. All of them would have benefited from kidnapping the princess, the future queen of Hungary. The two who may have managed to become the rulers of Croatia – Petar (around Knin) and Slavac (South Croatia) – were not accepted in all of Croatia. Neither the nephew of Ladislas, Almos, managed to have a stable location outside Slavonia. Neven Budak also adds another name, a certain duke Kosmat. He might have governed in the north of Dalmatia, his administration is mentioned in the eleventh-century Tablet of Baška.[19]

Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* and all the chronicles by which he was inspired report that Coloman annexed the Kingdom of Dalmatia to the Kingdom of Hungary after he killed its last king, Petar (Svačić), in the Petergozdia Mountains.[20] Thomas the Archdeacon, in Chapter XVII of his chronicle, claims that Coloman believed he could subdue the whole Croatian territory, including the coastal regions, and take dominion over them. He advanced with many troops and conquered the remaining part of Slavonia after the death of Ladislas.[21]

Writing during the same period as Malaterra, Raymond of Aguilers, a follower of the Provencal crusader army, documents in his *Historia*

[14] Ibidem; Makk, Ferenc: *The Arpads and the Comneni: Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989, pp. 11–12.

[15] Šišić, Ferdo: *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije*, pp. 371–373, 593–599.

[16] Ibidem, pp. 374–375; Malaterrae, Gaufredi: De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius. In: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 2*, vol. 1, cap. 25. Ed.: Ernesto Pontieri. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1928, p. 199.

[17] For example, when the Crusaders of Godfrey of Bouillon traversed Hungary, Coloman held Godfrey's brother Baldwin as hostage.

[18] Even if we thought that Coloman's army had already won the battle near Gvozd and had penetrated to the coastal regions, the hostile situation remained the same. And this was predictable for various reasons: because the government of the new territories and of all the subjected peoples was not achieved in a short period of time, and because the Roman coastal cities wanted to remain under the dominion of Byzantium which allowed them high autonomy and, ultimately, because the hinterland was divided between different parties differently oriented toward the Hungarians. Šišić, Ferdo: *Priručnik*, pp. 384–387; Mandić, Oleg: "Pacta conventa" ili "dvanaest" hrvatskih bratstava. In: *Historijski zbornik*, a. 11–12, 1958–1959, pp. 185–188.

[19] Budak, Neven: *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske.* Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994, pp. 48–50; Zelić-Bučan, Benedikta: *Članci i rasprave iz starije hrvatske povijesti*. Zagreb: HKD Sv. Jeronim, 1994, pp. 106–108.

[20] Thuróczi, János: *Chronica Hungarorum*. Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1488, p. 120 on web: http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvinas-html/hub1inc1143.htm; Lucio, Giovanni: *Storia del regno di Dalmazia e di Croazia*. Trieste: edizioni Lint, 1983, p. 291.

[21] Thomae Archidiaconi: *Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Salonitanorum Pontificum.* Ed.: Damir Karbić – Mirjana Matijević Sokol – James Ross Sweeney. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2006, pp. 94–95; Lucio, Giovanni: *Storia del regno di Dalmazia e di Croazia*, p. 291.



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*Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* that on their way to the Holy Land during the winter of 1096-1097, the Provencal troops crossed the Croatian territory, referred to as *Sclavonia*. He states that many crusaders died there because of the ferocity of the population, especially in the mountainous regions.[22] Raymond IV of Toulouse, also known as Raymond of Saint-Gilles, another son-in-law of Roger I of Sicily, was at the head of these troops. His youngest daughter Felicia would marry Coloman just a few months later. It seems unlikely, then, that when Raymond IV of Toulouse passed through the lands under Coloman's rule, he would not have addressed Coloman or his delegate as a territorial landlord.[23]

Once the danger of the crusaders had vanished, the two brothers, Coloman and Almos, began disputing for the Hungarian crown again. *Chronicon Pictum* reports that after the battles with the crusaders in 1096, there were magnates who encouraged the brothers' constant quarrel, leading almost to the point of war. In the end, however, the two made peace.[24] Regardless, Almos proved to be a trouble for Coloman. Because of Almos, Coloman lost several allies and some critical political support. Just as Henry IV supported Almos, so did his vassal, Bretislaus (Břetislav) II of Bohemia (1092–1100) and Bořivoj II (1101–1107). Also, the Polish Wladislas (Władysław) Herman (1079–1102) was aligned with the emperor as evidenced by the fact that in 1089 he married Judith Mary, the sister of Henry IV and the widow of the bigamist Solomon.

The power of the Arpadians in Croatia, due to the dispute between two brothers and the Hungarian army's defeat by the Cumans in 1099, was crumbling at this point.

The facts presented herein are relevant and offer a better understanding of the circumstances which determined the events that followed. Five years after Princess Felicia's arrival, Coloman organized the third campaign to strike Croatia. It was only then that King Coloman entered into an agreement with the Croats and was crowned in Biograd as king of "Croatia" and Dalmatia. For five years there were continuous struggles, and only when *nobiles duodecim generationum regni Croatiae* made a final agreement (*Pacta Conventa*) with Coloman, he managed to get there and was crowned in Biograd, the traditional king's town in the dominium of those tribes.[25] Apart from different material and non-material traces, such as the treatment as a separate *regnum*,[26] information of this pact has survived only in a fourteenth-century manuscript. There are various disputes still open in historiography about this document and its content. Although various questions concerning the text remain open, a summary of its germane points is a fitting introduction to a discussion of Croatia under Hungarian rule. And as we have demonstrated, it fits perfectly into the Arpadian enacted policy, especially Coloman's "diplomatic" *modus operandi* when he was making agreements, even if it may have been a sort of "intelligent surrender" where both parts could gain points and profit. The local nobles, as in every feudal and pre-feudal organization (tied to a dynasty and not to a non-existent "nation"), cared more about their own privileges (the same as towns) and power than about those of an "independent Croatian state." That is also why no abnormal or fatal change happened. The *interregnum* was convenient neither to the powerful, who were unable to obtain or maintain the throne, nor to the territory itself as a country in disarray attracted much more attention than that of its orderly neighbours.[27] Like elsewhere, a new dynasty came to rule the territory but, just as elsewhere, whether it was an oral or written agreement, the nobles kept their autonomy and Croatians continued to rule Croatians.

[22] Aguilers, Raimondo di: *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*. On the web http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/raymond-cde.asp#raymond1

[23] Especially considering both the losses he had already sustained and those he could avoid in the future by first seeking the permission, and therefore protection, of an effective governor within those territories.

[24] *Cronicon pictum Vindobonense* on the web http://www.scribd.com/doc/47427020/Chronicon-Pictum-Vindobonense-Kepes-Kronika-ante-1360.

[25] As evidence there is a document issued in the same year for the convent of St. Mary in Zadar.

[26] Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary. 895–1526*. Trans.: Tamás Palosfalvi, London – New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001, pp. 34–35.

[27] Budak, Neven: *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske,* pp. 48–50.



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RADU MÂRZA*

# Transylvania and Hungary or Transylvania in Hungary as Viewed by the Romanian Historiography

## Sedmohradsko a Uhorsko alebo Sedmohradsko v Uhorsku očami rumunskej historiografie / Transilvanija i Ugarska ili Transilvanija u Ugarskoj u očima rumunjske historiografije

*One of the most sensitive topics for the Romanian historiography in any period is the issue of Transylvania's historical identity and individuality as well as its assertion in relation to Hungary and the Romanian Principalities, respectively. The paper analyzes the manner in which the Romanian historiography has approached these aspects from the nineteenth century until the present day. Traditionally, the Romanian historiography constructed the image of a Transylvania that was always oriented towards the Romanian Principalities (politically, economically and commercially, as well as culturally and humanly), denying or minimizing the historical connections to Hungary. Furthermore, the paper discusses the key moments for the historical discourse on Transylvania (the 1920s, and the period 1970 – 1980) and the ideological contexts which determined the nuances of this discourse. The topic of this paper complements the papers and discussions on the question of Croatia's and Slovakia's integration into the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.*

Keywords: Romanian historiography, Transylvania, connection to the Kingdom of Hungary

For over ten years, my teaching obligations bring me close to the medieval history of Transylvania and the dialogue with my students forces me to return, in the beginning of every semester, to the structural issues raised by the topic. This is even more significant considering the fact that first-year students enter the Faculty of History with certain traditional and … national (either Romanian or Hungarian) historical background. Thus, the first thing we do is to analyze two maps (map 1 and map 2), depicting the Carpathian Basin and the Romanian countries, following the main discourses on the place of Transylvania during the Middle Ages and on the political and historical structures associated to it during that period.

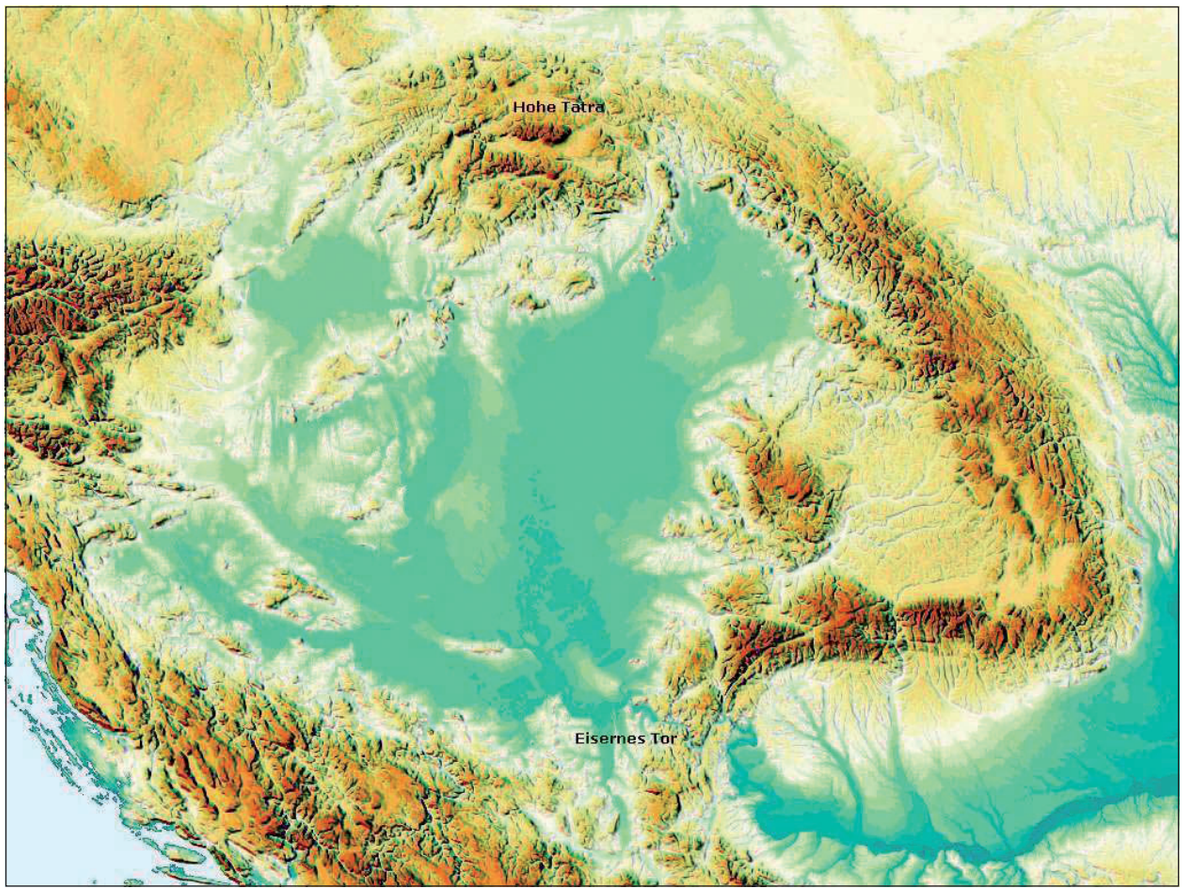
Since the public of my presentation held at the conference *Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)* (Bratislava – Levoča, June 2011) is less familiarized with the history of Transylvania, I will mention it briefly here. Transylvania is the inner Carpathian territory established as the Hungarian Kingdom conquered and took over (eleventh century – beginning of the thirteenth century) several power centers belonging to the Slavs (and Romanians), Bulgarians, and Pechenegs. It was a historical process on which the views of Romanian and Hungarian historians diverge. The term "Transylvania" has two uses: in the strict sense, it is the inner Carpathian area [governed by voivodes appointed by the king and consisting of seven counties, the King's Land inhabited by Saxon colonists (*Fundus Regius*, *Universitas Saxonum*) and the Szekler seats], while in a wider sense, it is the inner Carpathian area together with the so-called *Partium* (the counties of Maramureş, Sătmar, Bihor, Zarand, Arad, and, optionally, the counties in Banat). After the disaster at Mohács (1526) and the civil war between kings Ferdinand I and John Zápolya, Transylvania became increasingly individualized, becoming an independent principality in the middle of the sixteenth century. At the end of the seventeenth century it was occupied by the imperial army and annexed by the Habsburg Empire. In 1848, Transylvania was joined to Hungary, while in 1867 it became part of the Hungarian half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1918 Transylvania and Banat were occupied by the Romanian army and the local population expressed, through a national assembly, their choice of joining Romania.

My participation at the conference *Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections*

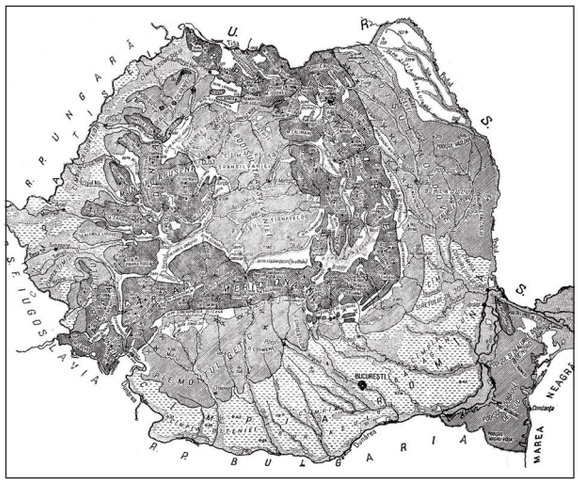
* Radu Mârza, Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Department of Medieval History and Historiography.



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Map 1. *The Carpathian Basin (Rom. Bazinul Carpatic, Hun. Kárpát-medence, Germ. Karpatenbogen, Slov. Karpatský bazén).*



Map 2. *The Unity of the Romanian Land (p. 16).*

and several interesting presentations delivered on the incorporation of the Principality of Nitra and the Croatian Kingdom into the Hungarian Kingdom gave me the opportunity to systematize some ideas on the historical identity of Transylvania, as an interesting case-study not only in itself but also in comparison to the territory of Slovakia and the Kingdom of Croatia. On this occasion, I chose to refer to the point of view expressed in the Romanian historiography on the topic (i.e. the medieval period, until the creation of the Principality of Transylvania in the middle of the sixteenth century). The title of my presentation paraphrases a famous statement expressed by the Hungarian historian László Makkai in 1944.[1] I will therefore not approach the case of "Transylvania and Hungary" or "Transylvania in Hungary" *per se*, but I will present the reflection of Romanian historiography of this topic. I will not attempt to make polemic comments on either the Romanian or the Hungarian historical points of view, keeping my personal observations to a minimum.

[1] Quoted by Rady, Martyn: Voivode and Regnum: Transylvania's Place in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary. In: *Historians and the history of Transylvania*. Ed.: László Peter. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992, p. 88.



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As in the case of Croatia and Slovakia, the discussion of medieval Transylvania's connection to Hungary triggers emotional responses that one can perceive not only in historical writings, but also in political discourse and, eventually, in the beliefs of common people, including my students. This helped me pay more attention to nuances both on the topic itself and on the way it is perceived by various groups of people interested in history, either Romanian or Hungarian. One must also note that Romanian historiography most often lacks a serious analysis of the connections between Transylvania and Hungary. When such connections are not ignored, they are denied – already reflecting an attitude, a particular point of view.

Let us return to the two historical maps. Each of them supports and argues for a geographical concept with strong historical implications: "The Carpathian Basin" (see map 1) and "The Three Romanian Countries" (see map 2), concepts that two competing Hungarian and Romanian historiographies use in order to present an impressive number of geographic, demographic, ethnographic, economic, and cultural arguments. The first concept suggests a geographical unit of land shapes (hills and mountains, and implicitly of political units) centered on the Pannonian Plain. The latter concept centers on the Carpathians – the "backbone" of the Romanian countries.

I will now present the way in which the Romanian historiographic discourse on Transylvania, one of the three Romanian countries, was constructed and develops. One must make a difference between the conception and discourse on Transylvania of historians in Romania (until 1918), of those in Transylvania (until 1918), and of those in Romania and Transylvania (after 1918).

a) Historians in the first group did not pay much attention to Transylvania. It was considered a Romanian historical province, inhabited by a Romanian majority that preserved, even after the Hungarian conquest, its traditional units (the *voivodeship* – a typical Slav-Romanian creation, the *country* – Rom. *ţară*), a fact noted by historians such as A.D. Xenopol and Nicolae Iorga.[2] They had no interest in constructing an image of Transylvania in direct relation to the Romanian countries or Hungary. According to Nicolae Iorga, the structure of the territory itself favored human contacts across the Carpathians. Nicolae Iorga even states that after the Roman retreat from Dacia "the precise notion of the state vanished, but the territory demanded it", since the institution specific to Romanians in that time was the voivodeship.[3] Such arguments were massively used after 1918 by Romanian historians in Transylvania, as I will show below.

b) Before 1918, Transylvania was an integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary and Romanian historians there could not develop a proper historical discourse on Transylvania.[4] They had to maintain, more or less, the official discourse of that kingdom on that matter (a fact obvious in Romanian school books, which, if not along the line of the official perspective imposed by the Hungarian Ministry for Public Instruction, would not have received the printing authorization). Anyway, Romanian historians – such as Ioan Lupaş, whom I will discuss below, Augustin Bunea and Silviu Dragomir[5] – avoided the topic, publishing on other, more neutral subjects.

c) After 1918, when Transylvania became part of Romania, and in fundamentally changed geo-political conditions, Romanian historians in Transylvania were able to develop a discourse on Transylvania free of the previous reserves and limitations. The general lines of such a discourse were adopted by the entire historiography and were to become, more or less, the official perspective of Romanian historiography on the historical identity of Transylvania.

This discourse started to be expressed right after 1918, on various festive occasions (conferences, opening of university courses) or in books and other academic publications. As in the case of other historiographies (Hungarian, Croatian, and Slovak), historical discourse gained a militant character in the context of political and diplomatic crises, when historians answered political and propaganda commandments. In the Romanian case, this

[2] Xenopol, Alexandru Dimitrie: *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană*, vol. 1. Ed.: Alexandru Zub. Bucureşti: Enciclopedică, 1985, p. 311–326; Iorga, Nicolae: *Istoria românilor*, vol. 3, *Ctitorii*. Ed.: Gheorghe Buzatu – Victor Spinei – Virgil Chirică. Bucureşti: Enciclopedică, 1993, p. 31–32. (Iorga maintains that the Romanian variant of the notion was that of "*ducat*" – duchy, derived from the Latin *ducatus*); Idem: *Istoria poporului românesc*. Ed.: Georgeta Penelea. Bucureşti: Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1985, p. 196–198; Cfr. Idem: *Sate şi preoţi din Ardeal*. Bucureşti: Institutul de Arte Grafice "Carol Göbl", 1902 and *Istoria românilor din Ardeal şi Ungaria*, vol. 1, *Până la mişcarea lui Horea (1784)*. Bucureşti: Editura Casei Şcoalelor, 1915.

[3] Idem: *Istoria românilor*, vol. 3, pp. 15–21, 24, quote on page 15. See also Şipoş, Sorin: *Silviu Dragomir istoric*. Foreword by Ioan-Aurel Pop. Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane-Fundaţia Culturală Română, 2002, pp. 150–161.

[4] Ibidem, p. 152.

[5] Ibidem, pp. 152–172. The case of the historian Augustin Bunea cited at pp. 152–153.



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took place right after 1918, in the context of post-war unrest and re-organization and of the Peace Conference in Paris (1919–1920). The same is true for 1928 (during the celebration of 10 years since the 1918 unification) and especially in the latter half of the 1930s, when the international situation became tense (with the ascension of the Third Reich and the threats on the equilibrium in Central Europe) and significant diplomatic tensions appeared between Romania and Hungary (Romanian historiography labels the topic "Hungarian revisionism"). Another moment in time when historical propaganda became active was between 1940 and 1941 (the Vienna Dictate, Romania losing Northern Transylvania and taking part, under the command of marshal Ion Antonescu, in the German-Soviet war – the so-called "*Crusade against Bolshevism*") and between 1944 and 1946 (uncertainties vs. Transylvania's fate, under direct Soviet control, Romania's diplomatic struggle with Hungary for receiving Transylvania, the Peace Conference in Paris).

During such key-moments, Romanian historians Gheorghe I. Brătianu, Silviu Dragomir, Nicolae Iorga, Ioan Lupaş, Ioan Moga, Zenovie Pâclişanu etc. (prestigious university professors, some even holding important administrative offices, others as ministers, or state secretaries) became actively involved in politics or published in periodicals with political goals, held conferences, published studies, brochures or books dedicated to "hot" topics: the issue of Bessarabia and Bukovina (debated at the beginning of the Second World War and especially after Romania gave up these historical provinces to the USSR on June 28, 1940), Transylvania, Banat (the latter disputed since 1919 between Romania, Serbia, and then Yugoslavia), maintaining and systematizing historical points of view with political ends. Many of these publications were the result of research performed by the authors and written according to historical rigor; nevertheless, due to their purpose, they are polemic texts or are emotionally charged.

Ioan Lupaş[6] is the most important ideologist of Transylvania. He was one of the most prestigious Romanian historians of his age, a theoretician of history, one of the creators of the University in Cluj in 1919, professor of the same University and the director of the National History Institute in Cluj. Ioan Moga and Silviu Dragomir must also be mentioned. Ioan Lupaş published numerous books on the history of Transylvania and was especially interested in its historical status. He already expressed his interest in such matters during the opening conference of the History of Transylvania course, held at the University in Cluj on November 11, 1919, and later took it up again on numerous occasions (in the summer of 1941, for example, just a few days before Romania, together with Hitler's Germany, attacked the USSR)[7].

Ioan Lupaş's discourse on Transylvania,[8] representative for the conception of Romanian historiography, starts from three theses that ground the entire discourse on Transylvania:

a) the institute of voivodeship, a true Romanian identity mark

b) the physical unity of the territory and the indissoluble connection with the Romanian lands beyond the Carpathians

c) the historical individuality of Transylvania, its long autonomist tradition and separation from Hungary.

Ioan Lupaş and other Romanian historians took up this topic. As indicated above, Lupaş returned several times to writing on Transylvania, but his ideas were the same, repeated with higher or lower intensity according to the political charge of the period when his respective works were published. The most important voices in Romanian historiography on the topic of Transylvania (Ioan Moga, Silviu Dragomir, Ştefan Pascu) walked in Lupaş's footsteps. One can discover his ideas both in *History of Transylvania* published in 1960, impregnated by Marxism-Leninism, and in various works on the topic published after 1989. Ştefan

[6] On Ioan Lupaş and his views see: Ardelean, Radu: *Istoricul Ioan Lupaş*. Teză de doctorat. Universitatea "Babeş-Bolyai" Cluj-Napoca: Facultatea de Istorie şi Filosofie, 1999; Lupaş, Ioan: *Scrieri alese*, vol. 1. Ed.: Ştefan Pascu – Pompiliu Teodor. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1977, pp. 7–28; Idem: *Scrieri alese. Studii asupra istoriei Evului Mediu şi istoriei bisericeşti*. Ed.: Nicolae Edroiu. Bucureşti: Academiei Române, 2006, pp. VIII–XXII.

[7] Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte.* Conference broadcast by Radio-Bucureşti in the evening of June 11th 1941. In: *Transilvania*, a. 72, 1941, nr. 4, pp. 255–262.

[8] Lupaş, Ioan: Factorii istorici ai vieţii naţionale româneşti. Written in 1919. In: Lupaş Ioan: *Studii, conferinţe şi comunicări istorice*, vol. 1. Bucureşti: s. l., 1927, pp. 3–33; Idem: Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei. From 1920. In: Lupaş Ioan: Studii, conferinţe şi comunicări istorice, vol. 1. Bucureşti: Casa Şcoaleror, 1927, pp. 49–72; Idem: Voevodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII. In: *Academia Română. Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice*, seria 3, vol. 18, 1936, pp. 83–114.; Idem: Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI. Excerpt from *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Naţională din Cluj*, nr. 7, 1936–1938; Idem: Fazele istorice în evoluţia constituţională a Transilvaniei. In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Naţională din Cluj*, a. 10, 1945, p. 1–54. Cfr. Edroiu, Nicolae: Cercetarea istorică privind Voievodatul Transilvaniei. In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca. Series Historica*, a. 42, 2003, pp. 155–156.



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Pascu was one of the main official historians of the regime between the 1960s and 1980s and the most authoritative voice on the topic of Transylvania. His career had already started in the 1940s and he was the author of several works of undisputable value, regarded naturally in the context of that era. Pascu was co-author of several large synthesis works (*History of Transylvania*, 1960; *History of Romania*, vol. 2, 1962), academic monographs (*The Voievodeship of Transylvania*, 4 vols, 1971–1989), and history works written at the orders of the Communist Party or even after its fall.[9] Ştefan Pascu's historical view of Transylvanian history and identity is entirely representative for the historical discourse of professional historians and ideologists in Romania during the 1970s and 1980s. The following pages will make frequent reference to the points of view expressed by Ştefan Pascu.

*The Military History of the Romanian People* (6 vols, 1984–1989) provides an extremely stretched interpretation of the Transylvanian issue. The work was written by the official ideologists and historians of the Ceauşescu regime, many of them military historians. This entire synthesis work presents the history of the Romanians through the Marxist-Leninist and nationalistic interpretative key typical for this regime as a continuous struggle for national unity, independence and freedom from foreign domination, since the Thracians and Dacians until the twentieth century. The same interpretation applies to the medieval history of Transylvania that the authors perceive as a permanent struggle of the Romanians "to stop the Hungarian expansion" and to win the full independence of the voivodeship of Transylvania.[10]

I will now present the conceptual structure of Romanian historical discourse on Transylvania:

1. The institution of the voivode

— The institution of the voivode is of Slavic or Slav-Romanian origin – Romanian historiography has demonstrated this already at the end of the nineteenth century (Nicolae Iorga, A.D. Xenopol), but Ioan Bogdan was the author presenting the most solid argumentation, already in 1902.[11] The historiography consistently took over this argument, starting with Ioan Lupaş, Ioan Moga, Silviu Dragomir, Ştefan Pascu and, more recently, Ioan-Aurel Pop.[12]

— The voivodeship of Transylvania is the continuation of the ancient pre-Hungarian conquest voivodeships.[13]

— The Hungarian conquest did not manage to eliminate the traditional institutions of the autochthons, the voivodeship in particular, an indication of the strong establishment of this institution (and others such as *cnezate, judecii, obşti*)[14] in Transylvania. A *Mercurius princeps* is attested in documents dated to 1111 and 1113. This prince did not exert *de facto* the attributes of a prince of Transylvania and probably resided at the royal court. *Leustachius Wayvoda Transilvaniae* is then mentioned 63 years later, in 1176, indicating that the Hungarian crown did not conquer Transylvania and, due to the resistance of the autochthons, had to preserve their traditional institution, the voivodeship.[15]

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[9] Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, 4 vols. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1971–1989; Idem: *A History of Transylvania*. Trans.: Robert D. Ladd. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982.; Idem: *Făurirea statului naţional unitar român*, vol. 1. Bucureşti: Academiei R.S.R., 1983.; Idem: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizaţia transilvană în cadrul civilizaţiei româneşti*. Romanian-German bilingual edition. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1983.; Idem: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc şi leagăn al poporului român*. Cluj-Napoca: Vatra Românească, 1990. Ştefan Pascu also coordinated two significant general works on the history of Transylvania: Constantin Daicoviciu – Ştefan Pascu – Victor Cheresteşiu: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. 1. Bucureşti: Academiei R.P.R., 1960.; *Istoria Romîniei*, vol. 2. Ed.: Andrei Oţetea – Mihai Berza – Barbu T. Câmpina – Ştefan Pascu. Bucureşti: Academiei R.P.R., 1962.

[10] *Istoria militară a poporului român*, vol. 1. Ed.: Constantin Olteanu – Ştefan Pascu – Ilie Ceauşescu. Bucureşti: Militară, 1984, pp. 251–285, 288–290, 339–342.

[11] Bogdan, Ioan: Originea voievodatului la români. In: *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secţiunii Istorice*, a. 24, seria 2, 1902, pp. 191–207; Şipoş, Sorin: *Silviu Dragomir istoric*, pp. 172–174.

[12] Lupaş, Ioan: *Fazele istorice în evoluţia constituţională a Transilvaniei*, pp. 11–13; Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*. Sibiu: Tipografia „Cartea Românească din Cluj", 1944, pp. 7–10, 13, 42; Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1972, pp. 28–32; Şipoş, Sorin: *Silviu Dragomir istoric*, pp. 174–179: Silviu Dragomir believed that the institution of the voivodeship had been of pure Romanian origin, see p. 175.

[13] Lupaş, Ioan: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 50–51; Idem: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, p. 42; Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*, pp. 10–14. Cfr. Constantin Daicoviciu – Ştefan Pascu – Victor Cheresteşiu: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, p. 83; *Istoria Romîniei*, vol. 2, pp. 94–95.

[14] Lupaş, Ioan: *Istoria unirii românilor*. Bucureşti: Fundaţia Culturală Regală "Principele Carol", 1937, p. 38, 41.

[15] Idem: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, p. 40, 42; Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 257; Idem: *Fazele istorice în evoluţia constituţională a Transilvaniei*, pp. 11–13; Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*, pp. 10–14; Constantin Daicoviciu – Ştefan Pascu – Victor Cheresteşiu: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, pp. 83–84; *Istoria Romîniei*, vol. 2, pp. 94–95. According to Ştefan Pascu, "*the Romanian autochthonous population* (…) *was against the replacement of her ancient institutions, created and developed on this very soil*", cfr. Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 98–99 (quote on page 99).



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Map 3. *The Romanian countries (mid-fourteenth – mid-fifteenth century).*

But the crown managed to impose a less important institution, that of the county (*comitatus*), often using previous autochthonous fortifications and power centers.[16] The difficulty with which counties were organized on the territory of Transylvania indicates the fact that the Kingdom of Hungary only penetrated this state with great effort (during the tenth and eleventh centuries), among others due to the Romanian resistance.[17]

— The importance of the voivode of Transylvania among the Hungarian dignitaries: it was one of the most important offices, beside that of palatine and ban of Croatia and Slavonia.[18]

— The institute of the voivodeship was imported from Transylvania south and east of the Carpathians.[19]

2. There is no record in Hungary of geographical and political realities similar to the institution of the voivodes from Transylvania, who are a specific Romanian product, not to be found with any neighboring population[20] and that the Hungarian conquest could not eliminate. According to Ioan Lupaş, "(…) [the voivodeship organization] *must be considered a specific Romanian product, which the penetration of Hungarian rule was unable to eliminate from its natural soil, neither was it capable to stop its subsequent development, despite all efforts* […]".[21]

I believe that besides the specificities of Transylvania, many similar political structures are known on the territory of medieval Hungary, especially in its border regions, such as the Banats of Severin and Slavonia, many of them with similar forms of autonomy and individuality. They were not necessarily the result of ethnic elements resisting the pressure of the Hungarian crown, but

[16] Lupaş, Ioan: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 67; Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 257; *Istoria Românilor*, vol. 2, p. 73, pp. 94–95; Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 99–100.

[17] Lupaş, Ioan: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 24–25.

[18] Idem: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, p. 42–43; Idem: *Epocele principale în istoria românilor*. Ediţiunea a II-a. Cluj: Institutul de Arte Grafice „Ardealul", 1928, p. 47; Idem: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 53.

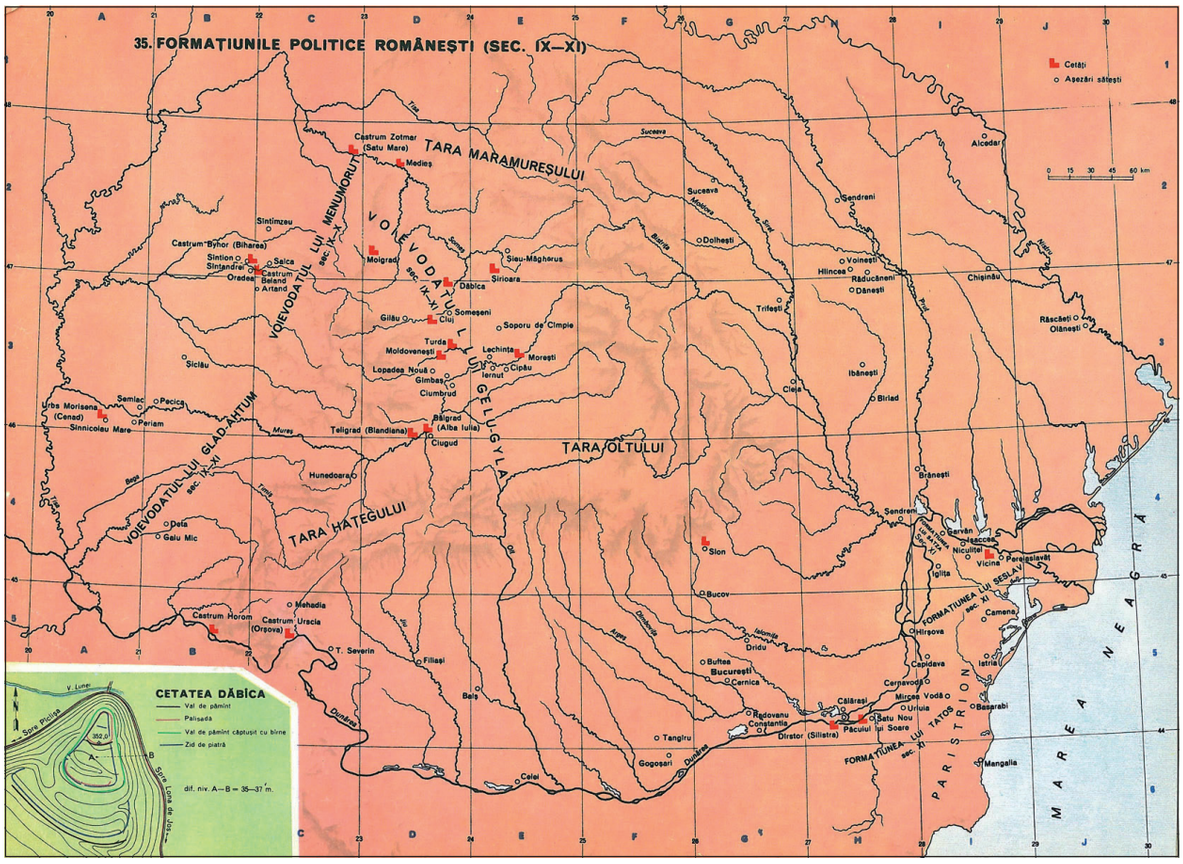
[19] Idem: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, pp. 84–85; Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 257; Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*, pp. 91–99.

[20] Lupaş, Ioan: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 51.

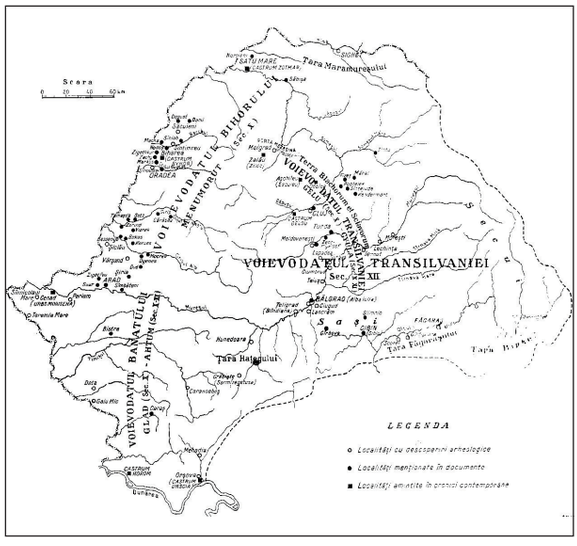
[21] Idem: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, p. 3, 85.



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Map 4. *Romanian political units (ninth – eleventh century).*




Map 5. *Transylvania between the tenth and twelfth century.*

of complex political, social, cultural, and defense considerations. Transylvania was foremost a border province of Hungary, located in a military and strategically difficult area, which due to this reason benefited from certain freedom from the crown.

3. The institutional connection between Transylvania and Walachia and Moldavia. The traditional orientation of Transylvania towards the other Romanian countries.

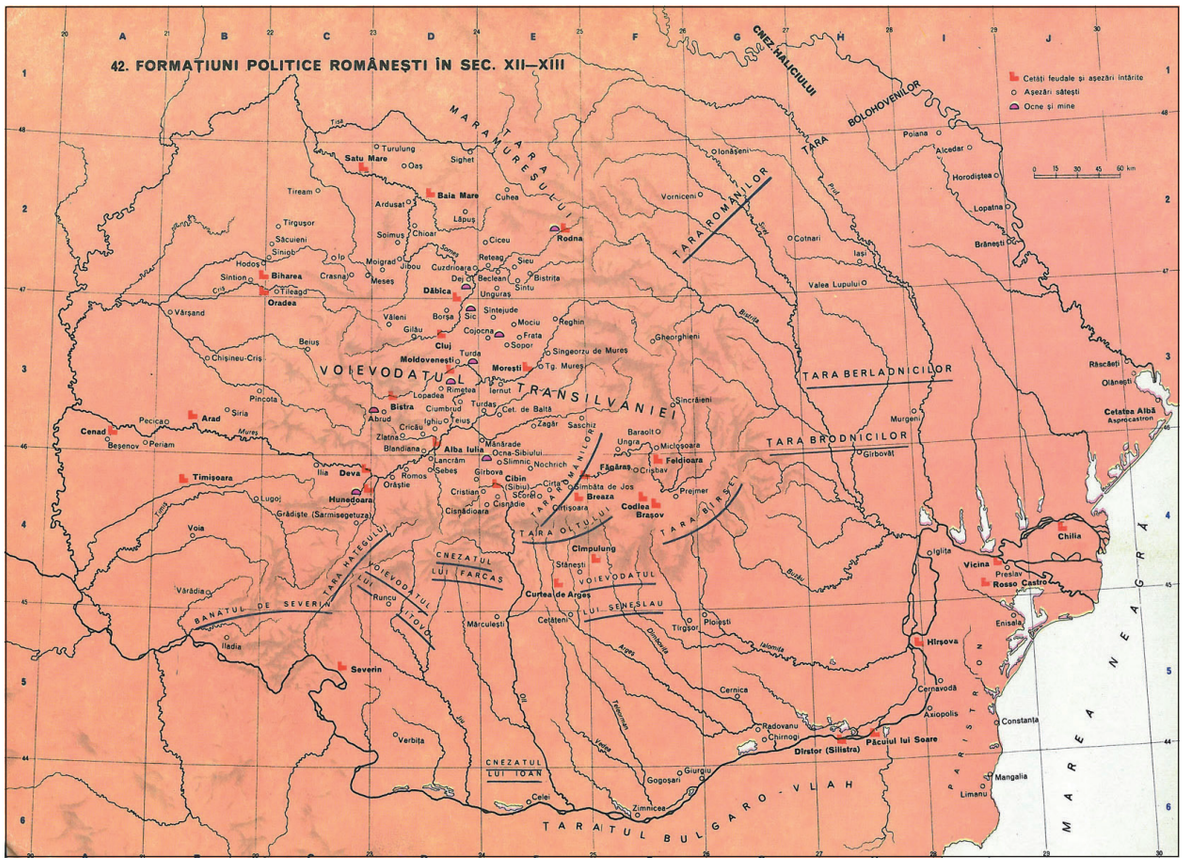
This is a fundamental aspect, later on stressed upon, forming the basis of the "three Romanian countries" thesis, countries united by the Carpathians – backbone of the Romanian area, unitary from the point of view of their relief, population, economy, culture[22] (see map 2, 4–7).

— in Transylvania (and Walachia and Moldavia) (i.e. according to a Romanian understanding), the voivode fulfilled not only military attributions (as in the Slavic understanding), but also political, judicial, and administrative ones,[23] thus being a true political leader. Over the following decades, Romanian historiography insisted upon this fact, believing that the institution of the voivode was the key of

[22] Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 255–258; Pascu, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 6–11, 17.
[23] Lupaș, Ioan: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, p. 84.



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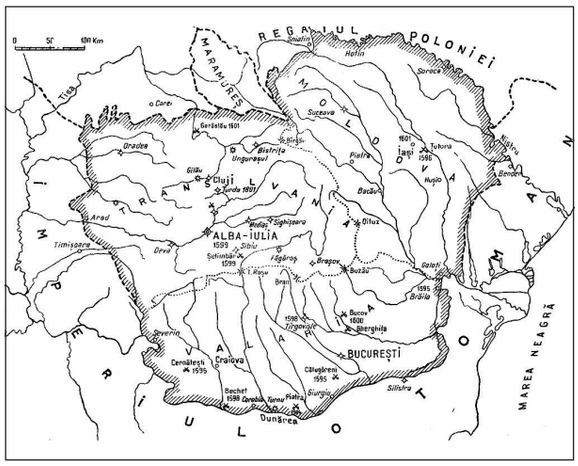

Map 6. *Romanian political units (twelfth – thirteenth century) (Atlas 1971, map nr. 42).*

Transylvania's historical individuality and of its separation from the Hungarian Kingdom.[24]

— There was no structural difference between the voivodes of Transylvania and those of Walachia and Moldavia other than the first answering to the king of Hungary.[25]

— The traditional orientation of Transylvania towards the other two Romanian countries, due to its autonomist tendencies, the Romanian ethnic element homogenously spread in the three Romanian countries, and economic and cultural relations.[26] The argument was less employed in the inter-war historiography and more between 1970 and 1980 (according to Ştefan Pascu, while Hungary rather turned to the West, Transylvania turned to the East, to the other two Romanian countries).

— Following Hungary's fall after Mohács, in particular, Transylvania was able to fulfill one of its older desires, that of joining the other two Romanian countries (maps 3–7). Supporting




Map 7. *The Romanian countries under Mihai Viteazul's rule (1600).*

[24] Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*, pp. 76–99; Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 83–84.

[25] Lupaş, Ioan: *Fazele istorice în evoluţia constituţională a Transilvaniei*, p. 13; Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*, pp. 91–99.

[26] Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, p. 83; Idem: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizaţia transilvană în cadrul civilizaţiei româneşti*, p. 51.



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this idea, the traditional cooperation among the "three Romanian countries" was stressed under two aspects: a) on the anti-Ottoman front – the example of John Hunyadi and his anti-Ottoman cooperation with Stephen the Great of Moldavia and Vlad the Imparler (Vlad Ţepeş) of Walachia[27] and b) under the suzerainty of the sultan (during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).[28] Ioan Lupaş showed that during the sixteenth century becoming a principality saved it (Transylvania) from Turkish suzerainty, thus (becoming) entirely *independent from the Hungarian Crown*" [Ioan Lupaş's emphasis].[29]

— Historical moments when the Saxons and Szeklers of Transylvania rather cooperated with the rulers of Moldavia (Stephen the Great) and Walachia (Michael the Brave) than with their own Hungarian kings, voivodes, or princes.[30]

4. The geographical argument: the organic unity of the Romanian land

— The Romanian ethnic land is an "impressive geographical unit" that the variation mountain – hill – plain does not weaken at all.[31] (map 2)

— The Carpathians are not a frontier between the countries inhabited by the Romanians (as various foreign historians tried to demonstrate), but a backbone of the Romanian element, an axle in the middle of the Romanian land.[32] This thesis was taken to extremes during the 1940s and especially during the 70s and 80s. According to Ioan Lupaş, if Egypt was the gift of the Nile, Romania could be rightfully labeled as the gift of the Carpathians and the Danube,[33] while Nicolae Iorga showed that "The Wallachian Carpathians open towards Transylvania and one finds no obstacle towards the Moldavian valleys whose waters flow into the Danube that is close to the place where the river Dniester flows into the sea. The Tisa (Tisza) collects and brings back to the same Danube the Transylvanian waters flowing westwards".[34] (map 2)

— The western border of the Romanian element is not the Carpathians but the marshy valley of the Tisa (Tisza)[35] that hindered its relations with Hungary. On the contrary, the Carpathians are fragmented mountains, with numerous passes and valleys that make their crossing easier[36] [*sic*]. The argument was repeatedly used by the historians of that era and features even in more recent historiographic productions.[37] Somewhere else, Lupaş mentioned ancient Dacia (later on Transylvania) as being "crowned by mountains" and indicated (citing from Hungarian historians) that Transylvania is divided from Hungary by mountains as by "a natural frontier wall",[38] being a "natural fortification".[39]

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[27] Lupaş, Ioan: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 69–78 (The Transylvanian voivodeship preferred Stephen the Great, the ruler of Moldavia, to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, p. 72); Idem: *Fazele istorice în evoluţia constituţională a Transilvaniei*, p. 14–15; Idem: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 82–84; Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 258; *Istoria Romîniei*, vol. 2, pp. 432–446, 503–530; Pascu, Ştefan: *Făurirea statului naţional unitar român*, pp. 20–24. Also cfr. *Istoria militară a poporului* român, vol. 2. Ed.: Constantin Olteanu – Ştefan Pascu – Ilie Ceauşescu. Bucureşti: Militară, 1986, pp. 148–434.

[28] Lupaş, Ioan: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 258; *Istoria Romîniei*, vol. 2, pp. 776–817; *Istoria poporului român.* Ed.: Andrei Oţetea. Bucureşti: Ştiinţifică, 1970, pp. 149–156, 162–164. Also cfr. Andreescu, Ştefan: *Restitutio Daciae*, 3 vols. Bucureşti: Albatros, 1980–1997.

[29] Lupaş, Ioan: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 51.

[30] Idem: *Fazele istorice în evoluţia constituţională a Transilvaniei*, pp. 15–16.

[31] Idem: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 9–13; Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 256; *Istoria poporului român*, pp. 10–12; Pascu, Ştefan: *Făurirea statului naţional unitar român*, pp. 12–18.

[32] Lupaş, Ioan: *Istoria unirii românilor*, p. 11. In 1960, the connection between Transylvania and the two Romanian Countries was stated with prudence, but still "(…) *the Romanian people was not divided by the Carpathian Mountains, but on the contrary, they eased contacts and the continuous living together*" in Constantin Daicoviciu – Ştefan Pascu – Victor Cheresteşiu: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, p. 11, 17 (Ştefan Pascu is the author of the quoted chapter). Even if historical hardships divided the Romanians, they nevertheless traveled freely from one country to another, cfr. Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, p. 6. Quoting the French geographer Emmanuel de Martonne, Şt. Pascu stated in 1990 that: "(…) *Romania can only reach a stable equilibrium through a multilateral and undivided connection with Transylvania and it is only together that all the territories inhabited by the Romanians create a harmonious and strong unity*". In: *Transilvania, inimă a pămîntului românesc şi leagăn al poporului român*, p. 8.

[33] Lupaş, Ioan: *Istoria unirii românilor*, p. 11.

[34] Iorga, Nicolae: *Istoria românilor*, vol. 3, p. 19.

[35] Lupaş, Ioan: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, pp. 255–258.

[36] Pascu, Ştefan: *Făurirea statului naţional unitar român*, p. 13.

[37] Feneşan, Cristina: *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei.* Bucureşti: Enciclopedică, 1997, p. 59.

[38] Lupaş, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, pp. 39–40.

[39] Pascu, Ştefan: *Transilvania, inimă a pămîntului românesc şi leagăn al poporului român*, p. 7



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5. Transylvania always had a tradition of autonomy and separation from the Kingdom of Hungary.[40] Several categories of arguments support this idea:

— The difficulty with which the Hungarian crown conquered and subdued Transylvania: the conflicts with the tenth- and eleventh-century duchies (*ducats*) and voivodeships (lead by Gelu, Glad, Menumorut, Ahtum, and Gyula's Transylvanian voivodeship.)[41] (maps 4–5)

— Voivodes with political ambitions (Roland Borşa, Ladislas Kán, Thomas Szécsény, Stephen Mailat), often more powerful than the Hungarian kings of the time, frequently arbiters of the political situation in Hungary.[42] All historians writing on Transylvania's traditional autonomist tendencies used this argument and discussed in detail those moments in Transylvanian history that were marked by centrifugal tendencies and by attempts to gain autonomy from the Crown of St. Stephen: from the episode when future Stephen V was proclaimed *dux Transylvanus* to the *regnum Transilvanum* from the time of oligarchs Roland Borşa and Ladislas Kán, Thomas Szécsényi, to Stibor of Stiboricz, John Hunyadi, and Stephen Mailat.

— The kings of Hungary took various measures to weaken the power of the voivodes: they created new counties and, most importantly, brought foreign colonists to Transylvania, in order to weaken the voivodes' power and even in order to prevent the formation of a Transylvanian state distinct from the Hungarian one.[43]

— Sentimental, almost messianic arguments: Transylvania belongs to the ethnical Romanian area and its "*deep life* (…) *clearly ascribes to the Romanian* historical rhythm"; Transylvania went through an "*un-natural and forced" situation as long as it was trapped in the artificial body of the Hungarian Kingdom and of the Habsburg Monarchy* "(…) *and could only fulfill its destiny as natural part of the Romanian State, as most essential part of the ethnic area, on which this state founds its existence and its future.*" [emphases mine][44] Hungary never managed to subdue Transylvania's consciousness as separate country.[45] On the other hand, "(…) *as long as its territory* [that of Transylvania, note mine] *was missing from the political body of Romania, the kingdom looked un-natural, as two arms extended in tender expectation.*"[46]

— In its turn, the Romanian element in Transylvania always remained indifferent to historical hardships, united in the Carpathian area, following the rhythms of *foreign* historic development only superficially [emphasis mine].[47]

— Hungarian historians admitted the autonomist tradition of Transylvania throughout the centuries: "*Hungarian historians enjoying a good reputation admitted the fact that Transylvania never fully merged with the Kingdom of Hungary and that it succeeded in maintaining its political, cultural, and economic peculiarity unchanged along the centuries.*"[48] The fact that Ioan Lupaş (and his followers) sometimes cites the statements of some Hungarian historians (often taken out

[40] Lupaş, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, p. 40; Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 256; Idem: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 39–40; Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*, p. 42; Pascu, Ştefan: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc şi leagăn al poporului român*, pp. 22–25; Feneşan, Cristina: *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei*, p. 46, pp. 50–79.

[41] Lupaş, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, pp. 41–42; Constantin Daicoviciu – Ştefan Pascu – Victor Cheresteşiu: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, pp. 64–73; Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 24–32, 61–88; Idem: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc şi leagăn al poporului român*, p. 19.

[42] Lupaş, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, pp. 43–47; Idem: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, pp. 93–111; Idem: *Epocele principale în istoria românilor*, p. 48; Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 257; Idem: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 64–65; Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*, pp. 15–43; Constantin Daicoviciu – Ştefan Pascu – Victor Cheresteşiu: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, pp. 83–84; Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 172–179, 186–202, 247–252; Idem: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizaţia transilvană în cadrul civilizaţiei româneşti*, pp. 50–51; Pop, Ioan-Aurel: *Românii şi maghiarii în secolele IX-XIV. Geneza statului medieval în Transilvania*. Cluj-Napoca: Fundaţia Culturală Română, 1996, p. 187; Feneşan, Cristina: *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei*, pp. 50–57; Sălăgean, Tudor: *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán (1294–1315).* Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2007, 224 p.

[43] Lupaş, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, pp. 43–44, 49–50; Lupaş, Ioan: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 26–38, 42–50; Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*, p. 42; Constantin Daicoviciu – Ştefan Pascu – Victor Cheresteşiu: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, pp. 73–75; *Istoria Romîniei*, vol. 2, pp. 75–81; Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 169–172.

[44] Lupaş, Ioan: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, pp. 255–256.

[45] Ibidem, p. 258.

[46] Lupaş, Ioan: *Istoria unirii românilor*, p. 11.

[47] Idem: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 256.

[48] Idem: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, p. 87, 89.



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of their context) supporting his own theses is symptomatic. Among such cited historians one can mention László Köváry, Sándor Szilágyi, László Németh, László Makkai, etc.

— The focus is placed on traditional Romanian forms of organization (associated to specific relief units: valleys favoring the creation of "countries / *ţări*")[49] that survived in Transylvania after the Hungarian conquest (voievodships, *cnezate*, countries / *ţări*, seats / *scaune*, districts, *juzi* / Lat. *judices*, *crainici*). The western-type institution imposed by the crown – the county / *comitatus* – was only partially able to replace such institutions.[50] The insistence is placed on the voivodeship of Maramureş, the "countries" in Olt, Făgăraş, Haţeg, Maramureş, Amlaş, Zarand, Bârsa, and Severin.[51]

— The peak of tendencies towards autonomy developed in the voivodeship of Transylvania was reached in the middle of the sixteenth century, when, after the battle of Mohács, Transylvania "turned its soul away" from the Kingdom of Hungary and broke free from its "previous political ties" to Hungary and becomes an independent or autonomous state under Ottoman suzerainty, but completely independent from the Crown of St. Stephen.[52] Lupaş's discourse became obsolete during the 1970s–1980s, in line with the ideologist tendencies of Ceauşescu's regime (the obsession for independence, the role played in global politics, the obsession of gaining international recognition). Thus, for Ştefan Pascu the Principality of Transylvania was a kind of peak of the centuries-long tendency towards autonomy and separation, while the dependence on the Ottoman Empire was a major institutional and political progress. Due to its geographic and strategic location and its tradition of anti-Ottoman struggle, Transylvania received a privileged status compared to other vassals and it was often allowed to play an important role in European politics.[53]

6. Transylvania is oriented towards the East According to Romanian historiography, the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania were from the very beginning separated in their historical orientation: "*Since the days of Stephen, the first king, Hungary turned towards the West, while Transylvania remained completely turned towards the East*".[54] In the beginning, Hungarians were baptized according to the Eastern Rite, just like the Romanians, but they later on adopted the Western Rite. Hungarians, the Kingdom of Hungary and Catholic propaganda did not succeed in breaking the indestructible link between Romanians and Orthodoxy,[55] just as the Protestant princes did not succeed in making them adopt Calvinism.[56] Orthodoxy was "*the rock against which the lengthy attempts of the Hungarian Kingdom of permanently settling in Transylvania and even of extending its rule over Walachia and Moldavia crashed and were defeated.*"[57]

## Conclusions

I attempted to present above the main ideas that form the discourse on Transylvania in Romanian historiography. Here are some conclusions:

— The history of Transylvania is of significant importance to Romanian historiography and it is mainly approached by historians of Transylvanian origin (Ioan Lupaş, Ştefan Pascu).

[49] Pascu, Ştefan: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc şi leagăn al poporului român*, pp. 18–19.
[50] Idem: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 99–100.
[51] Dragomir, Silviu: Câteva urme ale organizaţiei de stat slavo-române. In: *Dacoromania*, a. 1, 1921, p. 147–161; Filipaşcu, Alexandru: *Istoria Maramureşului*. Bucureşti: Tipografia ziarului "Universul", 1940; Moga, Ion: *Scrieri istorice: 1926–1946.* Foreword by Ştefan Pascu. Ed.: Mihail Dan – Aurel Răduţiu. Cluj: Dacia, 1973, p. 37–88; Moga, Ion: *Voievodatul Maramureşului. Probleme istorice şi chestiuni de metodă ştiinţifică*. In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Naţională din Cluj-Sibiu*, a. 10, 1945, p. 522–576; Constantin Daicoviciu – Ştefan Pascu – Victor Cheresteşiu: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, p. 75, pp. 81–83; Pascu, Ştefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 24–40, 146–148, 203–222; Idem: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizaţia transilvană în cadrul civilizaţiei româneşti*, pp. 51–52; Idem: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc şi leagăn al poporului român*, p. 48; Popa, Radu: *Ţara Maramureşului în veacul al XIV-lea.* Bucureşti: Ed.: Academiei R.S.R., 1970; Popa, Radu: *La începuturile Evului Mediu românesc: Ţara Haţegului*. Bucureşti: Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1988; Şipoş, Sorin: *Silviu Dragomir istoric*, pp. 175–182.
[52] Lupaş, Ioan: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 74; Idem: *Fazele istorice în evoluţia constituţională a Transilvaniei*, pp. 16–17; Moga, Ion: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei: fapte şi interpretări istorice*, p. 44.
[53] Pascu, Ştefan: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizaţia transilvană în cadrul civilizaţiei româneşti*, p. 70.
[54] Lupaş, Ioan: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, pp. 6–9; Idem: *Realităţi istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 54–60.
[55] Idem: *Epocele principale în istoria românilor*, pp. 52–53; Idem: *Voevodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, pp. 6–9; Idem: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 22–25.
[56] Ibidem, p. 25; Lupaş, Ioan: *Factorii istorici ai vieţii naţionale româneşti*, pp. 21–24.
[57] Idem: *Istoria unirii românilor*, p. 25.



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— The discourse on Transylvania in Romanian historiography is unitary, linear, and conservative; with only a few exceptions, Romanian historians still maintain this interpretative line.
— It is a historical discourse with obvious sentimental and emotional charge, especially in difficult times (1918–1920, 1936–1938, and 1940–1944).
— The academic value of the theses included in the above-mentioned works varies: from academically honest articles and conference presentations to dissemination texts or those obviously written on political requests.

This overview of Romanian historiography concerning Transylvania is intended as a reflection or parallel to the topic of the above-mentioned conference on "Slovakia and Croatia in connection to the medieval Kingdom of Hungary". I believe that Slovak, Croatian, and Hungarian historians could render very similar perspectives on their own historiographies and such a discussion might be fruitfully initiated in the future.*

* Translated by Ana Maria Gruia.



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VASILINA SIDOROVA*

# The Slavic World in French Historical Writings of the Eleventh Century

## Slovanský svet vo francúzskych historických prameňoch 11. storočia / Slavenski svijet u francuskim povijesnim spisima 11. stoljeća

*Early medieval French authors knew not very much about the Slavs and the Slavic lands. They were mostly interested in the region in connection with the expansion of the borders of the "Roman world" to the East. Some of them mention Sklavania either as a part of Germany or as an independent territory inhabited by kindred nations or tribes. Despite limited knowledge about the region the authors distinguished well the Slavic peoples first of all by the language but sometimes also by appearance and culture. They indicated the exact tribal names and areas of their settlement as well as reported some very particular episodes of their history. The French chroniclers regarded Central and Eastern Europe as a region where the Western and Eastern Churches struggled for authority. The christianization of the Slavs was considered as a sacred mission of the German emperors while separate cases of conversion to Christianity were perceived as parts of basically one event.*

Keywords: French medieval chronicles, Slavic nations, Central and Eastern Europe, language and ethnic groups

By the year 1000 the borders of the Christian world had largely expanded to the east of Germany by the fact of conversion to Christianity of the peoples inhabiting that region. In this context the Slavic nations began again to draw special attention of Western authors and to appear on the pages of their writings as it happened earlier during the wars waged against them by Charlemagne. Though in comparison with German sources there are not too many references to the Slavs and the Slavic lands in the French texts of that age, they give an idea of the role the Slavic peoples played in the geopolitical constructions of the French historians. The most important and detailed accounts are found in the *Chronicle of Aquitaine and France* by the Aquitanian monk Ademar of Chabannes (988–1034) and in the *Five books of histories* by the Burgundian monk Raoul Glaber (ca. 985–1050).

By that time there was a rather long tradition of writing about the Slavs in Western European, mainly Frankish, historical literature.[1] Historically, since the Carolingian Age, Franks regarded the Slavic world as the sphere of their influence. In the eleventh century French authors tried to consolidate this idea in historical memory, although from the late ninth century onwards political supremacy over the Slavs passed in fact to Germans. Thus, Ademar of Chabannes, who when narrating the history of the eighth-ninth centuries usually closely follows the *Annales Regni Francorum*, sometimes deviates from this text in order to show Charlemagne's policy in the Slavic lands much more important and influential than it actually was. For example, according to the said Annals for 809 Thrasco, *dux* of the Abodrites, "*with help from the Saxons*", first "*attacked his neighbours, the Wilzi*", then "*captured the capital of the Smeldingi*" and finally "*forced all those who had defected from him to become his allies again.*" Ademar tells this story in a rather different way: Thrasco, first of all, asked Charlemagne for aid and it was the emperor who sent the Saxons with him to fight the Wilzi. Then the Franks conquered the capital of the Smeldingi and finally all the Polabian tribes were brought under Charlemagne's power.[2]

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[1] Ronin, Vladimir K: Slavianskaja politika Karla Velikogo v zapadnoevropejskoj srednevekovoj tradicii. In: *Srednie Veka*, a. 49, 1986, pp. 5–25; Lienhard, Thomas: Les chiens de Dieu: la politique slave des carolingiens, thèse de doctorat en histoire médiévale. Lille: Université Lille, 2003.

[2] Annales regni Francorum (741–825), a. 809. In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (deinde *MGH*), vol. 6. Ed.: Friedrich Kurze – Georg Friedrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1895, p. 213; Ademar of Chabannes: *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*. vol. 2. In: *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, vol. 129. Ed.: Pascale Bourgain – Richard Landes – Georges Pon. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, p. 21.



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Perhaps, this old imperial vision was taken into consideration when a marriage was arranged in 1051 between the French king Henry I and Anna, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, grand prince of Kiev. True, it was the only matrimonial union between a member of the Capetian dynasty and a Slavic princess. It is likely that the very idea of such a marriage was proposed by the Polish king (or prince) Casimir I the Restorer who after the death of his father, King Mieszko II, in 1034 was forced into exile and spent some time in the Abbey of Cluny where he even became a deacon under the name Charles until about 1041 when the Poles called him back.[3] He married Yaroslav's younger sister, Maria Dobronega (Dobrogniewa),[4] while his own sister, Elisabeth (Olisava in Russian sources), married Yaroslav's second son, Izyaslav, the future grand prince of Kiev.[5] Thus, the prince of Poland, presumably close to the French court and a relative of Yaroslav the Wise, would have been in a good position to arrange the matrimonial negotiations.[6] At the same time, the niece of Matilda, the late first wife of Henry, was married to Anna's brother Svyatoslav, third son of Yaroslav the Wise. Thus, political contacts between the French Kingdom and the two largest Slavic states, Rus' and Poland, were quite active, and it is disappointing that the French chronicles contain little information about them. Perhaps most stunning of all, Raoul Glaber does not mention Casimir at all though he was closely connected to Cluny and lived there for quite a while. True, in the late 1030s when Casimir found refuge in Cluny Raoul had already left it with some scandal and settled in the Abbey of Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, where he remained until his death about 1050.

* * *

The name *Sclavania* as a designation for the Slavic lands is used only by Ademar of Chabannes, who employs it nine times in his chronicle though five of them concern Carolingian times and that part of his work is a compilation of the *Annales Regni Francorum*. Unlike the German chronicler Adam of Bremen who considered *Sclavania* a part of Germany[7] Ademar regards it as an independent country. The Polish king Boleslas I, whose name he transmits as *Botesclavus*, underlining his Slavic origin, is called the king of *Sclavania* twice.[8]

However, Ademar applies this place-name also to one of the Slavic territories on a par with *Polliana* (Poland), *Cracovia*, and *Waredonia*. These four provinces, which, according to his narrative, were christianized by Saint Adalbert of Prague,[9] make up the kingdom of Boleslas I the Brave. The etymology and the geography of *Waredonia* are not certain. Edmond Pognon who was the first to translate the chronicle into French thought that *Waredonia* was the region of Warsaw.[10] But the Polish historians of the nineteenth century came to the conclusion that the word *Waredonia* is a distorted form of *Waregonia*[11] or *Vinidonia* (the territory inhabited by the Veneti)[12] and means Pomerania or the lands near the Baltic Sea in general which in Russian, Arabian and Persian sources was called "Vareng".[13] In this case *Sclavania* implies the entire

[3] Malinowski, Jacques: *Casimir I, roi de Pologne, moine de Cluny au XIe siècle Étude historique*. Mâcon: Impr. de E. Protat, 1868, pp. 3–28, 51–55.

[4] Pchelov, Evgeny: Polskaya knyaginya Maria Dobronega Vladimirovna. In: *Drevniaja Rus' v sisteme etnopoliticheskih i kulturnyh sviazey*. Moskva: Nauka, 1994, pp. 31–33.

[5] Poppe, Andrzej: Gertruda-Olisava, russkaja kniaginia. Peresmotr biograficheskih dannyh. In: *Imenoslov. Historical Semantics of the Name*. vol. 2. Moskva: Indrik, 2007, pp. 205–229.

[6] Hallu, Roger: *Anne de Kiev, reine de France*. Rome: Università cattolica Ucraina, 1973, passim; Bautier, Robert-Henri: Anne de Kiev, reine de France, et la politique royale au XIe siècle: étude critique de la documentation. In: *Revue des études slaves*, a. 57, 1985, nr. 4, pp. 545–546.

[7] *MGH*, vol. 7. Ed.: Bernhard Schmeidler. Hannover-Leipzig, 1917, p. 18: "*Sclavania igitur, amplissima Germaniae provintia*."

[8] Ademar of Chabannes 3, 31.

[9] Ibidem 3, 31: "*Sanctus Adalbertus convertit ad fidem Christi quattuor istas provincias, que antiquo paganorum errore detinebantur, scilicet Pollianam, Sclavaniam, Waredoniam, Cracoviam.*"

[10] *L'An mille. Œuvres de Liutprand, Raoul Glaber, Adémar de Chabannes, Adalberon, Helgaud*. Ed.: Edmond Pognon. Paris: Gallimard, 1947, p. 171.

[11] Lelewel, Joachim: *Géographie du moyen âge*, tom. 3. Bruxelle: J. Pilliet, 1852, p. 15.

[12] Maciejowski, Wacław A.: *Essai historique sur l'égllise chrétienne primitive des deux rites, chez les Slaves*. Berlin: A. Ascher, 1846, p. 274.

[13] Melnikova, Elena A.: Variagi, varangi, veringi: skandinavy na Rusi i v Vizantii. In: *Vizantijsky vremennik*, a. 55, 1998, pp. 159–164; Lugovyj, Oleg M.: K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii termina "Varang / Variag / Vering". In: *Stratum plus*, a. 6, 2005–2009. pp. 405–409.



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region to the east of Germany, which is consistent with the version of Adam of Bremen. Therefore we can deduce (or at least suppose) that in Ademar's wording *Sclavania* designates mainly the lands which formerly constituted Great Moravia: Moravia, Slovakia, Bohemia, and Silesia.

Both Ademar and Raoul Glaber give an unusual name to Bohemia. The first calls it *Bevehem*,[14] the second explains that Saint Adalbert from Prague "*left the province which in the Slavic language was called* Bethem."[15] So far no convincing linguistic explanation of these place-names has been suggested.

It is quite evident that Latin authors had an idea of the linguistic unity of the Slavs. As early as the ninth century Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, referring to the Slavic tribes says that "*while speaking almost the same language they differ greatly as regards customs and appearance*".[16] Later authors were also aware of the ethnic kinship of Poles, Bohemians and Russians but no reference is made in this context to Polabian or Balkan Slavs.

The geographic position of the Russian state was relatively well-known in the West.[17] It seems also that Russians were not rare guests in Western lands. For example, Ademar was aware of Russian mercenaries in Byzantine service; describing Byzantine victory over the Normans in Italy in 1018, he specifies that the latter had been defeated and destroyed by *Russi*.[18] Though it is quite possible that some of these "Russian" warriors were of Scandinavian origin, it is the use of the ethnonym which is most important in this case. The anonymous chronicle of the abbey Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in Sens (twelfth century), speaking of the embassy of King Henry I to the Grand Prince Yaroslav, calls him "*the king of the land of Russia which stretches to the borders of Greece*".[19] The Annals of Vendôme, written between 1057 and 1060, without giving the name of Queen Anne, call her *scythica* and *rufa*,[20] obviously referring to the description of her homeland in the writings of ancient authors. Apparently, Yaroslav's name seemed too difficult and strange to the French authors, so they either distorted it or omitted it altogether. In the "*History of the Normans*" Guillaume of Jumièges (ca. 1000–1070) speaks of *Juliusclodii regis Rugorum filiam*,[21] in the twelfth-century French sources he is referred to as *Juriscloth*,[22] *Bullesclot*,[23] or *Buflesdoc*,[24] sometimes also by his baptismal name, *Georgius Sclavus*.[25]

As for the Wilzi or Liutici who in the eleventh century remained heathens, the most exciting account is found in the *History* of Raoul Glaber, though he does not specify that they were Slavs. He mentions their regular raids on German territories and describes them in connection with the campaign undertaken against them by Conrad II. Glaber characterizes them as barbarous and the most ferocious in their cruelty people, whose name comes from the word *lutum* meaning '*mud*'. He continues: "*they all live close to the Northern Sea amongst squalid marshes and that is why they are called* liutichi *or 'the muddy ones'* (lutei). *In the millennial year they left their lairs and very cruelly ravaged the neighbouring provinces of the Saxons and Bavarians, destroying Christian properties down to the*

[14] Ademar of Chabannes 3, 31.

[15] Rodulfus Glaber: *Opera*. Ed.: John France. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, I, 4, 10: "*Venerabilis pontifex Adalbertus, ex provintia que lingua Sclavorum vocatur Bethem, in civitate Braga, regens ecclesiam sancti martiris Vitisclodi, egressus ad gentem Bruscorum…*"

[16] Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni. In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 6. Ed.: Georg Heinrich Pertz – Georg Waitz – Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis bibliopolii Hahniani, 1911, p. 15: "*Deinde omnes barbaras ac feras nationes, quae inter Rhenum ac Visulam fluvios oceanumque ac Danubium positae, lingua quidem poene similes, moribus vero atque habitu valde dissimiles.*" (deinde *MGH SRG*).

[17] Mund, Stéphane: Constitution et diffusion d'un savoir occidental sur le monde « russe » au moyen âge (fin Xe-milieu XVe siècle) (1 partie). In: *Le Moyen Age*, a. 110, 2004, pp. 275–314.

[18] Ademar of Chabannes 3, 55: "*Quarto congressu a gente Russorum victi et prostrati sunt et ad nichilum redacti, et innumeri, ducti Constantinopolim, usque ad exitum vite in carceribus tribulati sunt.*"

[19] *Chronicon Sancti Petri Vivi Senonensis*. Ed.: Robert-Henri Bautier. Paris: CNRS, 1979, p. 122.

[20] Annales de Vendôme. In: *Chroniques des églises d'Anjou*. Ed.: Paul Marchegay – Émile Mabille. Paris: J. Renouard, 1869, p. 167.

[21] *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*. Ed. et trans.: Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, pp. 152–153.

[22] Bautier, Robert-Henri: *Anne de Kiev, reine de France, et la politique royale au XIe siècle*, p. 548.

[23] Historia Regum Francorum monasterii Sancti Dionysii. In : *MGH*, vol. 9. Ed.: Georg Friedrich Pertz. Hannover: s. l., 1895, p. 404.

[24] Abbreviatio gestorum Francorum regum. In: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 11. Ed.: Léopold Delisle. Paris: Palmé, 1876, p. 213.

[25] Alexeev, Mikhail P.: Anglo-saxonskaja parallel k Poucheniju Vladimira Monomakha. In: *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoj Literatury*, vol. 2. Moskva-Leningrad: Akademija Nauk, 1935, pp. 47–48. An extensive collection of distortions of Yaroslav's name can be found in Ediger, Theodor: *Russlands älteste Beziehungen zu Deutschland, Frankreich und der römischen Kurie*. Halle: Universität, 1911, p. 66–67.



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*bare earth and slaughtering men and women*". Glaber ends his account saying that the king managed to defeat the Liutichi and put them to flight "*to their inaccessible haunts among the marshes*".[26] Ironically, the correct etymology of the name Liutichi ("cruel ones") very well fits his description of them.

Southern Slavs are hardly distinguished in the French chronicles of the eleventh century. There are a few meager references to Bulgarians whereas Serbs and Croatians are not mentioned at all. It is important to note that even for the ninth century there are surprisingly few reports about Croatians (as allies of Charlemagne in his wars against the Avars and immediate neighbours of his empire).[27] As for the Bulgarians, we have only one short note by Ademar of Chabannes, in connection with the wars of Emperor Basil II in 1001–1018. Ademar mentions that the Bulgarian tsar Samuel did not perish in a fair battle but was murdered by Greek cunning.[28] In fact Samuel died of a heart attack upon seeing 15 000 blinded Bulgarian soldiers sent out to him by Basil II.[29] Ademar does not indicate that Bulgarians belong to the Slavic world nor gives any other meaningful details about them.

* * *

The French chroniclers regarded Central and Eastern Europe as a region where the Western and the Eastern Churches struggled for authority. Though the right of Constantinople to govern Eastern lands in general was not disputed, the christianization of the Slavs and other European nations which were still pagans was considered as a sacral mission of the Roman (German) emperors. The eastern limits of the Latin world would be defined by the choice of those nations between the Roman and the Greek churches: Bulgarians and Russians chose the East, while Poles and Hungarians chose the West.

In the eyes of the French authors the conversion of almost the entire region of Central and Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, Russia and, Pomerania) is connected exclusively with the names of two great Catholic missionaries of the time: Saint Adalbert of Prague and Saint Bruno of Querfurt.

Writing about the mission of Saint Adalbert to Poland and Prussia, Ademar wrongly asserts that it was Otto III who had sent him to baptize the eastern heathens. He puts the following phrase into the emperor's mouth: "*A bishop like you should go to preach to the Slavic tribes.*"[30] Georges Pon, the modern French editor of Ademar's chronicle, sees in this phrase a mockery of the Slavic peoples because of the ambiguity of the word *sclavus*, which had already acquired the meaning "slave".[31] Pon has obviously in mind Adalbert was Czech by birth. However, neither Raoul Glaber nor Ademar mention that Adalbert was of Slavic origin nor give his Slavic name Vojtěch.[32] On the other hand, the form *Sclavus* was used at that time on a par with the form *Slavus*, so in fact nothing in Ademar's text points to a mockery of any sort.

Passing over in silence that prince Mieszko I was baptized as early as 966, Ademar alleges that Adalbert went to preach the gospel to Poland, where "*no one had heard the name of Christ*," and baptized Boleslas I the Brave.[33] Ademar adds that the king even built a church in Adalbert's honor and goes so far as to say that after the bishop's martyrdom in 997 Otto III sent the throne of Charlemagne to

[26] Radulfus Glaber, I, 4, 10: "*…gens Leuticorum barbara omni crudelitate ferocior; cujus vocabulum a luto dirivatur. Est enim omnis illorum habitatio circa mare aquilonare in paludibus sordentibus, et iccirco Leutici quasi lutei vocantur.*"

[27] Curta, Florin: *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 136–138.

[28] Ademar of Chabannes 3, 32: "*…nequaquam publico prelio, sed astucia greca interfectis…*"

[29] Ioannis Scylitzae: *Synopsis historiarum*. Ed.: Hans Thurn. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973, p. 348–349. Cfr.: Stephenson, Paul: *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, passim.

[30] Ademar of Chabannes 3, 31: "*Talis episcopus sicut vos estis debuisset pergere ad predicandum sclavorum gentes.*"

[31] Adémar de Chabannes: Chronicon. Trans.: Yves Chauvin – Georges Pon. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003, p. 236. Cfr.: Verlinden, Charles: L'origine de "slavus" = esclave. In: *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, a. 17, 1943, pp. 97–128; Lienhard, Thomas: Esclavage, otages, hommage: les relations entre les Slaves de l'Ouest et les Francs au VIIIe et au IXe siècle, d'après le cas des Carantaniens. In: *European Review of History*, a. 9, 2002, nr. 1,p. 99–107.

[32] The Slavic origin of Adalbert and his Slavic name is mentioned in his *vita*. See: Johannes Canaparius: S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita prior. In: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Nova Seria* (deinde *MPH NS*), vol. 4/2. Ed.: Jadwiga Karwasińska. Warszawa: PWN, 1969: "*Sum nativitatus Sclavus*". See also: Chronicon Thietmari Merseburgensis, vol. 4. In: *MGH*, vol. 9. Ed.: Robert Holtzmann. Berlin: Weidmann, 1935, p. 28.

[33] "*Pedibus nudis abiit in Pollianam provinciam, ubi nemo Christi nomen audierat, et predicare cepit evangelium.*" Ademar of Chabannes 3, 31.



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Boleslas in exchange for the relics of the saint. Gallus Anonymus specifies that the emperor gave Boleslas a nail from the Lord's cross together with the spear of Saint Maurus, and in return the Polish ruler offered him only an arm of Saint Adalbert.[34] The relics of Adalbert remained in Poland till 1038 or 1039 when the Czech prince Břetislav I sacked Gniezno and moved them to Prague. But this event took place long after Ademar's death in 1034.

The most impressive of Ademar's reports about the Slavs, though just as erroneous, concerns the conversion of Russia. According to Ademar it was Saint Bruno of Querfurt who was the first Christian missionary and baptizer in this land as well as in Hungary and that after his martyrdom in Prussia in 1009 the Russians "*bought his body for a great price and built a monastery in his honor in Russia.*" Afterwards, a Greek bishop arrived in Russia and "*converted a half of that land which still worshiped idols, so that they began to grow beard in the Greek fashion and adopted other Greek customs.*"[35] Bruno who was consecrated as the bishop of pagans by Pope Silvester II indeed visited Kingdom of Hungary and Russia, where in 1007 he met Grand Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavovich (who accepted Christianity from Constantinople in 988), and with his assistance set out to preach the gospel to the Pechenegs.[36] Perhaps Ademar heard that Otto I sent to Kiev Saint Adalbert of Magdeburg (the tutor of Adalbert of Prague whose name he took), allegedly at the request of Princess Olga (though he arrived there probably in 961, long after her death in 955), whose mission was unsuccessful because of the hostile attitude of her son Svyatoslav, and this story influenced Ademar's account about Bruno.

* * *

To sum up, the French chroniclers of the 11th century had some general information about the Slavic world and didn't regard it as totally alien. Such reports which appear in their texts don't contain negative assessments or characteristics of the Slavs, they are described rather as good Christians – with the obvious exception of the Polabian Slavs who remained pagans. Actually the French authors write mostly about the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity, one of the most important events of that time from their point of view. They also tell us about the political contacts between the French kingdom and the largest Slavic states, Poland and Russia, though unfortunately give much less information about them than one could have hoped to find on such an issue in French sources. But for comparison the French chroniclers speak very little about Spain or Scandinavia and give almost the same amount of information on England as on the Slavic world.

[34] Galli Anonymi: *Cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*. Ed.: Karol Maleczyński. In: *MPH NS*, vol. 2. Kraków: PAU, 1952, p. 6.

[35] Ademar of Chabannes 3, 31: "*Corpus ejus Russorum gens magno precio redemit, et in Russia monasterium ejus nomini construxerunt, magnis que miraculis coruscare cepit. Post paucos dies, quidam Grecus episcopus in Russiam venit et medietatem ipsius provincie, que adhuc idolis dedita erat, convertit, et morem grecum in barba crescenda et ceteris exemplis eos suscipere fecit*."

[36] Vita et passio Sancti Brunonis episcopi et martyris Querfordensis, In*: MGH*, vol. 30, pars. 2. Ed.: Heinrich Kauffmann. Lipsiae, 1934, p. 1361. See also: Baronas, Darius: The year 1009: St. Bruno of Querfurt between Poland and Rus. In: *Journal of Medieval History*, a. 34, 2008, nr. 1, pp. 1–22.



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# ROYAL FAMILIES

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NATAŠA PROCHÁZKOVÁ*

# Some Notes on the Titles of Coloman of Galicia

## K intitulatúre Kolomana Haličského / O titulama Kolomana Haličkoga

*In his childhood, Coloman of Galicia was crowned with the papal crown as King of Galicia, but later on, his father, King of Hungary, Andrew II, changed his strategy and directed his efforts to rule Galicia through other pretenders. However, Coloman retained his title and his contemporaries respected his royal authority. Shortly after he had become the Duke of Dalmatia and Croatia, his title evolved to better reflect Coloman's influence and political aspirations in the Hungarian Kingdom. Thus, he became "King and Duke of the entire* Sclavonia*." The most energetic reaction to this evolution came from the papal see under Gregory IX who addressed Coloman also as "King of* Sclavonia*" and "King of Slavs." We examine the nature and purpose of each of the stages Coloman's titles go through on the background of contemporary documents and research of modern historians including the ideological script of the* Hungarian-Polish Chronicle *as an important interpretation tool.*

Keywords: Coloman of Galicia, *rex Ruthenorum* (King of Ruthenians), *dux totius Sclauoniae* (Duke of entire *Sclavonia*), *regnum Galiciae* (the Kingdom of Galicia), King of Galicia, the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*, Gregory IX, the concept of medieval *Sclavonia*

The titles of Hungarian rulers in the Middle Ages mirror not only their bearers' real entitlements, but also their territorial ambitions and political objectives. By examining the ways in which rulers used their titles, on the one hand, and how such usage was reflected by their contemporaries, on the other, we aim to shed more light on the documentary evidence and chroniclers' records concerning the thirteenth-century Hungarian Kingdom and its relations with adjacent territories. In this respect, Coloman of Galicia, King of Galicia and Duke of *Sclavonia*, attracts particular attention. His titles as well as the corresponding attitudes of the most influential contemporaries undergo remarkable development. Let us investigate the main milestones of this development.

## Rex Galitiae

Coloman of Galicia entered the world of high-level politics at the age of six. Hungarian kings had the tendency to get involved in the affairs of Galicia and Volynia from the first half of the twelfth century on. Coloman's father, King Andrew II, was fascinated by the space of western Russia since his childhood. In 1188–1189 he was appointed by his father Bela III to rule in Galicia as *juveigneur*.[1] In 1205, following the death of Galician prince Roman Mstislavich who left behind two minor children, both Polish and Hungarian rulers intensified their efforts aiming to conquer Galician territory. In the same year, Andrew II was crowned as the Hungarian king. In 1206, he provided protection to the widow and children of Roman Mstislavich at his royal court. Consequently, he complemented his royal titles with the title of the King of Galicia and Volynia,[2] albeit the *regnum Galiciae* had not officially existed.

In 1214,[3] Andrew II asked Pope Innocent III for approval for his son Coloman to be crowned the King of Galicia (Andrew II himself used the title of King of Galicia and Volynia without the pope's approval). The pope accepted the request and agreed with Coloman's coronation *in regem Galiciae*.[4] Therefore, Coloman obtained the title of *rex Galiciae* by the end of 1214 or beginning 1215, giving rise to the Kingdom of Galicia and Volynia within the Hungarian Kingdom. Nevertheless,

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[1] This French term denotes a royal prince holding an appanage.

[2] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*), vol. 3, tom. 1. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: Typis typographiae Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1829, p. 31, 1206: "*Andrea Dei gracia Hungarie, Dalmacie, Croacie, Rame, Servie, Gallicie, Lodomerieque rex in perpetuum*."

[3] *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia* (deinde *VMH*), vol. 1. Ed.: Augustin Theiner. Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1859, nr. 1.

[4] *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (deinde *CDAC*), vol. 6. Ed: Gusztáv Wenzel: Budapest:Magyar Tudományos Akademia, 1874, nr. 227, pp. 374–375.



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due to a fierce resistance by local boyars Coloman succeeded to remain on the throne for no longer than a year. The official coronation ceremony celebrated by the archbishop of Esztergom (*Strigonium*) took place at the turn of 1215 and 1216.[5]

Innocent III's successor, Pope Honorius III (1216–1227), also confirmed that the *Regnum Galiciae* belonged to Coloman – he did so right at the beginning of his pontificate in 1217. On the same occasion, he decided that only in case of Bela's and Coloman's death, their entitlements could be transferred to their younger brother Andrew.[6]

Coloman's situation on the Galician throne got worse again during Andrew II's participation in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1218) – to the point that he had to return home. It is highly probable that during these transitory periods Coloman stayed at the Castle of Spiš (Lat. *Scepus*), a place well known to the king of Hungary for its strategic position. Then, in 1219, the allied troops of Lesser Poland and the Hungarian Kingdom managed to reconquer Galicia from the Prince of Novgorod, Mstislav the Bold, and his allies. Coloman was reinstalled on the throne (this time he was already accompanied by his wife, Princess Salomea of Lesser Poland / Małopolska). Thus, Coloman got yet another chance to realise his title of *rex Galitiae*. However, the events soon evolved to his detriment. Hungarians were severely defeated and the victorious Mstislav forced Andrew II to pledge Coloman's resignation from the throne of Galicia in exchange for the release of Coloman and his wife who were captured during the attack. Under such pressure, Andrew II gave up on his second son's rights and promised that his third son, Andrew, would marry Mstislav's daughter, Maria, before succeeding to the Galician throne as the duke. However, soon after coming back to Hungary, Andrew II asked the pope for legal advice. He questioned the pope about to what extent his pledges to the Orthodox prince Mstislav were binding. There, in 1222, Pope Honorius III confirmed Coloman's right to the *regnum Galitiae* as non-transferable, thus annulling Andrew II's pledge to Mstislav. On the same occasion, he confirmed the validity of Andrew II's other pledge, namely, the marriage between his third-born Andrew and Mstislav's Maria.[7]

## The Lord of Spiš

Based on this decision by the pope, following the expulsion from Galicia, Coloman probably finds a shelter in the county of Spiš and at the Spiš castle, where he initiates a major rebuilding. The growing significance of this castle was due to its suitable position for Hungarian quests to Galicia. The region of Spiš formed an integral part of the Hungarian Crown, so Coloman's local rule was not reflected in his official titles. However, it seems reasonable to assume he was the one to start the tradition of the *dominus terrae Scepusiensis*. Apart from indirect evidence confirming Coloman's donations and other activities in this area, there is a charter of Elizabeth the Cuman of 1279 which explicitly mentions Coloman's rule in Spiš. By this charter Queen Elizabeth donated two villages to the Chapter of Spiš for the salvation of King Coloman's soul "*qui, dum adhuc viveret, terram Scepus possederat usque ad vitam suam pleno iure…*"

The charter was first published by Carolus Wagner[8] and thereafter also by Joannes Bárdossy,[9] who added an extensive commentary. Others followed these publications.

Stephen of Anjou, brother of Louis the Great, uses the title of *dux Hungariae et dominus terrae Scepusiensis et de Sarus*, i. e. "the duke of Hungary and the lord of the land of Spiš ()and Šariš ()" already in his very first charter[10] (another document, the facsimile of the charter of Stephen of Anjou dated to 5 November 1349 uses the title of "*dux Transilvanus ac dominus terre Scepusiensis*"[11]). The title has a Slovak medieval equivalent, *hrabí – hrabinka*. *Hrabinka Spišská* is the title used by Hedwig of Těšín (Cieszyn) from the Piast dynasty,[12] the wife of Stephen Zápolya (*se Zápole*). Wladislas II Jagiello,

[5] Kállay, Ubul.: *Mikor koronázták meg Kálmant Halics felkenz királyát, a papától kuldott koronával?* In: *Századok*, a. 37, 1903, pp. 672–673.
[6] *CDH* 5, p. 189.
[7] *CDH* 5, pp. 355–357.
[8] *Annalecta Scepusii sacri et profani*, vol. 1. Ed.: Carolus Wagner. Viennae : Typis Jooan. Thammae nobil de Trattnern, 1774, p. 299.
[9] *Supplementum analectorum terrae Scepusiensis*, Ed.: Johannes Bárdossy, vol. 1. Leutschoviae: Typis Miachaelis Podhoránszky, 1802, nr. 36, p. 145.
[10] See Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest – MOL DF 258977, facsimile cfr. *Historia Scepusii*: *Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526*, vol. 1. Ed. Martin Homza – Stanisław A. Sroka. Bratislava – Kraków: Etc, 2009, p. 374, fig. 40.
[11] *Anjou-kori okmánytár*, vol. 5. Ed. et trans. Imre Nagy. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1887, nr. 192, p. 332.
[12] MOL DF 279883 and MOL DF 217790, as well as MOL DF 281671, in editions such as *Slovenské listy a listiny z 15. a 16. storočia.* Ed.: Branislav Varsik. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1956 p. 98–99.



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Czech king and the future king of the Realm of St. Stephen, grants Stephen Zápolya the title of "eternal *hrabí* of Spiš."[13] The translation of the Czech term of *hrabí* refers to earl, duke, or even prince, which corresponds to the later hereditary title of the duke of Spiš for the family of Zápolya (cfr. the title of Stephen Zápolya in Polish terminology[14]); later on in Lat. *comes perpetuus*; Ger. *Ewiger Gespan*; Hun. *szepesi örökös gróf / ispán* for the houses of Thurzo and Csáki (slov. *Čáki*). In view of the context the title of the duke of Spiš mostly stayed in the royal family (the Arpads, Angevins, Zápolyas) or belonged to prominent persons and kindreds in the Hungarian Kingdom (comes Bald, the titleDrugets, Thurzo, Čáki). ,Therefore, historians studying Spiš, such as Joannes Bárdossy, prefer to identify rulers of Spiš with the title of "*Scepusiensis Terrae Dux*."[15]

Coloman's activities in Spiš become clearer also thanks to the new findings of archaeologists and art historians which confirm a construction boom in this area and remarkable analogies between the architecture of Spiš and then Croatia as early as in the 1220s. As far as visual sources are concerned, the seal of the Saxons of Spiš and the first Croatian *kuna*, probably issued by Coloman, also show common traits.

## Brotherly conflict

In 1224, Coloman's younger brother Andrew obtained the Duchy of *Premislia* (Pol. Przemyśl) as a dowry from the father of his wife Maria. In 1227, Mstislav decided to grant Andrew the title of *dux Galitiae.* However, Coloman, the crowned King of Galicia, did not take part in the expedition aiming at Andrew's reinstallment on the ducal throne.[16] Obviously, he did not support his brother's entitlement. Ultimately, the conflict between Coloman and Andrew culminated in a mysterious military clash initiated by the frustrated Andrew who attacked Coloman in his Castle of *Roicha*.[17] This dramatic circumstance stimulates imagination as this castle is identified with the Castle Rovište situated in Croatia. To get to the castle, Andrew would have had to travel from Przemyśl across the entire Hungarian Kingdom. So far, we have found no definite explanation for this.

A unique way of legitimising the Arpadian dynasty's entitlement to the Kingdom of Galicia and the associated hierarchy of titles, and also the particular conflict between Coloman and his brother Andrew, are presented by the author of the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* (deinde *HPC*).[18] Ladislas, who is presented in the chronicle as the grandson of Saint Stephen, gains eternal right to the Crown of Galicia by becoming the adoptive son of the Ruthenian prince Mstislav (*Mistislau*) and by marrying his daughter (obviously a close analogy to the situation of Duke Andrew). For the time being, his brother Salomon rules in *Sclavonia* (similarly to Coloman). Subsequently, Ladislas gets the Crown of Hungary and Salomon, albeit older, agrees with the coronation of Ladislas. So far, these are the literary characters. The author of the *HPC* transformed the real conflict between the brothers Coloman and Andrew, which escalated in an armed attack on Rovište/*Roicha*, to present a story about Ladislas on the night before the elevation of the relics of Saint Stephen. On this night, Ladislas held Salomon illegally in prison.[19] The author of the *HPC* construed a new story based on this tradition by contaminating the "actual historical events" with the deeds done by several historical figures and thus creating a new reality for hagiographic purposes. The story of Coloman, the eldest son of the Arpadian House's "protoplast" Attila (*Aquila*) on the background of his relation with the emerging Saint Ladislas, who is, as we read very clearly in the *HPC*, forever entitled to the Galician throne, could have served as a confirmation that these rights belonged to the actual Coloman of Galicia.[20]

[13] *Středověké listy ze Slovenska*. Ed.: Václav Chaloupecký. Bratislava a Praha: Učená společnost Šafaříkova a Československý státní ústav historický, 1937, nr. 193, p. 159.

[14] In an undated letter written after 1662 Stephen is addressedmentioned as *Xsięża.* Cfr. Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich. Zbiór Rękopisów. Miscellanae Scepusiensia, sign. 762, fol. 42.

[15] Johannes Bárdossy: *Moldavensis vel Szepsiensis decimae indagatio est proxima terrae Scepusiensis, et huic innexarum, sacro-profanum, jurisdictionum evolutio*. Possonii: Typis ac sumptibus Georgii Aloysii Belnay, 1802, pp. 20–21.

[16] The Hypathian Codex: Part Two: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle (deinde GVC). Ed. et trans.: George A. Perfecky. in: *Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 16, II. Ed.: Omeljan Pritsak. München 1973, p. 39.

[17] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 3–5. Ed.: Tadje Smičiklas. Zagrabiae : Ex officina societatis typographicae, 1905–1907, nr. 323, p. 369.

[18] *Uhorsko-poľská kronika. Nedocenený prameň k dejinám strednej Európy* (deinde *UPK*). Ed.: Martin Homza, trans.: Jana Balegová. Bratislava: Post Scriptum – Libri Historiae, 2009, pp. 181–183.

[19] Ibidem, p. 183.

[20] Ibidem, pp. 83–84: "*Triple emphasis on the rights of an Arpadian* (Ladislas) *to the Galician throne is extraordinary at first sight. It shows the author's eminent interest in this respect. It needs to be highlighted that in* the HPC, *Mstislav is a Galician duke, while*



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In any case, it can be established that Duke Andrew had reasons to perceive Coloman as his rival. We are now approaching the issue of how Coloman perceived himself.

## King of Ruthenians and Duke of Slavonia

Coloman, *rex Galitiae*, left Spiš in 1226. In 1227 his father Andrew II issued a charter in which he refers to Coloman for the first time as the *rex Ruthenorum et dux Dalmatiae atque Croatiae*.[21] Thereby Andrew confirmed not only Coloman's first donation to the town of Drid but also the exact wording of the title which Coloman styled himself in the donation charter already a year earlier.[22] This means that King Andrew II recognised Coloman's title of the *rex Ruthenorum* – King of Ruthenians (Eastern Slavs) – and gave him the title of Duke of Dalmatia and Croatia – *dux Dalmatiae atque Croatiae*.

This semantic shift in Coloman's titles reflects the change of situation. Although Coloman was crowned as King of Galicia (*rex Galitiae*), from 1226 to 1228 he is found in sources as the King of Ruthenians, that is, the king of the people of Eastern Slavic principalities (*rex Ruthenorum*), and the Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia (*dux Croatiae atque Dalmatiae*).[23] In the period from 1229 to 1240, Croatia and Dalmatia in his title are replaced by a curious expression of "entire Slavonia/Slavic land" (*dux totius Sclauoniae*).[24] As a matter of fact, Coloman uses this title for the first time in a charter concerning Kecerovský Lipovec (Lat. *Lypolch*) situated neither in Slavonia, nor in Croatia, but in the eastern Slovakia.[25] In the first part of his title (*rex Ruthenorum*), the territorial capacity (King of Galicia) semantically transforms into an ethnical and territorially unlimited capacity (King of Ruthenians). It is obvious that Coloman failed to effectively rule the people of Galicia, however, he maintained his royal rank and his contemporaries recognised him as a ruler with royal powers. Historiography has not noted any other attempt by Coloman to regain a real power in Galicia, despite the fact that in the 1230s he already had a strong position in the Hungarian Kingdom pursuing an expansive foreign policy in Bosnia. Also, Duke Andrew of Galicia, who died in 1234, no longer hindered Coloman's way to Galicia. Coloman seemed disconnected from Galician affairs. However, on the symbolic occasion of King Bela's coronation ceremony in 1235, Coloman demonstrated his superiority to another aspirant to the throne of Galicia – Danilo of Galicia. The *Chronicon Pictum* depicts in the new king's accompaniment Coloman as carrying the king's sword, while Danilo of Galicia as leading the new king's horse.[26]

The question is how Coloman understood his royal title and what is the meaning of the changed attribute next to the royal rank from 1226. The transformation of the royal title from territorial to ethnical basis[27] is confirmed by his contemporaries including King Andrew II, King Bela IV, Pope Honorius III, and Pope Gregory IX.

High ambitions and variable evolution are characteristic for the latter part of Coloman's title. Beginning in 1229, Coloman styles himself in his charters as the *rex Ruthenorum et dux tocius Sclauoniae*. In the narrowest sense of the term, Slavonia expanded on the territory between the Drava and Sava rivers in Croatia; however, Coloman's duchy included the entire Croatia and Dalmatia and he obviously wanted more, as Bosnia attracted his intense attention, too. The notion of *tota Sclauonia* clearly indicated broader territorial ambitions either in the sense of the Franciscan

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*Galicia is a kingdom. Ladislas is its eternal ruler. This is where we come across the only crowned king of Galicia before 1241 – Coloman of Galicia. It was him* (Coloman), *more than any other Arpadian (before and after), who needed to establish such historical and sacred rights. However, it is worth noting that Coloman derived these rights not from some random Arpad, but he did so directly from Saint Ladislas, another saint of the House of Arpad. According to the chronicler, Saint Ladislas is "dedicated to God"* – Deo dedicatus." [translated by Nataša Procházková].

[21] *CDCr* 3, nr. 249, p. 278: "*…filius noster Colomanus Dei gratia Ruthenorum rex, et liberalitate nostri Dux Dalmatie atque Croatie…*"

[22] *CDCr* 3, nr. 231 pp. 258–259: "*…nos Collomanus Dei gratia rex Ruthenorum et largitate gloriosi patris nostri Andree Ungarorum regis dux Dalmacie atque Croacie…* ".

[23] *CDCr* 3, nr. 266, p. 299; Ibidem, nr. 304, pp. 346–347; Ibidem, nr. 323, p. 369.

[24] *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde *CDSl*), vol. 1. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislavae: Obzor, 1971, nr. 359, p. 256; cfr. *CDCr*, nr. 304, pp. 346–347; Ibidem, nr. 331, p. 384, nr. 367, p. 424, etc.

[25] *CDSl* 1, nr. 359, p. 256.

[26] Marci *Chronicon de gestis Hungarorum. Ab origines gentis ad annum 1330 producta*. Ed.: Franc Toldy. Pestini: Typis Gust. Emich, 1867, p. 223. *Obrázková kronika*. In: *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska*. Ed. et trans. Július Sopko. Budmerice: Rak, 1995, pp. 60–61.

[27] On the contrary, Danilo of Galicia was most probably crowned as *rex Russiae* in 1253. More on this subject, Dąbrowski, Dariusz: *Daniel Romanowicz król Rusi (ok. 1201–1264). Biografia polityczna*. Kraków: Avalon, 2012.



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thirteenth-century concept of *Sclavonia* – i. e., the Slavic land, denoting the territory inhabited by Southern Slavs, or the territory of Western and Southern Slavs within the Hungarian Kingdom including the region of Spiš in eastern Slovakia and adjacent regions.[28]

In his own charters, Coloman uses his titles relatively consistently. Interestingly enough, after 1232 his chancellor, the provost of Zagreb, *magister* Filo, starts omitting the royal attribute *Ruthenorum* in favour of a shorter title, *rex et dux tocius Sclauoniae* (the king and duke of entire Slavonia/Slavic land).[29] For Coloman, who was active in several regions of the Hungarian Kingdom, in the northeast, south, and northwest in particular, the delimitation to Eastern Slavs only would have been too restrictive. Instead, the title of *rex et dux tocius Sclauoniae* was less specific so as to generalize Coloman's claims and to allow for its bold far-reaching interpretations. Again, reflection of the ambiguous nature of the term Slavonia is found in the *HPC*, the author of which scholars associate with the court of Coloman of Galicia. In his view, *Sclauonia* was the original name of the country that Aquila (*Atila/Arpad*) later named Hungary.[30] Croatian historiography associated the title of *dux totius Sclauoniae* with Coloman's ambition to include Bosnia in the "entire Slavic land."[31] However, it should be noted here that after Coloman's withdrawal from Bosnia, his office reintroduced a longer and more specific form of his royal title – *rex Ruthenorum*, while the term of "entire Slavonia" was maintained.[32]

## The perspective of contemporaries

Coloman's powerful contemporaries such as King Andrew II and Pope Gregory IX usually called him or referred to him simply as King Coloman (*Collomanus rex*),[33] while his brother, King Bela IV, obviously supported the titles that Coloman used himself.[34] In this context, the papal office ostensibly failed to use the expression *dux totius Sclauoniae* in the latter part of Coloman's title. In the late 1220s, Gregory IX addressed Coloman as *rex Ruthenorum et dux Sclauoniae*.[35] In 1233, however, Gregory IX asked Coloman to provide the protection of his court to Princess Viola of Opole and her sons and to Coloman's mother-in-law, Princess Grimyslava of Sandomer (Pol. Sandomierz). On these occasions, the pope sees Coloman as *rex Sclauoniae*. In the letter to the bishop of Cumans from 1238, Gregory IX refers to Coloman as "the illustrious king and duke of Slavs" (*rex et dux Sclavorum illustris*). In addition, in the letter to the Benedictine abbot in Oradea (Varadin) (1238) concerning the financial compensation for the bishop of Bosnia Coloman is referred to as *rex illustris dux Sclavorum*.[36] Even in the crucial moment in the middle of 1240, when Gregory IX gives Coloman and the bishop of Zagreb, Stephen II Babonic, the authorisation to exclude the Bishopric of Zagreb from the competence of the Bishopric of Kalocsa and create a new church administration unit with a majority of Slavic population, the pope uses the title *rex et dux Sclavorum* ("King and Duke of the Slavs").[37]

To put it briefly, there are occasions when the pope calls Coloman "the king of Slavonia/Slavic land." As we have mentioned above, it is highly risky to delimit exactly what the term of Slavonia meant in the contemporary context. The pope dealt with this problem in his own way and replaced the title of *rex Sclavoniae* with a more specific term – *rex Sclavorum* ("the king of Slavs"). Again, we come across the shift of meaning from a territorial to a national and supra-territorial capacity. This pattern of transformation recurs in Coloman's titles.

The reasons why the pope addressed Coloman as the king of Slavs is not quite clear. There are two trails to follow if we want to find the origin of this title. One of them leads us to Svätopluk I the Great

[28] Verešová, Nora. Koncepcie geografického termínu Sclavinia v historických prameňoch 6.–14. storočia (PhD thesis). Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta UK, 2011, 426 p.
[29] *CDCr* 3, nr. 331, p. 384; Ibidem, nr. 358, p. 414; Ibidem, nr. 367, pp. 422–423, Ibidem 4, nr. 218, p. 252; etc.
[30] *UPK*, pp. 127–131.
[31] Lujo Margetić: Neka pitanja ranije bosanske pravne povijesti. In: *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu*, a. 56, 2006, nr. 6, pp. 1742–1759.
[32] *CDCr* 4, nr. 95, pp. 102 – 104; Ibidem, nr. 113, pp. 123–125.
[33] *VMH* 1, nr. 160, pp. 89–90.
[34] *CDCr* 4, nr. 44, p. 48; Ibidem, nr. 83, p. 89; *CDSl*, vol. 2, vol. 2. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislavae: Obzor, 1987, nr. 76, pp. 54–55, etc.
[35] *CDH* 3, p. 112.
[36] *CDCr* 4, nr. 50, p. 57.
[37] Ibidem, nr. 106, p. 114: "*Gregorius* (IX) *episcopus servus servorum dei carissimo in Christo filio Colomanno illustri regi et duci Sclavorum, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.*"



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(*Zuentepulc* / *Sventibald*, etc.) who was addressed as the *rex Sclavorum* by Pope Stephen V in a letter *Quia te zelo* in 885.[38] Another historical ruler whom the pope addressed as the king of Slavs was Mihailo of Duklja (Lat. *Civitate Dioclitana*) in 1077.[39] In this respect it is remarkable that according to the *HPC,* the king of *Sclavonia* and Croatia should have resided in Split (*Spalatensis*).[40] Geographically, it is very close to the ancient archbishopric centre of Duklja. This is also where the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (deinde *CPD*) was written.[41] Its author knows Svätopluk as the first crowned king of Slavs. Although the dating of the *CPD* is not clear, ranging from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, it is obvious that the author used older texts in his chronicle in order to satisfy contemporary political demands, similarly to the *HPC.*

Milutić explains the variety of titles given by the pope to Coloman by the former's efforts to tame Coloman's desire for Bosnia. In his analysis, he argues that the pope understood the concept of *tota Sclauonia* in Coloman's ducal title as denoting the territory of Southern Slavs including Bosnia, which was in conflict with the pope's preference of Ban Ninoslav as the Duke of Bosnia.[42] In spite of this, the pattern of the transformation of Coloman's titles from a territorial to an ethnical basis, *rex Galitiae* to *rex Ruthenorum* and *rex* / *dux Sclauoniae* to *rex* / *dux Sclauorum*, remains unexplained. We tend to agree with other scholars that this shift cannot be considered coincidental and calls for further research.

## Conclusion

The evolution of Coloman's titles raises many questions. These various titles reflect Coloman's path of a medieval ruler who was looking for new ways of strengthening and expanding his powers. Coloman's decision-making is clearly independent, like that of a king. He revives the Slavic tradition of the Hungarian Kingdom but also brings up new ideas concerning the realm. Some of his original inputs were followed up by the future rulers and intellectuals of *Sclavonia*, Croatia and Dalmatia (Mauro Orbini, Vinko Pribojević and others), while others fell into oblivion after his violent death on the battlefield. It is quite thought-provoking to imagine how Coloman's successor would have dealt with the legacy of his titles. Unfortunately for our curiosity, Coloman died without a legitimate heir.

[38] *CDSl* 1, nr. 35, p. 25.
[39] *CDCr*, vol. 1. Ed..: Marko Kostrenčić – Jakov Stipisić et Miljen Šamšalovič. Zagreb: JAZU, 1967, nr. 123, p. 158.
[40] *UPK*, pp. 130 et 131.
[41] Ljetopis popa Dukljanina: *Latinski tekst sa hrvatskim prijevodom i "Hrvatska kronika"*. Ed. Vladimir Mošin, trans. Stjepan Mencinger – Vjekoslav Štefanić. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1950, pp. 11–36. Also – Jovanović, Neven: Marulićev prijevod Hrvatske kronike i ovo izdanje. In: Marko Marulić: Latinska manja djela, vol. 2. Split: Književni krug, 2011.
[42] Neka pitanja, p. 1753.



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DARIUSZ DĄBROWSKI*

# Slovak and Southern Slavic Threads in the Genealogy of the Piast and Rurikid Dynasties in the Thirteenth Century

## Slovenské a južnoslovanské motívy v genealógiách Rurikovcov a Piastovcov v 13. storočí / Slovački i južnoslavenski motivi u genealogiji Rurikovića i Pjastovića u 13. stoljeću

*Some of the Piast and Rurikid marriages are linked in various ways with the history of Slovakia and the Southern Slavs. The best researched among them are the marriage of Coloman, son of Andrew II, with Salomea, daughter of Leszek the White, which strengthened the treaty of Spiš, and the matrimony of Leo, the son of Daniel Romanovich, Prince of Galicia and Vladimiria, with Constance, daughter of Bela IV, concluded in Zvolen. However, there is a group of less known marriages, or, as is often the case, marriages which raise controversy among researchers. As the first of them, let us mention the marriage of Casimir I of Opole with Viola, considered by some scholars to have been Bulgarian, by others Russian, or even a representative of the Arpadian dynasty. In my opinion, it is conceivable that the princess came from Dalmatia. This supposition is even more reliable and better documented than the previous ones. Then the article examines the marriage instigated by Daniel Romanovich, which linked Anastasia Alexandrovna, widow of Boleslas I, Prince of Mazovia, to a Hungarian nobleman Demetrius, who may have been identical with Demetrius the Older from the Aba family. Finally, it is worth mentioning the marriage of Mary, the daughter of Roman Danilovich and Gertrude Babenberg, with Joachim Gutkeled, son of Stephen, ban of Nitra and later the ban of Slavonia and the governor of Steier.*

Keywords: Piast and Rurikid dynasties, dynastic marriages, thirteenth century, medieval Kingdom of Hungary, Galicia, Dalmacia, Croatia, Slovakia

It is very well known that in the thirteenth century, the relations between the Kingdom of Hungary and the individual Polish and Russian principalities, in particular those located in the south-western regions of the enormous areas under the rule of the Rurikids, were quite vibrant. Naturally, due to the subject framework of our conference, we will not pursue all relations of the whole Arpadian monarchy with its eastern and northern neighbours, but only within its Slovak and Southern-Slavic provinces. Moreover, so as not to overburden the content and to preserve its cohesiveness, we have limited ourselves to present the connections occurring in the triangle outlined above.

Let us start with a reminder that the matrimonial alliances between the Arpadian, Piast and Rurik dynasties were made during the whole span – it can be said – of their interconnected existence.

We take note of the thirteenth-century marriages of the following members of the Polish and Hungarian ruling houses: Coloman, son of Andrew II, with Salomea, daughter of Leszek the White, and then also with the Russian princess Grimyslava (Nr. 1),[1] Boleslas the Chaste with Cunigunde

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[1] From genealogical point of view, see in particular Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*. Nagy-Becskereken: Pleitz Fer. Pál könyvnyomdája, 1892, pp. 448–452; Balzer, Oswald: *Genealogia Piastów*. Kraków: Avalon, 2005, pp. 480–488; Jasiński, Kazimierz: Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich. In: *Biblioteka Genealogiczna*, vol. 3. Ed.: Marek Górny. Poznań – Wrocław: Wydawnictwo historyczne, 2001, pp. 39–43. As from the biographical or political perspective, see Włodarski, Bronisław: Salomea królowa halicka (Karta z dziejów wprowadzenia zakonu klarysek do Polski). In: *Nasza Przeszłość*, a. 5, 1957, pp. 61–83; Procházková, Nataša: Postavenie haličského kráľa a slavónskeho kniežaťa Kolomana z rodu Arpádovcov v uhorskej vnútornej a zahraničnej politike v prvej polovici 13. storočia. In: *Medea. Studia mediaevalia et antiqua*, a. 2, 1998 (http://www.geocities.com/zbornik_medea/medeaII/halic.html); Eadem: Koloman Haličský na Spiši pred rokom 1241. In: *Terra Scepusiensis. Stan badań nad dziejami Spiszu*. Ed.: Ryszard Gładkiewicz – Martin Homza. Levoča – Wrocław: Kláštorisko n. o. – Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003, pp. 243–249.



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(Kinga), daughter of Bela IV (Nr. 2);[2] Boleslas the Pious with Jolenta (Helena), daughter of Bela IV (Nr. 3);[3] Fenenna, daughter of Ziemomysł, Prince of Inowrocław (that is, the niece of Leszek the Black and Wladislaus Łokietek/the Elbow-high), with Andrew III (Nr. 4),[4] This list should also include the marriage of the prince of Opole, Casimir I, with Viola (Nr. 5),[5] of an ancestry arising some controversy among scholars; and the marriage of Leszek the Black with Grifina (Agrippina), the daughter of Rostislav Mikhailovich, a member of the Rurikid house residing in Hungary, and Anna, daughter of Bela IV (Nr. 6),[6]

During the same century the following Russian-Hungarian dynastic matrimonial connections occurred: the betrothal of Daniel Romanovich with a daughter of Andrew II, presumably Maria, wedded later to Bulgarian tsar Ivan Asen II (Nr. 7);[7] the marriage of Maria, daughter of Mstislav Mstislavich the Brave (Udały), with Andrew, son of Andrew II (Nr. 8);[8] the marriage of Rostislav Mikhailovich with Anna, daughter of Bela IV (Nr. 9);[9] the marriage of

[2] Competent information on this marriage is contained in the works Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*, pp. 485–488; Balzer, Oswald: *Genealogia Piastów*, pp. 488–496; Jasiński, Kazimierz: *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, pp. 43–49.

[3] For information on this marriage, see: Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*, pp. 489–491; Balzer, Oswald: *Genealogia Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, pp. 403–410; Jasiński, Kazimierz: Genealogia Piastów wielkopolskich. Potomstwo Władysława Odonica. In: *Kronika miasta Poznania. Nasi Piastowie*. Poznań, 1995, nr. 2, pp. 41–43.

[4] For most exhaustive information on this marriage, see: Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*, pp. 566–574; Balzer, Oswald: *Genealogia Piastów*, pp. 615–621; Jasiński, Kazimierz: *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, pp. 137–139.

[5] Selected issues concerning this marriage are taken up further on, with source references and appropriate literature.

[6] On this marriage, see: Balzer, Oswald: *Genealogia Piastów*, pp. 577–583; Jasiński, Kazimierz: *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, pp. 95–104.

[7] Currently the broadest information about this relation is contained in: Dąbrowski, Dariusz: Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich. In: *Biblioteka Genealogiczna*, vol. 6. Ed.: Marek Górny. Poznań – Wrocław: Wydawnictwo historyczne, 2002, pp. 62–67; Idem: *Genealogia Mścisławowiczów. Pierwsze pokolenia* (*do początku XIV wieku*). Kraków: Avalon, 2008, pp. 311–313. On subsequent fate of the daughter of Andrew II, see: Božilov, Ivan: *Familijata na Asenevci* (*1186–1460*) *genealogija i prosopografija*. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata akademija na naukite, 1994, pp. 78, 84, 87. See also Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*, pp. 436–438.

[8] See e.g.: Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*, pp. 452–456; Dąbrowski, Dariusz: *Genealogia Mścisław*owiczów, pp. 566–570.

[9] Some of the issues related to the marriage of Rostislav Mikhailovich with Anna, rather well-known in the literature, generate controversies. One of them concerns its timing. According to different researchers the marriage took place in 1242, 1243, or 1244. See, for instance: Wertner, Mór: Boris und Rostislav, Beitrag zur Geschichte der russisch-polnisch-ungarischen Beziehungen, part 2: Rostislav von Halics und seine Familie. In: *Vierteljahrsschrift für Heraldik, Sphragistik und Genealogie*, a. 17, 1889, pp. 181; Idem: *Az Árpádok családi története*, pp. 463–475 (1243); Zotov, Vladimirovič Rafail: *O černigovskich knjaz'jach po ljubeckomu sinodiku i o Černigoskom knjažestvje v tatarskoe vremja*. Sankt Peterburg: Izdat. Archeogr. Komm., 1892, p. 284 (1243); Hruševskyj, Michail: Chronolohija podïj Halyc'ko-Volyns'koï litopysy. In: *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeni Ševčenka*, a. 41, 1901, nr. 3, p. 31 (1243–1244, most likely in 1243); Nicolas de Baumgarten: Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides Russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle. In: *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. 9/1. Roma: Pont. institutum orientalium studiorum, 1928, nr. 35, tab. XII (1244); Florovskij, Antonij Vasuľevič: *Čechi i Vostočnye Slavjane*: *Očerki po istorii češko-russkich otnošenij* (*X–XVIII vv.*), vol. 1. Praha: Orbis, 1935, p. 216 (1243); Dworzaczek, Włodzimierz: *Genealogia. Tablice*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959, tab. 85 (1243); Pašuto, T. Vladimir: *Vnešnjaja politika Drevnej Rusi*. Moskva: Nauka, 1968, p. 299 (end of 1242); Dimnik, Martin: Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev 1224–1246. In: *Studies and Texts*. *Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, vol. 52. Ed.: Idem, 1981, p. 122, nota 93 (the author claims that the marriage between Rostislav and Anna had to take place soon after the arrival of the prince of Chernigov at the court of Bela IV, that is, shortly after March 1242. In one of his later works, Dimnik specified the time *post quem* of this event, indicating that Bela IV gave his daughter in marriage to Rostislav following the return from Dalmatia, that is, after May 1242): idem: *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146–1246*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 364–365; *Europäische Stammtafeln. Stammtafeln zur Geschichte Europäischen Staaten. Neue Folge*, vol. 2. Ed.: Schwennicke, Detlev. Marburg: Stargardt, 1984, tab. 131, 155 (1243); Donskoj, Dimitri: *Spravočnik po genealogii Rjurikovčèej, nr. 1 (seredina IX–načalo XIV v.).* Renn: Rennes Univ. de Haute Bretagne, 1991, p. 163, nr. 468 (1244); *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)*. Ed.: Gyula Kristó. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994, p. 65 (tab. Árpádok 5–1243); Vojtovyč, Leontij: *Udil'ni knjazivstva Rjurykovyčiv i Hedyminovyčiv u XII–XVI st.*, L'viv: Nacional'na Akad. Nauk Ukraïny, Inst. Ukraïnoznavstva im. I. Krypjakevyča, 1996, tab. 9 (ca. 1244). The author upholds this view in his latest genealogical works: *Knjazivs'ki dynastiï Schidnoï Evropy (kinec' IX–početok XVI st.)*: *sklad, suspil'na i polityčna rol'. Istoryko-genealohične doslidžennja*. L'viv: Inst. Ukrainoznavstva im. I. Krypjakevyča NAN Ukraïny, 2000, p. 184; Idem: *Knjaža doba na Rusi*: *Portrety elity*. Bila Cerkva: Pšonkivs·kyj, 2006, p. 419 (in 1244); Jasiński, Kazimierz: *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, p. 100 (1243); Font, Márta: *Árpád-házi királyok és Rurikida fejedelmek*. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2005, pp. 245, 262 (1243); Hardi, Đjura: Rostislav Michajlovič "Dominus de Machou". In: *Studia Balcanica Bohemo-Slovaca*, a. 6, 2006, p. 66 (1242 or 1243); Dąbrowski, Dariusz: Stosunki polityczne między królem Węgier Belą IV, niektórymi książętami polskimi i Romanowiczami w latach 1242–1250 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kwestii matrymonialnych). In: *Polska w kręgu polityki, kultury i gospodarki europejskiej. Księga pamiątkowa z okazji 70-lecia urodzin prof. Maksymiliana Grzegorza*. Ed.: Zbigniew Zyglewski. Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2007, p. 46 and nota 4 (soon after March 1242, although it cannot be excluded that even at the beginning of 1244). Here I would like to revise my hitherto held opinion on the *post quem* timing of Rostislav's marriage. It turns out that the prince could not come to Hungary straight after March 1242 because the Galician campaign, in which



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Leo/Lev Danilovich with Constance, daughter of Bela IV (Nr. 10).[10]

Here it would be worth remembering two other marriages, not fully of dynastic character, namely: Anastasia, daughter of Alexander Vsevolodovich with a Hungarian nobleman, as described in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, Demeter (Nr. 11);[11] Maria, daughter of Roman Danilovich and Gertrude Babenberg, with Joachim, son of Stephen, count of Nitra and then ban of Slavonia and governor of Steiermark (Nr. 12).[12]

However, not all of the above-mentioned unions will be considered: firstly, because they were not related in any particular way with Slovak or Southern Slavic provinces of the Arpadian monarchy; secondly, they have been researched sufficiently well and they do not raise any major controversies; and, thirdly, as in the particular case of the marriage of Maria, daughter of Roman and Gertrude, with Joachim Gutkeled, they associate in a purely formal manner with the Rurikid and Arpadian connections, whereas in reality they concern Hungarian-Austrian relations.[13] Thus, the matrimonies or near matrimonies indicated by numbers 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12 are excluded from our area of interest.

Now, having established the scope of topics covered in the paper let us move on to their presentation.

I shall commence with some minor observations concerning the union of Salomea, daughter of Leszek the White, with Coloman, basically well-known among researchers (Nr. 1). Firstly, I would like to bring forward the latest opinion about the genealogy of the Piast bride wedded to an Arpadian. Following Balzer, it has been generally accepted that she was the daughter of the prince of Łuck/Lutsk, Ingvar Yaroslavich.[14] Yet, according to the findings of the author of this paper, Grimyslava, the wife of Leszek the White, belonged to another branch of the Ruriks. Her parents were probably Yaroslav Vladimirovich, the three-time ruler of Novgorod, and the daughter of voivode Švarn, a magnate of Czech or, less likely, Jass descent.[15] From the point of view of our subject matter this detail is of no great consequence but it is worth mentioning since it is probably not known to our Croat, Serb, Slovak, and Hungarian colleagues. Secondly, it seems that the date of concluding the Hungarian-Lesser Poland alliance, generally referred to as the agreement of Spiš (*Zips*), is not as certain as it has been assumed. At that particular moment the alliance was just matrimonially strengthened by the betrothal of Salomea with Coloman. Until now it has been generally assumed that this arrangement was made around 1214,[16] or, according to the finding of Bronisław Włodarski – it was accepted that it was

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he took part and which could be dated only on the basis of the date of the return of the Batu Khan Mongols from Hungary and the Balkans, had taken place later than I have assumed so far. This is not the place to elaborate on this issue but the Batu army had to cross the Galician-Volhynian Rus and disperse Rostislav's units not earlier than during the late summer-autumn of 1242. Only then Rostislav ran away to Hungary. Thus, late summer-autumn 1242 would be the *post quem* date of his marriage to Anna. Finally, I would like to add that as much as Rostislav himself is concerned, his activity and his family played an important role in the South Slavic history, and in spite of the large body of literature, they are still worth studying from the point of view of our genealogical interest in the marriage of this ruler with the daughter of Bela IV, which goes beyond the scope of our subject matter.

[10] Since further on I discuss certain information related to this union, I refer the readers to relevant works in the appropriate places of this paper.

[11] See nota 44–51.

[12] Until now, as far as I know, most information about this relation is provided by Hermann Meier (Gertrud Herzogin von Österreich und Steiermark. In: *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, a. 23, 1927, fasc. 1–4, pp. 20–21) and Dąbrowski, Dariusz: *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, pp. 230–231.

[13] In my view, the aforementioned marriage still requires a good deal of research.

[14] See, for example: Balzer, Oswald: *Genealogia Piastów*, pp. 462–465; Nicolas de Baumgarten: *Généalogies et mariages*, tab. 14; Dworzaczek, Włodzimierz: *Genealogia*, tab. 27; Wyrozumski, Jerzy: Grzymisława. In: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, tom. 9, Wrocław – Kraków – Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akad. Nauk, 1960, pp. 122–123; Idem: Leszek Biały. In: Ibidem, tom. 17. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk: Zakład Narod. Im. Ossolińskich, 1972, s. 157; Włodarski, Bronisław: *Polska i Ruś*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966, pp. 44, 98; *Europäische Stammtafeln*, vol. 2. Ed.: Detlev Schwennicke, tab. 136; Ščaveleva, Ivanovna Nataľja: Russkie knjagini v Pol'še. In: *Vnešnaja politika Drevnej Rusi.* Ed.: Vladimir Terent'evič Pašuto. Moskva: Nauka, 1968, pp. 119–120; Donskoj, Dimitri: *Spravočnik*, p. 172; Tęgowski, Jan: Kontakty rodzinne dynastów polskich i ruskich w średniowieczu. In: *Między sobą. Szkice historyczne polsko-ukraińskie pod redakcją Teresy Chynczewskiej – Hennel i Natalii Jakowenko*. Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2000, pp. 22–24; Jasiński, Kazimierz: *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, pp. 27–29; Vojtovyč, Leontij: *Knjaža doba*, p. 496.

[15] I dealt with this issue in another paper: Dąbrowski, Dariusz: Dwa ruskie małżeństwa Leszka Białego. Karta z dziejów Rusi halicko-wołyńskiej i stosunków polsko-ruskich w początkach XIII wieku. In: *Roczniki Historyczne*, a. 72, 2006, pp. 67–93. See also Idem: *Genealogia Mścisławowiczów*, pp. 334–337, 616–621, 687–689.

[16] See, e. g.: Balzer, Oswald: *Genealogia Piastów*, pp. 482–483; Hruševskyj, Michail: Chronolohija podïj Halyc'ko-Volyns'koï litopysy, pp. 337, 380; Idem: *Istorija Ukraïny-Rusy*, p. 31; Pašuto, Vladimir T.: *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj*



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concluded in autumn of that year.[17] But compilation and comparative analysis of information contained in the group of Northern Russian sources (*Novgorod the Great* and *Rus' Zaleska chronicles*) narrating about the participation of Prince Mstislav Mstislavovich, so-called Bold, in this episode of the struggle for Galician throne, indicates that the agreement of Spiš was executed not earlier than in December 1214 or at the very beginning of the following year, or else – but this seems much less likely – at the time close to the date *ad quem* of July/beginning of August 1214.[18]

Let us now move to the second of the selected unions. That is – we would like to recall – the marriage of a prince of Opole, Casimir I Mieszkovich, with Viola (Nr. 5), which according to few complementary premises was concluded between 1212 and 1220, but certainly closer to the date *ad quem*.[19] The only mention about this princess' filiation was given by the fifteenth-century Polish historiographer Jan Długosz. Under the year 1251 he added an intriguing piece of information while reporting on the death of Viola, the duchess of Opole: "*genere et nacione Bulgara*".[20] In scant documents issued by that person or pertaining to her,[21] in other historiographic records preceding Długosz,[22] in her obituary note in Czarnowąs monastery,[23] and in the sphragistic material[24] we

*Rusi*. Moskva: AN SSSR, 1950, p. 200; Stökl, Günther: Das Fürstentum Galizien-Wolhynien. In: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands*, vol. 1 (*bis 1613*). Ed.: Manfred Hellmann. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981, pp. 510–511; Perfecky, A. George: Hungary and the Hungarians in the Galician-Volynian Chronicle. In: *Hungarian Studies*, a. 3, 1987, nr. 1–2, p. 22; Fennel, Džon: *Krizis srednevekovoj Rusi*. Moskva: Progress, 1989, p. 75; Kryp'jakevyč, Ivan: *Halyc'ko-Volyns'ke knjazivstvo. Druhe vydannja iz zminamy i dopovnennjamy*. L'viv: Nacional'na Akademija Nauk Ukraïny, Instytut Ukraïnoznavstva im. I. Kryp'jakevyča, 1999, p. 116; Kotljar, Mykola: *Danylo Halyc'kyj*. Kyïv: Kyïv Ynst. Ystoriï Ukraïny NANU, 2001, p. 28; Idem: *Istorija dyplomatiï Pivdenno-zachidnoï Rusi*. Kyïv: Nacionalna Akad. Nauk Ukrainy – Inst. Istorii Ukrainy, 2002, p. 106; Vojtovyč, Viktorovich Leontij: Korol' Danylo Romanovyč: polityk i polkovodec' In: *Doba korolja Danyla v nauci, mystectvi, literature*. Ed.: Myroslav Otkovyč. L'viv: Hromads'ka Orhanizacija Mystec'kyj Fond imeni Korolja Danila, 2008, p. 48.

[17] Włodarski, Bronisław: *Polityka ruska Leszka Białego*. Lwów: Nakł. Tow. Naukowego, 1925, p. 52; Idem: *Polska i Ruś*, p. 58; Machnovec, Leonid: *Litopys rus'kyj za Ipats'kym spyskom*. Kyïv: Vydavnyctvo Dnipro, 1989, p. 374; Hardi, Đjura: *Naslednici Kijeva izmedju kraljevske krune i tatarskog jarma. Studija o državno-pravnom položaju galičke i galičko-volinske kneževine do 1264. godine*. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet u Novom Sadu, Katedra za istoriju, 2002, p. 134; Font, Márta: *Árpád-házi királyok*, p. 225; Holly, Karol: *Kňažná Salomea* a uhorskopoľské vzťahy v rokoch 1214–1241. In: *Historický časopis*, a. 53, 2005, nr. 1, p. 7; Nagirnyj, Vitalij: *Polityka zagraniczna księstw ziemi halickiej i wołyńskiej w latach 1198 (1199)–1264,* Kraków: Polska Akad. Umiejętności, 2011, p. 171. Oleksandr Holovko, who, without providing the grounds for his views, assumed that the Congress of Spiš took place in 1214 (Holovko, Olexandr: *Korona Danyla Halyc'koho. Volyn' i Halyčyna v deržavno – polityčnomu rozvytku Central'no-Schidnoï Europy rann'oho ta klasyčnoho serednoviččja*. Kyïv: Stylos, 2006, p. 276).

[18] This problem was discussed in detail in my paper (Vstuplenie Mstislava Mstislaviča v bor'bu za Galič. In: *Srednevekovaja Rus'*, a. 10, 2012, Jndrik, pp. 173–179, 188–189).

[19] Jasiński, Kazimierz: *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*: *Piastowie wrocławscy, legnicko-brzescy, świdniccy, ziębiccy, głogowscy, żagańscy, oleśniccy, opolscy, cieszyńscy* i *oświęcimscy*. Kraków: Avalon, 2007, p. 502.

[20] *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vol. 7. Ed.: Sophia Budkowa. Varsaviae: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975, p. 76: [Under 1251 year] "*Viola genere et nacione Bulgara, ducissa de Oppol moritur*." This note – as it was emphasised by the editors of the work and noticed by scholars – Długosz himself added to the text proper.

[21] See: *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 1, tom. 2, Ed.: Heinrich Appelt. Graz – Wien – Köln: Hermann Böhlaus, 1968, nr. 291 (aforementioned official of the aforementioned nameless duchess), nr. 319 (The document from 1230 issued by Viola herself ); Ibidem, vol. 2, Ed.: Winfried Irgang. Wien – Köln – Graz: Böhlau, 1977, nr. 1 ("*ducissa de Opol*" mentioned in the list of witnesses), nr. 50 (protective bull of George IX from 3. December 1233 for: "*V(iole) vidue ducisse de Opal*", nr. 52 (bull by George IX from 23. December 1233 r. to Polish hierarchs on the care for Viola, described in the identical way as in the preceding document), nr. 80 (In the list of witnesses of a document of Prince Henry I from 1234 for a monastery in Czarnowąs from 1234 mentioned as: "*dilecta nuru nostra relicta ducis Casimiri*"), nr. 105 (Viola's own document from 1235, where she appears as: "*Vi(ola)* […] *relicta domini ducis Cazymiri*" ), nr. 120 (in the list of witnesses of the document of the Opole castellan Zbrosław from 1236, as: "*V(iole) illustris ducisse de Opol*"), nr. 156 (Viola's own document from 1238, where she appears as: "*Viola dei gratia ducissa de Kalisz et de Ruda*"), nr.166 (in the donation of her son Mieszko, from 1239, for the All Saints' hospital in Wrocław, made on the agreement and advice of: "*dilectae matris nostrae dominae Violae*"), nr. 243 (her own document from 1243, where she appears as: "*V(iola) dei gratia ducissa de Kalis*", nr. 244 (in the list of witnesses of the document of the prince of Opole, Mieszko Casimirovich/Kazimierzowic, from 1243, as: "*domina matre nostra Viola*"), nr. 295 (in the will of her son, Mieszko, nameless). See also nota 35. Finally, it is worth mentioning that a part of the quoted records fully confirm that the name of Casimir's wife was Viola (concerning the doubt in this matter, see nota 25).

[22] I know of only one historiographic record preceeding Długosz. It is the obituary note recorded by Upper Silesian Annals (Rocznik górnośląski). In: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 3. Ed.: August Bielowski. Lwów: W Komisie księgarni gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1878 [reprint Warszawa 1961], p. 715: "*1251 Fridericus in excommunicatione obiit. Et Viola domna de Opil obiit*".

[23] Necrolog des Kloster Czarnowanz. Ed.: Wilhelm Wattenbach. In: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthums Schlesiens*, a. 1, 1856, p. 228: "[7 Sept.] *Woyla Ducissa Oppoliensis*".

[24] The imprint of Viola's seal is one of only three such thirteenth-century monuments belonging to Silesian duchesses which have been preserved (apart from Viola's imprint, we have also the imprints of the seal of Jadwiga/Hedwig, wife of Henryk I Brodaty (Henry I the Bearded), and of Anna, wife of Henryk II Pobożny (Henry II the Pious)). According to Marian



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do not find any confirmation of the aforementioned Długosz's information. But under the year 1236 he gave some cognizance which caused quite a bit of confusion regarding Viola's biographic data. Namely, in the passage dealing with the death of Casimir I of Opole, while listing his progeny, he indicated that his offspring came into the world "ex Wenczeslawa ducissa […]."[25]

The mysterious question of Viola's descent caused more serious deliberation only, it seems, in Polish literature.[26] Four different concepts were formed concerning the filiation of Casimir of Opole's wife. In 1934 Stanisław Kętrzyński presented – incidentally in fact – an opinion that the duchess came from the circle of Latin houses, of Venetian or French lineage, settled in the eastern parts of the Latin empire, or else in small statehoods which emerged in the Balkans after the Fourth Crusade. The author based his conclusions on an onomastic criterion. He regarded Viola's appellation as belonging to Latin circle and noticed that Casimir had evidently married her as a result of "*some unknown to us pilgrimage* (…) *to the Holy Land*".[27] Towards the end of the sixth decade of the twentieth century Władysław Dziewulski presented the reasoning which was to confirm the credibility of Długosz's note on Viola's Bulgarian descent. In his opinion the duchess was the daughter of the Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan (Ivan II, John II the Good, Caloiohannes) or one of his relatives, and she received a name of Latin origin on the occasion of bestowed by Pope Innocent III consecration ceremony of Basil (7 November 1204), Latin archbishop of Bulgaria, and the coronation of Kaloyan, which took place on the following day. The Bulgarian princess could be given her name in honour of Cardinal Leo Brancaleoni, originating from northern Italy, from which emanated the cult of St. Viola (Verona). The marriage of Casimir with Viola could take place during the return of the troops of Andrew II from the crusade through Bulgaria, the fact well confirmed by sources. An additional validation of the Opole duchess' descent is the occurrence of notables with the names Nicholas, son of Vasil/Basil, Laskarius and Vasil (Vasileus) in the entourage of hers and Casimir I as well as Mieszko II Casimirovich[28].

Wincenty Swoboda wrote a paper in which he made a critical assessment of these views. The researcher pointed out that the information on Viola's Bulgarian origin provided by Długosz may not be at all credible since it could have been done under the influence of the chronicler's knowledge about the titles of Rostislav Mikhailovich and the fact that his daughter Grifina was wedded to Leszek the Black. Apart from that, there were no political premises and favourable circumstances for a marriage of Casimir I of Opole with a representative of the Bulgarian ruling house – Andrew II was not accompanied in his crusade by

Gumowski, this is "actually the seal of majesty" of the type which does not appear in Germany but occurs in France, as it is also the case with the seal of Jadwiga/Hedwig (Gumowski, Marian: Pieczęcie śląskie do końca XIV wieku. In: *Historja Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*, vol. 3. Ed.: Władysław Semkowicz. Kraków: Nakł. Polskiej akademji umiejętności, 1936, pp. 294–296). On the rim of the Viola's seal there is an inscription: "+ *SIGILLVM·VIOLE·DUCISSE IN OPOLE*". It shows a woman (duchess) sitting on a throne and two figures of young men on her sides (most probably Viola's sons: Mieszko and Wladislaus). See images of seal in: Gumowski, Marian: *Pieczęcie śląskie do końca XIV wieku*, tab. 115, nr. 79; Horwat, Jerzy: *Piastowie górnośląscy*. Bytom: Muzeum Górnośląskie, 2007, p. 27; while for the inscription on the rim, see for instance the comment on the document in: *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 2. Ed.: Winfried Irgang, p. 53. Unfortunately, I am not qualified to comment on the typology of the Dalmatian, Bulgarian and Hungarian seals of the times, so as to compare them with the one used by the Opole duchess. But I can ascertain that during the period of our interest the Russian sigillography was altogether different (see in this matter: Janin, L. Valentin: *Aktovye pečati Drevnej Rusi X–XV vv.*, vol. 1: *Pečati X–načala XIII v.*; Ibidem, vol. 2: *Novgorodskie pečati XIII–XV vv.*. Moskva: Nauka, 1970; Janin, L. Valentin – Gajdukov, G. Petr: *Aktovye pečati Drevnej Rusi X–XV vv*, vol. 3. *Pečati, zaregistrirovannye v 1970–1996 gg.* Moskva: Nauka, 1998.

[25] *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae*, vol. 6. Ed.: Sophia Budkowa et al. Varsaviae: Pánstw. Wydawn. Nauk, 1973, p. 276. Incidentally, Długosz gave wrong date of duchess' demise. Now I will not start a discussion as to the reasons for which the name Więcesława appeared in the quoted passage. I would like just to indicate that in literature it is generally accepted that Casimir had only one wife, the mother of his children. The duchess herself used solely the name Viola in her documents. This is how she was named in an obituary note.

[26] According to my knowledge, the German authors, following Długosz, accepted Viola's Bulgarian descent (see Grotefend, Hermann: *Stammtafeln der schlesischen Fürsten bis zum Jahre 1740*. Breslau: Max, 1889, tab. 6, p. 46, nr. 1; Wutke, Konrad: *Stamm – und Übersichtstaffeln der Schesischen Fürsten. Auf Grund von H. Grotefends Stammtafeln der schlesischen Fürsten bis zum Jahre 1740* (2. Aufl. 1889). Breslau: p. l., 1911, tab. 6.

[27] Kętrzyński, Stanisław: Ze studjów genealogicznych, part 2, Śmierć Władysława Łokietka. In: *Miesięcznik Heraldyczny*, a. 13, 1934, nr. 5, p. 67, nota 17.

[28] Dziewulski, Władysław: Bułgarka księżną opolską. In: *Sobótka. Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny*, a. 24, 1969, fasc. 2, pp. 159–169. It contains also other arguments and references to sources and literature. See also Idem: Odpowiedź na uwagi krytyczne Wincentego Swobody. In: *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, a. 28, 1981, fasc. 2, pp. 181–182.



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these Silesian princes, but by another Piast, Wladislaus Odonic, and additionally, one could not detect any good reason which would induce the rulers of Bulgaria to enter into kinship relations with an evidently unimportant lord of an exotic, from their point of view, Opole. Moreover, the names of the notables from the milieu of the above-mentioned Silesian princes, as well as the appellation (or appellations) of the duchess herself, do not constitute arguments for her Bulgarian lineage; they rather suggest links with Rus'. Thus, Swoboda, by questioning the basis of Dziewulski's reasoning, came to a conclusion that the progenitors of Casimir I Mieszkovich's wife should be searched for "*within the sphere of Russian-Hungarian political connections of Leszek the White", while she could be: "an unknown Hungarian or West Russian princess, or else a representative of some mighty boyar houses*."[29]

Then quite recently, in 2007, the matter of our interest was discussed by Jerzy Horwat. He did not preclude the possibility of identifying Viola with a representative of the Arpadian dynasty, specifically with the daughter of Emeric, who ruled in period 1196–1204, or possibly with the daughter of Bela III, deceased in 1196, from his third marriage with the daughter of French king Louis VII, Margaret, whom he wedded in 1186. The Silesian author indicated on this occasion that Opole heraldry may have acquired the colours characteristic of the French ruling house due to Viola's descent on mother's side from Capetian dynasty.[30]

As it can be seen the presented concepts are, to a large degree, multi-storey hypotheses. This results from the poor condition of source material. Not having much place to present the detailed reasoning concerning Viola's lineage and leaving this task for another occasion, I would like, however, to make a note that there is still another possibility of resolving this riddle. My reasoning goes as follows. Similarly to a number of my predecessors I recognise that it was the ruler of Silesian Opole who took part in the crusade of the Hungarian king Andrew II to the Holy Land.[31] It is known very well that the crusader units took off from Split on their maritime route to their goal. Thus, Casimir's sojourn in Dalmatia would be confirmed. It is interesting that one known document originating in this area was issued in September 1208 by Viola, a nun of the congregation *tituli Sanctae Mariae*, the former abbess of St. Demeter monastery in Zadar.[32] I do not know anything more about this person as I have not found any other source information about her.[33] Obviously, she was not the same person as her namesake who became the duchess of Opole some ten years later. Nevertheless, we have a hundred percent confirmation of usage of the appellation Viola by some aristocratic Dalmatian house. I do not

[29] Swoboda, Wincenty: Księżna kaliska Bułgarką? Przyczynek do rozbioru krytycznego Annalium Długosza. In: *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, a. 13, 1980, fasc. 2, pp. 61–78; Idem: Bułgarzy i Bułgaria w oczach Polaków XII–XVII w. In: *Balcanica Posnaniensia*, a. 2, 1985, pp. 244–245; Idem: Replika [Władysławowi Dziewulskiemu]. In: *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, a. 14, 1981, fasc. 2, pp. 183–184.

[30] Horwat, Jerzy: *Piastowie górnośląscy*, pp. 24–30. In the quoted work we find very reliably reported history of deliberations on Viola's descent. The hypothesis of her descent from the Hungarian royal family is only a supposition without any basis in source materials. On this occasion we would like to remind that Wincenty Swoboda – as it seems, rightly – raised the matter of incongruity of a union between a daughter of a Bulgarian tsar and a minor Silesian prince. The disproportion between this prince and a Hungarian princess royal would be even greater. Apart from that, Viola's kingly lineage would be surely noted in the admittedly few records referring to her. I pass over the fact that literature does not record an existence of Emeric's or Bela III's daughter who could be wedded to Casimir of Opole. I would like to add here that the considerations on the influence of the French heraldic tradition on colour arrangement of Opole coat-of-arms was presented by Horwat, following Kaganiec, Małgorzata: *Heraldyka Piastów śląskich 1146–1707*. Katowice: Muzeum Śląskie, 1992, pp. 77–78. Here it will be necessary to refer to the remarks by Sylwiusz Mikucki, who observed that during the period of our interest the unchanging heraldic colours were not yet settled neither in Silesia nor in the countries of Western Europe. There, this process took place around 1230 and led to the establishment of heraldic colours towards the end of the thirteenth century (Mikucki, Sylwiusz: Heraldyka Piastów śląskich do schyłku XIV w. In: *Historja Śląska od najdawniejszych czasów do roku 1400*, vol. 3. Ed.: Władysław Aleksander Semkowicz. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1936, p. 533. In this situation the conclusions of Kaganiec and Horwat become groundless.

[31] Mikołaj Gładysz lately examinined the opinion concerning the identification of a Piast partaking in the Fifth Crusade on the side of the Hungarians. By analysing the available source material he came to a conclusion that it may only pertain to Casimir I of Opole (*Zapomniani krzyżowcy. Polska wobec ruchu krucjatowego w XII–XIII wieku*. Warszawa: DiG, 2002, pp. 156–169).

[32] *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel, vol. 6. Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd Akademiai, 1867, nr. 204 (electronic edition: *Collectiones digitales diplomaticae Hungariae*, Budapest: Arcanum, 2005. See also: *Regesta documentorum Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae saeculi XIII*. Ed.: Ivan Sakcinski-Kukuljević. Zagrabiae: Typis officinae societatis typographicae, 1896, nr. 74; *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 3: *Diplomata annorum 1201–1235*. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Tisak Dionicke tiskare, 1905, nr. 69.

[33] In search for information about Viola I checked the following source publications: *Regesta documentorum Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae saeculi XIII*. Ed.: Ivan Sakcinski Kukuljević; *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1904.



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doubt that it had to be an important house since its representative became an abbess of a congregation of nuns. A matrimonial union between a minor Piast prince and a member of some local, largely autonomous and prosperous aristocracy, brought about under the patronage of Andrew II, can be assumed as fully acceptable. Moreover, in my opinion it fits surprisingly well with the next premise concerning Dalmatian descent of Casimir's I wife. Namely, on December 5, 1233 Pope Gregory IX took the duchess of Opole under his care – the widow, her sons, the land and the property.[34] On December 23 of the same year, he wrote a letter to the king of *Sclavonia*, Coloman, asking him to assure the protection of the aforementioned woman.[35] This fact suggests the existence of a link between Coloman, the ruler of Dalmatian and Balkan provinces of the Arpadian monarchy, and the widow of Casimir I. Was it not, by any chance, a dependency resulting from Viola's descent from a region under the reign of the above-mentioned son of Andrew II? Let us further note that at the same time Gregory IX appointed Coloman as the protector of Grimyslava of Sandomierz,[36] which was without doubt related to specific relations existing between them. Indeed, the Hungarian prince royal was the son-in-law of the widow of Leszek the White.

I would also like to point out that Viola's association with Bulgarian tsars' family, as very splendid, would be most probably noticed by the Silesian or other Polish sources. Yet, we do not have any such records.

In any case, at the current state of research I am inclined to say that the supposition of Viola's Dalmatian descent is at least as valid as the others.

As to the marriage of Leo/Lev Danilovich with Constance, daughter of Bela IV (Nr. 10), which I believe is well known to researchers from all the countries participating in the conference, I would like to turn attention to the matter of its timing. By analysing the source records known to me, I assumed in a work published in 2002 that the marriage of Leo with Constance had to be concluded between the middle of 1246 and the middle of the following year. I upheld that view several times in later period.[37] Meanwhile, in 2008, there appeared a paper by Pavol Maliniak, who, following the itinerary of Bela IV and at the same time referring to an article by Toru Senga (not used by myself), came to a conclusion consistent with the view of Marta Font, that the marriage of Leo with Constance and related Russian-Hungarian alliance was most likely brought about in August 1247.[38] While agreeing with the Slovak researcher's opinion on the role of studies concerning the itinerary of Bela IV in establishing the date of concluding the covenant of Zvolen, I would like to point out that he did not consider my reasoning in the matter of our interest. Yet – as I believe – it would cause verification of his views. Maliniak rightly observed that the preserved documents confirm two sojourns of the Hungarian monarch in Zvolen at the time when undoubtedly Leo and Constance were married. First of those stays took place between August 2 and September 11, 1247.[39] The Slovak researcher very appropriately noticed the necessity of accepting the date *ad quem* of establishing the Russian-Hungarian alliance enforced by the marriage had to fall before the death of Conrad I of Mazovia (August 31, 1247), which is indicated by the order of records contained in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*.

[34] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*), vol. 3, tom. 2. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: Typis typographiae Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1829, p. 373.

[35] *CDH* 3/2, pp. 373–374. This bull was used in the discussion on Viola's descent already by Wincenty Swoboda. The author knew it, however, only from registers published by Potthast.

[36] *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, vol. 1. Ed.: Augustin Theiner. Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1859, nr. 104.

[37] Dąbrowski, Dariusz: Stosunki polityczne między królem Węgier Belą IV, niektórymi książętami polskimi i Romanowiczami w latach 1242–1250 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kwestii matrymonialnych). In: *Polska w kręgu polityki, kultury i gospodarki europejskiej. Księga pamiątkowa z okazji 70-lecia urodzin prof. Maksymiliana Grzegorza*. Ed.: Zbigniew Zyglewski. Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2007, p. 53; Idem: *Genealogia Mścisławowiczów*, p. 356.

[38] Maliniak, Pavol: K sobášnej politike Bela IV. Dynastická svadba vo Zvolene a jej reflexie v historiografii. In: *Historický časopis*, a. 56, 2008, nr. 1, pp. 127–133. As I have already mentioned, the author was referring to the article of Senga, Toru: IV. Béla külpolitikája és IV. Ince pápához intézett „Tatár-levele". In: *Századok*, a. 121, 1987, fasc. 4, pp. 588–594. See also: Font, Márta: *Árpád-házi királyok*, pp. 250, 263. [Editor's note: However, according to Martin Homza, Pavol Maliniak does not acknowledge in his article that he has used mostly the works by Bačová, Jana: *Uhorsko-poľsko-ruské vzťahy v kontexte vojny o babenberské dedičstvo*. Diplomová práca (Diploma Thesis). Comenius University Bratislava. Department of Slovak history, 2007, pp. 30–40, based on her earlier seminar papers, later developed in Eadem: *Legitimacy – Superiority – Subordination*: *The Image of Danil Romanovich in the Context of Foreign Affairs in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. MA Thesis. Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University, 2010].

[39] *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, vol. 2. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislavae: Obzor, 1987, nr. 224 (11 IX 1246), nr. 225 (27 IX 1246), nr. 263 (3 VIII 1247), nr. 267 (12 VIII 1247), nr. 269 (11 IX 1247).



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However, there are still two other arguments concerning the dates of the discussed events which were not considered by Maliniak. Contrary to his conviction, the narration of *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* unequivocally informs on Cyril turning back from his voyage to Nicaea due to persuasion of Bela IV, and not after the return from Asia Minor, following the ordination. At that time the hierarch of Rus' had not yet achieved the goal of his voyage. After coming back from Hungary, he participated in the council with his princes, the sons of Roman, and then together with Daniel and Leo he moved to Zvolen.[40] The first absence of Cyril from Galician-Volhynian Rus' was very short, it lasted maybe a month. I would comfortably place it in June or July 1246, since he obviously could not embark on a trip to Nicaea (today Iznik) earlier that after the return of Daniel from Orda. This reasoning confirms the possibility of finalising the Russian-Hungarian negotiations already between July and September of that year.

The second line of reasoning seems in turn in order to undermine the hypothesis on the marriage of Leo with Constance taking place between August 2 and September 11, 1247. It pertains to the fact that in the correspondence related to the negotiations between the Romanoviches and Innocent IV we find three papal bulls, issued correspondingly on August 27 (two) and September 12, 1247 (one), which were addressed to "*Danieli Ruscie et W[asylconi] fratri eius, Regibus et Nato eiusdem Danielis*".[41] The selection of addressees clearly indicates that in the opinion of the Holy See the three representatives of the dynasty were holding autonomous positions in the state. This does not need to be explained in case of Daniel and Vasilko. However, an anonymous Danilovich remains there. In my opinion, it could not be anybody else but Leo, since he was the oldest of the living brothers and the only one whose political activity during that time is being confirmed.[42] Moreover, a marriage of this Danilovich with a Hungarian princess royal would constitute, from the point of view of Innocent IV, an excellent reason for distinguishing him as the addressee of the third bull. It would probably fully correspond to the real situation in the Romanoviches' state, because – which is quite credible – Leo, after wedding Constance, should have been given a separate domain. I do not think that the information on Hungarian-Rus' matrimonial arrangement could have reached Lyon sooner than in a month. Thus, since Innocent IV sent the letters to three Russian addressees already on August 27, 1247, it could not be assumed that Danilowich married the daughter of Bela IV between August 2 and September 11 of the same year.

The harmonisation of the presented arguments inclines me to stick to my dating of concluding the agreement of Zvolen with a complementing addition of its actual occurrence to the period between 11 and 27 September 1246, when Bela IV was certainly sojourning in this place.[43]

Finally, we are left with the last union to discuss, namely, the marriage of Anastasia Alexandrovna with the Hungarian boyar Demeter (Nr. 11). We know about him only from a separate record of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. It is worth quoting it verbatim so as to grasp the context of the discussed events. The abovementioned old Russian source states under 6759 (actually 1247) as follows: "*potom že syn ego* [Konrad's I] *umre Bolesav. Mazoveš'skyi knjaz' i vdast' Mazoveš'. bratu svoemu Somovitovi poslušav knjazja. Danila. bje bo bratučada ego za nim. doči Aleksandrova. imenem' Nastas'ja. jaže posjaže potom za bojarina Ugor'skogo. imenem Dmitra. v ta že ljeta sede Samovit vo Mazovši*."[44] As it can be seen perfectly well, we have here a clearly indicated princess descent on paternal side, her kinship with Daniel Romanovich, the fact of marrying the prince of Mazovia, Boleslas I Conradovich, and then

[40] Ipat'evskaja letopis. In: *Pol'noe Sobranie Russkich Letopisej*, vol. 2. Ed.: Aleksej D. Košelev. Moskva: Izdat. Vostočnoj Literatury u.a., 2001, col. 809.

[41] *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia (1075–1953)*, vol. 1: *1075–1700*. Ed.: Athanasius G. Welykyj, Romae: PP. Basiliani, 1951 (= Analecta OSBM. Series 2, Sectio 3), nr. 20, 21, 25.

[42] Already in 1240 Leo was chosen by his father as a candidate for marrying one of the daughters of Bela IV. For this purpose they travelled together to Hungary (*Ipat'evskaja letopis'*, col. 787). Then, in 1244, certainly as a very young man, he commanded the units sent against Rostislav Michajłowicz (Ibidem, col. 797), and the following year participated in person in the battle of Jarosław (Ibidem, col. 802, 804–805). It ought to be added that Heraklius, who was older than Leo, had probably died before 1240, while the younger Danilowiches started to appear in the sources a good while later – Roman from 1251/1252, Szwarno from 1254, and Mstislav (II), from 1271. See: Dąbrowski, Dariusz: *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, pp. 99–139, 153–154, 166–180. Thus, in 1246 only Leo could be taken into account as the potential spouse for the daughter of Bela IV, which was in fact a fulfilment of the matrimonial plans which Daniel had in his regard in 1240.

[43] My opinion in the matter is therefore almost identical with the findings of Toru Senga (IV. Béla külpolitikája, pp. 588–594).

[44] *Ipat'evskaja letopis'*, col. 810.



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a Hungarian official Demeter. The analysed passage reveals also the causative role of Daniel, who probably decided about the fate of his widowed relative and found a new husband for her. We remember that at that time the Galician-Volhynian prince had a settled relationship with Hungarian king Bela IV, without whose consent a marriage of a Hungarian magnate with Rus' duchess would be rather impossible.

It is not very difficult to establish, unfortunately only an approximate date *post quem* of Anastasia's second wedding. Boleslas Conradovich died after April 17 (or else February 25) 1248 and before April 7 1249.[45] Apart from the name of the second husband and the description of his position, we do not know anything more about the marriage. The assumption that Demeter was a representative of the official elite of the Arpadian monarchy is only a guess, although a logical one and with a high degree of probability. Such a view has been present in Polish, Russian and Ukrainian literature for a long time. Arkadij Longinov, for instance – in reference to Ignaz Fessler – stated that Anastasia's husband was a famous commander who distinguished himself in the battle of Slaná/Sajó and in fights against Mongols in Dalmatia, "*Demether Lepolth*" from "Aba"[46] family. This opinion was also accepted by Hieronim Grala, who pointed out that in the identification of Longinov the name of the magnate can be of some help: "[the name] *often used by adherents of Eastern Church, that is, mainly Slavs within the lands of the Hungarian crown*."[47] Oswald Balzer took a much more cautious view in this matter. He indicated that it was difficult to decide which of the Hungarian noblemen bearing the name of Demeter had become the spouse of Anastasia, as there had been so many Demeters at that time. According to the Lviv researcher it would be a far-stretched assumption that the widow of a prince be given in marriage to some minor official. Bearing that in mind, Balzer was trying to find Anastasia's husband amongst Demeters who were confirmed in the post of court judge (*iudex curie*) in the years 1233, 1234, 1243, 1244, 1246 and 1263.[48]

Now the author of this paper, following Balzer's reasoning, embarked upon an attempt to identify Demeter. Well, I am sorry to announce that the result of the effort cannot be considered as final. In any case, an analysis of diplomatic Hungarian sources leads to a conclusion that, presumably, Anastasia's husband was a certain Demeter the Older from Aba family, the teacher and pantler of Coloman, who was in Rus' at that time, a participant of the expedition of Andrew II to the Holy Land, then ban of Vásvár (*comitatus cantiferei*), Andrew's "*senesalcus*" and "*magister dapiferorum*", the pantler of Coloman as the ruler of Slavonia, then, at the latest since 1233, the king's court judge and the count of Bakony. Acting meritoriously during the great Mongol invasion in the years 1243–1244, he appeared as "*iudex curie et comes musuniensis*", as well as the ban of Bodrog. What is interesting and important for our identification queries, there are premises allowing us to assume that Demeter was married twice. Namely, we have a document issued in 1263 by the chapter of Bakony concerning the meeting of three sons of Demeter, "*comes*" from Aba house. The encounter dealt with the matter of inheritance of "Nehche"[49] lands by Alexander (certainly already grown-up during the Mongol invasion) and Demeter, on one side, and Peter, on the other. Without a doubt, the property in question was Našice (currently in Croatia), which Coloman granted to Demeter in 1240,[50] while the dispute among the heirs suggests that they could have had different mothers.[51]

In case the presented identification would prove correct, we would be dealing with a situation in which the female representative of the Rurikid dynasty would be a spouse of a magnate connected through his career with the ruler of Sclavonia, owning property within contemporary Croatia and belonging to a house which played a significant role in the history of Slovakia. It would be difficult to find a better bracket for contemplating Piasts' and Ruriks' links with South Slavic and Slovak provinces of the Arpadian monarchy.

[45] Balzer, Oswald: *Genealogia Piastów*, pp. 499–501; Jasiński, Kazimierz: *Rodowód Piastów małopolskich i kujawskich*, pp. 51–53.
[46] Longinov, Arkadi Vasiljevich: Rodstvennyja svjazi russkich knjazej s ugorskim korolevskim domom. In: *Trudy Vilenskago predvaritel'nago komiteta po ustrojstvu v Vil'ne IX Archeologičeskago sezda*. Vil'no: Predvaritelnyi komitet, 1893, p. 323.
[47] Grala, Hieronim: Rurykowicze na Bałkanach w XII i XIII wieku. In: *Balcanica Posnaniensia*, a. 4, 1989, p. 140.
[48] Balzer, Oswald: *Genealogia Piastów*, pp. 505–506. Similarly cautious approach although presented with less detail was taken by Nicolas de Baumgarten: *Généalogies et mariages*, tab. 13 and Vojtovyč, Leontij: *Knjaža doba na Rusi*, p. 503.
[49] *CDH* 4/3, pp. 177–179.
[50] *CDH* 4/1, pp. 203–206.
[51] Dąbrowski, Dariusz: *Genealogia Mścisławowiczów*, pp. 389–399.



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I would like to end these, indeed very sketchy, deliberations with a certain methodological observation. In view of a breakdown of the scientific links between the individual countries of, generally speaking, Central-Eastern Europe and the Balkans over many recent years, it is worthwhile to attempt to create a platform for renewing and developing these contacts at every possible occasion. This paper constitute such, needless to say, very modest attempt, since it involves the themes of interest to Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian historians, which – in my opinion – could be properly resolved only through the engagement of Bulgarian, Croatian, Serbian, and Hungarian researchers. In this case our Slovak colleagues are the natural connectors. Obviously, a similar process may go in the opposite direction, or, else, in many other territorial configurations. The necessity of cooperation and collective resolution of research problems is particularly well illustrated by these exempla – the studies on the marriages of Casimir I of Opole with Viola as well as Anastasia Alexandrovna with the Hungarian magnate Demeter.*

* Translated by Władysław Bibrowski.



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LADISLAV DOMBI*

# Stephen of Anjou, the Lord of Spiš and Šariš, the Duke of Transylvania and Slavonia-Croatia-Dalmatia

## Štefan z Anjou, pán Spiša a Šariša, sedmohradský, slavónsko-chorvátsko-dalmátsky vojvoda / Stjepan Anžuvinac, gospodar Spiša i Šariša, sedmogradski (transilvanski) vojvoda i slavonsko-hrvatsko-dalmatinski herceg

*Stephen, a younger brother of the Hungarian king Louis I, ruled three territories as a dux: Šariš and Spiš, Transylvania, and Slavonia-Croatia-Dalmatia. Stephen had his own court; he had his own* magister thavarnicorum, iudex curiae *and* magister pincernarum. *In 1351 he acted on behalf of his brother while Louis the Great fought in the Kingdom of Naples. Stephen's administration included many activities: rewarding* iobagiones castri, *granting privileges to towns and endowing Church institutions. Because of the heritage of the Kingdom of Naples Louis wanted Stephen to marry an Angevin princess from Naples, but finally Stephen's marriage served as a fixation of the alliance with the Bavarian Wittelsbach dynasty against the Luxemburg dynasty. Two children, who were for a certain time the only descendants to the Hungarian throne, were born from this marriage.*

Keywords: fourteenth century, dynastical politics, House of Anjou, Spiš, Slavonia-Croatia-Dalmatia

Stephen was born on 20 August, 1332[1] as the youngest son of Hungarian king Charles I and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Polish king Wladislas.[2] For the first time he appears in a charter from the year 1343 in connection with Ladislas, *plebanus de Insula Christiana* and *clericus Pragensis diocesis*, who was his *instructor*.[3] He is most probably the same Ladislas *de Wilyelmow* who is mentioned in 1347 as Stephen's *informator*.[4] Stephen appears more frequently in charters in 1346, when his brother, King Louis I appealed for the pope's support of himself and his brother for the throne of the Kingdom of Naples after the violent death of their brother Andrew. In January Louis called Stephen simply as a duke. It is interesting that later, on 18 March, Elizabeth, Stephen's mother also wrote to the pope in the same case and called Stephen as the duke of the whole Slavonia, while his brother Louis used only a general title of duke in a letter from the following day (March 19).[5] Stephen appeared in the plans to gain the Kingdom of Naples still in 1349, when his marriage with Mary, sister of Queen Johanna of Naples,[6] was planned.

From the forties we have a group of the pope's bulls addressed to Stephen. Pope Clement VI sent on 29 September 1345 letters with identical content to Louis, Stephen and their mother Elizabeth: he expressed his condolences for the death of Andrew, King of Sicily. In this case Stephen was not addressed as a duke yet.[7] However, the pope addressed him on 28 December 1345 already as the duke of Transylvania.[8] The pope used the same

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1 Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV. In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* (deinde *SSrerHung*), vol. 1. Ed.: Emericus Szentpétery. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1937, p. 501.

2 *SSrerHung* 1, p. 50.

3 *Monumenta Vaticana*: *Acta Clementis VI Pontificis Romani 1342–1352* (deinde *Monumenta Vaticana*), vol. 1. Ed.: Ladislaus Klicman. Praga: Typis Gregerianis, 1903, nr. 198, p. 108.

4 Ibidem, nr. 841, p. 494.

5 *Árpád-kori és Anjou-kori levelek*. Ed. and trans.: László Makkai – László Mezey. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1960, pp. 256–259, 260–262.

6 *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, 1347–1358*, vol. 3. Ed.: Sime Ljubić. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znalosti i umjetnosti, 1872, CCVI, pp. 135–137.

7 *Magyar diplomácziai emlékek az Anjou-korból* (deinde *MDE*), vol. 2. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1875, pp. 100–101.

8 Ibidem, nr. 118, pp. 127–128. The pope in his letters to Louis, Stephen and Elizabeth with identical content recommended Francis, bishop of Triest, who was sent as apostolical *nuncius*.



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title in the following period, on 9 January 1346[9], 1 May 1348,[10] and 21 January 1349.[11]

Since the plan to gain the Kingdom of Naples did not bring any success, Louis used his brother for his policy in the Central-European region. He wanted an alliance with the Wittellsbach dynasty against Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg. Stephen married Margaret, the daughter of the former emperor Louis IV, called the Bavarian.[12] In his letter of 1352, Louis I called her Anna, though.[13] This marriage made it impossible for Stephen to contend for the Polish throne because the Polish nobility refused him. In this way we can interpret a mention in *Chronica Dubnicensi* which recounts that the Polish nobility accepted Louis as the successor to King Casimir, but on condition that neither his brother nor any other German would have any say in any matter.[14]

His first official acts as a duke are from the year 1349. First, on 31 August, Valentinus, the *comes* of Spiš and the castellan of the Spiš castle, who was also *magister tavarnicarum* and *iudex curiae* of Stephen, *ducis Hungariae*, sent a letter to the chapter of Spiš about *congregatio generalis eiusdem domini ducis Stephani…c. S in Suburbio castri Scepus*.[15] Stephen's first acknowledged act in the duke's office dates from 21 October 1349, when he resided in Buda and titled himself as *dux Hungariae et dominus terrae Scepusiensis et de Sarus*. This charter informs us about his court: it mentions a member of his court, *iuvenis* Mych, son of Andrew, grandson of Gregory. Stephen demanded the chapter of Spiš to delineate the property of Mych.[16]

In another charter of his preserved from the same year (5 November), Stephen titled himself as *dux Transsilvaniae et dominus terrae Scepusiensis et de Sarus*. This is the only known case, in which he used the title of duke for two regions at the same time. This document concerns the return of property to Paul, son of Andrew, called *cantor de Kumlows*, which had been confiscated earlier because he had been suspect of murdering his brother Chel.[17]

During most of the year 1350 Stephen resided in Buda and used the title *totius Sclavoniae, Croatiae et Dalmatiae dux*. On 20 February Ban Paul Ugal mentions *congregatio generalis universis nobilibus et aliis communibus hominibus dicti regno Sclavoniae de mandato Stephani ducis*.[18] Stephen's first charter in this year dates to 7 April, when he confirmed the liberties of Trg.[19] On 26 June he took part in solving a dispute between Lawrence, son of Lawrence, grandson of Phyle *de Wolkou*, and inhabitants of *Wolkouar*.[20] On 25 May he wrote to the chapter of Báč (*capitulum Bachyensis*) that Michael

[9] Ibidem, nr. 124, pp. 132–133. In the same case.

[10] Ibidem, nr. 260, pp. 293–294. The pope wrote to Louis, Stephen, Elizabeth, secular and Church officials concerning the case of imprisoned Anjou dukes, who were accused of the murder of Andrew.

[11] Ibidem, nr. 271, 331. The pope informed Louis, Stephen, Elizabeth and the church officialss that cardinal Guido was sent to Hungary as apostolical legate.

[12] Długosz, Jan: *Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego królestwa Polskiego Ksiega*, vol. 9. Ed.: Krystyna Pierodska et al. Trans.: Julia Mrukówna. Warsawa: Państwowe Wydawnictvo Naukowe, 1975, p. 279.

[13] *Anjou-kori okmánytár* (deinde *AO*), vol. 5. Ed. et trans.: Imre Nagy. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1887, nr. 359, pp. 576–578. According to Antal Pór it was Louis' mistake, because Emperor Louis IV had two daughters, Anna and Margaret. Anna was at that time widow of John, duke of Lower Bavaria. Pór, Antal: *Az Anjouk és Wittelsbachok: Nagy Lajos második szövetkezése IV. Károly császár ellen*. Budapest: Athenaeum irodalmi és nyomdai R-T, 1907, p. 26.
According to Pór, Stephen was 7 or 8 years younger than Margaret. They were relatives in the third step, because mother of Charles I and mother of Louis IV were daughters of Rudolf of Habsburg. Pór, Antal: István úr árvája. In: *Századok,* a. 35, 1901, pp. 97–99.
According to Wertner, Margaret was born around 1324 and the marriage was realized in 1350. Wertner, Mór: Az Anjouk genealogiája különös tekintettel a magyarországi ágra (Második közlemény). In: *Turul*, a. 6, 1888, nr. 2, p. 70.

[14] *Kronika uhorských kráľov zvaná Dubnická*. Ed. and trans.: Július Sopko. Budmerice: Rak, 2004, p. 106.
Still on 4 Apríl 1350 in Buda the Polish king Casimir made an agreement with Louis and Stephen. They accepted his dominance over Rus, while after his death the Hungarian Kingdom could buy it for 100 000 florins and Louis, Stephen or their sons would became his successors in the Polish Kingdom. Dąbrowski, Jan: *Kazimierz Wielki: Twórca Korony Kólestwa Polskiego*. Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1964, p. 32.
Giovanni Villani dates the death of Polish king Casimir to the year 1345–1345, "*afterwards Louis went to Poland and established Stephen as Polish king*". Confr. *A három Villani krónikája: Croniche di Giovanni, Mattheo e Filippo Villani*. Ed. and trans.: Miklós Rácz. Budpest: Atheneum, 1909, p. 152.

[15] MOL DF 274644.

[16] MOL DF 258977.

[17] *AO* 5, nr. 192 p. 332.

[18] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 12. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znalosti i umjetnosti, 1913, nr. 441, pp. 581–582.

[19] Ibidem, nr. 449, pp. 591–592.

[20] Ibidem, nr. 462, pp. 607–608. *Phyle* – Füle and his descendants came from the Mikolay branch of Miskolci kindred. Karácsonyi, János: A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig. In: *Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV*. Családtörténet heraldika honismeret [DVD-ROM]. Budapest: Arcanum, 2003, p. 825.



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*de Sancto Michaelis* complained about the fortune of his daughter Catherine. She married Peter, son of Peter *de Zenche*. Her dowry was used for liberating Nicholas, brother of Peter. However, after Peter's death his brothers Nicholas, Paul and Demeter refused to give her four *loci curiales* from a possession in Križevac county.[21] On 10 October Stephen donated the estates of Demeter, son of Nicholas, who had died without descendants, to the castellan in Oklič (*Aklych*) – Thomas, son of Ladislas, grandson of Simon of Saint James (*de Zenthjakab*), who served the duke from Stephen's childhood. This donation concerned also Thomas' cousin John, son of Ladislas, grandson of Elias, and included the following possessions: *Rastigh*, *Ezeek*, *Kopeel*, *Laaz*, *Polyna*, *Tharnowcz* and *Kwchyan* in Vrbas county (*in comitatu Orbaz*).[22]

From this year we have also the acts which protected various persons: first, the widow of Stephen, son of Bartholomew *de Marceltw*, and her sons Nicholas and Peter (29 April),[23] and then the inhabitants of Zagreb (9 July).[24]

In 1350 Stephen issued various charters in Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia, (which are not related to the territory implied in his titles). These acts can be divided into two groups. The first group includes the following ones. On 19 April he returned possessions Keer and Ataad in Somogy county to James, son of Berkus; Dionysius, son of Emeric and James, son of Myke.[25] On 2 May and on 27 June he sent letters to the chapter of Bratislava.[26] On 17 May he returned possessions to the noblemen from Zala county: Paul, son of Omodeus *de Abraam*, and to Nicholas, son of Andrew *de Rendes*.[27] On 20 July he took under his protection the Cistercian monastery in Burs *in comitatu Castriferri* (Vas county).[28] On 24 July the representatives of Bodrog county turned to him: *vicecomes* Thomas, son of Peter *de Abulma*, and two *iudices nobilium*, George, son of Briccius, and John, son of Ivan, asked for his intervention in the issue of the burning of possessions in their county. Interestingly, they address him as *dux Croachie tocius regni Sclavoniae* in this letter.[29] On 12 August Stephen wrote to Rudolf, the count of Moson, Vas and Sopron (*comes Mosoniensis, Supruniensis* and *Castriferri*), in the case of preserving the liberties of the city of Sopron.[30] The letter of the chapter of Győr (*capitulum Jauriensis*) of 14 August informs the palatine that Stephen took part in solving a dispute about the possession of Beus between the Várkonyi and the Héderváry families.[31] On 27 August Stephen informs the count of Zala that he takes Dionysius and Lawrence, sons of *Desew de Vathka* (Dezider) under his protection.[32] On 4 September he reminded Stephen and Craterius, the burghers citizensof Buda and *comites camerarum regalium Budensis et Strigonensis*, not to collect *lucrum camerae* from *iobagiones* of the nuns of the Rabbit Island. He did so on the basis of the charter of King Louis of 1344, who had admonished not only the officers of the two *camera* but also *iudices nobilium* of the counties of Fejer, Pest, Pilis and Esztergom in the same matter.[33]

In the case of the issues concerning the counties of Zala and Bodrog, the argument for his intervention could be their geographical proximity to Slavonia. *Keer* and *Ataad* belonged to the territory of the former Arpadian *praedium* of Segesd, which was held by Duke Coloman in the thirteenth century,[34] and we can suppose that this territory continued to be the possession of a duke in the fourteenth century. However, when we add to the counties of Zala and Somogy the counties

[21] MOL DL 91415.
[22] *CDCr* 11, nr. 487 pp. 632–633. This document mentions that it was the first year of his *ducatus*. Thomas and John came from the family Laki-Kaczor. Holub, József: A Laki Kaczor család (1526-ig). In: *Turul*, a. 34, 1916, p. 104.
[23] Ibidem, nr. 456, pp. 599–600. Family Marczaltői came from Omodeus Niger from Gut-Keled kindred. Bartholomew was the son of Omodeus' son Ampod. Wertner, Mór: Nemzetségi kutatások (Első közlemény). In: *Turul*, a. 17, 1899, nr. 3, pp. 118–120. Karácsonyi calls them Marczaltövy. Karácsonyi, János: *A magyar nemzetségek*, pp. 489–493.
[24] Ibidem, nr. 465, p. 610.
[25] *AO* 5, nr. 218, p. 368.
[26] MOL DF 226960, DF 273803.
[27] *CDCr* 9, nr. 459, pp. 601–602. Nicholas came from Gatal kindred. Karácsonyi, János: *A magyar nemzetségek*, p. 457.
[28] Ibidem, nr. 463, pp. 608–609.
[29] Ibidem, nr. 468, p. 612.
[30] MOL DF 201775. Rudolf Wolfurti. Engel, Pál: Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. In: *Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV*. Családtörténet heraldika honismeret [DVD-ROM]. Budapest: Arcanum, 2003.
[31] *Codex diplomaticus patrius* (deinde *CDP*), vol. 5. Ed.: Imre Nagy et al. Győr: Sauervein Géza, 1873, nr. 103, pp. 123–124.
[32] *CDCr* 11, nr. 471, pp. 614–615.
[33] MOLDL 4165.
[34] Kristó, Gyula: *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*. Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1988, p. 256.



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of Vas (*Castriferri*), Moson, Sopron, the chapters of Győr and Bratislava (*Posoniensis*), we could assume that Stephen ruled, besides Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia, also the whole western part of the Hungarian Kingdom, like Tomasina Morosini did at the end of the thirteenth century, *ducissa tocius Sclauonie et gubernatrix citra Danubialium parcium usque mare*.[35]

This hypothesis is supported with the other group of Stephen's charters which includes three documents. One of them relates to the territory outside of the Hungarian Kingdom. On 10 August Stephen donated to the tradesmen from the area on the river Rhine the same liberties as King Charles had given to the merchants from Prague.[36] The other two charters are the following. On 26 June he requested the community of Spiš county to find out whether James, son of Detricus, and Zonk, son of Hannus, owned the whole possession of *Ulchyne*.[37] Another document is a donation of a possession in Tekov/Bars county issued on 22 October. This is the only known charter of this year issued in another place as Buda – in Bratislava (*Posonium*).[38] All these documents mention that the king was abroad, *in partibus transmarinis*, and he gave the impetus to issue the last two acts. The absence of a mention of the king in the first group of the listed charters supports our supposition about Stephen's independent acting in the western part of the kingdom. Another hypothesis is that Louis let him rule that part of the kingdom because of the crusade that Louis led to gain the Kingdom of Naples. Stephen had to hold Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia for his secure comeback and the western parts as a defence against an attack.

Stephen also had a certain role in the diplomatic relations with Venice. In a letter of 19 April 1350, Louis instructed Andrea Dandulo to turn to Ban Paul, who acted on behalf of Duke Stephen, in the matter of the damages on the castles Ostroviza and Knin/*Tininio* caused by Dandulo's people.[39] On 28 May Venice sent letters to Queen Elizabeth and to Stephen in the abovementioned matter and in order to keep the peace.[40]

The last mention of Stephen as a Slavonian, Croatian and Dalmatian duke appears in the donation charter of King Louis of 30 October 1350. Louis gave two castles, Strigovo/Oztrogo and Čakovec to Stephen Lackfi and his family as a reward for his duties in the fight against Naples, and mentioned that Stephen and their mother Elizabeth gave their consent.[41]

The first two documents where he titled himself as *dux Transylvanus* date from 28 December 1350, but he still resided in Buda. It is a paradox that the charters do not concern any issue related to Transylvania, but the payment of fees in Esztergom county (*comitatu strigoniensis*).[42] This is not the only strange phenomenon of this year. Stephen issued the following charter on 26 January in Felvinc: he ordered Blaise, count of Arad, and his *vicecomes* to send before his *praesentia* only the cases which he would command them to send to him and the disputes concerning possessions.[43] However, Arad county is usually not described as a part of Transylvania in the Middle Ages.[44] On 28 March he confirmed the donation of the two abovementioned castles to Stephen Lackfi.[45] It was a day after his mother Queen Elizabeth had done so.[46] Stephen mentions in the dating formula that it is the first year of his *ducatus*. On 18 October he admonished Nicholas, son of Briccius, count of Braşov, and his *vicecomes* not to continue the custom of their predecessors and take away a quarter of the tithe. On behalf of the whole *decanatus* of Braşov, Nicholas, *decanus* and *plebanus*

[35] *Árpád-kori új okmánytár 10. kötet* (deinde *AUO*). Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia történelmi bizottmánya, 1873, nr. 123, pp. 186–187.
[36] *MDE* 2, nr. 318, pp. 390–392.
[37] *AO* 5, nr. 232, pp. 387–388. Detricus and Zonuk were brothers. James was *iudex curiae* in years 1372 and 1373–1380. They came from the family Stekfalvi (Szepesi). Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi* and Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*. In Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV. Családtörténet heraldika honismeret [DVD-ROM]. Budapest: Arcanum, 2003.
[38] MOL DF 249099.
[39] *MDE* 2, nr. 309, pp. 381.
[40] Ibidem, nr. 313, pp. 384–385. Then they both sent their messengers to Venice, and got an answer on 24 August. MDE II/320 pp. 393–394.
[41] *CDCr* 11, nr. 477, pp. 619–624.
[42] MOL DF 236300, MOL DF 23601.
[43] MOL DL 91422. Felvinc (hun) – Unirea, Vinţu de Sus, Felvinţ, Vinţ belonged to Sedes Aurata – Aranyosszék, Scaunul Arieşului. Szabó, M. Attila: *Erdély, bánság és partium történeti és közigazgatási helységnévtára* [CD-ROM]. Budapest: Arcanum, 2006.
[44] Kristó, Gyula – Makk, Ferenc: *Az Árpádok*. S. l.: Szukits, 2000, pp. 316–317.
[45] *CDCr* 12. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znalosti i umjetnosti, 1914, nr. 10, pp. 13–14.
[46] Ibidem, nr. 9, pp. 11–12.



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*de Braschaw* and *plebanus* Christian *de Widenbach* turned to him.[47] Stephen also exempted the inhabitants of Dej from paying the toll and gave them the right to be judged only by their own judge.[48]

Like in a document from the previous year, Stephen and his mother appear again in a donation charter to Kolus issued by King Louis on 24 April as the persons who agree with his donation. While in the donation to Lackfi Stephen's official title is used, here King Louis addresses him just as *dominus Stephanus*.[49]

Exactly a year after he had used the title of *dux Transylvanus*, a change occurs. In the document of 28 January 1352, he titled himself as the duke of Spiš and Šariš (*dux terrae Scepusiensis et de Sarus*) for the first time. He admonishes the inhabitants of *Sarus* (Šariš) and *Scibinium* (Sabinov) not to disturb the forest of John, son of Nicholas, called Apród, the king's chancellor, and his brother Blaise.[50] This document shows that his activity focused mainly on property questions. During his *ducatus* the dispute between the family Peren/Peréni and Lawrence Vitéz about possessions in Šariš county began.[51]

On 31 August Matthew and Dominic, sons of Jekul, complained to Stephen that the town of Gelnica (*Gylnech*) collected the taxes from their *iobagiones tributes*.[52] The tension between these two parties was growing because on 8 December Stephen wrote to the convent in Jasov that Dominic had informed him that the inhabitants of Gelnica had caught and imprisoned his brother Matthew.[53]

Similarly as two years earlier in Slavonia-Croatia, Stephen continued to protect noblemen: on 24 April he took orphans John and Paul, sons of James, grandsons of John *de Lamnocha*, under his protection.[54]

From the year 1352, in connection with his activities, we know the names of four leaders of towns in Šariš. Three of them are mentioned in one charter, namely *iudices* Henchlinus in Šariš, Nicholas in Prešov and Harcus in Sabinov: Stephen orders the castellan of Spiš, Nicholas *de Kubly*, who was also the duke's *magister tavarnicus, iudex curiae* and *magister ianitorum*, to protect the right to judge criminals which these towns received from King Charles.[55] The fourth leader mentioned in the documents is *iudex* Conrad from Bardejov. In this case King Louis, who was in Bardejov, bypassed his brother Stephen and on 8 March gave them the right of annual market, lasting for 8 days from 1 September. Conrad, however, had these rights confirmed by Duke Stephen on 17 May.[56]

Up to this time there were only two cases when Stephen issued charters in another place than Buda. In this year, in the course of five months, from August to December, he issued three charters in three different places: on 31 August at the Spiš castle (*in Castrum Scepusiensi*), on 25 October *in Suburbio Scepusiensi* and on 8 December in the town of Košice (*in civitate Cassoviensi*).

We suppose that he had lost his influence in Transylvania by this year. However, he may still have had some impact when, on 19 February, he confirmed the possessions of Nicholas, former Transylvanian voivode.[57] However, then on 27 June his mother Queen Elizabeth reminded the count of Braşov about Stephen's order concerning the abovementioned case of the tithes, mentioning Stephen as *dux illo tempore illorum partium*.[58]

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[47] *Documenta Romaniae historica C. Transilvania* (deinde *DRH*), vol. 10. Ed.: Ştefan Pascu. Bucureşti: Editura academiei Republicii socialiste Romania, 1977, nr. 69, p. 66. Nicholas came from the family Bátory, which belonged to the Rakamaz branch of the Gut-Keled kindred, Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi*; Idem: *Középkori magyar*. Braschaw/Brassaw – Comitatul Braşov, Kronerstädter Komitat, Brassó vármegye. Szabó, M. Attila: *Erdély, bánság*.

[48] MOL DF 277848. Dej (rom) – Dés / Deés / Desch / Burglos / Burgschloss / Desium / Dyonisiopolis. It took place in Szolnok Inferior (Belső-Szolnok) Szabó, M. Attila: *Erdély, bánság*.

[49] *DRH* 10, nr. 26, pp. 24–25.

[50] MOL DF 228465.

[51] *Supplementum Analectorum Terrae Scepusiensis* (deinde *Supplementum*), vol. 2. Ed.: Michael Schmauk. Szepesváralja: Typographia episcopalis, 1889, nr. LXXII, pp. 109–110.

[52] MOL DL 83266.

[53] MOL DL 83267. Jekul / Jakul – Hekkul was an inhabitant of Gelnica (*Gylnech*), who reached nobility and became the predecessor of the Jekelfalussy family. Komáromy, András: A Jekelfalussy család ősei. In: *Turul*, a. 11, 1893, nr. 4, pp. 201–203.

[54] *AO* 5, nr. 358, p. 575. They came from the Berzevici kindred. Nagy, Iván: *Magyarország családai Második kötet*. In: *Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV*. Családtörténet heraldika honismeret [DVD-ROM]. Budapest: Arcanum, 2003, pp. 37–44.

[55] *Diplomatarium comitatus Sarosiensis*. Ed.: Carolus Wagner. Posonium et Cassovia: Joannis Michaelis Canderer, 1780, pp. 450–451. 15 January 1352.

[56] MOL DF 212854.

[57] *DRH* 10, nr. 101, p. 108. Nicholas Sirokai (Jobbágyi) was a member of the king's court in the year 1336 and in the year 1338 he was royal *procurator* and *rector ianitorum*. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi*.
He came from the branch of the Aba kindred called Szalánci (Slaneckí). Karácsonyi, János: *A magyar nemzetségek*, p. 31.

[58] Ibidem, nr. 130, pp. 138–139.



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He continued to act as the duke of Spiš and Šariš possibly until the beginning of the year 1353. On 7 January the *vicecomes* of Šariš, John, son of Nicholas, wrote that he acted on behalf of the duke.[59] On 12 March 1353 Stephen appears again as *totius Sclavoniae, Croatiae et Dalmatiae dux*, but this time he resided already in Zagreb.[60] The continuity of this *ducatus* from the year 1350 was disrupted, because he again used the wording first year of his *ducatus* in the dating formula.[61] We can divide his activities into several spheres. The first sphere: the towns. He confirmed the liberties of Krapina on 12 March[62] and Zelina on 23 May. In the case of Zelina we know about *villicus* Demeter and two *iobagiones*: Philip, son of Lawrence, and Mykch, son of Benedict.[63] On 6 December he gave to Koprivnica (*Kapronca*) the same rights which Zagreb had. He also named a *notarius* Ambrose: the inhabitants had to pay him and his successors in office the sixteenth part of the tithe.[64]

The second sphere: the Church. On 28 May he confirmed the privileges donated to the Church of Zagreb by Stephen V.[65]

The third sphere: the noblemen. A soldier (*miles*) of his court, John, son of James *de genere Aba*, and his cousins Nicholas, son John, Peter, son of Nicholas, Lawrence, son of Peter, and other noblemen from Vočina (*Athyna*) got the right to punish criminals in their named possession (on 8 March).[66]

Thomas, son of Ladislas, and his cousin John called Thar, who received a donation from Stephen in 1350, got the donated estates exchanged for Sveti Petar (*Zenthpeter*) in Križevci county on 11 April. Thomas was the castellan of Medvedgrad at that time.[67] A month later, on 14 May, he was also called as *comes* of Garešnice (*Gresencze*) and a *iuvenis* of the duke's court.[68]

On 16 September Stephen ordered the chapter in Požega (*Posega*) to solve the violent behaviour of Dominic, son of Radyn, and his procurator Moyus, son of Alexander. This is the only document from this year which Stephen issued in Buda.[69]

On 27 November Duke Stephen confirmed the privilege of Ban Nicholas from the year 1346 for Nicholas, son of Myke, concerning his exemption from the service to the castle of Križevac. Stephen also exempted his brother Gregory.[70]

The last cases are general congregations (*congregationes generales*). On 8 May a general congregation began in Zagreb; however, it was initiated by the ban, as he calls it as *nostra*, but he further states that it was "*de mandato excellentis principis, domini Staphani dei gracia totcius Sclauonie, Croatie et Dalmatie ducis universis nobilibus et aliis cuiusuis conditionis et statutus hominibus inter Drauam et Zauam existentibus*".[71] We know two conclusions of this congregation: one of them is mentioned in a ban's charter,[72] and the other one appears in the documents of both the ban and the duke. This was the case of possession Kaniška in Križevac county. First, on 19 May, Ban Nicholas informed the chapter of Zagreb about the decision to give this possession to Lachou, son of Ladislas.[73] Three days later the duke wrote about the whole process in more detail: Ladislas, son of Michael, who also tried to gain the abovementioned possession, submitted false charter ascribed to King Ladislas. As a result, Ladislas, his wife Rusa, his brothers Bazarab and Briccio, and cousins John and Blaise, sons of Valter, lost their possessions.[74]

On 3 June in Zagreb began another "*congregacio generalis excellentis principis domini Stephani ducis, dominin ostri et exeius dileccione nostra universis nobilibus ceterisque status et condicionis hominibus inter Zawam et Gozd existentibus*". The only report of this congregation comes from the ban, who confirmed the privilege of King Charles to Stephen, son of Mykch.[75]

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[59] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticvs ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*), vol. 9/2. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Buda: Typis typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngariae, 1833, pp. 297–298.
[60] *CDCr* 12, nr. 109, p. 152.
[61] Ibidem, nr. 113, pp. 155–156.
[62] Ibidem, nr. 109, p. 152.
[63] Ibidem, nr. 124, p. 170.
[64] Ibidem, nr. 161, pp. 215–216.
[65] Ibidem, nr. 127, pp. 174–175.
[66] Ibidem, nr. 129, pp. 176–177.
[67] Ibidem, nr. 113, pp. 155–156.
[68] Ibidem, nr. 119, pp. 163–164.
[69] Ibidem, nr. 145, pp. 195–196.
[70] Ibidem, nr. 158, pp. 212–213.
[71] Ibidem, nr. 120, pp. 164–165.
[72] He confirmed the possession of Nespesa *in provincia Glaunicha* for Paul and his nephew Fabian. Ibidem.
[73] Ibidem, nr. 122, pp. 167–168.
[74] MOL DF 264725.
[75] *CDCr* 12, nr. 133, pp. 182–183.



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The following congregation: "*de mandato et precepto Staphani ducis, domini nostri pro requirendis iuribus ducalis maiestatis universis nobilibus ceterisque status, conditionis et preeminencie hominibus in regno Croatie existentibus*", took place in *Tynynyo* (Knin) and began on 9 September. This gathering solved the payment of the tithes by lower strata people and decided that the bishop of Knin should name *supanum in provincia sua sev districtu*.[76]

From the year 1354 we have fewer documents. There was no general congregation in this year, but three other abovementioned spheres are the same. On 7 January Koprivnica/Kapronca got the right to use the forest. This charter mentions *villicus* Jokul and one inhabitant, Michael, son of Nicholas.[77] On 20 February Duke Stephen confirmed the liberties of the Hermits of Saint Paul near *Dobycha* (Dubica).[78]

On 10 May Philip, son of Paris, and John, son of this Philip, a *iuvenis* of duke's court, got the possession Obrova from Stephen.[79]

On 15 May in Ivanič Stephen accepted *iobagiones castri de Moroucha* among the nobility, namely Nicholas, son of Rathk, his cousins Ivan and George, sons of Nicholas, their stepfather Martin, son of Brokon, and Bank, son of Peter. It was a reward for their services *contra regni emulos, morte et sangvinis effusione, membrorumque mutilationibus, ac aliis multimodis periclitationibus ac captivationibus, que per singula longum esset enarrare*". Their disputes had to be solved only by the duke.[80]

Two charters (issued on 7 April and 13 July) were addressed to Leontius, son of Beke, soldier of his court. He was given the right to have a market at his possession Crehen in Križevac county every Saturday, and the right to punish criminals on all his estates in Križevac and Virovitica (*Vereuche*).[81]

The charter of 13 July is the latest known act issued by Stephen, because on 9 August he died *in reversione de exercitu moto contra Rasciam*.[82]

After his death Margaret ruled in his *ducatus*. At least up to 27 April 1355 she stayed in Buda.[83] Then she moved to Zagreb, but the following document is dated on 30 November only.[84] She stayed in Zagreb until 14 January 1356.[85] On 3 April 1356 she was in Vienna and called herself as *ducissa Bauariae*.[86] Two years later, on 13 August 1358, Louis promised to pay her 40 000 florins on the occasion of her marriage to Gerlach, *comes de Hohenloch*.[87]

Stephen and Margaret had two children. When their mother had left the country, their education was most probably the responsibility of their uncle, King Louis. Son John became the heir not only of the Kingdom of Hungary, but also of Poland, because he figured in the agreement between Louis and the Polish nobility.[88] But John died not reach the adult age.[89] After John's death, Stephen's daughter Elizabeth became Louis' heir. That is why Louis wanted to find her a favourable match. The name of her fiancé was changing depending on the actual political situation in Central Europe: at one point her fiancé came from

[76] *CDCr* 12, nr. 146, pp. 197–198.
[77] Ibidem, nr. 163, pp. 218–219. A similar document is dated on 6 January. But here Peter is named as a *villicus* and an inhabitant Wyth, son of Nicholas, is mentioned. *CDH* 9/2, pp. 327–328.
[78] *CDCR* 12, nr. 169, pp. 226–227. The monastery was built between 1270 and 1290. It was burned down in 1393. Its doom was in the year 1464. *Kolostorok és tásaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [CD-ROM]. Budapest: Arcanum, 2008.
[79] Ibidem, nr. 179, pp. 236–237.
[80] Ibidem, nr. 181, pp. 238–240.
[81] MOL DL 94423, MOL DL 94424. He came from the Antimus kindred. Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar*.
[82] Chronikon Zagrabiense cum texto chronici Varadiensis collatum. In: *SSrer Hung* 1, p. 215. Jaroslav Perniš maintains that he died from an injury after falling off his horse. Perniš, Jaroslav: Uhorskí Anjouovci v zdraví, chorobe a smrti. In: *Genealogicko-heraldický hlas*, a. 13, 2003, nr. 1, p. 8. According to Kristó, the conflict between the Kingdom of Hungary and Serbia broke out in 1353. The crusade was organized in 1354. Hungarian chronicles are silent about this crusade, but from the Austrian ones we learn that Louis led a great army and the Serbian czar Stephen Dushan avoided the clash. Various persons took part in the crusade, from the Esztergom archbishop Nicholas Vasvári to familiars of Duchess Margaret. The battle took place near Belgrade in 1355, where Louis won and the Serbian czar promised to subordinate himself to the pope in Avignon. Kristó, Gyula: *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*. Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1988, pp. 132–133. Wertner shows the itinerary of the crusade. On 12 June it was in Zimon, on 16 June in Belgrade and on 1 August in Visegrád. Wertner, Mór: Magyar hadjáratok a XIV.-ik században. In: *Századok*, a. 39, 1905, nr. 5, p. 441.
[83] *CDCr* 12, nr. 217, pp. 288–289.
[84] Ibidem, nr. 236, pp. 313–314.
[85] Ibidem, nr. 241, pp. 321–322.
[86] Ibidem, nr. 241, pp. 321–322.
[87] *CDH* 9/2, pp. 676–677.
[88] Długosz, Jan: *Roczniki, czyli kroniki*, p. 349.
[89] Louis wrote about his death on 17 November 1360. Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Hrvatski hercezi i bani za Karla Roberta i Ljudevita I. (1301–1382)*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1901, p. 147.



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the Luxemburg house and other time from the Habsburg dynasty. Eventually she married Philip of Tarent who came from the Naples branch of the Angevins. Elizabeth died before 6 April 1380, when her grandmother Elizabeth in her last will and testament ordered to bring her body to the Kingdom of Hungary.[90]

In the end I want to add a few words about Duke Stephen's court. His charters, which I had mentioned above, inform us only about Nicholas *de Kubly* and some *iuvenes* and *milites*. Mainly in 1353, Stephen's documents were prepared by his *prothonotarius* George, son of Michael *de Megerycheˌ*[91] the castellan and count of Vrbas.[92]

Other persons of his court appear in some other documents. In 1354 Nicholas *de Kubly* was not his *magister tavarnicorum* and *iudex curiae*. These functions were taken by Dezider/*Deseu*, son of Ivan. His son Ivan was Stephen's *magister pincernarum*.[93] Ladislas, son of Ulrich, was mentioned as his *magister in scienciis primitivi*[94] and a certain Ligerus was a *comes camerarum*.[95] Besides the abovementioned Ladislas of Vilémov (*de Wilyelmow*), other persons from Czech milieu acted at his court: Peter, son of Bertold *de Brunna* (Brno), was the chancellor of Stephen[96] and after Stephen's death, also of Margaret.[97] He was also called as *capellanus* and *familiar*.[98] John, son of Erenreich *de Znoima* (Znojmo) was the chaplain (*capellanus*).[99]

[90] Pór, Antal: István úr, pp. 97–115, 193–208.
[91] *CDCr* 12, nr. 408, pp. 537–539.
[92] Ibidem, nr. 161, pp. 215–216.
[93] Ibidem, nr. 171, pp. 228–230, Ibidem, nr. 174, pp. 232–233. They came from the family Györkönyi from the Bikács kindred. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi.* Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar*.
[94] Monumenta Vaticana II nr. 94, pp. 41.
[95] *CDCr* 12/144, pp. 194–195.
[96] *Monumenta Vaticana*: *Acta Innocentii VI. 1352–1362* (deinde *Monumenta Vaticana*), vol. 2 Ed.: Joannes Fridericus Novák. Praga: Typis Gregerianis, 1907, nr. 94, p. 41.
[97] *CDCr* 12, nr. 201, p. 265, 20 January 1355.
[98] *Monumenta Vaticana* 2, nr. 373, pp. 151–152, 21 August 1355.
[99] Ibidem, nr. 222, p. 94, 22 March 1354.



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DJURA HARDI*

# Der Status von Matschwa in der Zeit Rastislav Michailowitschs

## Status Mačvy v období vlády Rastislava / Status Mačve u razdoblju Rastislavove vladavine

*This paper examines the question of whether Macva (Machva), assigned by the Hungarian king Belo IV between 1247 and 1254 to his son-in-law Rostislav after his unsuccessful attempts to gain Galicia, was organized as a Hungarian banovina (province) in the middle of the thirteenth century. The question is also raised as to what extent the ruler was independent and how his rule was organized. The real question is whether the lord of Machva Rostislav Mihailovich held the title of ban. The author of the paper concludes that Machva did not have the status of banovina in the case of this Russian prince. But it was his dynastic territory, in fact his personal property.*

Keywords: Thirteenth Century, Mačva, dynasty politics, dynastic territory

Über die Matschwa[1] als mittelalterliches Gebiet bzw. über ihren Herrscher, den russischen Fürst Rastislaw Michailowitsch, Schwiegersohn des ungarischen Königs Bela des IV., gibt es bis heute eine ganze Reihe einzelner Studien, an deren Anfang die noch immer aktuellen Arbeiten der großen Historiker des 19. Jahrhunderts[2] stehen. Wir begehen mit Sicherheit keinen Fehler, wenn wir sagen, dass es sich um ein Thema handelt, das unerschöpflich eine Reihe europäischer Geschichtsschreibungen miteinander verbindet.[3] Indem wir uns entschieden haben, für dieses Treffen etwas über Rastislaw Michailowitsch und den Charakter seiner Herrschaft über die Matschwa zu sagen (eine Frage die wir zwar auch früher erforscht und über die wir geschrieben haben[4]), wurde dies in der Überzeugung getan, dass unser Vortrag einige interessante Berührungspunkte auch mit der slowakischen und der kroatischen Geschichtsschreibung hat und sich somit in die historischen Parallelen dieser zwei Länder einfügen kann.

Als erstes müssen wir feststellen, dass der Name von Rastislaw Michailowitsch in den beiden Geschichtsschreibungen gegenwärtig ist. Chronologisch gesehen, seit dem Artikel *Bogomili i patareni* (dt. *Bogumilen und Patarenen*) von Franjo Rački aus dem Jahr 1868, über das klassische Werk *Poviest Bosne* (dt. *Geschichte Bosniens*) von Vjekoslav

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[1] Pesty, Frigyes: A macsói bánok. In: *Századok*, a. 9, 1875, pp. 361–381; Wertner, Mór: Az árpádkori bánok. In: *Századok*, a. 43, 1909, pp. 480–481; Szentpétery, Emerich: Das Banat von Machow (Macsó). In: *Ungarische Rundschau*, a. 4, 1915, pp. 872–883; Динић, Михаило: Западна Србија у средњем веку. In: Динић, Михаило: *Српске земље у средњем веку, историјско-географске студије*. Ed.: Сима Ћирковић. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1978, pp. 44–54; Idem: Средњовековни Срем. In: *Српске земље у средњем веку*, pp. 270–284; Idem: Из прошлости Срема. In: *Српске земље у средњем веку*. pp. 285–288; Rokay, Péter – Takács, Miklós: Macsó. In: *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)*. Ed.: Gyula Kristó, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994, (deinde *KMTL*), pp. 421–422; Ћирковић, Сима: Земља мачва и град Мачва. In: *Прилози за књижевност, језик, историју, фолклор*, САНУ, Књига 74, свеска 1–4, 2008, pp. 3–20.

[2] Palacký, František: O Ruském knjžeti Rostislawowi, otci královny české Kunhuty, a rodu geho. In: *Časopis Českého Museum*, a. 16, nr. 1, 1842, pp. 23–41; Палаузов, Спиридон Н.: Ростислав Михайлович, князь Мачвы. In: *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения*, vol. 8, 1851, pp. 27–49; Wenzel, Gusztáv: *Rosztizlaw galicziai herczeg, IV. Béla királynak veje*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1887, pp. 3–20; Wertner, Mór: Boris und Rostislaw (Rostislaw von Halics und seine Familie). In: *Vierteljahrsschrift für Heraldik, Sphragistik und Genealogie*, a. 22, nr. 2, 1889, pp. 178–194; Idem: *Az Árpádok családi története*. Nagy Becskerek: Pleitz Fer. Pál Könyvnyomdája, 1892, pp. 463–475; Прокофьев, Всеволод. Г.: Ростислав Михаилович, русский князь XIII века. In: *Юбил. Сборник Русского Археологического Общества*. Београд, 1936, pp. 131–159.

[3] Nach unseren Erkentnissen ist der Name Rastislaw Michailowitsch in der ungarischen, ukrainischen, russischen, serbischen, bulgarischen, bosnischen, tschechischen, österreichischen und polnischen Geschichtsschreibung präsent.

[4] Харди, Ђура: Господари и банови Мачве и оностраног Срема и Мачве у XIII веку. In: *Споменица Историјског Архива „Срем“*, a. 8, 2009, pp. 65–80; Idem: О мачванској титулатури Ростислава Михаиловича. In: *Извори о историји и култури Војводине*, a. 2, 2010, pp. 57–64; Гарді, Джура: Чи Ростислав Михайлович був баном Мачви?. In: *ACTES TESTANTIBUS, Ювілейний збірник на пошану Леонтія Войтовича. Україна: культурна спадщина, національна свідомість, державність*. Ed.: Микола Литвин. Львів: Національна академія наук України, Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича, 2011, pp. 197–203.



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Klaić, das 1882 erschienen war, bis zu der unlängst veröffentlichten Großsynthese slowakischer und polnischer Wissenschaftler unter dem Titel *Historia Scepusii,* Band 1, mit Textaufbereitung von Martin Homza und Stanisław A. Sroka.[5] Auf der anderen Seite ist bekannt, dass dieser russische Fürst im Jahre 1247 der Ban von Slawonien war[6] sowie dass seine Zeit als Herrscher von Galizien beim Friedenstreffen des ungarischen Königs Bela des IV. mit Daniel Romanowitsch, dem Fürsten von Galizien-Wolhynien, das im September 1246 in der Stadt Zvolen (dt. Altsohl) in der heutigen Slowakei stattfand, ein Ende nahm.[7]

Es ist nicht überflüssig daran zu erinnern, dass Rastislaw Michailowitsch der russischen Herrscherdynastie Olegowitsch aus Tschernigow entstammte. Mitte der dreißiger Jahre des 13. Jahrhunderts hatte sich Rastislaws Vater Michailo Wsewolodowitsch zusammen mit seinem jungen Sohn auf den Kampf um das Fürstentum Galizien gegen den Fürsten Daniel Romanowitsch aus der Dynastie Monomachowitsch aus Wolhynien eingelassen. Rastislaw gelang es nur für eine sehr kurze Zeit (ohne seinen Vater, von 1237 bis 1238) auf dem Thron des Fürstentums zu bleiben. In dieser Auseinandersetzung spielte das angrenzende Königreich Ungarn eine wichtige Rolle. Der ungarische König Andreas II. trug seit 1205 den Titel „*Rex Galiciae Lodomeriaeque*". Er erhob Anspruch auf die Oberherrschaft in diesen Ländern und die russischen Fürsten betrachtete er als seine Vasallen. Inzwischen hatte Andreas II. versucht, seine jüngeren Söhne als Herrscher über Galizien durchzusetzen, zuerst Koloman als König in Galizien (1214–1221) und danach auch Herzog Andreas (1222–1233), jedoch ohne dauerhaften Erfolg. Rastislaw fand letztendlich im Jahre 1242, während er vor den Mongolen floh, Zuflucht bei Andreas, dem Nachkommen Bela IV., der ihn bald mit seiner Lieblingstochter Anna verheiratete. Dank seines Status als königlicher Schwiegersohn lachte Rastislaw das Glück und er wurde letztendlich der ungarische Prätendent auf Galizien. Doch seine Pläne scheiterten in der Schlacht bei Jaroslaw im Jahre 1245. Im folgenden Jahr schloss Bela IV. bei dem erwähnten Treffen in Zvolen Frieden mit Rastislaws Gegner und Onkel Daniel. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wurde die Ehe zwischen Daniels Sohn Lew und Konstanz, der zweiten Tochter des ungarischen Königs, beschlossen. Somit verlor Rastislaw alle Aussicht auf eine Rückerlangung Galiziens.[8]

Zum Trost übertrug Bela IV. die Herrschaft über die Matschwa auf seinen Schwiegersohn, oder besser gesagt auf die Familie seiner Tochter Anna. Von diesem Zeitpunkt bis zu seinem Tod im Jahre 1264 war Rastislaws Regierungstätigkeit an das Mitteleuropa und den Balkan gebunden. Die Matschwa lag an der südlichen Grenze Ungarns zum Serbischen Staat (heute der westliche Teil Zentralserbiens), am Rand Panoniens, südlich des Flusses Sava (dt. *Save*) und östlich des Flusses Drina. Wegen dem Mangel an Quellen mussten die Historiker mehrmals feststellen, dass die genauen Gebietsgrenzen, vor allem diejenigen in Richtung des inneren Balkans, nicht einfach zu bestimmen sind.[9] Das Gebiet wurde nach der gleichnamigen Festung Matschwa benannt, die allerdings zum ersten Mal im Zusammenhang mit Rastislaw als ihrem Herrscher erwähnt wird. Basierend auf Forschungsergebnissen von Sima Ćirković, der sich auf ungarische diplomatischen Quellen aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts stützt, können wir sagen, dass die Festung Matschwa an dem Fluss Sava lag, allem Anschein nach in der Region des mittelalterlichen Syrmiens, natürlich auf dem gegenüberliegenden rechten Flussufer (Stari Noćaj). Sie besaß einen offenen Raum in der Mitte sowie einen Anlegehafen, der die Flussüberquerung ermöglichte, wenn man aus Panonien in den inneren Balkan fahren wollte.[10] Neben Matschwa erstreckte sich Rastislaws, bzw. die Herrschaft

[5] Rački, Franjo: Bogomili i patareni. In: *Rad JAZU*, knjiga VII, Zagreb, 1869, p. 167; Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Poviest Bosne do propasti Kraljevstva*. Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1882, pp. 84–85; *Historia Scepusii,* vol. 1. Ed.: Martin Homza – Stanisław. A. Sroka. Bratislava – Kraków: Katedra slovenských dejin UK FiF – Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2009, passim.

[6] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*). Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: 1829–1844, nr. 4, p. 254; Wertner, Mór: Az árpádkori bánok, p. 401.

[7] Senga, Toru: IV. Béla külpolitikája és IV. Ince pápához intézett "tatár-levele". In: *Századok*, a. 121, 1987, nr. 1–2, pp. 592–594.

[8] Грушевський, Михайло: *Історія України-Руси*. том II, III. Київ: Наукова Думка, 1992–1993, passim; Пашуто, Владимир Т.: *Очерки по истории Галицко-Волынской Руси*. Москва: Издательство Академии Нук СССР, 1950; Котляр, Микола. Ф.: *Данило Галицький, біографічний нарис*. Київ: Видавничий Дім „Альтернативи", 1979; Font, Márta: II András orosz politikája és hadjáratai. In: *Szásadok*, a. 126, 1992 , nr, 1–2, pp. 107–144; Войтович, Леонтій: *Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти*. Біла Церква: Видавець Олександр Пшонківський, 2006, pp. 408, 418–420, 492–494, 497–501.

[9] Szentpétery, Emerich: *Das Banat von Machow,* p. 874; Rokay, Péter – Takács, Miklós: *Macsó*, pp. 421–422; Ћирковић, Сима: *Земља Мачва и град Мачва*, pp. 3–20.

[10] Ћирковић, Сима: „Црна Гора" и проблем српско-угарског граничног подручја. In: *Ваљево. Постанак и успон градског средишта*. Ваљево: Народни музеј Ваљево и Одељење за историју Филозофског факултета у Београду, 1994, pp. 62, 74; Idem: Земља мачва и град Мачва, pp. 18–20.



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seiner Familie, im Westen auch auf Teile Bosniens (höchstwahrscheinlich auf Usor und Sol) um sich in den fünfziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts auch auf Kosten des geschwächten Bulgariens nach Osten auszuweiten.[11]

In der Geschichtsschreibung wird jedoch oft angeführt, dass Rastislaw Michailowitsch der Ban von Matschwa war, oder dass er von Bela IV. das Banat von Matschwa erwarb, obwohl diese Behauptung durch keine Quelle bekräftigt wird. Die Frage wird unmittelbar verkompliziert durch den weit verbreiteten Glauben, dass zu Regierungszeiten Bela IV., nach dem mongolischen Einfall in Europa, an den südlichen Grenzen des Königreichs Ungarn allmählich eine ganze Reihe Banate errichtet wurde (in Usor, Sol, Kutschewo, Branitschewo, Sewerin…). Es handelte sich um Militärverwaltungseinheiten an deren Spitze sich die königlichen Würdenträger befanden. Ihre Aufgabe war, diese Territorien fester an das Königreich Ungarn zu binden, das Verteidigen der ungarischen Grenze sowie das Ermöglichen des Eindringens in die benachbarten Balkanländer. Unter den neugegründeten Banaten befand sich angeblich auch Matschwa, die Bela seinem Schwiegersohn Rastislaw zuteilwerden ließ. Einen auffallenden Widerspruch finden wir in der Tatsache, dass es einerseits den Historikern nicht entging, dass Rastislaw dem Titel nach kein Ban war, und es anderseits üblich war, dass man über die Matschwa seit der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts wie über ein Banat sprach und sie mit seinem Namen verbunden wird.[12]

In keinem Dokument aus dem 13. Jahrhundert taucht Rastislaw Michailowitsch als Ban der Matschwa auf.[13] Sein offizieller Titel, wenn es um dieses Gebiet ging, lautete *Dominus de Machou*, wie er in der Bulle von Bela IV. in der Auflistung staatlicher Großwürdenträger (*series dignitatum*), vom 28. Juli 1254, bezeichnet wurde.[14] Nach Rastislaws Tod wird auch seine Witwe, Fürstin Anna, vom Papst (1264) mit dem gleichen Titel *domina* bzw. *ducissa* (*ducissa Gallitie, ac de Bosna et de Mazo domina*) angeredet.[15] Den Herzogtitel für die Gebiete Matschwa und Bosnien (*dux de Machow et de Bosna*) sollte auch Rastislaws jüngerer Sohn und Erbe Belas Rostislawitsch 1271 übernehmen.[16]

Was Matschwa die anbetrifft, haben noch Mór Wertner in seiner systematischen Arbeit *Az árpádkori bánok* und nach ihm auch Mihailo Dinić festgestellt, dass in der Zeit der Arpaden die Anwesenheit der Bane als königliche Würdenträger in dieser Region nur für die Zeit von 1272 bis 1279 nachzuweisen ist.[17] Dem entgegen, wurde Matschwa, oder das jenseitige Syrmien (*Sirmia ulterior*), wie der andere, ältere Name für die Region lautete, während der meisten Zeit des 13. Jahrhunderts[18] von den nächsten Verwandten der ungarischen Königsdynastie verwaltet.[19]

Zu seiner Zeit hatte der ungarische König Bela III. das jenseitige Syrmien von Byzanz erobert,

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[11] Димитров, Христо: *Българско-унгарски отношения през средновековието*. София: Академично издателство „Проф. Марин Дринов“, 1998, p. 166; Kristó, Gyula: *Az Árpad-kor háborúi*. Budapest: Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, 1986, pp. 137–138; Ћирковић, Сима: *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1964, p. 73.

[12] Vergleiche hierzu: Pesty, Frigyes: *A macsói bánok*, p. 361; Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povjest Bosne*, pp. 84–85; Huber, Alfons: *Geschichte Österreichs*. Erster Band, Gotha: Fridrich Andreas Perthes, 1885, p. 473; Wertner: *Boris und Rostislaw*, p. 182; Idem: *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 466; Hóman, Bálint – Szekfű, Gyula: *Magyar történe*. I. kötet. Ed.: Bálint Hóman. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1939, pp. 565–566; Јиречек, Константин: *Историја Срба*. прва књига, до 1537. године (друго, исправљено и допуњено издање, превео Јован Радонић). Београд: Слово љубве, 1978, p. 177; Динић, Михаило: *Западна Србија у средњем веку*, pp. 44–54; Радонић, Јован: Споразум у Тати 1426. и српско-угарски односи од XIII–XVI века. In: *Глас СКА*, 1941, CLXXVII, p. 127; *Историја српског народа*, прва књига. Ed.: Сима ЋИРКОВИЋ. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 2000, p. 352; Спремић, Момчило: Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић и Мачванска бановина. In: Спремић, Момчило: *Прекинути успон, српске земље у позном средњем веку*. Београд: Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства, 2005, p. 92.

[13] Die angeblichen Bezeichnungen von Rastislaw als Ban von Matschwa bei Frigyes Pesty basieren nicht auf Quellen, sondern auf älterer Literatur, wie vom Autor selbst betont wurde. Pesty, Frigyes: *A macsói bánok*, pp. 366–68. Diese Erwähnungen werden auch von Mór Wertner in seiner Archontologie der ungarischen Banate nicht angenommen: Wertner, Mór: *Az árpádkori bánok*, p. 480; Ebenfalls: Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*. Budapest: História-MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011, pp. 50–51; Харди, Ђура: *Господари и банови Мачве и оностраног Срема*, pp. 70–72.

[14] F, vol. 4/2, p. 218.

[15] *Vetera Monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia* (deinde *VMH*), tom. 1. Ed.: Augustino Theiner. Romae: 1859, pp. 273, 276; F, vol. 4/3, pp. 210, 236.

[16] Ibidem 1, p. 303.

[17] Wertner, Mór: *Az árpádkori bánok*, p. 480; Динић, Михаило: Сремски бан. In: *Гласник Историског друштва у Новом Саду*, nr. 4, 1931, p. 272.

[18] Динић, Михаило: *Средњовековни Срем*, pp. 270–284; Idem: *Из прошлости Срема*, pp. 285–288; Rokay, Péter – Takács, Miklós: *Macsó*, pp. 421–422.

[19] Ћирковић, Сима: *Земља Мачва и град Мачва*, pp. 6–7; Харди, Ђура: *Господари и банови оностраног Срема и Мачве*, pp. 65–80.



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das nach dem Tode des Kaisers Manuel I. Komnenos unaufhaltsam immer schwächer wurde. Im Jahr 1186 ging das Gebiet als Mitgift an Byzanz zurück, als der ungarische König seine Tochter Margarete (Maria) mit dem byzantinischen Kaiser Isaak II. vermählte. Als jedoch Byzanz 1204 aus der Region verschwunden war, gelangte sie nach dem Krieg mit Bulgaren wieder in ungarischen Besitz. In den zwanziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts kehrte Margarete aus dem Königreich Thessaloniki in ihr Heimatland zurück (wahrscheinlich im Jahr 1223) und das *jenseitige Syrmien* wurde ihr, zusammen mit den angrenzenden ungarischen Komitaten, von ihrem Bruder Andreas II. zugeteilt.[20] Nach Margarete wurde das jenseitige Syrmien von ihren Söhnen William von Saint Omer (mit dem Titel *dux Sirmii* um 1233–1238), geboren in Margaretes dritter Ehe mit einem lateinischen Baron, und seinem älteren Halbbruder, Zarewitsch Kalojan Engel (mit dem Titel *Dominus Syrmie* um 1238–1242), verwaltet.[21]

Als der königliche Schwiegersohn Rastislaw Michailowitsch 1246 Galizien *de facto* verlor, musste für ihn von Bela IV., wie schon längst von Gustav Wenzel und Mór Wertner bemerkt wurde, ein würdiger Ersatz für das russische Fürstentum gefunden werden.[22] Anfänglich taucht Rastislaw am 2. Juni 1247 nur als slawonischer Ban auf, aber das war nur eine vorläufige Lösung, denn am 3. April 1248 treffen wir auf dieser Position Stephan, vom Geschlecht Gutkeled, an.[23] Ersatz war bald gefunden in der Region des jenseitigen Syrmiens – die künftige Matschwa. Obwohl der genaue Zeitpunkt nicht ermittelt werden kann, steht fest, dass Rastislaw die Herrschaft über die Matschwa vor dem 28. Juli 1254 (*terminus ante quem*)[24] und nach dem 2. Juni 1247 (*terminus post quem*) erlangte, als er zum letzten Mal als Ban von Slawonien erwähnt wird.[25] Die Region befand sich in seinem Besitz bis zu seinem Tode im Jahr 1264 und danach im Besitz seiner Ehegattin und seiner Söhne, bis zum Aussterben der Familie in der männlichen Linie im Jahr 1272.[26]

In unseren früheren Arbeiten haben wir die Vermutung aufgestellt, dass Rastislaw noch in den vierziger Jahren, bzw. am frühesten 1247, in den Besitz der Matschwa kam. Es ist nämlich schwer zu glauben, dass er und seine Familie bis zum Jahr 1254 ohne entsprechenden herzöglichen Besitz im Königreich Ungarn waren. Das würde einfach ihrem Status als Mitglieder der königlichen Familie nicht entsprechen. Insbesondere da ihnen im Fall Galiziens, wegen der Wichtigkeit des Bundes mit der Familie Romanowitsch für das Königreich Ungarn, doch Unrecht angetan wurde. Wenn auch nicht in solchem Maße wegen dem Schwiegersohn, sondern eher wegen seiner Tochter Anna, suchte Bela unserer Vermutung nach, nach einer Lösung, um ihre potentielle Unzufriedenheit so schnell wie möglich zu besänftigen und für sie einen würdigen Ersatz für Galizien zu finden.[27] Der Ersatz wurde, nach Meinung von Wenzel und Wertner, in Form der Matschwa gefunden.

Was die dynastischen Kompensationen anbetrifft, könnten wir vielleicht an dieser Stelle eine Parallele zwischen Rastislaw und Herzog Koloman (Sohn von Andreas II.) ziehen. Der Ausgang ihrer Herrschaft in Galizien ist ähnlich. Die beiden waren zu dieser Zeit potentielle ungarische Thronfolger und Herrscher über Galizien, jedoch erfuhren sie am Ende eine Niederlage. Herzog Koloman, als König von Galizien, war nach der Befreiung aus russischer Gefangenschaft (wahrscheinlich Ende 1221 oder in der ersten Hälfte des Jahres 1222), in der er sich zusammen mit seiner Frau Salomea von Kraków (dt. Krakau) befunden hatte, gezwungen, seine Ansprüche in Hinblick auf Galizien aufzugeben. Nachdem er Galizien verlor, gab sich Koloman mit der Herrschaft über die Zips zufrieden (1221–1241), um seit 1226 ebenfalls Herzog von Slawonien zu sein, in dem zuvor sein älterer Bruder, der Thronfolger Bela,

[20] Wertner, Mór: Margit császárné fiai. In: *Századok*, a. 37, 1903, pp. 593–611; Јиречек, Константин: *Историја Срба*, pp. 152–155; Ферјанчић, Божидар: Проблем византијског наслеђа у северозападној Србији. In: *Ваљево. Постанак и успон градског средишта.* Ваљево: Народни музеј Ваљево и Одељење за историју Филозофског факултета у Београду, 1994, pp. 49–58; Ћирковић, Сима: *Земља Мачва и град Мачва*, pp. 4–5.

[21] Wertner, Mór: *Margit császárné fiai*, pp. 602–611; Idem: *Az Árpádok családi története*, pp. 406–412; Динић, Михаило: Јован Ангел „Dominus Syrmie". In: *Гласник Историског друштва у Новом Саду*, Књига IV, p. 30; Рокаи, Петар: „Gyletus dux Sirmii". In: *Зборник Матице Српске за историју* (weiter *ЗМСИ*), a. 27, 1983, pp. 121–127; Рокаи, Петар: О једном наслову Калојана Анђела. In: *Зборник радова Византолошког института*, a. 19, 1980, pp. 167–171.

[22] Wenzel, Gusztáv: *Rosztizlaw galicziai herczeg*, p. 14; Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 466.

[23] Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, p. 45. Vergleiche: Wertner, Mór: *Az árpádkori bánok*, pp. 400–402.

[24] *CDH* 4/2, p. 218.

[25] Ibidem 4/1, p. 454.

[26] Харди, Ђура: *Господари и банови Мачве оностраног Срема и Мачве*, pp. 70–74.

[27] Idem: *О мачванској титулатури Ростислава*, pp. 60–61; Idem: *Чи Ростислав Михайлович був баном Мачви?*, pp. 197–203.



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regiert hatte.[28] Man könnte sagen, dass diese Regionen ein tröstlicher, wenn nicht sogar ein vorteilhafter, Ersatz für Galizien waren. Neben der herzöglichen Herrschaft über diese Territorien behielt Koloman auch den königlichen Titel, der an Galizien gebunden war. Nach Meinung von Gyula Kristó, hatte dieser Umstand Einfluss darauf, dass zu Zeiten Kolomans auch Slawonien als Königreich bezeichnet wurde.[29] Was die Zips angeht, nehmen einzelne Historiker wie Márta Font und Attila Zsoldos an, dass dieses Komitat unter Kolomans Herrschaft stand, noch während er König in Galizien war (um 1216). Da sie nämlich an einer wichtigen strategischen Position zu Galizien und Kraków lag, war die Zips (wahrscheinlich mit dem Komitat Abaujwar) als Hinterland Stütze für Kolomans Herrschaft im unsicheren Galizien.[30]

Während seiner Regierungszeit in Galizien (1214–1221), weilte, unserer Meinung nach, der unmündige ungarische König eine längere Zeit auf russischem Boden, allerdings nur in der Zeit zwischen 1219 und 1221, als er auch vom galizischen Fürsten Mstislav Mstislawitsch dem Kühnen gefangen gehalten wurde.[31] Es ist sehr gut möglich, dass in der Zwischenzeit gerade die Zipser Burg das (Ersatz-)Regierungszentrum und Mittelpunkt des galizischen Königreichs war.

Im Unterschied zu Koloman, der 1241 seinen Wunden erlag, die ihm mit mongolischer Waffe beigebracht worden waren, bekam Rastislaw nach der Vertreibung aus der Rus jedoch nicht das besser eingerichtete und reichere Slawonien, sondern die Matschwa bzw. das jenseitige Syrmien. Aber dieses Gebiet, das müssen wir betonen, hatte schon in der Zeit davor den Status eines eigenen dynastischen Territoriums, es war ein Fürstentum unter der Regierung der engsten dynastischen Angehörigen.

Wie schon erwähnt, gehörte das Territorium der Schwester des Königs, der ehemaligen byzantinischen Kaiserin Margarete aus der Arpaden-Dynastie, und ihren Söhnen. Margaretes Zweig der Arpaden verschwand, d.h. starb aus, im Jahre 1242. Gleich nach dem Rückzug der Mongolen hatte der pragmatische Bela IV. mit der Erneuerung seines zertrümmerten Landes und Stärkung seiner königlichen Macht angefangen. Für seinen Vater Andreas II. spielten auf dem Feld der dynastischen Politik, die in einem gewissen Maße durch das Verhältnis zwischen der Aristokratie und der königlichen Herrschaft bestimmt war, Slawonien, Siebenbürgen und Galizien eine sehr wichtige Rolle in der Verteilung der inneren staatlichen Macht im Königreich Ungarn selbst.[32] In diesem Moment hatte also Bela, wenigstens vorläufig, keine Absicht auf Siebenbürgen und Slawonien zu verzichten, sodass das Gebiet der Matschwa an Rastislaw zugeteilt wurde. In der Zeit zwischen 1242 und 1254 konnte Bela IV. tatsächlich das Banat der Matschwa innehaben. Auffallend aber sind vor allem der Zusammenhang und die Kontinuität mit der Anwesenheit königlicher Verwandter in diesem Gebiet. Der vorherige Gebietsverwalter nämlich, Zarewitsch Jovan Andjeo (dt. Johannes Engelos), und Fürst Rastislaw Michailowitsch haben den identischen Titel *Dominus* geführt. Die Region behielt auch nach dem Einfall der Mongolen einen speziellen Status.

Es wurde schon früher festgestellt, dass der Titel *Dominus*, mit dem man Rastislaws Herrschaft über die Matschwa bezeichnete, dem ungarischen Titel *úr* (Wenzel), oder dem slawischen Titel *господар* (deutsch: *Herr*)[33] entsprach. Nach Meinung von Georg Ostrogorski gab es im Königreich Ungarn im Laufe des 12. Jahrhunderts den Titel *Urum* (ungarisch *uram* – *mein Herr*), mit

[28] Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*, pp. 448–452; Грушевський, Михайло: *Історія України-Руси*, 3, pp. 31–41; Kristó, Gyula: *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979, pp. 92–93; Font, Márta: *II. András orosz politikája*, pp. 124–129; Almási, Tibor: Kálmán, Magyar herceg. In: *KMTL*, p. 316; Holly, Karol: Kňažná Salomea a uhorsko-poľské vzťahy v rokoch 1214–1241. In: *Historický časopis*, a. 53, 2005, pp. 12–20; Homza, Martin: Včasnostrdovekové dejiny Spiša. In: *Historia Scepusii* 1, p. 148; Procházková, Nataša: Koloman Haličský (?–1241). In: Ibidem, pp. 318–320.

[29] Kristó, Gyula: *A feudális széttagolódás*, p. 93; Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Slavonija od X do XIII stoljeća*. Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1882, pp. 54–58.

[30] Font, Márta: *II. András orosz politikája*, pp. 126–127; Zsoldos, Attila: *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik, A királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában*. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005, p. 157.

[31] Vergleiche: Грушевський, Михайло: *Історія України-Руси*, 3, pp. 32–41; Font, Márta: *II. András orosz politikája*, p. 127; Holly, Karol: *Kňažná Solomea*, pp. 15–17; Харди, Ђура: *Наследници Кијева између краљевске круне и татарског јарма*. Нови Сад: Филозофски факултет у Новом Саду, Одсек за историју, 2002, pp. 137–145.

[32] Font, Márta: II. *András orosz politikája*, p. 136; Kristó, Gyula: *A feudális széttagolódás*, pp. 44–53.

[33] Wenzel,Gusztáv: *Rosztizlaw galicziai herczeg*, pp. 14–15; Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*, pp. 467–468; Михаљчић, Раде: Господар (господарь). In: *Лексикон српског средњег века*. Ed.: Сима Ћирковић – Раде Михаљчић. Београд: Know-ledge, 1999, pp. 120–121.



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dem man den Thronerben bezeichnete und der gleichwertig mit dem byzantinischen Titel *Despot* war. Die beiden Titel erschienen zum ersten Mal gemeinsam als Bezeichnung für den künftigen König Bela III., als der Arpade im Jahre 1163 nach Byzanz beordert und dort zum *Despoten,* d.h. zum Thronfolger des Kaisers Manuel Komnenos erklärt wurde. Schon im 13. Jahrhundert verlor der Titel *Urum,* ähnlich wie viele andere Titel, seine ursprüngliche Bedeutung und wurde nicht mehr dem Thronerben, sondern nahen Verwandten des Königs erteilt. Ostrogorskis Meinung nach trug Rastislaw Michailowitsch als Herrscher über die Matschwa eben diesen alten ungarischen Titel *Urum*, bzw. *Dominus*.[34] Den identischen Titel hatte vor ihm auch sein Vorgänger Kalojan Angelos. Mit der Zeit verlor der Titel seinen Wert und wurde auch den Großadligen erteilt. Es ist zum Beispiel bekannt, dass der bosnische Woiwode Hrvoje Vukcic 1404 in einer kyrillischen slawischen Handschrift als *урум*[35] bezeichnet wurde.

Inzwischen wurde, nach dem Aussterben von Rastislaws Nachkommen, der mächtige Ugrin Csák, der dem Großadel angehörte, zudem dass er *magister tavernicorum regalium* war, in der Bulle von Ladislaus IV. vom 13. März 1279 auch als „*Banus et Dominus de Macho, et de Bozna*" bezeichnet.[36] Ugrin blieb jedoch nicht lange im Besitz der Matschwa und einem Teil Bosniens unter unmittelbarer ungarischer Herrschaft. Denn schon im nächsten Jahr wurde die Königinmutter Elisabeth Herzögin über diese Territorien. Es ist leicht zu erkennen, dass Ugrins Titel in Verbindung und in Kontinuität mit dem Titel *Dominus* steht, der zu Rastislaw und seiner Gattin gehörte. Am Ende müssen wir hier noch eine Parallele ziehen.

Am Übergang vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert, zu der Zeit in der die Arpaden Dynastie ausstarb und die Anjous ins Königreich Ungarn kamen, trug der kroatische Ban und ungekrönter Herrscher, Ugrins Zeitgenosse Pavle Bribirski, am Höhepunkt seiner Macht, neben anderer Titel auch den Titel *Dominus in Bosnien*.[37] Natürlich nimmt diese Tatsache eine wichtige Stelle in der kroatischen Geschichtsschreibung ein, doch bei dieser Gelegenheit wagen wir die Frage zu stellen, ob die Tradition des von Rastislaw bzw. seiner Witwe getragenen Titels – *de Bosna et de Mazo domina*, mit dem bosnischen Titel der Fürsten von Bribir in Verbindung gebracht werden könnte. Unabhängig davon ist, dass sich das Bosnien unter der Herrschaft der Mitglieger der ungarischen Königsdynastie im territoriellen Sinne wahrscheinlich nicht auf das Bosnien bezog, das die Herrschaft von Pavle Bribirski anerkannte.

Für die Geschichtsforschung steht schon lange fest, dass der in der Staatshierarchie des Königreichs Ungarn unter den Arpaden aus dem 13. Jahrhundert benutzte Titel *dominus* identisch mit dem Titel *dux* bzw. Herzog ist.[38] Hinsichtlich seines Herrscherranges war Rastislaw auch Fürst (an erster Stelle von Galizien, wenn auch nur vom Titel her), und seine Herrschaft sowie die Herrschaft seiner Nachkommen über die Matschwa musste ihrem Status nach eine fürstliche sein. Letztendlich übte auch Koloman in Galizien, der Zips oder Slawonien herzögliche Herrschaft aus.[39] Die Besitzer der Matschwa führten im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts abwechselnd die Titel *dominus* und *dux,* zum Beispiel die Söhne der Arpadin Margarete oder Rastislaw und seine Söhne.

Die Matschwa unter Rastislaw Michailowitsch kann sicherlich der Gruppe der Herzogtümer der ungarischen Arpaden-Herrscherdynastie aus dem 13. Jahrhundert zugeordnet werden. Die Herzogtümer hatten, jedes für sich, eine eigene Tradition und besaßen historische Umstände für ihr Entstehen. In diesem Zusammenhang sprachen von dem Land Matschwa (*terra Macho*) im 13. Jahrhundert Gyula Kristó, Attila Zsoldos, Sima Ćirković und andere.[40] Unser Ziel bei diesem Treffen war nicht über die Struktur und das

[34] Острогорски, Георгије: Урум-деспот, Почеци деспотског достојанства у Византији. In: Острогорски, Георгије: *Из византијске историје, историографије и просопографије.* Београд: Просвета, 1970, pp. 211–214. (Original: Ostrogorsky, Georg: Urum-Despotes, Die Anfänge der Despoteswürde in Byzanz. In: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, a. 44, 1951, pp. 448–460.

[35] Радојчић, Никола: О једном наслову великог војводе босанског Хрвоја Вукчића. In: *Историјски часопис*, nr, 1, 1948, p. 37; Острогорски, Георгије: *Урум-деспот*, p. 214.

[36] Wertner, Mór: *Az árpádkori bánok*, p. 481; Szovák, Kornél: Ugrin Csák. In: *KMTL*, p. 697.

[37] Antoljak, Stjepan: Ban Pavao Bribirski „Croatorum dominus". In: *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, a. 19, 1972, pp. 14–15, 20–21.

[38] Wenzel, Gusztáv: *Rosztizlaw galicziai herczeg*, p. 14; Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpádok családi története*, p. 468; Kristó, Gyula: *A feudális széttagolódás*, pp. 32–33; Рокаи, Петар: „*Gyletus dux Sirmii*", p. 126. vergleichen und: Du Cange, Charles Du Fresne: *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Band 3, Graz: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1954, p. 173.

[39] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Slavonija od X do XIII stoljeća*, pp. 54–58; Kristó, Gyula: *A feudális széttagolódás*, pp. 48, 92–93; Zsoldos, Attila: *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, p. 174; Homza, Martin: *Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša*, p. 148.

[40] Kristó, Gyula: *A feudális széttagolódás*, p. 49; Zsoldos, Attila: *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik*, p. 174; Ћирковић, Сима: *Земља Мачва и град Мачва*, pp. 5–6.



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Funktionieren von Rastislaw Herrschaft in der Matschwa zu diskutieren. Wir können jedoch der Annahme zustimmen, dass diese Herrschaft, unter Beachtung der Oberherrschaft des ungarischen Königs, doch Elemente einer herrschaftlichen Selbstständigkeit auswies.[41] Zum Beispiel im Bereich einer relativ selbstständig geführten Außenpolitik. Genauso können wir annehmen, dass der unternehmerische Rastislaw nach Ende der Einfälle zuerst der der Kumanen und dann auch der Mongolen ziemlich viel für die Einrichtung der Matschwa als Region getan hat. Die gleichnamige Festung wurde höchstwahrscheinlich von ihm als sein Regierungszentrum gebaut.

Zum Schluss möchten wir sagen, dass der Status der Matschwa in der Zeit von Rastislaw Michailowitsch nicht dem Banat entsprach, sondern dass es sich um ein dynastisches Fürstentum handelte, das von den Mitgliedern der königlichen Familie als ihr Besitz verwaltet wurde. Ihrem Status nach besaß die Matschwa auch vor der Ankunft Rastislaws und seines Zweigs des ungarischen Königshauses, dynastische Kontinuität und Wurzeln.

[41] Wenzel, Gusztáv: *Rosztizlaw galicziai herczeg*, p. 14.



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VERONIKA KUCHARSKÁ*

# Die Familie Zapolya und ihre Getreuen in der Zeit vor Mohács

## Familiarita rodu Zápoľských v predmoháčskom období / Obitelj Zapolja i njezini familijari u Mohačkom razdoblju

*The Zapolya family, one of the most powerful magnate families in the Hungarian Kingdom, had a large community of people loyal to them throughout the entire country. The following study deals with the structure, hierarchy, organization and relations within the system of the familiaritas of the Zápolya family, especially in the period between 1500 and 1526, when the family was represented by Hedwig of Těšín/Cieszyn, widow of the Hungarian count palatine, Stephen of Zápolya, and their sons, John and George.*

Keywords: Zápolya family, Hedwig of Těšín, familiaritas, structure and organization, Hungarian Kingdom, 1500–1526

Nach dem Tode des ungarischen Palatins und Zipser Erbgespans Stefan Zapolya (lat. *de Zapolya*, kroat. *Zapolja*, slow. *Zápoľský*) im Jahre 1499 wurde die Führung der Familie Zapolya von seiner Witwe, der Teschener Herzogin Hedwig (lat. *ducissa Thesseniensis*) übernommen.[1] In den nächsten zwanzig Jahren bestimmte sie wesentlich das Streben der Familie Zapolya. Sie betätigte sich in den Wirtschaftsangelegenheiten und verwaltete den umfangreichen Besitz der Familie. Sie führte auch eine systematische Heiratspolitik, mit dem Ziel der Familie Zapolya den höchstmöglichen Einfluss in der politischen Szene zu sichern. Im Kirchenbereich sowie im Kunstbereich war sie freigiebige Mäzenin. Ihr Lebens bis zu dem Tod im Jahre 1521 weihte Hedwig dem ambitiösen Plan, die ungarische Königskrone für ihren ältesten Sohn Johannes Zapolya zu erwerben.

Die Aktivitäten in allen oben genannten Bereichen erforderten eine Gemeinschaft der der Familie loyal dienenden Getreuen, bekannt unter der Bezeichnung *familiaritas*.[2] Es handelte sich dabei um ein durchaus wohlüberlegtes System der Beziehungen in dem gesamten Gebiet des Königreichs Ungarn. Diese Tatsache wurde zutreffend schon im Werk eines Zeitgenossen Hedwigs , dem Diplomaten Sigmund von Herberstein, erfasst.[3] Die Auswahl bestimmter Personen und ihre Eingliederung in die engere oder breitere Gemeinschaft ist keine Angelegenheit des Zufalls, sondern das Ergebnis der Betrachtung mehrerer Kriterien, sowie gewisser gesellschaftlicher, politischer und anderer Interessen der betreffenden Person

Die Ankunft der Herzogin Hedwig im Königreich Ungarn nach der Heirat mit Stefan Zapolya bedeutete zweifellos auch die Ankunft einer größeren Anzahl ihrer Getreuen. Leider stehen uns keine näheren Informationen über ihr Gefolge aus Teschen zur Verfügung. Kurz nach dem Tode von Zapolya fand offensichtlich ein Beratungstreffen statt,

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[1] Über diese bedeutende Persönlichkeit des spätmittelalterlichen Königreichs Ungarn cfr. Sroka, Stanisław A.: *Jadwiga Zapolya : Piastówna śląska na Węgrzech w dobie panowania Jagiellonów.* Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2005 und die Dissertationsarbeit: Kucharská, Veronika: *Hedviga Tešínska : šľachtičná na prelome stredoveku a novoveku*. Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 2011. Siehe auch das neulich herausgegebene Urkundenbuch der Familie Zapolya mit allen bis jetzt bekannten Urkunden der Hedwig von Teschen – *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára*, vol. 1 : *Levelek és oklevelek (1458–1526)*. Ed.: Tibor Neumann. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Történettudományi Intézet, 2012.

[2] Das bisher einzige umfassende Werk über die Getreuen der Familie Zapolya stellt eine Studie von Kubinyi András dar: A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik (szervitoraik). In: *Tanulmányok Szapolyai Jánosról és a kora újkori Erdélyről. Studia Miskolcinensia*, vol. 5. Ed.: József Bessenyi – Zita Horváth – Péter Tóth. Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetem, 2004, pp. 169–194.

[3] Herberstein, Sigismund von: *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*. Ed.: Hermann Beyer-Thoma – Frank Kämpfer – Eva Maurer – Andreas Fülberth. München: Osteuropa-Institut, 2007, p. 102: „(…) *So was graff Steffan in Zipps (der bey Khünig Mathias in grossem gwallt und ansehen gewest ist / dardurch auch vil Reichthumb uberkhommen) gelassne witib ain geborne hertzogin von Teschn / aines grossen gemüets / die understüende sich mit den ansechlichisten hungern in den merern Spanschafften zuhandlen mit jargelt (das sy jargeläsch nennen) diensten und in vill annder weg an sich zuziehen / der mainung das sy jren Sun hansen die obgemelt jres Khünigs tochter zu gemachl der hoffnung darmit auch das Khünigreich (weil der Khünig allt unnd khrangkh was) zu bekhomen* (…)".



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zu dem die Familiengetreuen von Hedwig einberufen wurden. Sie ersuchte z. B. Valentinus Korom von Blatnica, sich zu ihr zu begeben, wobei sie auch die Ankunft von Michael Hangatsch, dem Zipser Propst Georg und weiteren, im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei wirkenden Getreuen erwähnte.[4] Michael Hangatsch war ungarischer Vizepalatin, Kastellan von Szádvár und Zempliner Vizegespan zusammen mit Georg von Csanád, Kastellan von Tokaj.[5]

Die Elite der Getreuen repräsentierten die Berater. Als Kriterium für die Einteilung in diese Gruppe wurde von uns die in den Quellen benutzte Bezeichnung *consiliarius* bzw. *secretarius* angewendet. Eine solche Position erforderte außerordentliche Fähigkeiten, Bildung und ausgezeichnete Orientierung in politischen und diplomatischen Angelegenheiten, denn sie waren bevollmächtigt, ihren Herren bei wichtigen Verhandlungen zu vertreten. Die Berater waren oftmals selbst Mitglieder des höheren Adels, bildeten den engsten Kreis um ihren Herren, waren dessen Vertraute und hatten somit großen Einfluss auf seine Entscheidungen.

Für die Familie Zapolya waren die in den Jahren 1505–1506 verlaufenen Verhandlungen, die zum Ziel hatten, eine erfolgreiche Heirat zwischen dem jüngeren Sohn Hedwigs Georg Zapolya und Elisabeth, der Tochter von Johannes Corvinus und Beatrix von Frangepan (lat. de *Frangepanibus*, slow. und kroat. *Frankopan*) zu schließen, von höchster Priorität.[6] Daher war es selbstverständlich und notwendig, dass sich an diesen Verhandlungen die fähigsten Getreuen beteiligten. Unter einer der Vertragsversionen sind Unterschriften mehrerer Berater der Familie Zapolya zu finden.[7]

Die Dienste von Michael Imrefi für die Familie Zapolya sind bisher nur bei den oben erwähnten Heiratsverhandlungen in den Jahren 1505–1506 zu belegen. In den Jahren 1514 und 1522 wird Imrefi als königlicher Oberstallmeister erwähnt.[8] In der Wappenurkunde, die ihm 1523 von König Ludwig II. erteilt wurde, wird er als sein Berater erwähnt.[9] Seine Ehefrau war Christine aus dem Geschlecht Podmanicky (Tochter von Ladislaus Podmanicky), deren Schwester Margarete Ehefrau von Georg von Mesztegnyő war.[10] Im Mai und Juli 1505 deputierte Hedwig Georg von Mesztegnyő zusammen mit ihren weiteren Beratern Paul von Dombó (Dombai), Adam Horvat, Johannes von Tornaľa und Georg Gersenye[11] mit Vollmachten ausgestattet zur Beatrix von Frangepan um über weitere Einzelheiten der Heirat ihrer Kinder zu verhandeln.[12] Georg von Mesztegnyő und Paul von Dombo werden im Jahre 1507 als Assessoren am königlichen Gerichtshof angeführt.[13] Paul von Dombo beteiligte sich auch an der Vorbereitung des *Tripartitums*.[14] Enge Beziehungen führten

[4] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 290, 17. 01. 1500: „*Egregio Valentino Korom de Blathnycza* (…) *Sciatis, quod dominus Michael Hangachy et dominus prepositus cum ceteris familiaribus nostris in partibus superioribus* (…) *die crastina procul dubio istic apud nos constituentur* (…) *committimus vobis, quatenus et vos quoque absque omni occasione ad dominicam diem proxime venturum istic constitui debeatis* (…)"; Kubinyi: A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik, p. 181.

[5] Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (deinde MOL DL) 46338, 23. 03. 1496: „(…) *Michael de Hangacz vicepalatinus Regni Hungarie et Georgius de Chanadino castellanus castri Thokay vicecomites* (…) *comitatus Zempleniensis* (…)"; DL 90207, 14. 12. 1491: „(…) Michael Hangach castellanus castri Zaard (…)".

[6] Näheres zu diesem Heiratsprojekt: Sroka, Stanisław A.: Sobášna politika Hedvigy Zápoľskej. In: *Z minulosti Spiša,* vol. 13. Ed.: Ivan Chalupecký. Levoča: Spišský dejepisný spolok, 2005, pp. 55–61; Idem: *Jadwiga Zapolya,* pp. 45–63.

[7] MOL DL 37829: „(…) *ex parte vero predictorum domine Heduigis ducisse ac Johannis et Georgii filiorum eiusdem egregii Stefanus Marias de Markosfalwa, Georgius Zerechen, Clemens Rosen de Mythyth, Michael Sobly, Johannes Thornay, Magister Adam de Horwath, Paulus Dombay et Michael Imryfy similiter familiares et consiliarii eorundem* (…)".

[8] *Diplomatarium Comitatus Sarosiensis, quod ex tabulariis et codicibus manuscriptis*. Ed.: Carolus Wagner. Posonii et Cassoviae: Sumpt. Joannis Michaelis Landerer, 1780, p. 400: „(…) *Michaelis Emrefy Magister stabuli Regie Maiestatis* (…)"; MOL DL 91062, 24. 07. 1522: „(…) *egregius Michael Imbryfy de Zerdahel agazonum magister noster* (…)".

[9] MOL DL 93845, 11. 11. 1523: „(…) *fideli nostro Egregio Michaeli Imreffy de Zerdahel Agazonum nostrorum vicemagistro consiliarioque nostro* (…)".

[10] MOL DL 65988, 04. 05. 1501: „(…) *Cristina egregii Michaelis Emrefy de Zerdahel et Margaretha, Georgii Zerechen de Mezthegnyew consortes filie videlicet egregii condam Ladislai Podmanyczky de Podmanyn* (…)"; Engel, Pál: *Magyar középkori adattár. Középkori magyar genealógia* (CD-ROM). Budapest: Történettudományi Intézete, 2001, Sub voce Szerecsen.

[11] Kubinyi: A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik, p. 175.

[12] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 303, 03. 05. 1505: „(…) *Misimus erga vestram illustrem dominationem hos egregios Stephanum Maryasy de Markwsfalwa, Georgium Zerechen de Mezthegnyew, Paulum de Dombo et Iohannem de Thornalya familiares et consiliarios nostros* (…)"; Ibidem, nr. 310, 15. 07. 1505: „(…) *Misimus* (…) *hos egregios Georgium Zerechen de Mezthegnyew, Paulum de Dombo, Magistrum Adam de Horwath et Georgium de Gerstenye familiares et consiliarios nostros* (…)"; Ibidem auch nr. 308, 309.

[13] Kovachich, Martinus Georgius: *Supplementum ad vestigia comitiorum apud Hungaros*, vol. 2. Budae: Typ. ac sumpt. Typographiae Regiae Universitatis Pestanae, 1800, pp. 343–344: „(…) *item Michaele de Zob, Georgio Zerechen de Mezthegnyew* (…) *Paulo de Dombo* (…) *Consiliariis ac Sedis nostrae Judiciariae Juratis Assessoribus* (…)".

[14] Werbőczy, Stephen: *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts (The "Tripartitum")*. Ed. et trans.: János M. Bak – Péter Banyó – Martyn Rady. Budapest: Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 2005, pp. 8–9: „(…) *Michaelem de Zob ac Paulum de Dombo iurato assessores dictae sedis nostrae iudiciarie* (…)".



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später zur Heirat zwischen Dombos Sohn und der Tochter von Verböci.[15] Magister Adam Horvat war langjähriger Notar, wirkte am Gericht der *„persönlichen Anwesenheit des Königs"*[16] und in der Kanzlei des Palatins Stefan Zapolya.[17] Seine Unterschriften sind unter vielen Urkunden aus den Jahren 1480–1497 zu sehen. Bei den Zapolyas fungierte er auch als Kastellan der Burg Szádvár.[18]

Zu den engsten Getreuen der Familie Zapolya gehörte auch Johannes von Tornaľa. Er war langjähriger Vizegespan der Gemerer Gespanschaft zusammen mit Peter von Drienčany.[19] Im Jahre 1513 erweiterte der König Vladislav II. auf Wunsch von Johannes Zapolya das Wappen des Geschlechts von Tornaľa um das Symbol des sich im Wappen der Zapolyas befindenden Einhorns.[20] Im Jahre 1514, als sein Sohn während des Dózsa-Aufstandes hingerichtet wurde, wurde Johannes von Tornaľa als Hofmeister von Johannes Zapolya erwähnt.[21] Im Auftrag Hedwigs von Teschen beteiligte sich Johannes von Tornaľa an dem schon erwähnten Heiratsprojekt in den Jahren 1505–1506. Jakob, der Bruder von Johannes, wirkte im Jahre 1511 in Debrecen als Offizial von Johannes Zapolya[22], nach dem Jahre 1526 wurde er Schatzmeister von Zapolya.[23]

Michael von Szob (Szobi) war Honter Gespan[24] und zusammen mit Georg von Mesztegnyő und Paul von Dombo Assessor am königlichen Gerichtshof. Er beteiligte sich auch an der Vorbereitung des *Tripartitums* und war einer der engsten Mitarbeiter Verböcis. Die politische Rolle von Stefan Verböci wurde weigehend bestimmt von der Zusammenarbeit mit Michael von Szob. Verböci wirkte eine Zeit als Notar in seinen Diensten. Es gibt Vermutungen, dass er der uneheliche Sohn von ihm sein könnte, was die enge lebenslange Zusammenarbeit und auch den Übergang seines ganzen Besitztums nach seinem Tode auf Verböci andeuten würde. Am Anfang des Jahres 1526 kulminierten die Bestrebungen Palatin Verböci seines Amtes zu entheben und in Abwesenheit wurde er zusammen mit Michael von Szob vom ungarischen Landtag wegen Verrats veruteilt. Beide waren gezwungen zu fliehen und einige Zeit versteckten sie sich auf ihren Besitztümern.[25]

Diesen Ereignissen ging ein Streit um die Besitzungen des Magnaten Lorenz von Ilok (lat. *de Wylak*, kroat. *Iločki*, slow. *Ilocký*) voran, mit dessen Tod im Jahre 1524 das Geschlecht von Ilok in männlicher Linie ausgestorben war. Nach seinem Tod gingen alle Besitztümer der Familie auf die Krone über. Gegen diese Entscheidung stellten sich die Brüder Johannes und Georg Zapolya, die ihre Besitzansprüche auf einen alten, unter ihrem Vater Stefan Zapolya und Laurentius von Ilok geschlossenen Vertrag zurückführten.[26] Dieselben Ansprüche wurden zugleich auch vom Obertruchsessmeister Ladislaus More von Csula, der fast unmittelbar nach Ilockys Tod seine Witwe Magdalene geheiratet hatte, erhoben.[27] In einem neuen Prozess auf dem Landtag von Hatvan (1525) entschied Palatin Verböci als Vorsitzender überraschend nicht zugunsten seines langjährigen Herren Johannes Zapolya, sondern, nach Instruktionen vom Königshof, für More.[28] Es handelte

[15] Nagy, Iván: *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblakkal*, vol. 3. Pest: Friebeisz – Ráth Mór, 1859, p. 348.
[16] Z. B.: MOL DL 26939, 31. 01. 1496: „(…) *egregio Magistro Adamae de Lizka personalis presentiae Regiae ac istarum partium Transylvanarum prothonotario* (…)"; Kubinyi: A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik, p. 181.
[17] MOL DL 71068, 05. 11. 1498: „(…) *item egregiis Magistris Adam de Horwath nostro palatinali* (…) *prothonotarios* (…)".
[18] MOL DL 30063, 27. 8. 1500: „(…) *Magister Adam de Horvath castellanus castri Zaard* (…)".
[19] MOL DL 61084, 05. 7. 1501; DL 61100, 07. 06. 1518: „(…) *Johannes de Thornalya ac Petrus de Drenchen vicecomites (…) comitatus Gewmeriensis* (…)".
[20] Skalská, Monika: *Jelšava a Jelšavské panstvo v stredoveku*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2009, pp. 271–272.
[21] *Monumenta rusticorum in Hungaria rebellium anno MDXIV*. Ed.: Antonius Fekete Nagy – Viktor Kenéz – Ladislaus Solymosi – Geisa Érszegi. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979, pp. 103–104: „(…) *crucifixus fuit filius domini Iohannis Thornally magistri curie domini nostri graciosissimi* (…)".
[22] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 462, 07. 09. 1517: „(…) *Egregio Jacobo de Thornalya officiali nostro in Debrechen* (…)".
[23] Skalská: *Jelšava a Jelšavské panstvo v stredoveku*, pp. 276–277.
[24] MOL DL 46930, 26. 2. 1510: „(…) *Egregius Michael filius Petri de Zob comes comitatus Honthensis* (…)".
[25] Kubinyi, András: István Werbőczy als Politiker in der Zeit vor Mohács (1526). In: *The Man of Many Devices, who Wandered full Many Ways* (…) *Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak.* Ed.: Balász Nagy – Marcell Sebők. Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999, pp. 558–582.
[26] MOL DL 64614, 09. 06. 1525: „(…) *eiusdem contractus inter illustrem condam Laurentium de Wylak ducem Bozne ab una nec non Spectabilem et Magnificum condam Stephanum de predicta Zapolya comitem perpetuum prenotate Terre Scepusiensis genitorem ipsorum Johannis et Georgii comitum ab altera partibus* (…)".
[27] MOL DL 66060, 14. 06. 1525.
[28] Verlauf des Landtages in *Epistolae Procerum Regni Hungarie*, vol. 1. Ed.: Georgius Pray. Posonii: G. A. Belnay, 1806, pp. 395–420; Tagebuch des Landtagsartigen Versamlung des Adels zu Hatvan 1525. In: *Sammlung kleiner noch ungedrückter Stücke.* Ed.: Martin Georg Kovachich. Ofen: Gedruckt mit Königlichen Universitäts Schriften, 1805, pp. 97–110; weiter zum Prozess: Fraknói, Vilmos: *Werböczi István életrajza.* Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1899, pp. 224–226; Kubinyi: István



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sich um eine ernste Angelegenheit in der Zeit unmittelbar vor Mohács, die ohne Zweifel die angespannte Beziehung zwischen dem König und den Zapolyas noch verschlechterte. Der Konflikt wird vom Zeitgenossen Georg von Syrmien beschrieben und die Tatsache, dass der Besitz nicht den Zapolyas zugesagt wurde, hält er sogar für eine der Ursachen, die zum Tode König Ludwigs II. führen sollten.[29]

Klemens Rozen (Rožeň) von Rožňové Mitice (heute Trenčianske Mitice) wird als Vizegespan der Trentschiner Gespanschaft erwähnt.[30] Im Jahre 1499 war er anwesend beim Verfassen des letzten Willens von Stefan Zapolya.[31] Im Jahre 1505 beteiligte er sich an den oben genannten Heiratsverhandlungen.[32]

Drei Berater der Herzogin Hedwig – die Herren de Rosa, Laurentius und Hynko werden in der Chronik von Konrad Sperfogel bei der Beschreibung ihrer Begräbnisprozession durch die Stadt Levoča (dt. *Leutschau*) aufgeführt.[33] Beim Erstgenannten handelt es sich vermutlich um einMitglied des Geschlechts Rozen – Michael, Klemens oder Ladislaus, es ist aber nicht sicher um welchen, denn alle drei waren zu dieser Zeit noch am Leben. Michael war jedoch Abt in der nahen Zisterzienserabtei in Spišský Štiavnik (dt. *Schawnik*).[34] Bei dem an zweiter Stelle Genannten handelt es sich höchstwahrscheinlich um Lorenz Salzer von Záblatie (heute ein Teil von Trenčín).[35] Er war langjähriger Vizegespan der Trentschiner Gespanschaft, fast ununterbrochen in den Jahren 1501–1526 und zugleich auch Hauptmann der Burg Bojnice.[36] Der einzige zu belegende Hynko war Hynek von Blížejov, im Jahre 1511 erwähnt als Hauptmann der Burg Orava (dt. *Arwa*).[37] Als Kastellan von Orava erscheint er auch in Hedwigs Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1519.[38]

Eine sehr enge Beziehung zur Familie Zapolya hatte der Getreue Stefan Mariasi (Mariáši) von Markušovce (dt. *Marksdorf*). Zur Wende des 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert wurde Mariasi zum bedeutendsten Mitglied der Herren von Markušovce. Das hatte er besonders seiner Verbindung zu den Zapolyas zu verdanken, denn kurz nachdem er in ihre Dienste getreten war, machte er rasch Karriere und in den nächsten Jahren vergrößerte er wesentlich die Familienbesitzungen. Seit dem Jahre 1492 wirkte er als Kastellan der Burg Šariš (dt. *Scharosch*)[39] und verwaltete sie fast bis zu seinem Tod im Jahre 1516.[40] Im Jahre 1494 wird er als Hauptmann der Burg Šariš und sogar als Gespan erwähnt[41] und im Januar 1500 wurde er von Hedwig zum Zipser Hauptmann ernannt.[42] Im Jahre 1502 machte ihn Hedwig auch zum Kastellan der Burg Gelnica (dt. *Gelnitz*).[43] Mariasi genoss bei Hedwig

Werbőczy als Politiker, pp. 558–582; Rady, Martin: Stephen Werböczy and his Tripartitum. In: *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary*, p. XLII.

[29] Sirmiensis, Georgius: *Epistola de perditione Regni Hungarorum*. *Monumenta Hungariae: Historica: Scriptores*, vol. 1. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1857, pp. 78–81 und 406–409; ein weiterer Zeitgenosse: Thurnschwambius, Johannes: Extract aus der Beschreibung des Mitternhauss, im Neusohl gelegen, durch Hansen Thurnschwamb, der Herrn Fugger gewesen Factorem daselbst, samt anderm, was sich in der Kron Hungern zugetragen, geschrieben im Ein Thaussend Fünfhundert drey und sechzigsten Jahr. In: Johann Christian von Engel: *Geschichte des Ungrischen Reiches und seiner Nebenländer* 1. Halle: Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1797, pp. 196–197.

[30] MOL DF 274533, 16. 3. 1495: „(…) *Clemens Rozen vicecomes comitatus Threnchiniensi* (…)".

[31] *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*, vol. 1. Ed.: Carolus Wagner. Viennae: Typis Joannis Thomae nobil. de Trattnern, 1773, p. 151.

[32] Heiratsverträge MOL DL 37829.

[33] Štátny archív v Levoči, Kronika Konrada Sperfogla (Levočská kronika 1516–1536), sign. A 7, A 12, fol. 43–44: „(…) *tres consiliarii eius* (…) *dominus de Rosa, dominus Laurentius et dominus Heyncko nobiles* (…)"; *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska: Stredoveké Slovensko očami kráľovských a mestských kronikárov*. Ed. et trans.: Július Sopko. Budmerice: Vydavateľstvo RAK, 1995, pp. 229–230.

[34] Näheres über ihn am Ende des Artikels.

[35] So auch die Vermutung von Kubinyi: A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik, p. 182.

[36] MOL DL 21033, 13. 04. 1501: „(…) *Laurentius Zablath vicecomes comitatus Threnchiniensi*; DL 24791, 05. 3. 1526: *Laurentius de Zablath vicecomes comitatus Thrynchiniensi et capitaneus castri Baymociensi* (…)"; DL 75790, 31. 01. 1518: „(…) *egregius Laurentius Trencheny de Zablath capitaneus castri dicti Georgii de Zapolya Baymocz vocati* (…)".

[37] *Slovenské listy a listiny z 15. a 16. storočia.* Ed.: Branislav Varsik. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1956, p. 54.

[38] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 500, 04. 10. 1519: „(…) *Scribimus* (…) *Hynkoni castellano castri nostri Arwa* (…)".

[39] Ibidem, nr. 220, 13. 07. 1492: „(…) *egregius Stephanus de Maryazy castellanus castri nostri Saros* (…)".

[40] Ibidem, nr. 427, 07. 03. 1516: „(…) *quod quia egregius Stephanus Maryasy de Markosfalwa castrum nostrum Saros vocatum, quod hactenus de nostro beneplacito tenuit et possedit, de nostra commissione et voluntate manibus egregiorum Christofero Warkoch et Michaelis de Challokewz dedit et assignavit* (…)".

[41] MOL DL 74960, 17. 07. 1494: „(…) *Stephanus Mariasi de Marcusfalwa capitaneus castri Saros et comes comitatus de Saros* (…)".

[42] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 291, 24. 01. 1500: „(…) *egregium Stephanum Maryasy, castellanum castri nostri Saros in capitaneum illarum partium ad hoc tempus delegimus et deputamus* (…)".

[43] Ibidem, nr. 295, 28. 06. 1502: „(…) *egregius Paulus Darhocz, castellanus castri nostri Gelnecz idem castrum nostrum Gelnecz* (…) *ad manus Egregii Stephani Maryasy Capitanei nostri Scepusiensium dedit et assignavit* (…)".



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hohes Ansehen, deshalb beauftragte sie ihn auch mit der Erziehung ihres ältesten Sohnes Johannes, den er bei seinen Reisen und Aufenthalten auf den Königshof in Buda begleitete.[44] Die enge Beziehung zwischen ihm und der Familie Zapolya wurde auch auf seinem Grabmal in der Kirche von Markušovce verewigt.[45] Am Portal dieser Kirche befindet sich das Wappen der Herzogin Hedwig.[46]

In Hedwigs Diensten wirkten auch zwei Sekretäre – Benedikt und Michael Panonius, Doktor der Künste und der Medizin[47] und allem Anschein nach der Leibarzt von Hedwig.[48] Nach ihrem Tod im Jahre 1521 dienten beide weiter als Sekretäre ihrer Söhne Johannes und Georg.[49]

Am Verlauf der Heiratsverhandlungen beteiligten sich auch weitere Getreue, die zwar nicht direkt als Berater bezeichnet werden, aufgrund der ihnen anvertrauten Aufgaben können sie aber in den Kreis der höchstgestellten Getreuen eingegliedert werden. Gregor von Kovácshida[50], Emerich von Ládon (Ládonyi)[51] und Benedikt Bakos[52] sind in den Jahren 1505–1506 mehrmals auf den Hof von Beatrix von Frangepan deputiert worden. Bakos wird im Jahre 1515 als Vizekastellan der Burg Šariš erwähnt[53], Emerich von Ládon wirkte in den Jahren 1518–1519 als Kastellan der Burg Csesznek und im Jahre 1523 wird er sogar als Hofmeister von Zapolya erwähnt.[54]

Ein weiterer Deputierter im Jahre 1505 war Nikolaus von Turiec (dt. *Turz*)[55], Sohn des Chronisten und Protonotars Johannes von Turiec.[56] Im Jahre 1498 wirkte Nikolaus als Königskanzler.[57] Nach der Ernennung von Johannes Zapolya zum Woiwoden von Siebenbürgen (1511) bekleidete Nikolaus das Amt des Vizewoiwoden.[58] In den Jahren 1518–1522 war er Turzer Gespan und 1518 zudem Kastellan der Burg Sklabiňa.[59] Als Kastellan der Burg Sklabiňa fungierte bei den Zapolyas auch Rafael Majteni, der früher unter Johannes Corvinus als Kastellan der Burg Bojnice diente.[60] Zu den Getreuen der Zapolyas in Gemer gehörten auch die Mitglieder des Geschlechts von Putnok. Georg von Putnok war Vizegespan der Gemerer Gespanschaft und wirkte als Kastellan der Burg Muráň.[61]

[44] *Historia Scepusii*: *Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin Homza – Stanisław A. Sroka. Bratislava a Krakow: Katedra slovenských dejín FiFUK a Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2009, p. 527; Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 297, 15. 10. 1502: „(…) *Stephanum Maryassy capitaneum nostrum Scepusiensem, quem e Buda cum filio nostro illustri qualibet hora huc expectamus* (…)".

[45] *Analecta Scepusii Sacri et Profani* 2. Ed.: Carolus Wagner. Viennae: Typis Joan. Thomae nobil. De Trattnern, 1774, p. 353: „(…) *Stephanus hac tumba positus Mariassi jaceo: hoc generi statuens monumentum perpetuum, ut sit posteris ossa tegendi. Gratus eram patriae, atque domui Zapolyianae; ast jam mortale reddens telluri corpus, animam Magne quaeso suscipe Pater, et Coeli optata parte repone MDXVI. Sepultus XXX. April* (…)".

[46] Bárczay, Oszkár: A markusfalvi templom címeres emléktáblai. In: *Turul*, a. 15, 1897, pp. 92–94.

[47] *Monumenta ecclesiastica tempora innovatae in Hungaria religionis* (1520–1529) 1. Ed.: Vincze Bunyitay – Raymund Rapaics – János Karácsonyi. Budapest: Sectio. Scient. et Litt. Societatis S. Stephani, 1902, p. 4, 15. 03. 1520: „(…) *Michaelem Pannonium artium et medicinae doctorem phisicum et Benedictum de Zenthmaria, secretarios illustris Dominae Hedvigis ducissae Thessiniensis* (…) *patronae nostrae gratiosissimae* (…)"; Kubinyi: A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik, p. 179.

[48] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 429, 14. 03. 1516: „(…) *egregius doctor Michael, secretarius et phisicus noster* (…)"; Ibidem, nr. 435, 16. 05. 1516.

[49] MOL DL 84753, 31. 5. 1522: „(…) *egregiorum Michaelis Pannonii Artium et Medicine doctoris, Benedicti de ZenthMaria secretariorum Spectabilium et Magnificorum dominorum Johannis et Georgii de Zapolya* (…)".

[50] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 301, 20. 04. 1505: „(…) *Misimus erga vestram illustrissimam d(ominationem) hunc nobilem Gregorium de Kowachhyda familiarem nostrum* (…)".

[51] Ibidem, nr. 314, 19. 11. 1505: „(…) *Misimus erga d. vestram hunc nobilem Emericum de Ladon familiarem nostrum* (…)"; Kubinyi: A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik, p. 180.

[52] Ibidem, nr. 318, 01. 04. 1506: „(…) *Misimus erga d(ominationem) v(estram) i(llustrem) hunc nobilem Benedictum Bakos familiarem nostrum* (…)".

[53] MOL DF 217420, 1515: „(…) *Benedictus Bakos vicecastellanus de Saros* (…)".

[54] MOL DL 62044, 29. 8. 1518: „(…) Emericus de Ladon castellanus castri Cheznek (…)", DL 24373, 26. 6. 1519. Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 572, 14. 05. 1523: „(…) *Hinc considerantes servitia egregii Emerici de Ladon, magistri curie nostre* (…)".

[55] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 311, 10. 09. 1505: „(…) *Misimus erga d(ominationem) vestram illustrem hunc magistrum Nicolaum Thwroczy familiarem nostrum* (…)".

[56] MOL DL 21215, 15. 10. 1503: „(…) *pro nobili Nicolao filio condam egregii magistri Johannis de Thwrocz* (…)".

[57] MOL DL 69084, 21. 5. 1498.

[58] MOL DL 30075, 20. 04. 1512: „(…) *Nicolaus Thwroczcy vicewaywoda Transsilvanus et Siculorum vicecomes* (…)"; in den Jahren 1514–1515 Fekete Nagy – Kenéz – Solymosi – Érszegi (ed.): *Monumenta rusticorum in Hungaria rebellium*, pp. 103–104 und 376–378.

[59] Borsa, Iván: Turóc vármegye ispánjai és alispánjai 1526-ig. In: *Levéltári Közlemények*, 60, 1989, nr. 2., pp. 199–218.

[60] MOL DL 73159, 23. 11. 1491: „(…) *egregius Raphael de Maythen castellanus castri nostri Baymocz* (…)"; MOL DL 63527, 05. 12. 1506: „(…) *Egregius Raphael de Maytheen castellanus illustris et magnifici domini Johannis de Zapolya comitis perpetui terre Scepusiensis per eundem in castro suo Zklabyna constitutus* (…)".

[61] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 212, 11. 11. 1491: „(…) *deputavimus egregios Georgium de Pwthnok castellanum castri nostri Mwran* (…)"; auch MOL DL 90207. Skalská: *Jelšava a Jelšavské panstvo v stredoveku*, pp. 266–269.



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In den vertrauten Kreis der Familie Zapolya gehörte auch Emerich Himfi von Döbrente. In einer Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1494 wird er von Stefan Zapolya als *compater* betitelt. Wir können also voraussetzen, dass er Pate eines der Kinder der Zapolyas war.[62] Himfi war Kastellan der Burg Visegrád und im Jahre 1497 wird er als einer der Behüter der Königskrone angeführt.[63] Bei den Zapolyas fungierte er als Kastellan der Burg Turňa.[64] Nach Himfis Tod wandte sich seine Witwe an Hedwig mit der Bitte um Protektion und Unterstützung und genauso wie ihr Ehemann wurde sie in der Urkunde als *compatrix* betitelt.[65] Mit Emerichs Tod starb das Geschlecht Himfi in männlicher Linie aus. Seine Tochter Ursula wurde Frau eines weiteren Getreuen der Familie Zapolya, Franziskus von Essegvár (Essegvári), der somit den Besitz der Himfis erwarb.[66] Franziskus von Essegvár wirkte als langjähriger Kastellan der Burg Pápa. Im Jahre 1517 befreite Hedwig sein Haus in Pápa für die von ihm geleisteten Dienste für vier Jahre von jeglichen Steuern.[67] In den Jahren 1519–1521 stellte ihm Hedwig mehrere Quittungen über die abgegebenen Erträge der Burgdomänen Pápa, Ugod und Csesznek, der Prämonstratenserabtei Mórichida, der Zisterzienserabtei Zirc und der Benediktinerabtei in Krplivnik aus.[68]

Diese und auch andere Korrespondenz der Witwe Hedwig von Teschen bestätigt ihre aktive Verwaltung der Familienbesitzungen und gute Übersicht über die Wirtschaftsverhältnisse. Im Jahre 1521, nur einen Monat vor ihrem Tod, stellte Hedwig Nikolaus von Drienčany, dem Kastellan von Turňa, eine Quittung über die 600 Dukaten-Steuern mit der Bemerkung aus, dass sie bisher nur 590 von ihm erhalten hatte und auf weitere zehn noch warte.[69] Nikolaus diente als Kastellan dieser Burg in den Jahren 1518–1524, zugleich war er auch Gespan der Tornauer Gespanschaft.[70] Außer den Witschaftsangelegenheiten koordinierte Hedwig auch die ihren Sohn Johannes Zapolya zu den Landtagen in Buda begleitenden Getreuen. Im Jahre 1507 befahl sie Franziskus von Podtureň sich auf den Landtag so vorzubereiten wie es Brauch war.[71] In ähnlicher Sache schrieb sie ein paar Jahre später dem Getreuen Thomas von Šebastová.[72]

Zu den bedeutendsten Getreuen der Familie Zapolya in der Zipser Gespanschaft gehörte Paul Darholtz, der Zipser Hauptmann spätestens seit dem Jahre 1490.[73] Am Anfang des Jahres 1500 war er aufgrund einer Erkrankung nicht mehr fähig, diese Funktion auszuüben. Hedwig ernannte deshalb den schon erwähnten Stefan Mariasi zum neuen Hauptmann.[74] Darholtz war zudem langjähriger Kastellan der Burg Gelnica, vom Jahre 1465 bis 1502, als er auch diese Stelle Mariasi überließ.[75]

Christoph Warkotsch (Vrkoč) kam höchstwahrscheinlich am Ende der achtziger Jahre des 15.

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[62] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 234, 10. 12. 1494: „(…) *Egregio Emerico Hymffy castellano castri Wyssegradiensis, compatri nostro nobis grate dilecto* (…)".

[63] Ibidem, nr. 277, 02. 12. 1497: „(…) *egregii Emericus Hymffy de Debrenthe et Ladislaus Kolos de Nema castellani castri Wyssegradiensis et pro custodia sacre corone Regni Hungariae per nos deputati* (…)".

[64] MOL DL 46430, 25.05. 1498: „(…) *Emericus Hymffy de Debrenthe castellanus castri Thorna* (…)".

[65] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 294, 07. 05. 1502: „(…) *Generose domine Sophie, egregii condam Emerici Imffy relicte compatrici nostre* (…)".

[66] Näher zum Geschlecht Himfi: Kupkovics, Renáta: *A döbröntei vár kutatása*. Online: http://www.castrumbene.hu/files/c9_03kupovics.pdf.

[67] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 451, 14. 02. 1517.

[68] Ibidem, nr. 482, 13. 01. 1519: „(…) *egregius Franciscus Essegwary castellanus castri nostri Papa* (…)"; nr. 504, 30. 10. 1519; nr. 507, 01. 02. 1520; nr. 508, 01. 02. 1520; nr. 525, 04. 03. 1521.

[69] Ibidem, nr. 526, 11. 03. 1521: „(…) *quod egregius Nicolaus Derencheny, castellanus castri nostri Thorna de nostro presenti subsidio* (…) *que pertinentie ad florenos sexingentos connumerate et dicate erant, misit nobis florenos quingentos et nonaginta, restant adhuc apud eundem floreni decem, pro quibus respondere tenebitur. De quibus predictis florenis quingentis et nonaginta ipsum Nicolaum Derencheny quittum reddimus* (…)".

[70] MOL DL 84117, 20. 04. 1519: „(…) egregio Nicolao de Derenchen comiti (…) comitatus de Thorna (…)".

[71] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 329, 1507: „*Egregio Francisco Pothornyany* (…) *maiestas regia ad futurum festum Beati Georgii martiris unam generalem dietam et congregationem universis regnicolis indixit et* (…) *illustrem natum nostrum charissimum ad ipsam dietam accersere curavit* (…) *simul cum omnibus apparatibus vestris more exercituancium vos appromtuare debeatis* (…)."

[72] Ibidem, nr. 463, 19. 09. 1517; Ibidem, nr. 466, 30. 09. 1517: „(…) *Egregio Thome Sebessy familiari nostro* (…) *Istis diebus venturis illustris dominus Iohannes waywoda Transsilvanus etc., filius noster Bude constituetur, quare committimus vobis quatenus more vestro Budam mox descendere et festinare debeatis, gentes etiam comitatus Scepusiensis vobiscum descendant, quos ad descendendum citissime exhortetis. De expensis vestris providebit factor noster Scepusiensis etc.* (…)".

[73] MOL DL 97806, 08. 12. 1490; Wagner (ed.): *Diplomatarium Comitatus Sarosiensis*, p. 139: „Capitaneo nostro Egregio Paulo Darrholtz"; siehe auch: Pray (ed.): *Epistolae Procerum Regni Hungariae* 1, pp. 28–29.

[74] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 291, 24. 01. 1500: „(…) *Ex quo impresentiarum nos egregium Paulum Dwrholcz gravi infirmitate detentum fore et ad oficium sui capitaneatus ipsum debito modo providere non posse intelleximus* (…)".

[75] Ibidem, nr. 85, 27. 03. 1465; nr. 295, 28. 06. 1502.



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Jahrunderts im Gefolge der jungen, frisch verheirateten Teschener Herzogin Hedwig aus Schlesien ins Königreich Ungarn.[76] Er wurde zum Hauptmann der Stadt und Burg Kežmarok (dt. *Kesmark*) und dieses Amt bekleidete er bis zu seinem Tod im Jahre 1520.[77] Im Jahre 1516 übernahm er die Burg Šariš von Stefan Mariasi.[78] Nach dem Tode von Christoph Warkotsch übergab Hedwig das Amt des Hauptmann der Stadt und Burg Kežmarok seinem Sohn Kaspar.[79] Die Gattin von Christoph Warkotsch, Katharina, wurde Hedwigs Vertraute und nach der Heirat ihrer Tochter Barbara Zapolya mit dem polnischen König Sigmund I. im Jahre 1512, begleitete sie sie als ihre Hofdame nach Kraków (dt. *Krakau*). Im selben Jahr jedoch verstarb sie.[80]

Christoph von Smrečany (Smrečanský) fungierte bei den Zapolyas als Kastellan der Zipser Burg[81] und Zipser Vizegespan.[82] Im Jahre 1511 wird er als Präfekt dieser Burg und der Burgen Regécz, Tállya und Tokaj[83] und im Jahre 1513 als Kastellan der Zipser und Tokajer Burg erwähnt.[84] Zugleich bekleidete er auch Kirchenämter: In den Jahren 1499–1518 war er Kanoniker und Lektor des Zipser Kapitels (über dessen Patronatsrecht die Familie Zapolya verfügte) und päpstlicher Notar.[85] Zur Wende des 15. aufs 16. Jahrhundert wirkte er als Gemerer Vizegespan und Kastellan der Burg Muráň.[86]

Michael von Žitný ostrov (dt. *Schüttinsel*) übernahm zusammen mit Christoph Warkotsch im Jahre 1516 die Burg Šariš von Stefan Mariasi.[87] Im Jahre 1517 wirkte er als Zipser Hauptfaktor, von der Herzogin Hedwig wurde er beauftragt, den Zehnten von den Burgdomänen Tokaj und Tállya zu erheben.[88] Für die Jahre 1518–1519 wird er auch als Kastellan der Zipser Burg erwähnt.[89] Zu den weiteren Zipser Vizegespanen und Kastellanen in den Jahren 1490–1520 zählen auch Gregor Gebel aus Betlanovce (dt. *Betelsdorf*)[90], Stefan von Tomor[91] und Matthias Holy von Jablonica.[92]

In der Trentschiner Gespanschaft bekleidete Ladislaus Rozen, der Bruder von Klemens, das Amt des Vizegespans, erwähnt wird er in den Jahren 1495 und 1509–1510.[93] In den Jahren 1497–1499 wirkte als Vizegespan Johannes Zima.[94] Zwei Mitglieder des Trentschiner Geschlechts Chalupa von Bohunice (dt. *Bohunitz*) fungierten als Kastellane in der Wesprimer Gespanschaft. Georg Chalupa wurde im Jahre 1510 im Willen der Herzogin Hedwigs als Kastellan der Burg Pápa entlassen.[95] Nähere Umstände sind nicht bekannt, hinter dem Vorfall

[76] Fragmentum genealogicum familiae Warkotsch de Nobschüts. In: *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani* 4. Ed.: Carolus Wagner. Posonii et Cassoviae: Typis Joannis Michaelis Landerer, 1778, pp. 209–219.

[77] Wagner (ed.): *Analecta Scepusii* 2, pp. 343–344. „*Hic est sepultus strenuus Miles Nobilissimus Dominus Christophorus Warkocz de Nobschucz, Capitaneus Castri et Civitatis Kezmark, qui obiit IX. die Mensis Februar. Anno Domini MDXX.*"

[78] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 427, 07. 03. 1516.

[79] Ibidem, nr. 513, 18. 04. 1520: „(…) *huic egregio Caspari Warkocz, familiari nostro fideli et nobis benemerito capitaneatum illius castri nostri et civitatis nostre Kesmark cum omni plenitudine et auctoritate, prout pie memorie condam genitori suo dedimus et contulimus* (…)".

[80] Wagner (ed.): *Analecta Scepusii* 4, pp. 209–219 und *Analecta Scepusii* 2, pp. 343–344: „(…) *Honestae Dominae Katharinae, Filiae Thomae Tharcii, olim Domini Christophori Warkocz uxoris sepultura, cujus anima Deo vivat. Obiit Cracoviae feria IV. ante D. Antonii festum, Anno MDXII* (…)".

[81] MOL DL 57039, 19. 10. 1508; Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 348, 16. 01. 1510: „(…) *egregio Christofero de Zemerchen castellano castri nostri Scepus* (…)".

[82] MOL DL 63887, 19. 9. 1513, zusammen mit Matthias Holy von Jablonica.

[83] *Historia critica Regum Hungariae*, vol. 11. Ed.: Stephanus Katona. Budae: Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1792, p. 623: „(…) *Christophorus Szmercheny, castrorum Scepus, Regecz, Tálya, Tokay praefectus* (…)".

[84] MOL DL 61096, 04. 07. 1513.

[85] Hradszky, Josephus: *Initia, progressus ac presens status Capituli Scepusiensis.* Szepesváralja: Typis Dyonisii Buzás, 1901, p. 376; MOL DF 217517, 04. 04. 1516: „(…) *Cristof Smreczeny lector ecclesie beati Martini* (…)".

[86] Skalská: *Jelšava a Jelšavské panstvo*, s. 269–270.

[87] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 427.

[88] Ibidem, nr. 464, 20. 09. 1517: „(…) *egregium Michaelem Challokezy factorem nostrum generalem Scepusiensem ad decimandas huius presentis anni decimas in pertinentiis eorundem castrorum nostrorum Thokay et Thalya* (…) *deputavimus et elegimus* (…)".

[89] MOL DL 84749, 13. 9. 1518; DL 23268, 11. 11. 1519: „(…) *Egregius Michael de Challokez castellanus castri Scepusiensis* (…)".

[90] MOL DL 74956, 09. 4. 1492; DL 75105, 24. 8. 1495: „(…) *Gregorius Gewbl castri Scepus castellanus et vicecomes* (…)".

[91] MOL DL 74964, 11. 4. 1496: „(…) *Gregorius Gewbel de Bethlemfalwa et Stephanus de Thomor castri Scepus castellani et vicecomites Spectabilis et Magnifici domini Stephani de Zapolya* (…)".

[92] MOL DL 63887, 19. 9. 1513: „(…) *Cristoferus de Zemerchen et Mathias Holy de Jablonycza vicecomites comitatus Scepusiensi* (…)"; MOL DL 23275, 14. 11. 1519; DL 23328, 17. 3. 1520.

[93] MOL DL 20272, 09. 03. 1495: „(…) *Ladislaus Rozen de Mitha vicecomes comitatus Threnchiniensi* (…)"; DL 72746, 20. 8. 1509; DL 21993, 04. 2. 1510.

[94] MOL DL 20593, 14. 8. 1497: „(…) *Johannes Zyma vicecomes comitatus Threnchiniensis* (…)"; DL 20887, 31. 10. 1499.

[95] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 353, 26. 8. 1510: „(…) *egregius Georgius Halwpa de Bohonycz, castellanus castri nostri Papa idem castrum nostrum Papa, quod hactenus de voluntate illustris domine genitricis nostre* (…) *tenuit et possedit* (…) *expressa voluntate ipsius domine genitricis nostre carissime dedit* (…) *et assignavit manibus egregii Gothardi de Sythke* (…)".



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könnte aber vielleicht auch seine Anwesenheit beim Überfall auf die Benediktinerabtei in Bakonybél im Jahre 1504 stehen, bei dem er mit Paul Chalupa, dem Kastellan von Ugod und weiteren Leuten, der Abtei großen Schaden zugefügt hatten.[96]

Als Kastellan der Burg Trenčín, Hauptresidenz der Herzogin Hedwig seit dem Jahre 1500, wird im Jahre 1516 Gregor von Mútne (Mutňanský)[97] und als Provisor in den Jahren 1508 und 1513 Johannes Gloch erwähnt.[98] Aus Hradná in der Trentschiner Gespanschaft stammte Paul Holy, der langjähriger Hauptmann und Dreßigst-Beamte von Trnava (dt. *Tyrnau*).[99] Er heiratete die Tochter von Hedwigs Berater Lorenz Salzer und wurde zugleich Schwager von Ambrosius Sarkan, mit dem er einige Jahre das Amt des Pressburger Gespans bekleidete.[100] Im Jahre 1510 wurde er von Hedwig auf eigenen Wunsch aus dem Amt des Hauptmann von Trnava entlassen.[101] Im Jahre 1516 nahm Hedwig einen gewissen Magister Wolfgang in ihre Dienste, den sie ausschickte, mit dem Stadtrat von Bratislava (dt. *Pressburg*) zu verhandeln.[102]

In der Liptauer Gespanschaft können zu den bedeutenden Getreuen der Zapolyas die Vizegespanen Thomas von Podtureň[103], Benedikt von Dechtáre[104] und Johannes Strusky, Hauptmann der Burg Likava, sogar mit dem Titel des Liptauer Gespans, gezählt werden.[105] Vertreter unter den Getreuen hatten auch die Kroaten.[106] Andreas Horvat von Lomnica fungierte als Kastellan der Burg Likava[107], im Jahre 1505 bezeichnete er sich sogar als Liptauer Gespan.[108] Michael Horvat von Lomnica wirkte bis 1505 als Kastellan der Burg Orava.[109] In diesem Jahr machte er sich bei der Übergabe dieser Burg (die er als Pfand von Johannes Corvinus besaß) aus den Händen seiner Witwe Beatrix von Frangepan in den Besitz der Zapolyas verdient.[110] Die Übergabe der Burgen Likava und Orava in die Hände der Familie Zapolya war ein Bestandteil der zwischen Hedwig und Beatrix geschlossenen Heiratsverträge.[111] Als Gegeleistung erteilte Hedwig Michael Horvat die Burgdomäne Plaveč in der Scharoscher Gespanschaft als erbliche Besitzung und seinen Sohn Johannes ernannte sie zum Zipser Propst.[112] Außerdem fungierte Michael Horvat auch noch als Administrator der Zipser Propstei[113] und Kastellan der Burg Richnava.[114]

Im Jahre 1506 nahm Hedwig einen gewissen Peter Horvat, den Getreuen von Stefan von Rozhanovce (Rozgon) als Husaren in ihre Dienste

[96] Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság Levéltára, Pannonhalma, Bences-Capsarium (1000–1526), online: http://vdu.uni-koeln.de:8181/mom/HU/PBFL/PannHOSB/1506_II_14/charter (24. 05. 2011), 14. 2. 1506.

[97] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 435, 16. 05. 1516: „(..) *Misimus ad vos* (…) *Gregorium Muthnyanszky, castellanum castri nostri Thrinchiniensis* (…)".

[98] Ibidem, nr. 333, 10. 02. 1508: „(…) *egregio Iohanni Gloch provisori castri nostri Thrinchiniensis* (…)".

[99] Varsik (ed.): *Slovenské listy a listiny*, pp. 90–94; Roháč, Juraj: *Armalista Pavol Holý z Hradnej*. In: *Erbové listiny*. Ed.: Milan Šišmiš. Martin: Slovenská genealogická spoločnosť, 2006, pp. 34–41.

[100] MOL DL 61938, 22. 11. 1501; DL 61952, 16. 06. 1505; DL 50498, 13. 04. 1507.

[101] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 350, 13. 02. 1510: „(…) *elegeramus itaque ad capitaneatum in medio vestri hunc Paulum Holy, fidelem servitorem nostrum, qui hucusque una vobiscum fidelia nobis semper exhibuit servitia, vosque et negocia vestra coram nobis ex industria sua promovere non cessavit, verum nobis in eo plurimum suplicavit, quatenus officium capitaneatus ab eodem removere dignaremur* (…)".

[102] Ibidem, nr. 434, 15. 05. 1516: „(…) *Quoniam Magister Wolfgangus, presentium scilicet ostensor acceptus et connumeratus est in consorcium servitorum nostrorum* (…)".

[103] MOL DL 64900, 18. 3. 1506: „(…) *Thomas de Pothornya vicecomes comitatus Lliptowiensis* (…)".

[104] MOL DL 64904, 18. 11. 1517: „(…) *Benedictus de Widafelde vicecomes* (…) *comitatus Liptowiensis* (…)".

[105] MOL DL 25537, 22. 9. 1511: „(…) *Joannes Strusky capitaneus arcis Likawa ac post Spectabiles et Magnificos dominorum Joanni et Georgii perpetuos comites terre Scepusiensis etc. comes comitatus Liptowiensis* (…)".

[106] Näher zur Problematik der kroatischen Bevölkerung siehe den Beitrag von Miloš Marek: „Die Kroaten in der Slowakei im Mittelalter".

[107] MOL DL 46804, 12. 07. 1507: „(…) *Andreas Horwath de Lomnicze* (…)"; Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 306, 20. 06. 1505.

[108] *Stredoveké české listiny*. Ed.: Štefan Kniezsa. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1952, p. 72: „(…) *Ja, Andreas Chorwath, hrabye lypthowsky* (…)".

[109] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 305, 28. 05. 1505: „(…) *egregius Michael Horwath de Lompnycza, castellanus castri nostri Arwa* (…)".

[110] Ibidem, nr. 302, 30. 04. 1505.

[111] MOL DF 267335; Sroka: *Jadwiga Zapolya,* p. 60.

[112] MOL DL 107740: „(…) *promittimus per presentes, quod ipsum Michaelem Horwath et suos heredes universos in pacifica possesione eiusdem castri Palocha conservabimus* (…) *etiam nobilem Iohannem filium eiusdem Michaelis Horwath in prepositura ecclesie Beati Martini de Scepus* (…) *contulimus* (…)"; siehe auch nr. 302.

[113] MOL DF 270938, 07. 11. 1513: „*Michael Chorwath castri Palocha heres, administrator prepositure Scepusiensis*."

[114] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 500, 04. 10. 1519: „(…) *Michaeli Horwath castellano castri nostri Rychno* (…)".



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auf.[115] Ein weiterer Horvat, Adam, war einer von Hedwigs Beratern, wie bereits erwähnt.

Eine besondere Gruppe unter den Getreuen der Familie Zapolya bildeten die Vertreter der Kirche. Im letzten Willen von Stefan Zapolya werden seine zwei Kaplane erwähnt – Michael Bodo und Thomas von Turda, der später Kanoniker des Zipser Kapitels wurde.[116] Nachdem die Zapolyas das Patronatsrecht über das Zipser Kapitel erworben hatten, begannen sie ihre Getreuen ins Amt des Propstes ihre Getreue einzusetzen. Erste war 1494 Georg von Mecske (heute Magyarmecske)[117], der auch als Sekretär bei Stefan Zapolya fungierte.[118] Er wirkte auch als Sekretär und Berater des Königs Vladislav II., mit Pausen bis ins Jahr 1526.[119] Das Amt des Propstes bekleidete er bis zum Jahre 1505. Es folgte die Ernennung von Johannes Horvat von Lomnica, Sohn des bereits erwähnten Getreuen Michael Horvat.[120] Als aber dieser von Thomas Bakoc, dem Erzbischof von Esztergom (dt. Gran), nicht anerkannt wurde, ernannten die Zapolyas Ladislaus von Csobád, den Kanoniker und Lektor des Zipser Kapitels von 1495–1505.[121] Im Jahre 1511, nach dessen Tod, wurde Horvat von Hedwig und ihren Söhnen Johannes und Georg wiederum ernannt, diesmal erfolgreich. Sein Amt bekleidete er bis zum Jahre 1544.[122]

Michael Rozen (Rožeň), der Sohn von Ladislaus Rozen[123], fungierte seit dem Jahre 1510 als Sekretär des Erzbischofs von Esztergom, Thomas Bakocz. Unter dem Ordensnamen Lazarus ist er bekannt als Schöpfer der ältesten erhaltenen Landkarte des Königreichs Ungarn aus dem Jahre 1528, der „Tabula Hungariae".[124] Während seiner Zeit als Sekretär begann er mit den kartografischen Arbeiten, aus nicht näher bekannten Gründen vollendete er sie aber nicht und ging nach Trenčín, an den Hof der Herzogin Hedwig.[125] Sie sollte ihm dann später zur Stelle als Abt der Zisterzienserabtei in Spišský Štiavnik verhelfen, wo er in den Jahren 1518–1542 wirkte.[126] Wie bereits erwähnt, war er vermutlich auch einer von Hedwigs Beratern.

Zum Schluß erwähnen wir einen Getreuen, der drei Generationen der Familie Zapolya diente. Es handelt sich um den kroatischen Edelmann und Paulinermönch Georg Utiešenić.[127] Nachdem er die Dienste von Johannes Corvinus verlassen hatte, wurde er am Hofe der Herzogin Hedwig von Teschen angenommen. In kurzer Zeit wurde er in den engeren Kreis ihrer Rittern eingegliedert, später ging er in die Dienste ihres Sohnes Johannes Zapolya über. Seine vielversprechende Militärkarriere beendete der Eintritt in den Paulinerorden, wo er im Verlauf der Jahre bedeutende Ämter bekleidete.[128] Die Umstände und Gründe

[115] Ibidem, nr. 320, 11. 05. 1506: „(…) *Intimat nobis d(ominatio) v(estra) m(agnifica), ut quendam familiarem suum, Petrum Horwath ad servitia nostra acceptaremus* (…) *Veniat igitur ad servitia nostra quam festinantissime cum sex equis more huzaronum, cui nos ad ipsos equos more huzaronum sallaria deputamus* (…)".

[116] Ibidem, nr. 288: „(…) *capellanis meis Michaele Bodo et Thoma Thorday* (…)"; Wagner (ed.): *Analecta Scepusii* 1, p. 149 als Chordányi. *Initia, progressus ac presens status Capituli Scepusiensis,* p. 382.

[117] Wagner (ed.): *Analecta Scepusii* 1, pp. 351–353 und *Analecta Scepusii* 3, p. 72.

[118] MOL DL 49136, 20. 02. 1495: „(…) *Coram Georgio de Mekche secretario palatinali* (…)"; DL 64496, 11. 5. 1497.

[119] *The Customary Law of the renowned Kingdom of Hungary*, p. 8: „(…) *Georgium de Mekche secretarium nostrum* (…)"; MOL DL 85198, 20. 11. 1515: „(…) *Egregius Georgius de Mechke consiliarius noster* (…)".

[120] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 304, 28. 05. 1505: „(…) *praeposituram ecclesie Beati Martini de Scepus* (…) *auctoritate nostri iuris patronatus* (…) *praefato Iohanni duximus dandam et conferendam* (…)".

[121] Wagner (ed.): *Analecta Scepusii* 3, pp. 73–74.

[122] Neumann (ed.): *A Szapolyai család oklevéltára* 1, nr. 356, 04. 02. 1511: „(…) *honorabilis magistri Iohannis Horwath de Lompnycza* (…) *ad preposituram collegiate ecclesie Beati Martini de Scepus* (…) *nunc per mortem et decessum reverendi condam domini Ladislai de Chobad* (…) *vacantem* (…) *auctoritate nostri iuris patronatus* (…) *duximus eligendum et nominandu*m (…)".

[123] *Pod osmanskou hrozbou: Osudy Slovenska od Albrechta Habsburského do tragickej bitky pri Moháči v roku 1526 s prihliadnutím na začiatky renesancie v čase vlády Mateja Korvína.* Ed.: Ján Lukačka a kol. In*: Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov*, vol. 6. Ed.: Pavel Dvořák. Bratislava: Literárne informačné centrum, 2004, p. 137.

[124] Žudel, Juraj: Osobnosť Lazara, tvorcu mapy Uhorska z roku 1528. In: *Slovenská archivistika,* a. 42, 2007, nr. 2, pp. 32–40; Näheres zur Tabula Hungariae Idem: Miestne názvy na Lazarovej mape Uhorska so zreteľom na územie Slovenska. In: *Slovenská archivistika*, a. 32, 1997, nr. 2, pp. 48–59; Idem: Sídelná sieť Slovenska na Lazarovej mape Uhorska z r. 1528. In: *Geografický časopis*, a. 35, 1983, nr. 3, pp. 247–264.

[125] Žudel: Osobnosť Lazara, tvorcu mapy Uhorska, pp. 32–40.

[126] MOL DL 63890, 12. 04. 1519: „(…) *venerabili domino Michaele Rozen abbate monasterii Beate Marie Virginis de Schewnyk* (…)"; Wagner (ed.): *Analecta Scepusii* 3, Series abbatum B. M. V. de Schavnyk, Ordinis Cisterciensis, pp. 161–162.

[127] Der Name erscheint in der Literatur in verschiedenen Formen – Utiešenić, Utiešenović, Utišenović, Utišenić usw. Aus den Quellen ist sein Nachname nicht bekannt, da er meistens als Frater Georgius bezeichnet wurde.

[128] Verantius, Antonius: De Georgii Utissenii, fratris appellati, vitae et rebus comentarius. In: *Verancsics Antal m. kir. helytartó, esztergomi érsek összes munkái. Monumenta Hungariae historica: Scriptores*, vol. 2. Ed.: László Szalay. Pest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1857, pp. 16–34; siehe auch seine Biographie von Utiešenović, Ognjeslav: *Lebensgeschichte des Cardinals Georg Utiešenović genannt Martinusius*. Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1881.



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seines Eintritts in den Orden sind nicht näher bekannt. Es ist aber sehr wahrscheinlich, dass ihm dabei die Zapolyas, großzügige Mäzene des Paulinerordens, geholfen haben.[129] Aus dem Kloster in Lád wurde er im Jahre 1528 von Johannes Zapolya wieder in seine Dienste berufen.[130] Wie die folgenden Jahre zeigen sollten, war dies einer der besten, wenn nicht sogar der beste politische Schritt Zapolyas. In Georg Utiešenić gewann Johannes Zapolya einen überragenden Berater, Befehlshaber, Diplomaten und nach seinem Tode den Protektor seines Sohnes Johannes Sigmund.

* * *

Die Magnatenfamilie Zapolya verfügte als eine der mächtigsten und einflussreichsten Familien des spätmittelalterlichen Königreichs Ungarn über ein breites Netz Getreuer.[131] Sie wurden von verschieden Gespanschaften rekrutiert, ihre Ethnizität spiegelte die Nazionalitätenstruktur des damaligen Königreichs Ungarn wieder – in den Diensten der Zapolyas fungierten Getreue slowakischer, ungarischer, kroatischer oder rumänischer Herkunft nebeneinander. Die Berater der Familie gehörten zu den vornehmsten Männern des Königreichs Ungarn, bekleideten wichtige Ämter und ihre Namen sind auch auf der bekannten Deklaration des ungarischen Landtages aus dem Jahre 1505 zu finden. [132]

Die Zugehörigkeit zur Familie wurde auf verschiedene Weisen geprägt. Als Entgelt für die geleisteten Dienste wurde den Getreuen Lohn ausgezahlt, für äußerst treue langjährige Dienste durfte der Getreue Befreiung von jeglichen Steuern, Erteilung von Erbbesitzen oder Bekleidung eines Amtes für sich oder seine Nachkommen erwarten. Nach dem Tode eines Magnaten kam es dann oftmals zum Aufstieg seiner Getreuen zu gleichbedeutenden Herren. Nach dem Tode eines Getreuen wurde seiner Witwe und den Kindern seitens der Familie auch weiter Patronanz gewährt. Die Gemahlinnen der nahen Getreuen wirkten als Hofdamen und Vertraute der Herrin, die Getreuen wurden zu Taufeltern der Kinder ihres Herrens und umgekehrt. Die Verbindung zwischen den Getreuen der Familie wurde noch durch Eheschließungen untereinander verstärkt. In diesen persönlichen Beziehungen verwirklichte sich somit die Bedeutung des Begriffs *familiaritas*.

[129] Kucharská: *Hedviga Tešínska : šľachtičná na prelome stredoveku a novoveku*, pp. 97–108.

[130] Der Brief von Frater Geogius, in dem er die Umstände seiner Berufung in die Dienste von Zapolya schildert: Utiešenović: *Lebensgeschichte*, Beilage, pp. 1–2.

[131] Nach Kubinyi, András: A Szapolyaiak és familiárisaik, p. 265, können in den Jahren 1458–1526 etwa 250 Personen in den Diensten der Zapolyas belegt werden. Unserer Meinung nach handelt es sich bei dieser Zahl nur um die höhergestellten Getreuen, die in den Quellen erwähnt werden. Mit den vielen "anonymen" Getreuen, die für die Verfasser der Quellen nicht interessant waren, dürfte die Gesamtzahl noch viel höher sein.

[132] MOL DL 22559, 12. 10. 1505: Michael von Szob, Michael Imrefi, Paul von Dombó, Georg von Mesztegnyő, Klemens Rozen, Stefan Mariasi und Adam Horvat.



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DRAŽEN NEMET*

# The Activities of John Corvinus in Slavonia and Croatia and in Slovakia – a Comparison[1]

## Aktivity Jána Korvína v Slavónsku a Chorvátsku a na Slovensku – porovnanie / Djelovanje Ivaniša Korvina u Slavoniji i Hrvatskoj te u Slovačkoj – usporedba

*The author presents a brief overview, based on contemporary sources and the works of historians on the subject, of the life of John Corvinus and his activities in Slavonia and Croatia, as well as in Slovakia, focusing on and comparing the roles, importance and connections that the respective territories had in his political and military activities in different periods.*

Keywords: John Corvinus, fifteenth and sixteenth century, Croatia, Slovakia, comparison

During the many centuries that the areas constituting present-day Croatia and Slovakia were part of the same state, among the many historical figures that played important roles in both countries, the one who stands out at the turn of the sixteenth century is John Corvinus, the illegitimate son of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary and Croatia and his long-standing mistress Barbara Edelpöck.

John Corvinus[2] (Croatian: *Ivaniš Korvin*, Sl.: *Ján Korvín*, Hun.: *Hunyadi Corvin János*) was born on 2 April 1473, probably in Buda. Almost nothing is known of him until, at the age of about six, he joined the court of his royal father. However, it is interesting to note that not long after John's birth, on 3 November 1473, Matthias gave the boy's mother Barbara[3] and her parents' lands and properties in and around Banská Bystrica; more precisely, a stone house in Banská Bystrica, a farmstead near the town walls, as well as the villages of Jakub, Podlavice, Riečka, Majer, Ulmanka, and Nemce in the county of Zvolen.[4] The relationship between the King and Barbara probably ended around the time their son was born and the donation was certainly intended for the future upkeep of the ex-mistress and their son. Barbara was soon married to Friedrich of Enzersdorf an der Fischa. They are both mentioned in 1476 as members of the *Corpus Christi* confraternity in Bratislava[5], but she and her husband later moved to Austria, where Barbara spent the rest of her life. She died on 7 February 1495 and was buried in St. Agnes' chapel of the Klosterneuburg monastery.[6]

Whether the royal child stayed with his mother after she was married off or was placed in a separate establishment, as most of all royal children, legitimate and illegitimate, were during the Middle Ages, remains an open question. However, in her will, dated 1491, Barbara left to

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[2] For biographical details about John Corvin, see: Schoenherr, Gyula: *Hunyadi Corvin János*. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1894; Kukuljević-Sakcinski, Ivan: *Beatrica Frankapan i njezin rod*. Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1885; Horvat, Rudolf: *Ivan Korvin, ban hrvatski*. Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1896; Šišić, Ferdo: *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima (1473–1496) s "Dodatkom" (1491–1498)*. Zagreb: Tisak Nadbiskupske tiskare, 1936; Glesinger, Lavoslav: O bolesti Ivaniša Korvina. In: *Liječnički vjesnik*, a. 91, 1969, pp. 1109–1112; Grgin, Borislav: Ivaniš Korvin. In: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*. Ed.: Trpimir Macan. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2005, pp. 135–137.

[3] For more details on Barbara Edelpöck and her connections to Slovak lands, see: Skladaný, Marián: Kto bola matka Jána Korvina? In: *Acta historica Posoniensia*, a. 10, 2009, pp. 114–126.

[4] Ritoók-Szalay, Ágnes: Borbála. In: *Nympha super ripam Danubii.* Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2002, p. 103; *Deutschsprachige Handschriften in slowakischen Archiven vom Mittelalter bis zu Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 2: *Mittelslowakei.* Ed.: Jörg Meier – Ilpo Tapani Piirainen – Klaus-Peter Wegera. Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009, p. 86.

[5] Ortvay, Theodor: *Geschichte der Stadt Preßburg, Zweiter Band, Vierte Abteilung.* Poszony: Carl Stampfel, 1903, pp. 424–425.

[6] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Necrologia Germaniae*, vol. 5. Ed.: Adalbert Fuchs. Berlin: Weidmann, 1913, p. 81.



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her son the properties in Banská Bystrica mentioned in the 1473 royal charter.[7] Since this was the only thing that she left to her son, whom she probably did not see since he was a boy, we can presume that these properties were somehow significant for John and his relationship with his mother. Barbara's act may imply that the area of Banská Bystrica was where John spent his early years, at first most probably with his mother, and after she was married to Friedrich in his own establishment, until he was brought to the court of his father around the age of six.

Matthias openly recognized him as his only child and appointed him the duke of Liptov and count of Hunyad.[8] John was provided with the best education; among his teachers were the noted Italian humanists Taddeo Ugoletti and Galeotto Marzio. Although at first Matthias planned a career in the Church for his illegitimate son[9], still not having any offspring from his wife Beatrice of Naples after several years of marriage, he decided to make John his heir and ensure his succession to the throne. He lavished vast estates and fortresses on the young duke throughout the Kingdom, including Croatia and Slavonia and present-day Slovakia, thus making him the richest landowner next to the King and Queen.

Among others, he granted him the ancestral lands of Hunyadi family in Transylvania, the lands of the extinct families Morović and Gorjanski in Slavonia, estates in southern Hungary, towns and estates in Liptov, Turiec, Orava and Trenčín counties, namely the towns of Orava, Likava, Bojnice and Sklabina with all the lands of the extinct Komorovský and Onofri families, as well as the castle of Strečno and town Žilina. Furthermore, John's grandmother Elisabeth Szilágy left him all the estates that she enjoyed after the death of her husband John Hunyadi.[10] In 1485 he was also appointed the duke of Opava.[11]

Matthias loved his son and doted on him, and John accompanied his father on his campaigns in Austria, notably during the siege of Vienna in 1485, when he was the first to enter the conquered city.[12] In addition to the riches and estates, the King decided to provide his son with a rich bride and his choice fell on Bianca Maria Sforza, sister of the duke of Milan. The pair were engaged in 1487, but the actual marriage ceremony never took place due to the opposition from Queen Beatrice who never looked kindly on her husband's illegitimate son, still hoping she might eventually give birth to a legitimate heir herself or somehow retain the power after the King died, either on her own as the Queen Regnant, or by marrying the new king.

Knowing that despite the numerous estates, riches and well-connected future wife John's succession was still not ensured, Matthias demanded from prelates, barons, towns and counties to swear the oath of allegiance to the young duke, and even tried to persuade Emperor Frederick III to recognize John as his legitimate heir. Also, in October 1489 there was some talk that he intended to make him the king of Croatia and Bosnia.[13] In early 1490, before leaving for Vienna, he handed over to John the royal castle in Buda with the royal treasury, library and archives, along with the fortresses along the Danube, notably Visegrád, Tata, Komárno and Bratislava. Matthias also intended to proclaim John his heir in Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia.[14] However, the king's sudden death in May 1490 left many of his plans and arrangements unfinished.

Although being the wealthiest landowner in the Kingdom and in the possession of the strategically most important fortresses, as well as the all-important Crown of St. Stephen, John was still inexperienced and lacked resolve. In addition, many of the magnates and prelates who had sworn allegiance to him, notably Palatine Stephen Zápolya and Thomas Bakócz, Bishop of Györ, soon distanced themselves, preferring not to continue with Matthias' style of strong central government.

Realizing that his chances to be elected to the throne were slim, on 17 June 1490 in Buda he

[7] Ludwig, Vinzenz Oskar – Maschek, Franz: König Matthias Corvinus and Barbara Edelpöck. In: *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich*, a. 32, 1955/1956, p. 90.
[8] Šišić, Ferdo: *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima*, nr. 2, pp. 8–10.
[9] Ibidem, nr. 3, pp. 10–11.
[10] Fejérpataki, László: Külföldi levéltári búvárlatok. In: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, a. 14, 1889, nr. 1–4, pp. 111–112; Šišić, Ferdo: *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima*, nr. 4, pp. 12–13.
[11] Kukuljević-Sakcinski, Ivan: *Beatrica Frankapan i njezin rod*, p. 12.
[12] Tichtel, Johannes: Tagebuch des Wiener Arztes Johannes Tichtel aus den Jahren 1477–1495. In: *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, vol. 1. Vienna: Kaiserl. Königl. Hof– und Staatsdruckerei, 1855, pp. 33–34.
[13] Šišić, Ferdo: *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima*, nr. 43, pp. 82–84.
[14] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća. Knjiga četvrta.* Zagreb: Nakladni zavod MH, 1973, pp. 183–85.



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agreed to the offer of the barons and prelates that in case he did not get elected, he would retain his titles of duke of Liptov and Opava and would be created king of Bosnia, duke of Slavonia, as well as ban (viceroy) of Dalmatia and Croatia, and keep all his possessions in the Kingdom of Hungary and Croatia. However, he would have to relinquish the estates he held in the regions conquered during the reign of King Matthias.[15] Nevertheless, John still cherished some hope of becoming king, and he retreated to the southern parts of the Kingdom where he still enjoyed the most support. However, his forces were soon defeated, and John retired to Pécs. The estates then duly elected the Bohemian king Vladislaus II Jagiello as their new sovereign.[16]

John soon came to terms with the new king and in his inaugural diploma issued at Farkashida (today Vlčkovce) near Trnava on 31 July 1490 Vladislaus confirmed the Buda agreement. However, John did not become the king of Bosnia or ban of Dalmatia and Croatia and he had to return to Vladislaus the three important fortresses given to him by King Matthias – Bratislava, Komárno, and Tata. Nevertheless, he was named duke of Slavonia and managed to keep most of his estates in Croatia and Hungary, which still made him one of the most powerful magnates in the Kingdom. However, the complex, oscillating relationship with the new king would define the rest of his life, Vladislaus always being suspicious of John as the son of the former monarch.

The lands that John owned after that in the Kingdoms of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia are as follows: the entire county of Zagorje with Krapina, Kostel, Tabor, Vrbovec (Mali Tabor), Lobor, Oštrc, Greben, Bela, Trakošćan; Varaždin, Vinica and Jurketinec in the county of Varaždin; Kalnik, Vrbovec, and Rakovec in the county of Križevci; Medvedgrad, Lukavec, Samobor, Lipovec, Jastrebarsko, Vukovina, Steničnjak, Totuševina, Vivodina and Ripač in the county of Zagreb; Morović, Čerević and Gorjani in the counties of Vuka and Syrmium; Senj, Novigrad, Starigrad and Bag on the Adriatic coast; as well as Otočac, Prozor, Obrovac, Krupa, Kličevac, Počitelj, Peć, Japra, Brinje and Belaj. In Slovakia, John held the towns and estates in Liptov, Turiec, Orava and Trenčín counties, namely the towns and castles of Orava, Likava, Bojnice, Sklabina, Strečno and Žilina; Stropkov in the county of Zemplín; Šariš Castle in the county of Šariš; as well as the mines around Banská Bystrica.[17] However, one should bear in mind that in the following years some of the estates were lost, or John pawned them or donated them to his retainers.

Having no alternative but to support Vladislaus, he helped him in the fight against the pretenders to the throne, Vladislaus' brother John Albert and German king Maximilian. John provided the King with mounted soldiers that were sent to Košice which was besieged by John Albert's forces.[18] In 1491 he fought against the German forces of King Maximilian and his local supporters in Slavonia, successfully winning over the town of Zagreb.[19]

However, he not only had to fight to keep the crown for Vladislaus, but also to safeguard his own estates from other preying magnates. Jacob Székely took over the castles in the Zagorje county, which he was eventually forced to return to John by the 1491 Treaty of Bratislava (Pressburg). The powerful Frankapan family unsuccessfully tried to reclaim the town of Senj, and their later objection to John settling their family disagreements caused John to resign as the duke of Slavonia in 1492. John was also involved in a dispute with the bishop of Zagreb Osvald Thuz over the castle of Rakovec which eventually escalated into war.[20]

John's Slovak domains were not spared either. There he was involved in a dispute with Bishop Sigismund Ernuszt regarding the mines and properties in and around Banská Bystrica. On 20 September 1494 John secured a 16-year lease of the mines to Ján Thurzo for 1400 gold pieces a year, but Ernuszt tried to annul the deal claiming that he was the owner of the mines. However, King Vladislaus judged in favour of John, and the mines of Banská Bystrica later formed the basis of the future highly successful Fugger-Thurzo

[15] Šišić, Ferdo: *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima*, nr. 59, pp. 99–107.
[16] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća. Knjiga četvrta*, pp. 201–203.
[17] Šišić, Ferdo: *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima*, nr. 59, 61, pp. 99–107, 108–109.
[18] Isthvanfi, Nicolaus: *Historia regni Hungariae, post obitum gloriosissimi Matthiae Corvini regis, a quo apostolicum hoc regnum Turcarum potissimum armis barbarae invasum*, vol. 34. Vienna: I.T. Trattner, 1758, p. 8.
[19] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća. Knjiga četvrta*, pp. 215–216.
[20] Isthvanfi, Nicolaus: *Historia regni Hungariae, post obitum gloriosissimi Matthiae Corvini regis*, p. 18, 21; Bonfinius, Antonius: *Rerum Vngaricarum decades quatuor cum dimidia.* Frankfurt: Andreas Wechel, 1581, p. 713; Horvat, Rudolf: *Ivan Korvin, ban hrvatski*, pp. 30–31, 33–34.



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mining company.[21] John was less successful in the dispute that was brought before the judge of the Royal Court Stephen Báthory on 28 January 1493 regarding the stone house in Banská Bystrica which Ernuszt claimed had been illegally taken away from his father by King Matthias twenty years ago and was now occupied by John. On 1 December 1494 John surrendered the house to the Ernuszt brothers.[22] Since it was the same house that his mother had left him in her will, it seems that John had been using this house during the preceding years while his mother was living in Austria. She apparently tried to "legalise" the transfer of the property to her son after her death, but due to the changed circumstances the Ernuszt brothers managed to reclaim the property.

In 1495, while John was occupied in the south, Zápolya seized his estates in the counties of Liptov, Turiec and Orava.[23] However, not only was he faced with the attacks of his enemies, but also with the betrayal of his own retainers, notably the castellan of Bojnice, Peter Poky, who surrendered the castle to the Palatine. Poky was also involved in a conspiracy against Corvinus, but he was caught, sentenced to death, and quartered.[24] In order to protect and reclaim his domains from the Palatine, John hired Polish mercenaries, but Zápolya accused him as a traitor in front of the king, who soon sent letters to the towns of Prešov and Bardejov informing them that John was going to Poland to gather an army against the Kingdom and that he entrusted the defence of the land to the Palatine. Zápolya soon defeated the Polish forces, and John had to accept the loss of his lands.[25]

In March 1495 Vladislaus appointed John Ban of Croatia and Slavonia. Although it seems that this was done at the request of Croatian nobles, they soon opposed his choice for vicebanus, a Hungarian noble, John Gyulay. Ultimately, he was allowed to keep Gyulay, but in return he had to guarantee to the nobility that they would have their say in the appointments of the future vicebanus, administrators and deputy administrators of counties.[26] Realizing the weakness of his position in the Kingdom, he tried to consolidate it by marrying Beatrice Frankapan, daughter of the powerful and well-connected Count Bernardin. The marriage produced two children, Elisabeth and Christopher.

However, John's position was still not completely secure. The complaints from the local nobility continued, particularly regarding the appointment of foreigners. They addressed their complaints to the king, who instructed John to observe the ancient rights and customs of the Kingdom.[27] The relationship between John and Vladislaus was still strained, and in the period from 1497 to 1498 the King appointed another ban, George Kaniszay. Eventually, the King and John came to terms, particularly after the death of Stephen Zápolya, and in 1499 John was once again appointed the ban of Croatia. He was confirmed in this office for life a year later, as a sort of compensation from the King for not becoming the new palatine. This second term is characterised by an active anti-Ottoman policy and actions in Dalmatia, around Knin, in Slavonia, and particularly Bosnia. One of the most important military actions was the one in 1501 directed at Jajce, where he won a great victory and broke the Ottoman siege of the town.[28]

He also managed to establish to a greater extent independent rule in Croatia. In a way copying the policies of his father, he started creating his own power base by awarding offices, land properties and castles to his faithful retainers. They were mostly foreigners, and, being newcomers in the Kingdom, were not looked on kindly by the established nobility, so therefore they depended almost exclusively on John and were more likely to remain loyal to him.

He thus established in Croatia many noble families which would play important roles in the following decades and centuries, such as the Alapy, Pethö de Gerse, Berislavić and Gyulay families. Among them were also families

[21] Lisková, Henrieta: Odraz politiky panovníckeho dvora na vývoji mesta Banská Bystrica do konca 15. storočia. In: *Annales Historici Prešoviensis.* Ed.: Martin Pekár – Patrik Derfiňák – Peter Zmátlo. Prešov: Universum, 2005, p. 109; von Pölnitz, Götz: *Jakob Fugger*, vol. 2: Quellen und Erläuterungen. Tübingen: Mohr, 1951, p. 22.

[22] Ritoók-Szalay, Ágnes: *Borbála*, p. 104, note 16.

[23] See *Registrum* omnium proventuum Regalium 1494–95. In: von Engel, Johann Christian: *Geschichte des Ungrischen Reichs under seiner Nebenländer*, vol. 1. Halle: Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1797, p. 34, pp. 134–135.

[24] Bonfinius, Antonius: *Rerum Vngaricarum decades quatuor cum dimidia*, p. 730.

[25] Šišić, Ferdo: *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima*, nr. 192, 194, 195, pp. 250–251, 252–253.

[26] *Jura regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Ed.: Joannes Kukuljević. Zagreb: Ljudevit Gaj, 1861, p. 230.

[27] Ibidem, p. 232.

[28] Horvat, Rudolf: *Ivan Korvin, ban hrvatski*, pp. 42–52; Isthvanfi, Nicolaus: *Historia regni Hungariae, post obitum gloriosissimi Matthiae Corvini regis*, p. 30.



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originating from Slovakia. On 24 December 1490 in Komárno he gave Emerik Derenčin, Ban of Jajce and the future Ban of Croatia, whose family originated from Drienčany in the Gemer county, the castles of Lipovac and Vivodina.[29] He also appointed him captain of the coastal town of Senj and successfully defended it from the aspirations of the Frankapan family.[30]

However, the most distinguished family were the Rattkays, originating from the place called Ratka (Rathka) near the river Slaná (Sajó), in the Gemer county. On 3 March 1502, as a reward for his military services in the battles against the Ottomans, John awarded the estates of Jurketinec and Veliki Tabor in county of Zagorje to Pavao (Paul) Rattkay, whose family would become one of the most important noble families in Croatia during the Early Modern period, providing many famous individuals, among others, Pavao II (died 1556), vicebanus and a noted military leader, Nikola (Nicholas) (1601–1662), a Jesuit priest and a missionary to India, Juraj (George) II (1612–1666), a distinguished historian, and Ivan (John) (1647–1683), a Jesuit priest and a missionary to Mexico.[31]

In this regard, it is also worth mentioning that John was instrumental in establishing the family Horvath de Lomnicza, later Horvath de Lomnicza-Kissevich, originating from the Turopolje region near Zagreb, in Slovakia. Andreas and Michael Horvath de Lomnicza were castellans of John's towns of Likava and Orava, respectively, and John even pawned Orava to Michael. Michael's son John later became the provost of Spiš Chapter.[32]

In Croatia John Corvinus is also remembered as a great benefactor of the Church, especially the Pauline order and their monasteries in Remete and Lepoglava[33], where he was buried after his untimely death in Krapina on 12 October 1504.

To conclude, despite the strong connections to Slovakia – he was probably raised in Banská Bystrica, one of his first titles was the Slovak title of duke of Liptov, and last, but not least, he held vast properties in the region – the changed circumstances after his father's death, notably, the shift of power and the designated titles and offices of duke of Slavonia, and later ban of Croatia and Slavonia, the loss of many estates in Slovakia to more powerful opponents in that region and the concentration of estates in the south of the Kingdom to a larger degree determined the focus of John's later activities on Croatia and Slavonia. There, due to the decline of royal power, he managed to establish a largely independent position, actively organising and taking part in anti-Ottoman operations, as well as successfully negotiating the often troubled and complicated relations with the local nobility and creating a network of local retainers, administrators and officers, some of whom originated from Slovakia, who represented the instrument for carrying out his policies. However, despite having a stronger influence and role in these parts of the Kingdom, he nevertheless still represents one of the most important historical figures connecting the two countries of Croatia and Slovakia where he is even today held in high regard.

[29] Šišić, Ferdo: *Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima*, nr. 73, p. 86, 124.
[30] Horvat, Rudolf: *Ivan Korvin, ban hrvatski*, p. 31.
[31] Gulin, Ante: *Povijest obitelji Rattkay (1400–1793).* Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1995, pp. 13–14, 24–26, 28–34, 39–41, 54, 63.
[32] Kukuljević-Sakcinski, Ivan: *Beatrica Frankapan i njezin rod*, pp. 39–40, 47; von Bojničić, Ivan: *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien*. Nürnberg: Bauer und Raspe, 1899, p. 65; Wagner, Carolus: *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*, vol. 4. Posonium et Cassovia: Johann Michael Landerer, 1778, pp. 73–83, 191; Wagner, Carolus: *Diplomatarium comitatis Sarosiensis.* Posonium et Cassovia: Johann Michael Landerer, 1780, pp. 77–78.
[33] Szabo, Agneza: Ban Ivaniš Korvin u hrvatskoj povijesti i kulturi (u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti). In: *Gazophylacium*, a. 9, nr. 3–4, 2004, pp. 5–14.



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# HIGH NOBILITY

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JÁN LUKAČKA*

# The Estates of Hont-Poznan Kindred South of the Drava River**

## Majetky šľachtického rodu Hont-Poznanovcov ležiace južne od rieky Drávy / Posjedi plemićkog roda Hont-Poznan južno od rijeke Drave

*The author discusses the beginnings of the property holdings of the members of the aristocratic family of Hont-Poznan at Croatian territory, on the right bank of the Drava river. They gained them already in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries from the first Hungarian king, Stephen I, for their help in suppression of Koppány's rebellion. The author follows further extension of these estates thanks to the donations of the Arpadian kings. He presents the most important noble families of Nitrianska Blatnica (Pok, Meggyes), Motičinskí (Matucsinai), the descendants of Ambrose (Marcel), who later used the name Pekri from Tetény kindred, and the Vojna from Vojka above Žitava. He analyzes the contacts between the particular branches of these lineages (family solidarity) and the engagement of the descendants of Hont-Poznan in the administrative functions of Croatian and Slavonian bans.*

Keywords: high nobility from western Slovakia, eleventh–fourteenth century, Hont-Poznan House, offices and properties

In our earlier monograph concerning the nobility shaping in the area of the present-day western Slovakia, we have already presented a hypothesis that members of the great noble House of Hont-Poznan received their first estates in the south of the newly born Kingdom of Hungary after the defeat of Koppány's revolt in 997. In our opinion, these represented a part of their booty, including the border area of Somogy county located south of the river Drava.[1] Naturally, the majority of this territory had been kept by the future Stephen I who transferred it into a royal county (*comitatus*). That created an interesting pattern of land tenure which became characteristic for Hont-Poznan descendants and their other branches. Except for their hereditary familial lands, they obtained also estates in Bihor and beyond the river Drava which they had received for repressing the revolt of Koppány. Naturally, they extended their domain by donations obtained due to their service at the court. The core of these noble estates had already been formed in the times of the Principality of Nitra.

We have selected the noble families of Nitrianska Blatnica (which was using other predicates too, such as *de Pok*, or *de Meggyes*); descendants of Kemen who were later known as Motičinskí (Hun. *Matucsinai*); descendants of Marcel (or Ambrose) who were called Pekri of Tetén family in the Hungarian milieu, as well as Vojna family of Vajka nad Žitavou (Hun. *Vajk*) as illustrative samples for the aims of this paper. Ancestors of the family of Ilok (Újlaki) may be assigned to this group as well. They have been discussed in the separate contribution of my colleague Mária Grófová.

Čanád/Csanád as well as his son Stojslav, owners of Blatnica domain, were undoubtedly descendants of Moses/Mojžiš, or Forgách-Blatnica-Novosad branch of the noble Hont-Poznan family too. After Stojslav's death in 1185, most of his properties including the mentioned estate of Blatnica (originally consisting of the villages Blatnica, Krtovce and Lužany, and Radošina) passed to the so-called Maurice/Móric branch of the lineage. They received these possessions most probably due to the king's favour, though their close relation to the late Stojslav was of some importance as well. In addition, they were no insignificant nobles at all, as they possessed extensive estates throughout the whole Kingdom of Hungary. All the known members of this Poznan family branch held high offices at the royal court. In the mid-thirteenth century they resided in Győr county in Transdanubia (present-day Hungary), more specifically in Pok (Puk) – the location they derived their first known predicate (*de genere Pok, Puk*) from. They also owned extensive estates in Bihor (Mórichida) as well as in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary in the counties of Somogy

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[1] Lukačka, Ján: *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku*. Bratislava: Minor, 2002, p. 29.



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and Virovitica. Maurice I who was the first noble of the family known by his name is mentioned as a vice-palatine in 1221 and also as a *magister dapiferorum* and *comes* of several counties (among them also the county of Nitra) twelve years later.[2]

His son, Maurice II, acted also as a *magister dapiferorum* in years 1246–1247 and as a young man already he continued in the family tradition of associating with the royal court. It is also known that he had some estates beyond the river Drava; since he donated two of them to his blood relative Mark, son of Aba. One property was located in Gemer; the second one (Oumbul), which he himself had bought, can be found south of the river Drava near the village Nováky (Novaki).[3] Maurice started his career at the court as *magister dapiferorum*, then he served as *iudex curiae* of Queen Mary and later on became *magister tavarnicorum* too. This was a particularly significant office which was in charge of the administration of royal incomes. Since 1256 he held the office of the *comes* of Nitra.[4] Maurice II died at the beginning of the 1270s. In addition, it was his contribution that a parish church had been built directly in the village Nitrianska Blatnica. It is quite natural that his namesake St. Mauricius/Maurice (Móric), who had lived in the times of the Roman Empire, became a patron of this new sacral edifice.

The interregnum period at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century was misused by the most important noble families (as Čák/Csák, Omodej/Amadé, Kiseckí/Kőszegi) that managed to establish extensive domains in the area surrounding their original familial estates. The king wielded no power there but they only did. *Magister* Nicholas, son of Maurice II, may be listed within this group. He managed to control almost the whole area of Bihor (present-day Romania) where he owned large estates. He often dwelled in a place where his father had ordered to build a stone bridge. This was reflected in a new name of this locality which was Moriczhyda ("the bridge of Maurice").

While expanding his land tenure, Nicholas was significantly aided by his three sons: Maurice III, Stephen and Nicholas. The family members established a castle in Zdenc (present-day Veliki Zdenci) where they administered their surrounding estates from at the beginning of the fourteenth century (before 1306). They also own the locality of Sziliget in Zala county until 1289 when it was sold to Peter, Bishop of Transylvania. They also had a fortlet in Brezovica in Virovitica county in their possession; it is mentioned in the fifteenth century.[5] The eldest son Maurice III was particularly ambitious and became the ban already during the reign of Andrew III. His innate ambitiousness was inherited by his eldest son Michael, who most probably resided in Nitrianska Blatnica, where he soon encountered Matthias Chaak/Csák of Trenčín/Matúš Čák Trenčiansky. This man often rewarded his faithful by giving them castellan offices which were connected with considerable incomes. Servants (*servientes*) of Matthias were known for the frequent plundering of ecclesiastical estates despite the threat of tough penalties. Maurice's son Michael was also repeatedly anathematised out of this reason, but it was in vain because Matthias never allowed to proclaim the anathema within his domain.[6]

A paradoxical situation occurred in the family of Nitrianska Blatnica owners at the end of Matthias Čáki's era. Grandfather Nicholas, being at the beginning of the fourteenth century already of advanced years, joined the side of King Charles Robert and became the duke of Transylvania in 1315–1316.[7] On the contrary, his grandson Michael remained a faithful ally of the oligarch from Trenčín until the very end – which is in Michael's case actually uncertain. However, it is known for sure that he died leaving no issues. On the other hand, Michael's younger brother Šimon/Simon followed his grandfather and entered the service of King Charles Robert and so he avoided a confiscation of his extensive estates. In the 1320s and 1330s he was the *comes* of Győr and Bakony, at the beginning of the 1350s he was appointed the *comes* of Šariš and Spiš and subsequently also the *comes* of Bratislava for ten years. He was one of the most prominent court knights and his career reached its peak when he was appointed the ban of Croatia (in years 1369–1371).[8]

[2] Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarországi világi archontológiája 1000–1301*. Budapest: MTA TI, 2011, p. 18.
[3] *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (deinde *CDAC*), vol. 7. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd Akademiai, 1869, nr. 174, p. 250.
[4] *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde *CDSl*), vol. 2. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislavae: Obzor, 1987, p. 545.
[5] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 1. Budapest: História MTA TI, p. 332, p. 431 (Szigliget) and p. 279 (Brezovica).
[6] *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* (deinde *RDSl*), vol. 2. Ed.: Vincent Sedlák. Bratislavae: Veda, 1987, nr. 313, p. 155.
[7] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 1, p. 11.
[8] Ibidem, vol. 2. Budapest: História MTA TI, 1996, p. 159.



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Nitrianska Blatnica served in the fourteenth century as a market town where a regular market took place weekly every Wednesday,[9] which was the reason why this relatively populous settlement acquired a townish character. Either Ban Simon or his ancestors already established their residence in Blatnica during the fourteenth century – a stone fortified fortlet, *castellum*.[10] Ban Simon, the owner of Blatnica, died in 1375, leaving three sons: Stephen, John and Maurice. However, Stephen died shortly after 1379. The middle son John is mentioned in 1397–1417 as a court knight and court assessor. The youngest Maurice did not hold any specific offices but in years 1424–1441 he was being mentioned as a magnate of the kingdom[11]. We suppose that Blatnica was owned by the middle son John and this small estate passed to the king after John's death.

Another important lineage owning estates in the regions beyond the river Drava were the descendants of Kemen. Later on, they were using also the predicate Motičinský, derived from Motičina in Croatia. It should be also stated that this noble family owned as their hereditary possession an important site called Chtelnica located on the border of counties of Nitra and Bratislava. Kemen's descendants Dionysius/Dionýz and his nephew Kemen, son of Lawrence/Vavrinec, agreed upon the division of the properties they had previously controlled together. For example, Dechtice came into an exclusive possession of Dionysius, but the village Torda at Drava (Tárda) in Baranya county came to Kemen.[12]

Later on, constant attempts of the family representatives to expand their land tenure within the area of the present-day south-western Slovakia may be detected. Even the first known member of the family Kemen (son of Tvrda) had belonged to the close circle of Andrew II's courtiers. His loyal services were rewarded by a donation of a frontier county of Holíč (Wywar) in Záhorie. However, *comes* Kemen lost this property at an unknown time and Holíč was added to Bratislava county. On the other hand, King Ladislas IV the Cuman decided in 1273 to rectify the wrong which had been done and returned this purloined estate to Lawrence, son of Kemen, the palatine of kings Bela IV and Stephen V. In addition, the same privilege charter issued on 30 March secured Lawrence's hereditary possession of this property.[13]

We do not doubt that Palatine Lawrence was of a Slovak origin, which is attested by various facts. The most crucial one among them is that Lawrence accompanied the king to negotiations with neighbouring Slavic rulers. For example, he attended the peace negotiations with the Bohemian King Přemysl Otakar II in 1260. Ten years later, King Stephen V deposed him from the palatine office but Lawrence still accompanied him on his visit to Cracow (to Boleslaus V the Chaste) at the request of the king himself.

Lawrence was named the ban of Severin and *comes* of Dubica for his proven services. In March 1271, Lawrence was rewarded by donation of Nové Mesto nad Váhom and surrounding villages of Horná Streda, Potvorice, *Dobreta, and *Ľubova. However, the donation omits the fact that these properties had already been given to the Benedictine abbey of Pannonhalma by Bela IV in 1263. On the contrary, Ladislas IV as a new king, controlled by several noble cliques, returned Nové Mesto nad Váhom to the above-mentioned monastery in 1273 to give it once again back to Lawrence.[14]

During the following turbulent period, the issues of Lawrence did not manage to keep these valuable properties. On the contrary, they strengthened their position in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary. Their old hereditary estate was located south of the river Drava and was called Motičina (nowadays Donja and Gornja Motičina) and adjoined with estates of related family of Tetín (Tetun, Tetény), Osmiad (Ozyag) and the nobles from Našice (Nekcha, Nekche).[15]

Lawrence's son Kemen continued his father's activities. For instance, in 1278–1280 he captured his own relative Jakub/Jacob/James, son of Conrad/Konrád of Óvár at the command of Matthias Čák of Trenčín, plundered his lands and took several valuables and riding horses. However, he might have felt guilty and he swore at the presence of Queen Elizabeth as the Duchess of

[9] Magyar Országos Levéltár. Diplomatikai fenykeptar 273550 (deinde MOL DF).
[10] *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*, vol. 7. Ed.: Emericus Nagy. Budapest: A.M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvkiadóhivatala, 1920, nr. 220, p. 396.
[11] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája* 2, p. 159.
[12] MOL DL 1072.
[13] MOL DL 827.
[14] MOL DL 854.
[15] MOL DL 100094.



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Slavonia that he would compensate James as well as his father Conrad by donating them three villages and one half of the village Tárda. Lawrence also emphasized that this activity had been determined by his close consanguinity with the aggrieved.[16] At the end of Ladislas IV the Cuman's reign, Kemen became a custodian of royal cellars (*pincerna)* as well as the *comes* of Baranya – the offices he held also during the first year of Andrew III's reign. Then he became the *comes* of Baranya once again in 1296–1299.[17] He managed to significantly unify the scattered land tenures in 1289 when Michael, the only son of Nicholas/Mikuláš Sinister from the house of Balog, died. He owned the castle of Sársomló (*Saarsumlu*) together with several neighbouring villages. The castle domain should have come to the Crown in the accordance with established legal customs. However, Knight Kemen who was Nicholas' son-in-law asked King Ladislas IV whether he together with his wife could inherit this estate, which was later indeed approved by the king.

In 1289, Kemen also acquired the castle of Sársomló with eleven villages as well as Saint Michael's monastery in the village of Pél (nowadays Pélmonostor) together with a patronage right. The royal donation was subsequently confirmed by King Andrew III in 1291 in return for Kemen's support in the times of his accession to the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary.[18] Kemen and his brother Nicholas went through hard times at the beginning of the fourteenth century when the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary was under the control of oligarchs. Kisecký family, particularly John, son of Henrik/Henry, took over Sársomló castle domain. However, the castle was later on seized by King Charles Robert in 1316 and remained a part of the royal property until the end of the fifteenth century.[19] Kemen's and Nicholas's issues must have accommodated themselves with remnants of their hereditary estates and until the Modern period they used only the predicate of Motičinski (Matucsinai).

The Pekri family of the House of Tetín (*nobiles de Pukur de genere Tetyn, Thetun*) were as well as previously mentioned noble families also tied up to the magnate House of Hont-Poznan. Similarly to them, they also belonged to the very elite of the Hungarian nobility at the beginning of the thirteenth century. János Karácsonyi presented the basic data concerning this family, but some of his conclusions cannot be completely accepted.[20] However, they surely also owned lands beyond the river Drava. Their hereditary estate in this area was a locality of *Puker (*Pukur*) together with a church of Saint Michael Archangel, present-day Bijela in Križevac county and village *Gajul (*Gayul*) nearby. They also possessed the Osmiad (*Ozyagh*) estate on the south bank of the river Drava. Neighbouring nobles stopped respecting its borders and took over a part of a demarcated land pertaining to the property in 1217–1218. Ten years later, King Andrew II ordered borders' reambulation in terms of their original extent.[21] Ambrose's (Marcel's) sons, Peter, Marcel, Fabian, Demeter and Abraham, were spreading their land tenure within this area quickly thanks to their significant positions held at the royal court. Especially Peter, Marcel and Demeter belonged to the closest councillors of King Andrew II[22]. When the king died in 1235, the circumstances worsened. New King Bela IV together with his younger brother Coloman, Duke of Slavonia, removed Marcel and his brothers out of the royal court and even reduced their acquired possessions. For example, while Duke Coloman was auditing purloined royal estates, he confiscated all the tenures obtained by Abraham beyond the river Drava. Coloman left him only the hereditary estate of Puker.[23] As their public activities were stopped, family members disappeared from sources for almost fifty years. They may be encountered again only during the reign of King Ladislas IV the Cuman when Peter, son of Benedict, became the ban of Slavonia and held this office in years 1279–1280 and also in 1283.[24] At this time, feudal anarchy had already

[16] MOL DL 38667: "*propter proximitatem cognacionis inter eos existentis*".
[17] Zsoldos, Attila. *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 61 and 133.
[18] MOL DL 1244.
[19] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* 2, p. 325.
[20] Karácsonyi, János: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig*. Budapest: MTA, 1900, p. 1003–1007. Especially his determination of the personage of the first known ancestor is unclear. Karácsonyi states it was Marcel, but some sources speak about Ambrose.
[21] MOL DL 145.
[22] Lukačka, Ján: *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku*, p. 56.
[23] *CDAC* 7, nr. 24, p. 38.
[24] Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarországi archontológiája*, p. 47. Due to the lack of relevant information it is impossible to determine whose son the father of Ban Peter, Benedict, was.



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fully taken over the country and inhabitants of the region beyond the river Drava, and the Croats ceased to respect the king's authority too. However, Ban Peter forced them to be obedient again by applying resolute measures. Therefore, in respect to these merits, Peter and his brother Kemen asked Ladislas IV to return the estate of their ancestors called Osmiad which had been unjustly taken from them. They also did not forget to mention that their brother Paul perished while fighting for Szombathely. Naturally, the king approved their request.[25]

There is much better information concerning the descendants of Peter, Marcel and Demeter. The major part of their estates can be found in the present-day south-western Slovakia, namely in the former counties of Nitra, Bratislava, and Tekov. Peter had three sons: Hypolit, Dionysius and *Edovč (*Edeuch*). Hypolit is mentioned for the first time in 1257 when he sold his hereditary estate Svodov by Želiezovce, where also other members of Hont-Poznan family owned their properties, to the archbishopric of Esztergom. His middle brother Dionysius received the estate of Červeník (Bíň) by Hlohovec from King Bela IV. When he entered the Franciscan Order later, his properties passed into the possession of his youngest brother. Since *Edovč was a royal varlet, Bela IV agreed that Červeník would pass over to him. *Magister* *Edovč is mentioned for the last time in 1272; he probably died leaving no issues. Among the children of Marcel, only *comes* Alexander is known. His residential estate was in the mid-thirteenth century Pata, near Sereď. Also the locality "Mortun" in Záhorie, near Stupava belonged into his hereditary property. Alexander had three sons, Bukven, Bodov and Čolk, with his first wife; his second wife bore him two more sons, Dominic and Charles. Their estates were to be found in the western part of Žitný ostrov (Rye Island) as well as in the neighbourhood of the counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok, in the southern part of Nitra county and in the south of Tekov county too. Čolk's sons committed some acts of violence in the properties of the Esztergom archbishopric which were they compelled to the royal court for. However, they settled up with the archbishop after an intercession of their relative, *magister* Opor from the House of Péč, *comes* of Bratislava and later palatine. Another brother, Demeter, made the most significant court career among his kinship. Except for being *comes* of a few counties, he held the office of *magister dapiferorum* and is mentioned as a *comes curialis* in 1234. He had two sons, John and Seraphin/Serafín; the latter chose a clerical career; he is mentioned as a provost of Bratislava at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century. All his properties passed to the daughters of his nephew Roland after his death. It is interesting that the estates beyond the river Drava (*possessiones ultra Drauam*) are mentioned in the first place, but are not further specified.[26]

The House of Vojna from Vojka nad Žitavou (nowadays Lúčnica nad Žitavou) is almost unknown in the secondary literature. However, it was an ancient line of the magnate House of Hont-Poznan which was also close to much more important family Forgáč/Forgách of Gýmeš/Ghymes. They also undoubtedly belonged to the upper nobility. Family members served Andrew, younger brother of King Emeric, already at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Martin, son of Vojna (*Woyn, Woyna*), is mentioned as the ban of Slavonia under Duke Andrew in 1202; he held this office again in years 1212–1213.[27] Almost all the members of this line of Hont-Poznan lineage are mentioned in the judgement charter of Palatine Dionysius from 1228. At this time, a long-lasting conflict concerning a property between the descendants of *comes* Jób/Hiob of Vojka nad Žitavou and *comes* Peter, son of Marcel, of the House of Tetén, escalated. The disputable tenure was located between the brooks *Puker and Toplica (*Thapolcha*). The whole controversy was also accompanied by acts of violence. At that time, Rubin, son of *comes* Jób, represented the whole House of Vojna (*generacio Woyna*) as its head. He presented to the palatine credible charters of the most saintly King Stephen and King *Belin* (Bela I?) and their successors which should have confirmed his claim for the mentioned area[28]. Subsequently, the palatine approved the claim of Rubin and his relatives, while the family of *comes* Peter of Tetén had to be satisfied with the neighbouring estate of Svätý Kríž (*Keresthwr*). Later on, the track of family representatives disappeared. János Karácsonyi states

[25] MOL DL 100094.
[26] *RDSl* 2, n. 43, p. 39.
[27] Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 42–43.
[28] *CDAC* 6, nr. 291, p. 457: "*instrumentis autenticis inclite memorie beatissimi Stephani et Bela Belin condam regum illustrium regni Hungarie*". It is questioned whether it was an original charter of Stephen I. It is more probable that the donation by these kings is mentioned in a later charter from the second half of the twelfth century.



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that their successors were the families of Vojkfy and Vojk-Keresztúri. According to their names, it can be assumed that they were nobles of a South Slavic origin[29].

Local name of Vojka (Hungarian Vajka) is to be found in Tekov by the river Žitava and a hamlet is mentioned already in 1113. Properties of Zobor monastery, of subjects of *Szolgagyőr* castle (Hlohovec) as well as Nitra lineage of Poznan family were to be found there. They (the Poznans of Nitra) had allegedly received this property from Ladislas I. Gradually, the whole estate passed into the possession of Hont-Poznan family. Before 1185, Vojka property share belonged to Čanád's son Stojslav.[30]

List of further owners has included also descendants of Hiob who used also *de Woyk* predicate. A nobleman called Und (Jund) being closely related with Andrew, son of Ivánka who was a founder of Forgáč family, also appears in respect to this property in the mid-thirteenth century. A conflict triggered between Andrew and Und concerning the ownership of Vojka. King Bela IV solved the conflict as follows; *comes* Und kept Vojka and Andrew was donated another property called Ďorok.[31] However, Und was not an exclusive owner as members of Poznan line from Nové Sady (*de Kűrth*) possessed parts of Vojka estate as well.[32]

We suppose that descendants of one of the lines of the spreading Hont-Poznan House who owned lands between the brooks Toplica and Puker at the beginning of the thirteenth century, lived in the village Trávnica (*Fys*) in Tekov at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Representatives of this line were *comes* Sanček (*Zonchuk*) and his sons Rubin/Rubín, Nicholas, Dezider and John, which we assume on the basis of significant family name Rubin (*Rubinus*) which had appeared within the lineage at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Except for the residential estate of Trávnica, the above-mentioned nobles possessed also the villages of Telince, Vlkas, and Obice.[33] However, they had been extinct at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Their estates as well as relevant donation charters passed to the House of Forgáč.

The important position of the above-mentioned noble families within the area of the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary (particularly in Slavonia between the rivers Drava and Sava) brings us to a conclusion that after the defeat of the Arpadian duke Koppány new land owners infiltration occurred in this region. These nobles were coming from the Principality of Nitra and even more specifically from the wider Hont-Poznan kinship. It is generally known that Stephen I turned the former duchy of Koppány into a royal county (*comitatus*). He also divided the peripheral zone (the interfluve of the rivers Drava and Sava) as booty among the members of this familial fellowship which had previously supported him. Subsequently, other representatives of this noble house expanded their land tenure to the neighbouring counties – especially thanks to their loyal service to the Arpadians. They lived their "Golden Age" in the first half of the thirteenth century, during the reign of Andrew II. He rewarded them for supporting him while he had been fighting his older brother Emeric by appointing them dignitaries at the royal court as well as donating them new properties. The mentioned lineages represent only a part of a real number of noble families in this area being of a similar status as well as (probably) origin. Same criteria can be detected also in the case of noble families of Ráb (Hungarian Győr), Péč (Hun. *Péch*, *Péc*), Beče (Hun. *Becsei*) and Geča line of the Hont-Poznan House from Špačince near Trnava.

[29] Karácsonyi, János: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig*, p. 1051–1052.
[30] *CDSl* 1, nr. 69, p. 67 (Wochoi) and nr. 97, p. 92 (Voyku).
[31] *CDSl* 2, nr. 259, p. 176.
[32] They are also mentioned at the occassion of property division in 1264. MOL DL 68085.
[33] *RDSl* 2, nr. 843, p. 368.



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DOMINIK BLANÁR*

# The first Possessions of the Aba Kindred beyond the Drava River**

## Prvé majetky šľachtického rodu Aba za riekou Drava / Prvi posjedi plemićkog roda Aba s onu stranu Drave

*In this paper the author explains the origins of the magnate family of Aba on the territory of Croatia, in particular its branch of Lipovec, located on the right bank of the river Dráva, where they gained estates in the thirteenth and at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Thanks to the donations of the Arpadian kings, they gradually enlarged their properties on this territory. The author deals with the development of these estates, their inheritance and division among the members of the kindred, and individual personalities of the most important branches of the Aba family.*

Keywords: Aba kindred, Keczer family, Lipovec-Našice family, Našice, medieval Hungarian nobility.

This paper contributes to the discussion of the issue of the nobility of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and administration of their possessions, which often included geographically very distant locations within the Carpathian basin. We will be concentrating in particular on the territories of present-day Slovakia and Croatia, which in the Middle Ages were important border regions, not only in terms of defense, but also in terms of policy making in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Nobility played important role in the politics of the Hungarian monarchs, who bestowed special privileges and donations upon them in return for their support, and at the same time the nobles benefited from the cultivation of these areas.

In this discourse we will pay special attention to the nobility from Lipovec (*de Lipolch*, Šariš county, today Kecerovský Lipovec in Slovakia),[1] which was one of many branches of the Aba[2] kindred. Particularly we want to investigate the property donations awarded by Arpadian kings *ultra Drava existentes*, in what is part of the present-day territory of Croatia. Since its origins the Aba kindred had been close to the Arpadian dynasty,[3] and after the formation of the Kingdom of Hungary they soon established themselves among the aristocracy. A strong position of the Aba house in the royal court and its extensive property base resulted in the early fourteenth century in its dominance in the northeastern part of the Kingdom of Hungary.[4]

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[1] See history of this house: Salanci, Michal: Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu. In: *Genealogicko-heraldický hlas*, a. 18, 2008, nr. 2, pp. 3–18; Idem: *Pôvod a počiatky šľachtického rodu Kecer* : Master thesis. Humenné – Prešov, KATEDRA, 2007; Idem: Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia. In: *5. študentská vedecká konferencia : zborník príspevkov*. Ed.: Marek Chovanec – Jozef Sipko – Gabriela Harčariková. Prešov: Prešovská univerzita v Prešove, 2010, pp. 520–535; Pór, Antal: A lipóczi Keczerek. In: *Történelmi Tár*, a. 14, 1891, nr. 3, pp. 313–366.

[2] The house of Aba was one of the oldest and most significant Hungarian noble houses, as proved also by Anonymous notary P. in his work dated to the end of the twelfth century. The oldest possessions of the Abas were concentrated in the area under the Matra mountains in the county of Heves, from where they started to penetrate other counties in later periods, probably from the beginning of the thirteenth century, notably the northeastern counties Abov, Šariš, Zemplín, where they grew into almost 20 separate branches till the beginning of the fourteenth century. Salanci, Michal: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*, pp. 3–5; Uličný, Ferdinand: Najstaršia šarišská a užská šľachta. In: *Najstaršie rody na Slovensku*, Ed.: Katarína Štulrajterová. Martin : Slovenská genealogicko-heraldická spoločnosť pri Matici slovenskej, 1994, p. 66. Thanks to the royal donations their properties spread also to other regions of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

[3] The first and most important ancestor of the Abas – King Samuel Aba (1041–1044) was both palatine at first and also the brother-in-law of King Stephen I. Simonis de Kéza: *Gesta Hungarorum*. Ed. et trans.: László Veszprémy – Frank Schaer. In: *Central European medieval texts*. Ed.: János, M. Bak – Urszula Borkowska – Giles Constable – Gábor Klaniczay. Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999, pp. 110 n. In like manner he was palatine of King Peter Orseolo (1038–1041). Zsoldos, Atilla: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*. Budapest: MTA, Töténettudományi intézete, 2011, pp. 15, 281.

[4] Domination of the Abas in this region peaked especially at the turn of thirteenth century under the reign of Palatine Omodeus Aba and ceased after the defeat of his sons in the Battle of Rozhanovce in 1312 by King Charles Robert. See also: Blanár, Dominik: *Oligarchia Omodejovcov v období feudálnej anarchie v Uhorsku*. Master thesis. Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského, 2010, 92 pp. Further literature also there.



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The oldest historical record associating the nobles of Lipovec with the county of Šariš derives from 1229. Then *magister* Demeter, son of Sixtus, from the Aba kindred, bought a large estate of Lipovec (*predium quoddam Lipoue nomine*) for 1000 marks from Duke Coloman, son of King Andrew II.[5] Even this property had some indirect connection with Slavonia, hence with present-day Croatia. As a matter of fact, its original owner was the same Lawrence (*Laurentius*), son of Opud (*Opud, Ompud*), who had his possessions confiscated for his violent crimes in Slavonia by King Andrew II who in turn donated them to his son Coloman. Lawrence had burned down and plundered 24 villages, including two churches, in Slavonia.[6]

This first account about the Abas of Lipovec and their first known property shows us some correlations. Firstly, it is a close relation of *magister* Demetrius to King Andrew II (1205–1235) and especially to his son, Duke Coloman (1208–1241). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Coloman, as the second-born king's son, was actively involved in the ruling of the north and the south areas of Hungary. At an early age (1219) he became the king of Galicia (*Galiciae Rex, Rex Rutenorum*) and then (1226) Slavonian duke (*dux totius Sclauonie*). According to this, he decided to choose his seat – at Spiš castle. From there he ruled with the authority of the prince and administered the Spiš region (affecting also the counties of Abov/Abaúj, Šariš, Turňa/Torna and Gemer).[7] After the year 1226 most of his activities are tied to Slavonia, including the order for construction of a major castle Medvedgrad[8] in that area. It was Duke Coloman who sold the estate of Lipovec in the vicinity of his Spiš seat to *magister* Demeter. The property was not donated (interestingly), but sold, although Demeter had served at the court of King Andrew II for a long time. On the other hand, the value of the property indirectly speaks not only about its size and desirability but also about significant wealth and social status of *magister* Demeter.

Later documents, predominantly donation letters, testify that since his youth *magister* Demeter had been in the service to the king, and especially to the young Prince Coloman as his tutor and teacher (*didasculus et magister*)[9] and then, between the years 1216 to 1240, as his steward (*dapifer*).[10] He served to King Andrew II as a member of his escort guard and his troops at least at one of his numerous military expeditions to Halič (*Galicia*).[11] During one of these expeditions in Vladimirsko (*Lodomeria*) *magister* Demeter and his brothers, Nicholas and Ladislaus, were taken into captivity. Another brother, Aba, along with their other relatives, was even killed during this expedition.[12] As a reward for these merits Demeter acquired new properties in the counties of *Novum Castrum* (Abaújvár) and Bihar.[13]

Within the next seven years *magister* Demeter was promoted to the count of Bodrog county (*comes Budrugiensis*)[14] and subsequently received other properties. These were in particular the property of Našice (*terra Neccha*), which he received directly from Duke Coloman, with the consent of his brother, King Bela IV. The donation letter, written in February 1240 by the provost, *magister* Fylo, in Zagreb, again mentions the services which *magister* Demeter, his brothers and relatives provided to King Andrew and Duke Coloman.[15] The possession *Neccha* (in the county of

[5] *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde *CDSl*), vol. 1. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislavae: Obzor, 1971, nr. 352, pp. 251–252; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (deinde *CDAC*), vol. 1. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd, 1860, nr. 151, pp. 256–257; *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 3. Ed.: Tade Smičiklas. Zagreb: Officina societatis typographica, 1905, nr. 266, p. 299.

[6] *CDCr*, vol. 1, nr. 352, p. 252: "*Laurentius filius Opud* (…) *XXXIIII villas* (…) *combussit, ac duas ecclesias* (…) *destruxit*".

[7] Procházková, Nataša: Koloman Haličský na Spiši pred rokom 1241. In: *Terra Scepusiensis* : *Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša*. Ed.: Martin Homza – Ryszard Gładkiewicz. Levoča : Kláštorisko, 2003, pp. 243–247. About the person of the Duke Coloman see also: Idem: Koloman Haličský (? – 1241). In: *Historia Scepusii,* vol. 1. Ed.: Martin Homza – Stanislaw Sroka. Bratislava – Kraków : Katedra slovenských dejín FF UK – Instytut Historii UJ, 2009, pp. 318–320.

[8] Klaić, Nada: *Povijest Hrvata u strednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: Globus, 1990, pp. 358, 425.

[9] *CDCr* 4, nr. 95, p. 102: "*… qui a puericie sue temporibus in servitiis fidelibus et arduis karissimo patri nostro et coronae exhibitis clarus enituit; … ab in tenerrimis infantie nostre vagitibus propter laudabilem morum ipsius elegantiam in didasculum nobis prefecit et magistrum*".

[10] *CDC* 4, nr. 95, p. 102; Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 142.

[11] *CDSl* 1, nr. 435, p. 317; *CDAC* 6, nr. 345, pp. 546–547; Salanci, Michal: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca* : *pôvod rodu*, p. 6.

[12] *CDAC* 6, nr. 345, p. 547: "*…in quoniam conflictu a Ruthenis… quam fratres sui, Mykola videlicet,… et Ladislaus, fratres eiusdem capriuati… in Lodomeria… et atrociter cruciati… frater vterinus nomine Aba, cum alijs suis consaguineis… ibidem interiit.*".

[13] *CDAC* 6, nr. 345, pp. 547; Salanci, Michal: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca* : *pôvod rodu*, p. 7.

[14] Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája* 1000–1301, p. 142.

[15] *CDCr* 4, nr. 95, pp. 102–104.



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Baranja)[16] is the present-day Croatian town situated in the western part of Osijek-Baranja county, only about 30 kilometers south of the Drava river.

Našice, according to the document, originally belonged to Ban Julius (*Gula banus, Iula, Gyula*) from the Kán kindred, who is an interesting figure. From the beginning of the thirteenth century until 1235 he was a high dignitary of the kingdom – palatine (*palatinus*), royal judge (*iudex curie*), ban of Slavonia (*banus totius Sclauonie*), including the position of *comes* of several counties (Bodrog, Vas, Somogy, Sopron).[17] From the documents we learn that Ban Julius was captured, but we absolutely do not know the circumstances or the actors of the incident. Some authors explain his capture and subsequent transition of Našice property into the hands of Duke Coloman by the ban's alleged breach of loyalty to the royal majesty.[18] Contrary to this opinion, even in the later documents there is no mention of his disloyalty to the king. The transfer of this property into the hands of the king, respectively of Duke Coloman, might have been the reason in this case. This could well have been an attempt of the new king to restore the sovereign royal properties that were given away by King Andrew II.

The fate of the property of Našice is even more interesting when we add that before it got into the hands of *magister* Demeter (by the disposition of King Bela IV and his brother Duke Coloman), Ban Julius, along with his wife Helen, donated a part of the property to the Knights Templar sometime between 1221 and 1230. This was confirmed by Pope Gregory IX at the end of the year 1230.[19] Kukuljevič states also that Ban Julius promised to build a monastery and a church at the donated property, but he does not mention his sources for this information.[20] Našice along with other Templar property Lesnica (*Licenissa*) is mentioned in the year 1239 in the dispute between Duke Coloman and the Knights Templar for other Templar possessions. As a result of reconciliation, mediated by Bishop Bartholomew of Pécs, Templars were confirmed the right to claim the tithes of these properties. The document also contains a clause under which the Templars had to pay a tenth of gold and silver to the bishop, should they uncover a field of precious metals on the site.[21] At the same time we observe that *magister* Demeter first replaced Ban Julius at the position of *comes* of Bodrog county (1235–1240)[22] and only later (1240) Duke Coloman donated him the property of Našice.

Našice is subsequently mentioned in 1251 in the hands of Demeter's son, *comes* Alexander, in the document by which King Bela IV confirmed to aforementioned Alexander the right on servants and maids after Ban Julius.[23] It was specifically the twelve people who originally belonged to Helen (*Iule*), ban's wife. The document mentions Alexander in relation to Ban Julius as his *cognatus*. This can be explained by the marriage of Alexander, son of *magister* Demeter, with the granddaughter of Ban Julius,[24] which means that around 1251 these two families were linked together.

Twelve years later (1263) Našice became the subject of a dispute among *magister* Demeter's three sons – Alexander, Demeter and Peter. The document issued by the chapter house of Bač does not state the cause of their dispute. We only know that Alexander and Demeter stood against Peter, who either by choice or under the pressure of the other two brothers pledged that neither he nor his descendants would encourage any dispute about the property right of Našice against his two brothers and their heirs. In case of failure to comply with this pledge he was obliged to pay a fine of 150 talents of silver.[25] This document,

[16] Györffy, György: *Az Árpád-kori magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. 1. Budapest: Akaémiai Kiadó, 1987, pp. 246–247.

[17] Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, pp. 305–306; From the offsprings of Ban Julius rose important historical figures of that time, among others the Transylvanian duke Ladislaus Kán (1280–1315).

[18] Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, p. 521.

[19] *CDAC* 1, nr. 165, p. 277; Salanci, Michal: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca* : *pôvod rodu*, p. 8; This gift of Ban Julius from the Kán kindred is once more mentioned in 1310 in connection to the dissolution of the Order of the Knights Templar. *CDCr* 8, nr. 221, pp. 264–265; Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, p. 527.

[20] Knights Templar probably built the church themselves, after they received this property. This might be reflected in the dedication of the church to St. Martin, a soldier saint, who was popular among military orders which the Knights Templar belonged to. That the church was certainly Templar was confirmed by the exposed Templar coat-of-arms on the façade of the church. Dobronić, Lelja: *Posjedi i sjedišta Templara Ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1984, pp. 62–63.

[21] *CDC*, vol. 4, nr. 76, pp. 80–81; Dobronić, Lelja: *Posjedi i sjedišta Templara Ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj*, p. 62.

[22] Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 142.

[23] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus et civilis* (deinde *CDH*), tom. 4, vol. 2. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: Typis Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829, pp. 103–105; Salanci, Michal: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca* : *pôvod rodu*, p. 9.

[24] Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*. Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV. Budapest: Arcanum 2003 (Aba nem 8. Lipóci ág).

[25] *CDH*, 4/3, pp. 177–179; Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, p. 523.



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however, does not inform us about the extent of Našice property, or about its possible division between the two brothers.

In 1281, Našice is again mentioned in connection with the marking of the boundaries of the adjacent property and Demeter, son of Demeter,[26] is stated as the owner. In the meantime Lipovec family was able to acquire other properties in Slavonia. We get to know this from the charter of Stephen V of 1271, by which the king acknowledges and confirms the possessions across the river Drava to Alexander and Demeter, mainly due to the loss of earlier donation letters.[27] The possessions are not mentioned by name, but we learn that these possessions were acquired by the Abas earlier, probably during the reign of Bela IV. The document also indicates that Našice was not the only village in question, although it was probably included in this redistribution. We learn more about these possessions namely almost 30 years later (28 July 1299), when they were the subject of a property division in the family. The document issued by the royal chancery of Andrew III confirms the division of all assets beyond the river Drava as well as the division of the Lipovec property itself (at that time with the church, mansion and castle already built) which happened 17 years before (1282).[28] We can see that the rightful owners of the properties in Slavonia were the sons of *magister* Demeter: Alexander and Demeter. It is likely that their brother Peter gave up his claims to Našice already back in 1263.[29] However, a huge turnover followed by the end of the thirteenth century when the sons of Peter, against the pledge of their father, began to make claims on these properties. As one of three brothers – Demeter – died even earlier (last mentioned in 1281) with no heir, the share of his property was either inherited by his brother Alexander and his descendants, or was divided between his both brothers, Alexander and Peter. In this case Peter's sons would have been rightfully entitled to their share of the property, but this is not mentioned at all.

It is important in this case that the initiators of the dispute were the sons of Peter – Ladislaus, Luke, Demeter, Stephen and Peter – who dragged before the king their cousins, sons of *comes* Alexander, namely, *magister* Ladislaus, the titular provost and vice-chancellor, *magister* Demeter, *magister* Nicholas and *magister* Alexander, and demanded a more rightful distribution of the family possessions. It was precisely redistribution of their Slavonian properties in Našice, Pagraach,[30] Radauan (*Rodoan*)[31] and Saint Michael (*Scentmyhal*).[32] Alexander's sons, however, stated before the king that they were the only legitimate heirs to those possessions, and sons of Peter were entitled to no claim, which they proved by some letters from Bela IV and Stephen V.

King Andrew III acknowledged these facts and even accepted the right of Alexander's sons, but finally decided that a share of those possessions would also be given to their opponents. According to this decision, the sons of Peter were given possession of Rodoan and Saint Michael and the sons of Alexander were given entire Našice and Pagraach properties. On the same occasion, their other possessions were divided again, including the Lipovec property.[33]

It is also worth mentioning that in 1290 the Abas from the Atyanayi branch acquired a new property from Queen Elizabeth – Abbey of St. Martin (*vyznicatum Sancti Martini*) in Virovitica county, with respective vineyards, forests and meadows.[34]

In the early fourteenth century, in a difficult political situation after the extinction of Arpad dynasty and the subsequent struggle for the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary, Aba kindred under the leadership of Omodeus (*Amadé*) Aba played an important role. Palatine Omodeus initially supported the candidacy of the Czech prince Wenceslas as the Hungarian King Ladislaus V (1301–1305). Very soon, however, he started to support his rival, Charles of Anjou, a strategic step that allowed him later not only to maintain

[26] *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, tom. 2, vol. 2–3. Ed.: Emericus Szentpétery – Iván Borsa. Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1961, nr. 3104, p. 275. Varsik, Branislav: *Osídlenie Košickej kotliny*, vol. 3, Bratislava: Veda, 1977, s. 112;
[27] *CDH* 5/1, pp. 150–152; Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, p. 523.
[28] For division of Lipovec property, see: Salanci, Michal: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca : pôvod rodu*, pp. 11–12; Idem: Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, pp. 523–524.
[29] See note 25.
[30] Györffy, György: *Az Árpád-kori magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. 1, p. 254.
[31] Ibidem, p. 372.
[32] Ibidem, p. 390.
[33] *CDAC* 10, nr. 213, pp. 229–232.
[34] *CDCr* 8, nr. 10, pp. 9–10. Karácsonyi, János: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig*, vol. 1. Budapest: A Magyar tudományos akadémia, 1900, p. 61.



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his position and influence but also to continually increase it until his tragic death when he faced a revolt of Košice burghers against his abuse of power and status towards the town of Košice as well as the entire north-eastern Hungary region.

Similarly, *magister* Alexander, son of *comes* Alexander, became one of the staunchest supporters of King Charles Robert (1307–1342). This is best verified in the royal charter from 4 September 1310, in which King Charles says that since his first arrival in Hungary, *magister* Alexander loyally stood at his side and helped him in the fight against the Czech king (Wenceslas) and German Duke Otto (as Hungarian king in 1305–1307), and as a reward for this he will donate to *magister* Alexander the part of the property Našice that previously belonged to the Knights Templar.[35] We cannot determine the exact part of the property from this charter (this we learn from a later document issued in 1312 only, as described below). As it is well known the Templars were experiencing decline, dissolution and confiscation of property at this time. Subsequently in 1311 a definite redistribution of all the family possessions followed, as confirmed by the chapter house in Požega. The redistribution actually confirmed the existing condition (division) of 1299, but sons of Peter gained something in addition. Sons of Alexander recognized that they got the better part of the possessions, and they pledged to compensate their cousins with 1300 marks of pure silver, 10 pieces of yper cloth and 5 horses worth 60 marks.[36]

Despite this fact, Peter's sons Luke and Peter were probably not so satisfied with the division of property, since they violently took Alexander's Lipovec castle, causing him damage of 500 marks. The king, who at that time resided in Šaris, came to solve this dispute and condemned these sons of Peter to the loss of their properties.[37] They have nevertheless kept their part of the Lipovec property throughout the whole fourteenth century.[38]

The king subsequently rewarded *magister* Alexander for his loyalty, especially during the Battle of Rozhanovce (15 June 1312), in which the king defeated the sons of Palatine Omodeus Aba along with their allies – *magister* Demeter, the son of Nicholas from Balassa kindred and the troops of infamous Matthias Chak (Čák/Csák) of Trenčín. The king again reaffirms his possession of the property that previously belonged to the Templars, and in this case the property is specified as St. Martin.[39] By another document the king reaffirms all Alexander's other possessions from the last division in 1311.[40]

This was the definite distribution of all possessions between the two lines of the family from Lipovec. After the division, both branches of the family lived on their own possessions, although they did not entirely avoid some disputes in the future. From Peter, the son of Demeter, the Šaris kindred of Kecer descended.[41] The descent line of his brother, *magister* Alexander, bore the name of the field of Našice property and property of Lipovec. In the older, predominantly Hungarian literature, they have been referred to as Lipovec-Našice or Našice[42] branch ever since they acquired the property of Našice, and the predicate of Našice (*de Nekche*) is rarely used starting from the fourteenth century.[43] Našice property and other mentioned possessions beyond Drava were being increased in the course of the following century until the extinction of this family in the early fifteenth century.[44]

The description of the acquisition and the disposition of the first properties of the Abas in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary, beyond the river Drava, provides a picture of enlargement of the property base of Lipovec families while they

[35] *CDCr* 8, nr. 221, pp. 263–265.
[36] *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis* (deinde *CDHA*), vol. 1. Ed.: Imre Nagy. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, vol. 1, nr. 226, 1878, pp. 241–245; Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, p. 527; Idem: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca* : *pôvod rodu*, s. 17.
[37] *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* (deinde *RDSl*), vol. 1. Ed.: Vincent Sedlák. Bratislavae: Academia scientiarium Slovaca, nr. 989, 1980, p. 424.
[38] Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, p. 528.
[39] *CDCr* 8, nr. 269, pp. 325–329; *RDSl* 1, nr. 1004, p. 430; Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, p. 528.
[40] *CDHA* 1, nr. 256, p. 280; Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, p. 528.
[41] Surname Kecer ( *Keczer, Keccer, Kecher*) was first used by the offsprings of Peter, the son of Demeter. Salanci, Michal*: Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca* : *pôvod rodu*, p. 6.
[42] Salanci, Michal: *Komes Alexander z Kecerovského Lipovca a Našíc a jeho potomkovia*, p. 521–522; Idem: *Kecerovci z Kecerovského Lipovca* : *pôvod rodu*, p. 9.
[43] Ibidem, p. 9; Napr. *Demetrius de Nekche*, v dvoch listinách z roku 1327. *CDH*, 8/3, nr. 63, p. 202; nr. 75, p. 237, alebo *Demetrii filii Alexandri de Nekche*. *CDCr* 9, nr. 386, p. 474.
[44] For further history of these branches of the Aba kindred, see also literature cited in note 1.



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served the ruling royal dynasty. *Magister* Demeter, who was in the service of Duke Coloman, tried to be even closer to the duke as we can notice from the location of his first properties, which corresponded with the areas under Coloman's active governance. In this respect we can say that Coloman helped Demeter to acquire the position of the count of Bodrog county, a direct neighbour of the county of Baranja, where Demeter later acquired Našice. The properties beyond Drava as well as other possessions were granted to Demeter and his son under the reign of King Bela IV and his brother Coloman, and this was the most successful time period of the Aba family from Lipovec. In the following period we observe a more or less multiple redistribution of these properties among numerous descendants of *magister* Demeter. In the early fourteenth century the personality of *magister* Alexander stands out, with his firm loyalty to the new ruler from the Anjou dynasty, which brought him the benefit of reacquisition of the assets previously owned by the Knights Templar. Alexander's promotion in the nobility ranks was almost guaranteed especially after his support of the king during the rebellion organized by his own relatives – Palatine Omodeus and other branches of the Aba kindred (1312).

The purpose of this paper was also, to some extent, to demonstrate the gradual disintegration of a kindred into smaller units – branches (families) that settled quickly at the newly acquired properties and often took over the local names for their identification (for example *de Nechce*, *de Lipolch*) as a surname. On the contrary, their nickname – Kecer (*Keczer, Kecher*) – gave name to the area of present-day Kecerovský Lipovec. Last but not least, we need to keep in mind the attractivity of this fertile locality for the nobles who originally settled in the harsher northern part of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.



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BORISLAV GRGIN* – IVAN BOTICA**

# The Counts Kurjaković of Krbava in the Medieval History of Modern-day Slovakia

## Kniežatá z Krbavy na území dnešného Slovenska / Krbavski knezovi na teritoriju današnje Slovačke

*The Counts of Krbava* (Corbaviai), *a family of Croatian magnates, have been documented in the sources from the thirteenth century up to 1531. They originated from the county of Krbava, today a rather undeveloped and poorly inhabited part of the Croatian region of Lika. In contrast to this, during the Middle Ages Krbava was one of the important Croatian political and ecclesiastical centres. We do not know much about the counts due to the fact that their family archive probably perished during the Ottoman invasions at the turn of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. However, analysis has shown that Krbavski had seven generations with three branches and altogether some 60 individuals. They mainly marked medieval Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Istria and Bosnia with their presence. Nevertheless, some of them temporarily or permanently resided in today's Hungary and Slovakia. Of all the Croatian magnates, they were the ones who were often most present in Slovakia. This was practically unknown in Croatia until the pioneering work of Pál Engel from 1998. The first among the Krbavski in Slovakia was the kindred's leading figure, Grgur (Gregory) I, in 1358. He came to Levoča? / Levice?* (in castro Levia) *as a prisoner of King Louis I. The counts ascended significantly on the social scale during the rule of King Sigismund (1387–1437), because they were the king's most consistent and loyal supporters in medieval Croatia. Therefore, they were rewarded with many high-ranking titles and offices, as well as with numerous landed estates. For example, Count Karlo II (Charles) of Krbava obtained from the king, in 1393, as a permanent donation the royal castle and town of Čeklís (Latin* Cheklyz, *Slovak* Bernolákovo*; Hungarian* Cseklész*). Čeklís or Bernolákovo remained Karlo's seat and residence right up to his death (after 1422). He was consequently even titled Duke of Čeklís. He spent his lifetime between his native region and his estates in Slovakia. He also possessed a big house in Bratislava. His direct descendents (three sons, three grandsons, and one great-grandson) remained permanently in Slovakia and with time extended their possessions even in the region of Nitra. This branch of the Krbavski kindred could be, therefore, called with full justification Slovak nobility of Croatian origin. This paper presents data about the Slovak branch of the Krbavski from the perspective of Croatian history.*

Keywords: high nobility, the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, Krbava, Čeklís, Slovak branch of Croatian nobility

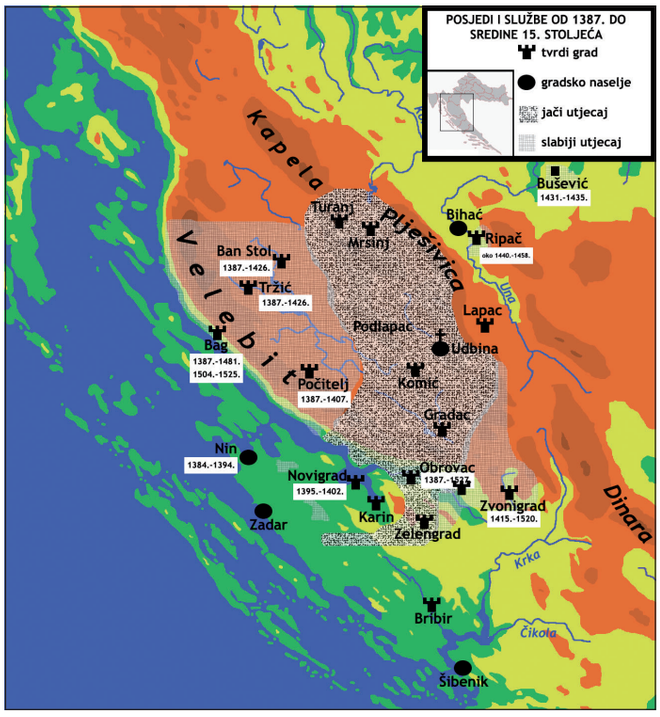
In this paper the authors will try to reconstruct the role of the Croatian counts Kurjaković of Krbava during the Late Middle Ages in today Slovakia. One has to emphasize that the Kurjakovići were not the only ones from medieval Croatia and Slavonia directly connected with the above-mentioned parts of the kingdom. However, their role was of utmost importance and they established the strongest links there. Namely, almost everybody among the Kurjakovići, excepting the founder of the clan and a few other members over seven generations, lived temporarily or permanently in medieval Hungary. During the first decades of the fifteenth century the majority of counts were living in Slavonia, Hungary and today's Slovakia, and not in their native medieval Croatia. Suffice it to say that of some seventy clan members overall more than one third died in the north.[1] Who and what were the Kurjakovići?

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[1] The exact figure will probably never be precisely established. Therefore, here is the list of those whose death in the north is confirmed in the sources, or there is a high degree of probability that it occurred there. Their names were as follows: Grgur I (around 1360), Budislav II (1379), the unknown Butko's daughter – married Kokoš of Kaza (after 1394), Nikola/Nicholas II (before 1402), Grgur IV (after 1413), the unknown Butko's daughter – married Zrinski (after 1413), Ivan II Grof (1418), Karlo/Charles II (1422), Nikola/Nicholas III (after 1430), Ana/Anna – married Babonić (before 1434), Marija/Mary – married Zlatonosić (after 1434), Magdalena/Magdalen – married Kladuški (after 1434), Marija/Mary – married Kladuški (after 1434), Nikola/Nicholas Zakanjski (before 1436), Franko (around 1437), Franko's children (around 1437), Ivanka (1439), Juraj/George III (around 1440), Jelena/Helen – married Gorjanski (Garai, after 1449), Nikola/Nicholas V (1450), Ladislav/Ladislas Zakanjski (around 1458), Katarina/Catherine – married Szerdahelyi (after 1458), Grgur V (around 1460),



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Map 1. *Counts of Krbava, during the reign of King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437).*

The counts Kurjaković of Krbava or Krbavski were among the most influential magnates in medieval Croatia. For more than two centuries they had a significant role in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. They were among the first ones in medieval Croatia to establish closer ties with medieval Hungary. Already during the reign of King Charles Robert I of Anjou (1301–1342) one of their members, Count Grgur I, had the title of *miles aule regie*.[2] During the reign of the Luxembourg, Habsburg and Jagiello kings, some of the Kurjakovići held high offices in the realm. They held the titles of ban and viceban of Croatia, *magister curiae*, *magister daphiferorum*, *magister pincernarum*, and *curiae nostre magister officii palatini*.[3] Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were repeatedly royal castellans in Croatia (Unac, Klis, Novigrad, Ostrovica, Počitelj, and Ripač), Slavonia (Dobra Kuća, Greben, Kozara, Mrin, and Gračenica), Hungary (Hasznos, Visegrád, and Solymár) and modern-day Slovakia (Dobrá Niva, Slovenská Ľupča, and Brezno). The last member of the Kurjakovići of Krbava, Ivan Karlović (died in 1531), for many years held offices of Croatian viceban, ban and royal captain. The counts raised horses of high quality on their estates, they traded wheat and they had business interests in Dalmatian fairs and Venetian banks. The most distinguished among them were the guardians of St. Stephen's crown, members of the narrow circle of the Order of the Dragon and of the Santo Spirito fraternity in Rome.

The sources mention some 68 members of the Kurjakovići in the period between 1298 and 1531. They all originated from the Gusići kindred, one of the oldest in Croatia. The Kurjakovići were from Krbava, once an important Croatian county and the centre of a bishopric. This is today one of the poorest and most scarcely populated areas of Croatia, in the Lika region. Krbava was an important political and ecclesiastical centre in medieval Croatia, and the neighboring counties of Lapac, Hotuča, Odorje, Podgorje, Bužane, and Lika were in its sphere of influence.[4] The Kurjakovići successfully entered the narrowest circle of the social elite in Croatia at the end of the thirteenth century, via marriage between Kurjak Gusić and Jelena/Helen Šubić, the sister of Croatian ban Pavao/Paul I Šubić.[5] With his brother-in-law's consent, Kurjak obtained Krbava as a hereditary estate. This estate extended well beyond the borders of Krbava county and encompassed huge parts of today's northern Dalmatia, Lika region and some border areas of present-day Bosnia. (Map 1). After Kurjak's death (around 1304), his sons Budislav I (died in 1346), Pavao/Paul I (died in 1342) and Grgur I (died around 1360) established the three branches of the Kurjakovići. The most prominent among them were: Juraj/George I (died around 1393), Butko (died in 1401), Ivan II (died in 1418), Karlo/Charles II (died in 1422), Ivanka (died

Kristof/Christopher (after 1466), Jelena/Helen – married Zrinski (after 1508), Nikola/Nicholas VI (after 1504), Juraj/George V (after 1504), Ivan Torkvat Karlović (1531).

[2] Engel, Pál: Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj. In: *Povezivanje srednjoeuropskih zemalja s Jadranom (Mediteranom)*. Ed.: Josip Božičević. Zagreb: HAZU, 1998, pp. 73–81.

[3] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*. PhD. Thesis. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2011, p. 301.

[4] Kovačić, Slavko: Splitska metropolija u dvanaestom stoljeću. In: *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*. Ed.: Mile Bogović. Rijeka – Zagreb: Visoka bogoslovska škola u Rijeci – Kršćanska sadašnjost Zagreb, 1988, pp. 28–30; Pejnović, Dane: Geopolitički položaj Krbave u srednjovjekovnom, osmanlijskom i vojnokrajiškom razdoblju. In: *Krbavska bitka i njezine posljedice*. Ed.: Dragutin Pavličević. Zagreb: Hrvatska matica iseljenika, 1997, pp. 52–54.

[5] Karbić, Damir: *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*. PhD Thesis. Budapest: Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 2000, p. 76.



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in 1439), Juraj/George III (died after 1439), Toma/Thomas II (died after 1467), Grgur VI (died around 1458), Ivan III (died around 1483), Karlo/Charles IV (died in 1493), and Ivan IV Karlović (died in 1531).[6]

Each and every member of the clan inherited the title of *comes de Corbavia* by birth. This was particularly valuable during the reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437), when the Krbavski figured as the king's closest allies in Croatia.[7] Therefore, it is not surprising that Ivan II, Nicholas's only son, who performed the high duty of *magister dapipherorum* at the royal court from 1397 till 1417, had the nickname Grof ("count").[8] The Krbavski were among those magnates in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom who had the right of possessing their own *banderium* of horsemen.[9] Under their own banners they defended their estates and the whole of Dalmatia and Croatia together with the Frankapani and Nelipčići counts, and with Croatian ban. Their marital alliances additionally testify to their high social rank. Although the Krbavski left their marks particularly in Croatia and Dalmatia, a certain number of them temporarily or permanently acted and lived in Slavonia, Hungary and Slovakia. This last fact was relatively unknown until the publishing of Pál Engel's work *The Counts of Krbava* in Hungary, in 1998.[10] Our colleague Damir Karbić brought to our attention all this information and we thank him for that. He also kindly provided us with additional sources and his own excerpts from the Hungarian State Archives in Budapest.

The first encounter of one of the Kurjakovići with modern-day Slovakia occurred in 1358, when Count Grgur I, the most important member of his clan during the first half of the fourteenth century, finished *in castro Levia* as a prisoner of King Louis of Anjou (1342–1382). The reason for Grgur's imprisonment was his reluctance to take Louis' side during the latter's campaign to conquer Dalmatia. This reluctance was, most probably, caused by Count Grgur's multiple business and family ties and interests in Venice. Grgur was imprisoned *propter infidelitatis notam* and he spent the last years of his life there.[11] His letter to Venice at the end of the same year is therefore filled with frustration. He was disappointed with his family, sons and friends. He emphasized that all that was left to him was his faithful personal servant, his ring and his money deposited in Venice, because the king confiscated all his other property throughout the kingdom.[12] Count Grgur once again, at the beginning of 1360, wrote to the Venetian doge petitioning him to support his cause at the royal court, and to send him some of the count's savings via his son, Juraj/George Kurjaković. However, due to Grgur's close and sudden death, an answer never arrived. Count Grgur's sons, despite the fact that they retained their titles, were no longer closely linked to Krbava. They could therefore be considered, particularly from the beginning of the fifteenth century, as local nobility from Križevci and Somogy counties, with the surname Zakanjski.

Some twenty years after Count Grgur's death, his nephews Nikola/Nicholas I and Toma/Thomas I appeared as *comites de Corbavia* among the escorts of the highest state dignitaries, witnessing the premarital contract between the children of King Louis and the Austrian duke Leopold, in the Slovak town of Zvolen.[13] It is possible that the counts then established some social links there, because later they directed their children to the north – to Slavonia, Hungary and Slovakia.[14] This was particularly true in the case of Ivan II Grof, Nicholas's only son. The social ascent of the Kurjakovići gained momentum after King Louis' death, in 1382, because they firmly supported the queens Elizabeth and Mary and later King Sigismund. During that period they were among the rare opponents of the Neapolitan party in Croatia.

The leader of the clan at the end of the fourteenth century was Count Butko, son of Budislav, the royal knight and for many years the duke of the Dalmatian town of Nin (*Nona*).[15] He

[6] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 302.
[7] Ibidem, p. 178.
[8] In all the documents from Sigismund's period his signature had the nickname *Grof*. See – Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 170, n. 1123.
[9] *Decreta Regni mediaevalis Hungariae: 1301–1457* (deinde *DRMH*), vol. 2. Ed.: Franciscus Döry et al. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976, Propositiones (1432–1433), pp. 148–149.
[10] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, pp. 73–81.
[11] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 111–112.
[12] Listine o odnošajih izmedju južnog Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike. 10 vol. Ed.: Simeon Ljubić. In: *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* (deinde *MSM*), Zagreb: Fr. Župan (Albrecht et Fiedler), 1868–1891, hic vol. 3, nr. 551, p. 384.
[13] *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*). 11 vol. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: Regiae Universitatis Hungariae, 1829–1844, hic vol. 3, 9/5, p. 380.
[14] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 144–145.
[15] Registar Artikucija iz Rivignana. Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskoga i Splitskoga kaptola. Ed.: Mladen Ančić: In: *Fontes: Izvori za hrvatsku povijest*, a. 11, 2005, nr. 36, p. 173: "*Domini Budislaui comitis Corbauie nati olim domini Budislaui de genere Gussich comitis Corbauie.*"



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participated actively, side by side with his brothers Nicholas I and Thomas II and his nephews Karlo/Charles II and Pavao/Paul II, in an action to liberate the queens from captivity (May-June 1387), in Novigrad near Zadar (Zara).[16] This action definitively strengthened the political ties between the Kurjakovići and King Sigismund, and most probably influenced their rapid social ascent in the kingdom. While residing for some time on their estates near Zadar, Queen Mary showered her liberators with possessions, privileges, offices, and honors. The Kurjakovići regained the town of Obrovac and practically turned it into their main seat. They also obtained vast areas around the Velebit Mountain. From that time onwards they were titled as lords and counts of Krbava, Lika, Bužane, and Bag.[17] On his behalf Count Butko became the queen's court *ispán*,[18] and his nephew Charles II her *magister pincernarum*.[19] However, this was just the beginning of Charles's splendid career at the royal court. In February 1393 King Sigismund granted him for life the royal fortress and town of Čeklis (lat. *Chekly*z, slov. *Bernolákovo*; hung. *Cseklész*) with the adjacent manor, northeast of Bratislava.[20] Four months later the chapter of Bratislava invested Charles as the lord of Čeklis.[21] Count Charles started to often sign himself as Count of Čeklis, or Čekliški, due to the fact that he lived there from then onwards, until his death.[22] Count Charles II is particularly mentioned in the sources in relation to Čeklis and various affairs there from 1402 till 1412.[23]

Charles's cousin, Count Ivan II Grof, joined his relative at the royal court in the early spring of 1397. Impressively, over the following twenty years (until 1417) he performed the duty of royal *magister dapipherorum*.[24] He probably came to the court among Sigismund's escorts after the king's return from the battlefield at Nikopol, in the winter of 1396–1397. We know that Sigismund on his travels shortly visited Komić in Krbava, one of the main seats of the counts.[25] In that context one could interpret the arrival of Count Ivan II at the court as a sort of royal reward to the Kurjakovići for their previous faithful services. While negotiating with the Habsburgs in order to strengthen his shaky rule, King Sigismund summoned his faithful magnates and nobles to Bratislava, in September 1402. Among the cosigners who approved the king's action were also counts of Krbava, Charles II and Ivan II Grof.[26]

As a reaction to Ladislas of Naples' crowning in Zadar, in summer of 1403, Sigismund from Bratislava started to regain the towns and counties throughout the kingdom, with the help of his supporters. Soon afterwards, Sigismund entered Visegrád. He immediately appointed Charles II Kurjaković of Krbava and Čeklis as a royal castellan there, and entrusted him with guarding the crown of St. Stephen.[27] Count Charles held that office until spring of 1409, when as a man in the king's confidence he was appointed ban of Croatia, because of Venetian territorial pretensions there.[28] In the meantime he also performed the duty of secular governor of the diocese of Vác, and after Sigismund's victory in Bosnia, in 1408, Charles also became a *summus thesaurarius regius*.[29] Charles and his relative Ivan II Grof became members of the innermost circle of the *Ordo Draconis*, together with the king, the queen, and 22 of the most

[16] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 149–150.

[17] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*: *Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije. Listine godina 1386–1394*, vol. 17 (1981). Ed.: Stjepan Gunjača et al. Zagreb: JAZU, nr. 72, pp. 99–100: "*Nos Nicolaus, Thomas et Vucho* (!)*, filii olim comitis Budislaui et Paulus, filius olim comitis Caroli, et Carolus, filius olim comitis Georgii, Corbauię, Lichę, Busaneç* (!)*, Scrissię domini et comites naturales uniuersis et singulis* (…)."

[18] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 151.

[19] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 78.

[20] *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*: *(1387–1422)*, 9 vol. Ed.: Elemér Mályusz – Iván Borsa. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1951. (deinde *ZsO*), hic vol. 1, nr. 2915; *A Pécz nemzetség Apponyi ágának az Apponyi grófok családi levéltáraban őrizett oklevelei (1241-1526)*, vol. 1. Ed.: Ernő Kammerer. Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1906, nr. 107, pp. 235–236.

[21] MOL DF 225517.

[22] Engel, Pál: Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj, p. 78; Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 158.

[23] *ZsO* 2, nr. 1500, nr. 2102; nr. 6170; nr. 6600; *ZsO* 3, nr. 1744.

[24] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 169. It seems that his stay in office was interrupted, for no obvious reasons, between 1404 and 1406.

[25] Šišić, Ferdo: Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskoga. In: *Vjestnik kraljevskog hrvatsko-dalmatinsko-slavonskog zemaljskog arkiva*, a. 6, 1904, p. 23.

[26] *CDH* 10/4, p. 47.

[27] Ibidem, p. 299; Klaić, Vjekoslav: Capiti nostro Bavie [?]. In: *Vjestnik kraljevskog hrvatsko-dalmatinsko-slavonskog zemaljskog arkiva*, a. 1, 1899, p. 275; *CDH* 10/4, p. 104; Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Capiti nostro Bavie [?]*, p. 206; Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 78; Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 179.

[28] *ZsO* 2, nr. 5397, nr. 6363; nr. 6589.

[29] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 181.



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distinguished men in Sigismund's kingdom.[30] It is indicative that they were the only Croat members of that elite order (Fig. 1).

As the Kurjakovići in general were siding with Sigismund, the counts of Krbava in Croatia felt ever more pressured from the Neapolitan party, contrary to their powerful relatives at the court. Among other reasons, it is highly probable that Charles accepted the duty of Croatian ban because the Venetian territorial expansion in the hinterland of Dalmatian towns, particularly Zadar, challenged the estates of his clan. He bore the title of ban of Dalmatia and Croatia for the first time in March 1409, in a document confirming the privileges of Bratislava.[31] However, after a period of heavy fighting with the Venetians in Dalmatia, in October 1411 Charles resigned as ban and permanently left his native Croatia. The last years of his life he spent on the territory of nowadays Slovakia, especially at his Čeklis estate. He possessed a house in Bratislava as well.[32] As *comes Karolus de Corbauia alias de Chekles, pridem regnorum nostrorum Dalmatie et Croatie banus*, Charles participated, in 1412, at the tournament in Buda organized in honor of Sigismund's peace with the Polish-Lithuanian king Wladislaus II Jagiello (1386–1434).[33] The other Croatian magnates, engaged in defensive efforts against the Venetians, did not participate in that special occasion.

During King Sigismund's absence from the kingdom, between 1412 and 1418, the lord of Čeklis Charles II Krbavski and other dignitaries tried to resolve numerous disputes and conflicts about property issues, particularly throughout Slovakia.[34] For example, Charles was one of the jurors, in April 1413 in Bratislava, in a dispute between the citizens of Trnava and the nobleman Ulrich Wolffurt, regarding the rights of collecting grapes and the taxation of several vineyards.[35] This legal dispute was resolved only in July 1414, in Željezno (lat. *Kismartonium*, hung. *Kis-Marton*, ger. *Eisenstadt*) in Gradišće (ger. *Burgenland*).[36] In 1417

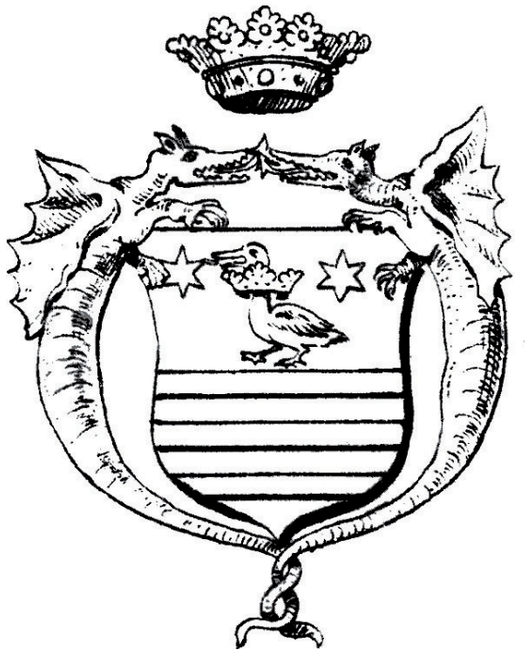


Fig. 1. *The family coat-of-arms of Counts Karlo/Charles II and Ivan II Grof, as members of the Dragon Order.*

the king appointed Count Charles as a permanent member of the royal supreme court.[37] Despite his old age, Count Charles remained rather active and engaged in public matters until his death. At the beginning of November 1418 he was regulating the agrarian relations at the estate of Čeklis,[38] while at the beginning of 1422 the *ispán* of Bratislava Stephen Rozgony petitioned him for clarifications regarding the borders of certain estates.[39] In September 1422 Charles was escorting King Sigismund who travelled to the Reichstag of the Holy Roman Empire in Nuremberg, as recorded in the *Memories of Eberhard Windecke*.[40] Count Charles II most probably died at the end of 1422, at his castle on the mount Várdomb in the town of Čeklis.

Count Charles married twice: firstly with Margaret, and after her death with Magdalena Rohonc (von Rechnitz).[41] His first wife was of unknown origin. However, she was most probably

[30] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj,* p. 75.
[31] *CDH* 10/4, p. 333.
[32] MOL DF 239443.
[33] MOL DL 10527; Šišić, Ferdo: *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba (1348–1416)*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1902, p. 224; Filipović, Emir: Viteške svečanosti u Budimu 1412. godine i učešće bosanskih predstavnika. In: *Spomenica Marka Šunjića (1927–1998)*. Ed.: Dubravko Lovrenović. Sarajevo: Filozofski fakultet u Sarajevu, 2010, pp. 296–301.
[34] MOL DL 10527; MOL DL 10005; MOL DL 10241.
[35] Wenzel, Gusztáv: *Stibor vajda. Életrajzi tanulmány*. Budapest: Eggenberger-Féle Akad. Könyvkereskedés, 1874, nr. 115, pp. 158–159.
[36] MOL DL 10005; MOL DL 10241.
[37] *DRMH*, p. 401; Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 78.
[38] MOL DL 43422.
[39] MOL DF 226223.
[40] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 78.
[41] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 193.



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a relative of his, since Pope Innocent VII issued a special license for this marriage, in November 1404.[42] Charles had three sons with Margaret: Juraj/George III, Nikola/Nicholas III, and Ivanka. Margaret probably died before Charles's return from serving as ban in Croatia. Charles later married Magdalena, the daughter of Andreas Rohonc from Burgenland.[43] It is not known what happened to her after Charles's death. The year before Charles died, she and her brothers and sisters rented from the lords of Ludbreg some four possessions in Križevci, in medieval Slavonia.[44] In this document Charles is explicitly mentioned as the count of Čeklis. It is possible, although far from sure, that one distinguished Hungarian and Croatian magnate in the 1430s and 1440s named Ivanka was, in fact, their son. Even if it was not the case, Ivanka was almost surely born in today's Slovakia, because his name does not have a Croatian form. It is also interesting to notice that there is a town called Ivanka near Čeklis, which was perhaps under Count Charles's rule once.

One might conclude that Charles II Kurjaković, Count of Krbava and Lord of Čeklis, figured amongst the most prominent personalities of King Sigismund's era. Despite that, he was until now practically unknown in Slovakia's history.[45] Even less is known about his cousin Ivan II Grof, who was a high court dignitary. Examples of Ivan being a royal representative testify to his high status in court circles.[46] Ivan also participated in King Sigismund's imperial crowning in Aachen, together with his son George III.[47]

The death of Count Charles II had a strong impact on the whole Krbavski clan. Namely, Charles' sons did not return to Croatia but instead remained in Hungary. It seems that perhaps only Count Butko's son Franko, Charles' relative, constantly commuted between his native Krbava region and Hungary. Franko probably entered in Charles's service immediately upon his father's death, in 1402. It seems that Count Charles treated Franko and his brother Petar/Peter well, probably because Butko, Charles's uncle and father of the two brothers, persuaded Count Charles earlier at the right moment to move northwards and join the king's entourage.[48] It is most probable that Franko lived for some time on the Čeklis estate. It would be almost impossible that without Count Charles's blessings Franko would appear among the 25 magnates and royal nobles in King Sigismund's closest entourage, while the latter was travelling to the Council of Constance, in February 1415.[49] Franko married late and had children. However, they were mentioned only as newborn babies and never again. Count Franko most probably returned to Croatia after Count Charles's death, at the end of 1422. Towards the end of his life he entered the service of the Cillei (Celjski) counts.[50] In doing that, he followed the policy of his clan formulated in Hungary by Charles's sons, George III and Ivanka.[51]

Counts George III and Ivanka on the other hand, together with their brother Nicholas III, left Čeklis at the end of 1422. According to the contract from 1393, the Čeklis estate was returned to the king.[52] However, the counts did not return to Croatia. It is unknown where they lived after that. The fate of Count Charles's second wife Magdalena also remains unknown. Perhaps she continued to live in Slovakia, due to the fact that Charles possessed a house in Bratislava.[53] However, Charles's sons did not have to worry, at least while Sigismund was still alive. Their descent provided them enough protection.

Count Charles's death coincided with the formation of strong territorial dukedoms of the Cillei (Celjski), Frankapani, Talovci, Hunyadi, etc.[54] The Kurjakovići remained on the side of blood relatives and political allies of the court. Therefore, Count George III and his brothers Nicholas III and Ivanka, Count Franko and all the relatives in Krbava

[42] *ZsO* 2, nr. 3497.
[43] MOL DL 43422.
[44] *ZsO* 8, nr 1161.
[45] *Bernolákovo: História obce*, http://www.bernolakovo.sk/infoobec/historia.htm, 18. 04. 2011 – On the web-page of the town of Bernolákovo (Čeklis), in the overview of the town's history, one cannot find even a single note about Charles II, who governed it between 1393 and 1422 and eventually died there.
[46] *ZsO* 3, nr. 1006, nr. 1422; MOL DL 86788.
[47] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.
[48] Ibidem, p. 77.
[49] *CDH* 10/8, p. 269; Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1982, p. 95.
[50] Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, p. 206.
[51] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.
[52] *ZsO* 1, nr. 2915; *A Pécz nemzetség Apponyi*, nr. 107, pp. 235–236.
[53] MOL DF 239443.
[54] Raukar, Tomislav: *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovlje – prostor, ljudi, ideje*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1997, p. 221.



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supported Queen Barbara, and after Sigismund's death the policy of Barbara's daughter Elizabeth, her husband Albert of Habsburg and their son Ladislas V the Posthumous. Count Charles's oldest son George III was the first one who sided with the Cillei counts. He met Herman and Frederick of Cillei at the court, while his father Charles was still alive. As George was living in Central Europe almost from his birth, his interests lied primarily there. Therefore, the Cillei were much closer to him then the Croatian leaders of the time, the Frankapani counts, with which several George's relatives in Croatia had closer connections.

In July 1426, Count George III became the queen's special envoy in solving the territorial disputes on the Zechy estate.[55] In January 1430, Queen Barbara bestowed him with the title of *comes* of Zvolen county, in today's central Slovakia.[56] From that moment until his death in 1439, Count George III lived in Zvolen Castle.[57] He was married to Agata, possibly the daughter of Pavao/Paul Zrinski, who was mentioned in 1442 as a widow. George had two sons with her – Paul III and Nicholas V. It is interesting to mention that Paul later returned to Croatia, but his grandsons came back to Slovakia at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The arrival of Count George III in Zvolen coincided with the beginning of a dispute between Herman of Cillei and Nicholas Frankapan. It is quite possible that the Krbavski in Croatia sided with the Cillei thanks to the influence of Count George and his brothers. Namely, George's youngest brother Ivanka became the master of the queen's court (*magister curiae*).[58] It is, therefore, possible that even the noble alliance *Fraternitas Croatorum*, concluded in 1430 under the leadership of the count of Cetina, Ivaniš Nelipčić, and of the counts of Krbava, Charles III and Thomas II, in Knin,[59] perceived by the Venetians as the most important city in Croatia (*caput et principalis locus Croatiae*),[60] had been organized with the support of Charles's powerful sons in Hungary, who were the queen's men. While enumerating the members of the above-mentioned alliance, the brothers from Krbava explicitly stated that they also represented their relatives Ivanka, George III, Nicholas III and Franko, who do not live in Croatia.[61] This noble alliance reflected the political dissatisfaction of the Croatian nobility with the oligarchic ascent of Count Nicholas Frankapan in Croatia.[62] Curbing the power of the Frankapani, the alliance was very useful for King Sigismund, and for the Cillei counts as well.

However, the sons and particularly grandsons of the lord of Čeklis, Charles II Krbavski, loosened with time their ties with Krbava. In the meantime, Count Nicholas III died. The youngest Ivanka, in February 1434, acted as the queen's prosecutor at the court in Buda against the county of Sopron, which did not send the queen's *tricesima* regularly.[63] A year later, in June 1435, Ivanka and his brother George III obtained from the king, for 2000 guldens, the castle of Tátika near Keszthely, on Lake Balaton.[64] Due to the fact that the castle was located in Zala county, where the Cillei had significant influence, it is highly probable that Charles's sons obtained it in pledge with the former's recommendation and blessing. In 1437, Count Franko was mentioned as castellan of the Cillei counts in Čakovec (today in Croatia), also in Zala county.[65] However, the unity between Count Charles's sons, George III and Ivanka, was shortly interrupted due to the chain of events caused by King Sigismund's death.

In the struggle for the throne between Barbara of Cillei and Elizabeth of Habsburg, after the death of King Sigismund in 1437,[66] the

[55] *Codex diplomaticus dominus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő. A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idósb ág anak okmánytára* (deinde *CD Zichy*), vol. 8. Ed.: Iván Nagy – Ernő Kammerer, – Pál Lukacsics. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1895, nr. 189, pp. 296–302.

[56] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

[57] See http://eng.zvolen.eu/history.phtml?id3=5227, 01. 04. 2010 –The castle was later labeled as "deserted", because the Hunyadi party warriors desolated it during the dynastic clashes.

[58] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.

[59] Karbić, Damir: *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, pp. 110–111.

[60] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, p. 324.

[61] MOL DL 38517: "(…) *item domini Karulus et Thomas comites Corbauie in suis et aliorum fratrum suorum comitum Corbauie personis videlizet comitis Iwankonis, comitis Georgii, comitis Nicolai et comitis Frankonis necnon ceteri singuli et uniuersi nobiles.*"

[62] Karbić, Damir: *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, pp. 110–111; Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 201–203.

[63] MOL DL 15681.

[64] MOL DF 200436.

[65] Bizjak, Matjaž – Preinfalk, Miha: *Turjaška knjiga listin. Dokumenti 15. stoletja*, vol. 2. Ljubljana: Zgodovinski inštitut Milka Kosa – ZRC SAZU, 2009, nr. 188, nr. 278, nr. 189, pp. 279–280.

[66] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*. Digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről. PC CD-ROM. Budapest: Arcanum Adátbázis, 2001, , pp. 280–281; Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, pp. 177–178.



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Kurjakovići split in two. The older son of Count Charles, George III, sided with Barbara, while younger Ivanka supported Elizabeth. Ivanka already from the summer of 1436 did not hold the office of the queen's *magister curiae*.[67] After Sigismund's death he immediately sided with Elizabeth, who returned to him his former status.[68] His influence at Elizabeth's court was significant, and he appeared repeatedly as *relator* in her autographs.[69] Queen Elizabeth also rewarded him with the castle of Solymár, in the Pilis county near Pest.[70] George was mentioned for the last time in March 1439.[71] With his unknown wife he had a son who was a minor, Grgur V. The latter kept his father's allegiances, siding with Elizabeth and her son Ladislas V the Posthumous.

On the other side, Ivanka's older brother and the *comes* of Zvolen, George III Krbavski, sided with Queen Barbara, becoming her *magister curiae* immediately after the queen's split with Elizabeth,



Fig. 2. *The seal of the lords of Mrsinje, counts Petar/Peter II and George V of Krbava.*

inheriting his brother's former status.[72] At the beginning of November 1439 he was a member of her narrowest entourage in Visegrád, when she made peace with her daughter and delivered her the crown of St. Stephen.[73] Soon afterwards Count George died.[74] His sons, counts Nicholas V and Paul III, followed the political path of the new queen and her successor, Ladislas V. In fact, all the Krbavski in Hungary sided from the 1440s onwards with Queen Elizabeth.[75] Therefore, during the civil war from 1440 till 1442 between the supporters of Elizabeth and of the newly crowned king, Wladislaus I Jagiello (1440–1444),[76] the Krbavski were the queen's soldiers in Zvolen county.[77] Count George's sons lived with their mother Agatha, probably in the vicinity of Zvolen, helping the troops of Jan Jiskra (Ivan Jiškra) who were defending the counties of Spiš and Zvolen.[78] One source mentions that Agatha and her sons held Dobrá Niva, in the vicinity of Zvolen.[79] This castle belonged to the queen, and Elizabeth later consigned it to Agatha and her sons. Its captain in September 1441 was Jakov Horvat, perhaps originating from the county of Krbava, who was probably Count George's servant even from before.[80] The above-mentioned castle remained in the hands of Nicholas V until 1447, when Jan Jiskra took it over.[81] Count Nicholas V was mentioned as a Hungarian landowner for the last time in 1450.[82]

After the loss of Dobrá Niva, it seems that Paul III went back to Croatia. From that time onwards he was living in the Krbava county, in Mrsinj, and died there before 1468.[83] He left for Croatia with his son, Count Grgur VII, who was already married by then. In later charters written in Croatian, in Glagolitic script, Paul's grandson Nicholas VI's name was repeatedly mentioned in its northern language form, as Miklavuš. At the beginning of March 1489, Nicholas VI and his

[67] *CDH* 10/7, p. 364.
[68] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.
[69] MOL DL 15681; *Codex diplomaticus patrius* (deinde *CDP*), 8 vol. Ed.: Imre Nagy et al. Budapestini: Typis Alexsandri Kocsi, 1865–1891, hic vol. 8, nr. 180; MOL DL 13317; MOL DL 13301.
[70] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.
[71] MOL DL 13301.
[72] *CDH* 11, p. 147; MOL DL 13457.
[73] MOL DL 13457.
[74] Engel, Pál: *Korbáviai grófok*, György (1414–1439).
[75] Idem: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.
[76] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, pp. 198–202; Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, pp. 280–281.
[77] Engel, Pál: *Krbavski knezovi u Ugarskoj*, p. 79.
[78] Idem: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, p. 282.
[79] MOL DL 254187.
[80] MOL DL 249795.
[81] *CD Zichy* 9, p. 169.
[82] MOL DL 252476.
[83] MOL DL 33310.



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sons Petar/Peter II and George V donated their watermill near Rog, on the river Krka, and adjacent peasant plots to Franjo Utišenić.[84] This charter is sealed with an impressive family seal, with the engraved inscription in Croatian Glagolitic PETR I JURI KNZI KRBAVSKI (Fig. 2 – see the previous page).[85] It is possible that this marked the beginning of the selling and donating of their lands in the old country, due to the overall insecurity in Croatia, Ottoman raids and King Matthias's negative attitude towards their clan. It seems that they have already then started to think about going back to Slovakia.[86] Namely, in July 1504 this whole branch of the clan was testified in Slovakia, in Slovenská Ľupča and Brezno where George V was allegedly a local lord.[87] It is still not known whether Count George left any descendants in today's Slovakia. The same George soon afterwards, as a Croatian magnate, participated in the Hungarian Diet which decided that only a Hungarian born king could ascend to the throne.[88] George was also a royal ambassador on various occasions, for example in 1504 to the Ottomans,[89] or in 1507 to Venice.[90] Therefore, it is highly probable that he did not remain for long on his estate in Slovakia.

Count Ivanka's son, Grgur V, was also important for Slovak history. During the civil war, between 1440 and 1442, he moved from today's western Hungary to today's Slovakia. He was a firm supporter of Queen Elizabeth and Ladislas V during the war, which was particularly intense around Bratislava.[91] Some fifteen years after the war, King Ladislas once mentioned that Grgur V participated in his and his mother's liberation from captivity.[92] Therefore, the queen rewarded Grgur, at the end of 1441 he became captain of the town of Slovenská Ľupča, on the Hron river, east of Banská Bystrica. Count Grgur received in mortgage, for 10 000 golden florins, all the possessions belonging to Ľupča, including the villages of:



Fig. 3. *The seal of Count Grgur V of Krbava, from the Hungarian Diet in 1447.*

*Ponykowa*, *Tergorch*, *Molcze*, *Dubrawitz*, *Salkowawaz*, *Solcza*, *Podkonycze*, *Luchetyn*, *Pryhod*, *Meybradye*, Brusno, *Villa S. Andree*, *Rastoka*, *Nymska Wag*, *Sagronye*, *Dubrowa*, *Gesen*, *Prodayna*, *Lamastye*, *Lyhota regis*, *Lyhota Petri*, *Lopye*, *Sthawnicze*, *Hrwnecz*, and *Hedel*.[93] Four years later, in September 1445, Count Grgur gave to his faithful castellan George Hototin a possession called Dubravice.[94] George's second name Hototin might indicate his descent from the region of Hotuča, in Krbava county. Count Grgur confirmed the said donation with his seal, carrying the inscription S. GREGORII CO. CORBAV. on it.[95] The seal, among other elements, contained a figure of a goose, symbol of the Kurjakovići Krbavski.

Grgur V Krbavski has been married to Sofia Neczpály, a noble woman from Turiec county,

[84] *Hrvatski spomenici*, vol. 1 (od godine 1100-1499). Ed.: Đuro Šurmin. Zagreb: JAZU, 1898, nr. 226, pp. 337–338: "*Mi knez Miklovuš i knez Petar i knez Juraj i knez Mikula, knezi krbavski i veće* (…)".

[85] Pantelić, Marija: Glagoljski kodeksi Bartola Krbavca. In: *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta,* a. 5, 1964, p. 11.

[86] Grgin, Borislav: *Počeci rasapa. Kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska*. Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 2002, pp. 94–97, 123–125; Jurković, Ivan: Turska opasnost i hrvatski velikaši: knez Bernardin Frankapan i njegovo doba. In: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, a. 17, 2000, p. 72.

[87] MOL DL 30864.

[88] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća,* vol. 4, p. 270.

[89] *I diari di Marino Sanuto*, vol. 5. Ed.: Rinaldo Fulin – Federico Stefani – Niccolo Barozzi – Guglielmo Berchet – Marco Allegri. Venezia: La R. deputazione veneta di storia patria, 1881, pp. 587, 602, 740–741.

[90] Ibidem, vol. 6, pp. 542, 545; vol. 10, p. 268.

[91] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća,* vol. 3, p. 218.

[92] MOL DL 30859.

[93] MOL DL 30857.

[94] *CDP* 8, nr. 348.

[95] Ibidem: "*Hártyán, hártyaszalagon függõ ép pecséttel, mely sárga viasz fészekben vörös viaszba van nyomva. Körirata:* S. GREGORII CO. CORBAV. *A pecséten jobbra dûlt paizs, alsó felében három csík, ezek tetején álló hattyú; a paizs felett csõrsisak, a sisakdísz ismét hattyú.*"



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whose grandfather George and father Ladislas fought against the Hussites in King Sigismund's army. She and Count Grgur had a son named Kristof/Christopher.[96] In summer of 1445, Grgur was one of the envoys who petitioned the duke of Austria and German king Frederick to let young Ladislas V return to the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom.[97] Being one of the most distinguished magnates, Grgur probably participated in all Hungarian diets of that period. For example, together with his father-in-law he participated in the diet of September 1447, during which Ladislas Garai (Gorjanski), Ban of Machva (Mačva), was elected count palatine.[98] On that occasion, Grgur and Ladislas sealed a charter through which John Hunyadi took over the command of Buda Castle (Fig. 3).[99] It is interesting to note that on that occasion Count Grgur, besides his fellow Croatian magnate Sigismund Frankapan, was listed as a deputy from Slavonia.[100]

According to extant sources, Count Grgur was living in Slovenská Ľupča until approximately 1460.[101] It is not known whether he stayed on the side of Jan Jiskra even after 1447, when the latter went on a collision course with John Hunyadi.[102] However, contrary to Jiskra, Grgur later sided with King Ladislas V.[103] Consequently, the young king rewarded Grgur, due to his former merits, at the beginning of 1455, with the lifelong possession of Slovenská Ľupča and Brezno, comprising 22 villages and customs rights on the borders of those towns and villages, in Zvolen county.[104] The overall value of Count Grgur's estates east of Banská Bystrica, around the Hron river, was estimated at 10000 golden florins, which was still pledged. On this occasion, the king emphasized that Count Grgur rebuilt and repaired at his own expenses the walls of Slovenská Ľupča and numerous buildings there that were almost completely desolated after the strong earthquake that struck the region. The king further announced that he would in due time, after Count Grgur's death, claim all those possessions for himself. However, Grgur's successors would have the right to be compensated for it, in the amount of the aforementioned 10 000 golden florins.

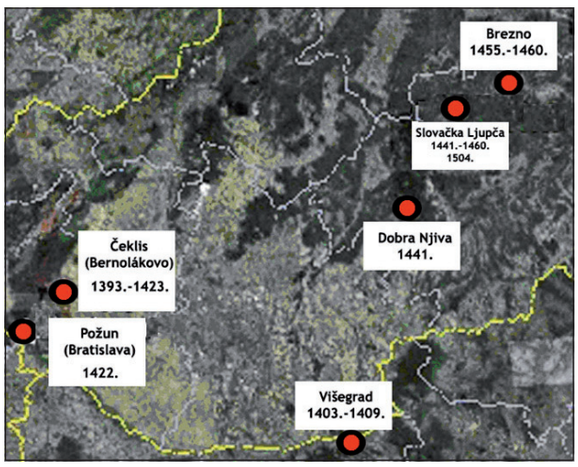


Fig. 4. *The estates and offices of the Kurjakovići Krbavski counts in the present-day Slovakia and northern Hungary.*

After Count Grgur's death, around 1460, King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) ordered that Slovenská Ľupča be returned to him. However, there was some resistance, because Grgur's widow Sofia and her minor son Christopher did not obtain guarantees for the above-mentioned sum of money. The indirect confirmation for that is a king's donation for Ladislas from Dolná Mičiná, near Banská Bystrica. King Matthias donated to him one half of the neighboring possession Môlča, because of his participation in capturing Slovenská Ľupča.[105] Count Grgur's son Christopher, as recorded in May 1461, was then still a boy.[106]

Count Christopher seemed to be still alive at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Perhaps during that period he recommended to his relatives from Krbava to buy his former estate in Slovakia. Namely, Nicholas VI and his son George V became, in July 1504, the owners of Slovenská Ľupča and Brezno with the adjacent villages, in Zvolen county.[107] In such a way the descendants of the once mighty Charles II returned to Slovakia. Their lives there and the life of Christopher cannot be reconstructed, for the time being. If

[96] Engel, Pál: *Neczpály de Neczpál and Bethlen de Iktár families*, http://genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/neczpaly.html, 19. 11. 2010.
[97] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća,* vol. 3, pp. 245–246.
[98] Ibidem, p. 261.
[99] Radvánszky, Bela – Závodszky, Lajos: *A Héderváry-család oklevéltára*, vol. 1. Budapest: Kiada a Magyar tudományos academia, 1909, nr. 189, pp. 251–255.
[100] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća,* vol. 3, p. 261.
[101] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi arhontológiája*, p. 361.
[102] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća,* vol. 3, pp. 278–281; Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, pp. 290–291.
[103] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, pp. 288–295.
[104] MOL DL 30859.
[105] MOL DL 63963.
[106] MOL DL 63200.
[107] MOL DL 30864.



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there were to appear any hint that any of them left male heirs behind, then Ivan IV Karlović could no longer be considered the last member of the Kurjakovići clan. For the time being, everything we know points to the fact that with Karlović's death, in 1531, the Kurjakovići Krbavski became extinct in the male line. In the end, one might conclude that the counts of Krbava, among all the Croatian magnates, had the strongest impact on today's Slovakia and its history (Fig. 4 – see the previous page). Through their clan, the two countries and histories were connected for at least one century and a half.

[108] Mirnik, Ivan: Zmajski Red u Hrvatskoj i Ugarskoj Heraldici. In: *Grb i Zastava*, a. 3, 2009, nr. 5, p. 6.
[109] MOL DL 82044; According to mould done by B. Fučić.
[110] Radvánszky, Bela – Závodszky, Lajos: *A Héderváry-család oklevéltára*, nr. 189, p. 255.
[111] We thank to our colleague Hrvoje Kekez for helping us to draw the maps. We used Google Maps as a basis for this particular map.



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MÁRIA GRÓFOVÁ*

# The Family of Ilok – a Croatian Noble House of Slovak Origin?

## Rodina Ilockých - chorvátsky šľachtický rod slovenského pôvodu? / Iločki – hrvatska plemićka obitelj slovačkog podrijetla?

*In her contribution the author attempts to solve the question of the origin of the important aristocratic kindred of Ilok. Unlike Hungarian historians, she identifies its ancestors as one of the side branches of the Poznan lineage, who preserved their original identity still during the fourteenth century, because they used the additional name Sclavus, i.e. Slovak. The first to have used the abovementioned name was Lawrence/Vavrinec, son of John, and after him almost all descendants of Lawrence's brothers. The author further identifies the kindred's extensive estate holdings, which concentrated in the southern regions, in Slavonia, and in the territory of present-day south-western Slovakia. She also presents the most important members of the kindred who held significant positions at the royal court.*

Keywords: high nobility, fourteenth – fifteenth century, south-western Slovakia, Orahovica, Ilok

The family of Ilok (Ilocký/Iločki, Frištacký) undoubtedly belonged to the most prominent nobility in the fourteenth – and fifteenth-century Kingdom of Hungary. However, the origin and the beginnings of their activities have not been revealed yet. Late Hungarian historian Pál Engel dealt with this family within his genealogical work concerning the most significant Hungarian noble families.[1] However, he had not attempted to determine the very origins of their lineage. He only stated that the oldest known (though with no further details) ancestor of the family was certain Gug/Gúg or Guďä (*Gugye*) who had lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. Each of his three sons – John, Gregory and Stephen – died leaving heirs. Gug's resident estate is to be presumably looked for in the counties of Baranya or Virovitica, which is in the present-day Croatia. However, the fact that the ancestors of the family of Ilok owned two hereditary estates in the present-day south-western Slovakia has been overlooked so far. These were the town of Bojná (nowadays Topoľčany district) and the village of Tekoľďany (Hlohovec district).

The first better known ancestor of the Ilok family was John, son of Gug (*Johannes filius Gugye*), who actually appeared as *homo regius* in 1281, when Ban Peter together with his brother, *comes* Kemen, from the family of Tetény/Tetéň obtained the possession of the village of Gajul (*Gayul*).[2] The family experienced tough times at the beginning of the fourteenth century due to the feudal anarchy, personified in the western Transdanubia by sons of ban Henry of Kőszeg (Kisecký). John, son of Guďä, had also two older brothers – George and Stephen. The ancestors of the Ilok family – John's sons James, Egidius, John, Lawrence and Ugrin as well as their cousins Nicholas, son of George, and Beke together with Nicholas, son of Stephen had to face various acts of violence for supporting King Charles Robert I. They were being imprisoned or even tortured by their enemies, who also led them in chains through market towns in order to humiliate them. Some of them were also brutally slain with sword. On the other hand, King Charles Robert finally appreciated them in 1330. On February 18, 1330 he freed them from the jurisdiction of all courts and judges in the Kingdom of Hungary, so they were further on subordinated only to the authority of the royal court. After this privilege had been granted, they were to be subordinated neither to any judges nor county officers in the counties of Virovitica, Somogy, Tolna,

* Mária Grófová, Archive of Comenius University in Bratislava.

[1] Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*. Arcanum DVD könyvtár IV. Budapest: Arcanum 2003. Tamás Fedeles has dealt with this family the most recently within the Hungarian historiography. In his studies, he discussed various aspects of the lineage´s activities. However, he has not approached the topic of their origin. Fedeles, Tamás: Egy középkori főúri család vallásossága. In: Századok, a. 145, 2011, nr. 2, pp. 377–418. The references to the older literature can be found there as well.

[2] *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, vol. 9. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest: Eggenberger Ferdinánd 1871, nr. 210, p. 292.



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and Vasvár, which means that these were the administrative units where both hereditary and obtained estates of the ancestors of the family of Ilok are to be found.[3]

It is interesting that this generation of the Ilok family ancestors already used ethnically motivated predicate *Sclavus* or *Tuoth*, respectively, which most probably signified their Slovak origin.[4] As far as the Ilok ancestry is concerned, it was Lawrence called "Slovak" (*Sclavus*), living in the first half of the fourteenth century, who contributed to the raising of the lineage in the most significant way. He is mentioned in the first half of the 1320s as a castellan of Tátika castle in the county of Zala.[5] At that time, he used the predicate *de Mortun*, which could have referred to the village of *Sanctus Martinus*? (Saint Martin) somewhere in the present-day south-western Hungary.[6] Lawrence also held the office of a royal standard-bearer in years 1328–1341 and served for twenty years (1328–1348) as a castellan of Šintava. In addition, it is highly probable that his oldest son Nicholas obtained the same office as well. Lawrence's career peaked in 1340s since he was appointed as a royal *magister tavarnicorum* as well as a *comes* of the counties of Nitra, Vásvár, Sopron, and Varaždin.[7] In 1328, King Charles Robert pledged him the Zrin castle, which later on became his hereditary possession. However, Lawrence together with his sons Levkuš "Slovak" and Ugrin gave the castle willingly back to King Louis I in 1347. On the other hand, they received castles of Ostrovica and Orahovica in return. The Orahovica estate included also the villages of Bukovica (Bakva), Viljevo, and Jošava.[8] The king's favour also spread on sons of Lawrence "Slovak", namely Nicholas Kont (later on the palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary), Levkuš (royal *magister dapiferorum*) and Bartholomew (*magister pincernarum*). The eldest Nicholas rendered valuable service to the king, while acting as his ambassador to the pope residing in Avignon. He obtained his predicate *Kont* there and he used it further on up to his death. For the service rendered (particularly in respect to the war for the Neapolitan heritage), King Louis donated the castle dominion of Tematín to the family of Ilok in 1348. One year later, he gave them the Hlohovec estate as well.[9] The Hlohovec dominion was not an extensive one; however, its value was raised by the populous and important royal town of Hlohovec with a well-developed craft production and viniculture. Despite the fact that Nicholas Kont as an important dignitary was obliged to dwell constantly at the royal court or was travelling through the country, Hlohovec was very dear to him. He could have settled down in the solid and inaccessible Tematín, but he had rather chosen Hlohovec Castle as one of his residences. However, he did not have a place to dwell there at first as the old castle was nothing but a ruin of its old fortification. Nevertheless, Nicholas was endowed and had also sufficient human resources at his disposal. Therefore, he was able to build a new stone castle, which was supposed to serve as his private residence. However, Nicholas lingered there always only for a shorter period as his offices demanded his presence at King Louis'. Nevertheless, he was concerned about the prosperity of his new property of Hlohovec from the very beginning. If Hlohovec was to become the market centre for the wider surroundings, it had to be easily and safely accessible from every direction. Therefore, Duke Nicholas and his brother Levkuš decided to build a new bridge over the river Váh in 1353, where also the so-called wet toll was transferred, which Louis I approved as well.[10] In 1364, Nicholas Kont together with his relative Ladislas, son of Levkuš "Slovak", the castle of Ilok (Hun. *Újlak*) in exchange for Gornja Lindava. The name of the newly obtained castle subsequently became the predicate of the lineage.[11]

The question of the origin of the family of Ilok is still open though. The opinion concerning their origin from the lineages of Héder or Héderváry

[3] *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis* (deinde *CDHA*), vol. 2. Ed.: Imre Nagy. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1881, nr. 406, p. 464.

[4] The family of Hont-Poznan received their first estates in the county of Somogy, located especially ultra *Dravam* after the defeat of Duke Koppány (*Cupan*) in 997 as their part of the booty. See, for instance, Lukačka, Ján: *Formovanie vyššej šľachty na západnom Slovensku*. Bratislava: Minor, 2002, p. 25 and the following works.

[5] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 1. Budapest: MTA TI, 1996, p. 441.

[6] Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár (deinde MOL DL), MOL DF 253100.

[7] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 2. Budapest: MTA TI, 1996, p. 201.

[8] MOL DL 33924. A transumptum of Nitra chapter from 1381.

[9] *CDHA* 5. Ed.: Imre Nagy – Guyla Tasnády Nagy. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1884, nr. 196, pp. 339–341 (hereafter CDA).

[10] Ibidem 6, nr. 87, pp. 133–136.

[11] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, p. 451.



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may be encountered in the older literature. Some authors have sought the possible affinity with the family of Fáncs (or Fáncsy) on the basis of coat-of-arms alikeness.[12] In our opinion, all the previous researches have not taken into consideration some facts which could have been and still might be helpful when approaching this issue. Firstly, the self-identification of Ilok family referring to themselves as *Sclavus* or *Touth* shall be mentioned. If they were not Magyars, there are two possibilities to be considered: they could have been either Slovenians or Slovaks. From the territorial point of view, the Slovenian option seems to be a more obvious one. On the other hand, we are more inclined to accept the Slovak origin due to several reasons. Firstly and primarily, the properties held by the family show similar attributes as in case of other noble lineages within this area, originating from the wider Hont-Poznan kinship.[13] These include, for instance, families of Nitrianska Blatnica (Hungarian *de genere Pok*, Poky), Motičinský (Hun. *Matucsinai*), Vojna (Hun. *Vajk*), descendants of Ambrose (Hun. *Pekri* of Tetény family), family of Geča (Hun. *Gecse*) and Bečej (Hun. *Töttös*). The distinctive attributes include, for example, scattered estates within the wide area of the southern part of the Kingdom of Hungary, from Vásvár county in the west to the county of Sriem in the east. They possessed properties also in the area of present-day south-western Slovakia and in some cases in Bihor county as well. In addition, all the mentioned families held high administrative offices. The ancestors of Ilok family possessed these features as well. Except for estates in the south of the Kingdom of Hungary, we have found two hereditary estates in Ponitrie/Nitra region: town Bojná and village Tekoľďany. It is also interesting that there are no charters for the family which would confirm donations, though their ownership rights have never been questioned.[14]

Taking into account the fact that Nicholas Kont owned extensive properties and held numerous offices, it is also obvious that he must have had a considerable number of *familiares* as well as servants at his disposal. It is not surprising that they were of the same ethnical origin as he was. The account from 1353 concerning his servant Benedict "Slovak" (*Sclavus*), a burgher from Székesfehérvár, may serve as an example of the above-mentioned statement.[15]

When Palatine Nicholas Kont died, his widow Claire took over the administration of his extensive estates as their sons Bartolomew and Nicholas were still minors. Ten years later, older Bartholomew came of age, started a family and assumed the estates once belonging to his father. However, he died quite soon, at the beginning of the 1390s, leaving two sons: Ladislas and Emeric. As Claire did not remarry, she received the castle domain of Hlohovec as her lifelong possession. She was managing the estate with the assistance of her younger son Nicholas, which is attested, for example, by their common appearance in the conflict with nobleman Andrew, called Čapov, son of Peter, from Vašardice (nowadays Dolné Trhovište) in 1395. Andrew allegedly unintentionally killed their serf Anthony from Starý Hlohovec. They made him pay 10 talents of *denarii* as a compensation for Anthony's bereaved.[16]

Claire's younger son Nicholas is mentioned in sources for the last time in 1397. It is unknown whether he had left any descendants. Fortunately, older Bartholomew had two grandsons – Emeric and Ladislas – who might have been approximately eighteen or twenty years-old at the turn of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. Both of them respected the possession rights of their grandmother, who usually resided at the castle of Hlohovec and, though being already of advanced years, she still interfered actively in the administration of her estates. This is testified, for instance, by an undated letter from the end of the fourteenth century, addressed to the *vogt*, councillors, and all the *hospites* living in Hlohovec, since at that time Claire left her residence for the castle of Bátorkő in Transdanubia. The news about certain scandals and accusations (*infames notas*) among the Hlohovec burghers reached her there. These conflicts

[12] *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9.–14. század)*. Ed.: Gyula Kristó. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1994, p. 698. The author of this entry, Pál Engel, states that their origin is unknown.

[13] See the study of Ján Lukačka: "The Estates of Hont-Poznan Kinship South of the Drava River," published in this volume.

[14] It is surprising that Bojná is first mentioned in written sources only at the beginning of the fifteenth century, more specifically, in 1413. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (deinde *ZsO*), vol. 4. Ed.: Elemér Mályusz – Iván Borsa. Budapest : Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994, nr. 360. The accounts given by Gy. Györffy, do not refer to Bojná. Györffy, György: Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza IV. Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1998, p. 349, they refer to Banka, near Piešťany.

[15] *CDHA* 6, nr. 69, p. 109: "*Nicolaus voivoda Transsilvanus filius condam magistri Laurencii dicti Tot pie recordacionis et Benedictus Sclavus, civis Albensis, famulus eiusdem magnifici viri.*"

[16] MOL DL 8070.



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might have become even dangerous; therefore, her mandate instructed the city representatives to arrange an immediate rectification. To ensure the result, she had sent two of her *familiares*, who were supposed to be as respected as she would have been if she had come to Hlohovec in person.[17]

The size and importance of Hlohovec may be estimated also on the basis of the number of sacral buildings within the town. In 1401, churches dedicated to the Holy Virgin Mary, St. Peter (by the river Váh), St. Nicholas (parish church) and to All Saints (in the suburbs) can be found in the town. Besides, there was a hospital church of the Holy Spirit, founded by Palatine Nicholas Kont and his wife Claire before 1367.[18] The undoubtedly municipal character of Hlohovec at the beginning of the fifteenth century can be attested also by the existence of a small Jewish community. Its members dealt with trade and were also involved in lending money at high interest rates (*usury*).[19]

Ladislas and Emeric, sons of Bartholomew, were at the beginning of the fifteenth century (when their grandmother Claire died) already of age; therefore, they could manage their family estates on their own. Following the tradition of their house, they had an ambition to hold distinctive offices. Older Ladislas became the ban of Machva (Mačva) in 1402.[20] However, their accession to the high politics was not a fortunate one. They got carried away by other Hungarian noblemen and joined the anti-royal revolt in 1403–1404. The insurgents aimed to dethrone King Sigismund and exchange him for the young Ladislas of Naples. However, the king, thanks to the unwavering loyalty of Ctibor of Ctiborice and Beckov, gradually broke the resistance. Anti-royal insurgents held strong positions especially in the area of the present-day south-western Slovakia, where they controlled several castles, fortified fortlets, and towns. Transylvanian duke Ctibor had a strong army at his command which managed to conquer the enemy's strongpoints one after another. Ctibor seized Hlohovec (i.e., the castle, the town of Hlohovec – Freistadt, and the small town Starý Hlohovec) as well as the whole castle domain for some time.[21] Strangely enough, this way he captured the property of his own son-in-law, as Ladislas of Ilok married his daughter Jačna (Anna) shortly before the outbreak of the revolt. This union produced two sons, John and Stephen.[22] King Sigismund pardoned all the insurgents who were willing to surrender. Ladislas and Emeric used this opportunity and went over to the side of the king.[23] In the end, the king made them (surely on Ctibor's intercession) the bans of Mačva. They held this office for quite a long time up to 1418.[24] Ladislas and Emeric belonged to the wealthiest Hungarian feudals. Their duty was, for instance, to assembly their own troops, which they were to lead to the battle under their own flag (*banderium*). Besides, while administering their estates they were supported by a significant number of *familiares*, who usually came from the area of Nitra county. For example, certain John of Bučany is mentioned already in 1406 as being in the service of Ban Ladislas.[25]

We have already stated that Ladislas of Ilok married Jačna (called "Anna" in Hungarian sources) the daughter of Ctibor of Ctiborice (Stibor of Stiboritz) and Beckov at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Gradually, their children John, Stephen, Nicholas (around 1410), Peter, and Paul were born. However, his brother Emeric and his wife Catherine remained most probably childless since the widowed Catherine bequeathed her personal valuables to the monastery of the Holy Virgin Mary in Čatka (*Chatka*) to ensure the salvation of her and her husband's souls.[26]

Ban Ladislas died even earlier than Emeric (probably already in 1418); the causes of their

[17] MOL DL 48 748. However, we do not know what had exactly happened in Hlohovec as no other documents were preserved concerning this event.

[18] Lukačka, Ján: Hlohovec. In: *Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Ed.: Martin Štefánik – Ján Lukačka. Bratislava: Prodama, 2010, p. 167.

[19] Certain Jew Abraham from Hlohovec (Abbram iudeus) is mentioned in the charter (from years 1419–1422) of Ladislas' widow Anna. *ZsO* 7., nr. 1216, p. 293.

[20] Engel, Pál: *Magyarországi világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 1, p. 29.

[21] Dvořáková, Daniela: *Rytier a jeho kráľ*. Budmerice: RAK, 2003, p. 85. However, we do not agree with the author's statement that he was the future son-in-law of Ctibor/Štibor as he had already had two sons with Jačna (Anna) in 1405. This argues for the earlier date of the wedding.

[22] Engel, Pál: *Középkori Magyar genealógia*. CD medium (Ujlaki family).

[23] However, the generosity indeed paid off to Sigismund. He forced the brothers to give him twelve thousands ducats. Engel, Pál: *Királyi hatalom és arisztókrácia viszonya a Zsigmond-korban (1387–1437)*. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977, p. 44.

[24] Dvořáková, Daniela: *Rytier a jeho kráľ*, p. 524.

[25] *CDHA* 2, nr. 124, p. 174.

[26] *ZsO* 9. Ed.: Iván Borsa – Norbert Tóth. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004, nr. 959, p. 306.



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deaths cannot be determined. However, they died relatively young as their children were still only on the threshold of adulthood. The family estates were shortly governed by Ladislas's widow Anna as her oldest son John died prematurely. At this time, second-born Stephen was a youngster, and Nicholas as well as two other younger brothers were still just children.

Anna appointed one of her loyal *familiares*, Emeric of Šimovany, who had already proved himself in the service of her husband, to administer the castle estate of Hlohovec.[27] This estate consisted of the castle, town Hlohovec (Freistadt), the small town of Starý Hlohovec and a village St. Peter (Svätý Peter) together with a ford (bridge) and pertaining toll in 1420s. Within the wider surroundings of Hlohovec, also the villages Pastuchov, Dýč, Bojničky, Tekoľďany, Kľačany, Zelenice (a part), and Trakovice, together with a toll, pertained to the castle.

In the mid-1420s, the older son of Ban Ladislas, Stephen, took charge of family estates and got involved in a conflict with his influential and powerful neighbour and maternal relative Ctibor the Younger of Beckov. Such arguments were often reflected also in the relationships between their subjects. Therefore, when Valentine, the *vogt* of Veľké Kostoľany, together with his companions went to the fair to Hlohovec on Sunday after the feast of Michael Archangel (October, 1), 1424; they were assaulted on the bridge over the river Váh. They were beaten and dragged to Hlohovec prison at the command of castellan Fekeč, one of *familiares* of Stephen of Ilok.[28]

Ladislas's second-born son died relatively young around 1430, leaving no issues. The phenomenon of a high and relatively early mortality among male members of the lineage was repeating almost for the whole century. Stephen's death made the way for his younger brother Nicholas, who inherited extensive family estates as well as an unwritten claim for distinctive court offices. This highly able young man (using, apart from Hungarian predicate *Újlaki*, also the Slovak one – *Frištacký*), bearing the name of his famous great-grandfather Nicholas Kont, took advantage of the situation very well. In the 1430s already, he took part in the edging of the Hussite garrisons off the area of the present – day Slovakia because the Hussites caused him considerable damages in autumn 1431. At that time, three Hussite armies, commanded by Procop Holý/the Shaven/*Rasus*, camped near Hlohovec. It is unclear how much the town itself had been plundered, but the Hussites fought their way back across the river Váh to Bohemia carrying a significant booty. Aiming to ensure that the Hungarian army would not be able to follow them, they had burnt down the bridge over the river. At the beginning of November 1431, the army of so-called "Orphans"/*sirotkové* attempted to leave the area of the present-day south-western Slovakia through Hlohovec as well. Since the bridge had been destroyed, they had to take the way along the left bank of the river Váh via Piešťany, Beckov, and Trenčín.[29] It is not clear whether the town of Hlohovec was fortified at that time. However, at least one town gate is attested by the existence of a suburban area referred to in the sixteenth-century sources as Zábranie ("Behind the Gates"). This evokes the existence of a town fortification of palisade type.[30]

In 1434, Nicholas of Ilok (Frištacký) appeared together with Peter Čech (*Czech*) of Levice and George/Juraj Rozgoň/Rozgony as a witness and guarantee of King Sigismund of Luxembourg who signed an agreement with John/Jan Šmikovský of Žďár, the commander of the Hussite garrison in Topoľčany, concerning their departure from the mentioned town. Nicholas's concern to get a rid of the Hussites was understandable because their presence caused a lot of problems to his subjects in the domains of Hlohovec and Tematín.[31]

Nicholas of Ilok signified the fame as well as the power of the old noble lineage. Since all the other male family representatives died during the 1420s (the descendants of James and John), Nicholas became the sole heir and gathered all the family estates under his control. Naturally, his influence was rising, which was reflected in a quick accumulation of important administrative positions. In 1435–1458, he was appointed as the ban of Machva as well as to govern the counties

[27] MOL DL 72 606.
[28] Wenzel, Gusztáv: *Stibor vajda*: *Életrajzi tanulmány*. Budapest: Eggenberger-Féle Akad. Könyvkereskedés, 1874, p. 180.
[29] Varsik, Branislav: *Husitské revolučné hnutie a Slovensko*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1965, pp. 81–82.
[30] A similar fortification has also been detected by archeological research in Topoľčany.
[31] Nicholas must have been at the head of a county at this time or must have held a court office as he is referred to as *magnificus*, which means magnificent, which used to be a common title for magnates. He did not use the predicate *de Wylak* in the mentioned document, but that of *de Freystat et de Palaty*, which means from Hlohovec and Palata (a castle in Veszprém county). MOL DL 12630.



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of Tolna, Baranya, Vukovar, Bodrog, and Bács. At the beginning of 1440s, he became the duke of Transylvania (together with John Hunyadi), as well as the *comes* of Csanád, Csongrád, Marmaros, Arad, Zaránd, Temes, Esztergom, Kev, and Somogy. Shortly, he acted as the *comes* of Nitra, Virovitica, Győr, Torontál, as well as of Szekélys. He was appointed *iudex Cumanorum* as well. In addition, it must be stated that in 1457–1458 he was the ban of Slavonia.[32]

The important position of Nicholas of Ilok as well as his influence on the events going on in the kingdom is reflected also in contemporary narrative sources. In the memoirs of Helen Kottaner written around 1450, it is stated that Nicholas of Hlohovec had an important role at the occasion when he knighted the three-month-old Ladislas V the Posthumous and subsequently knighted also several young noblemen in the name of the king.[33] Nicholas of Ilok is also mentioned in the *Annals* of the most famous Polish medieval chronicler, Jan Długosz. He states that Queen Widow Elizabeth had lingered at Nicholas Frištacky of Ilok's before her son's coronation and with his support she was able to organize the coronation ceremony in Székesfehérvár. However, due to tactical reasons, Nicholas changed sides shortly after the coronation and joined the Polish King Wladislaus Jagiello, which significantly weakened the position of Queen Elisabeth.[34]

The important posture within the political life of the Kingdom of Hungary enabled Nicholas to develop his extensive estates. At the beginning of Matthias Corvinus' reign, he owned altogether sixteen castles, nine castlets (*castellum*), twenty towns and small towns, as well as around four hundred villages, which made him one of the wealthiest noblemen in the whole land. His properties were to be found in four individual units. First one was located in the south-western Slovakia, in the county of Nitra, consisting of the castle domains of Hlohovec, Tematín, and Korlátka (though he gave this one to his *familiaris* Osvalf of Bučany). The second unit was in the central part of Transdanubia, with its centre on Palota Castle. The third part of his estates was located in the eastern Slavonia, centred at Orahovica Castle. The fourth unit was situated in the county of Sriem with its centre in Ilok, which became the major residence of the last family representatives.[35]

Nicholas of Ilok joined the anti-royal revolt during summer 1459, one year after Matthias Corvinus' accession to the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary. He even contributed by offering a cavalry consisting of three thousand men. However, the insurgents were defeated by King Matthias. Nicholas of Ilok was, however, pardoned and the major part of his offices was also returned to him. Subsequently, he remained loyal to the king until his death. Matthias even had him crowned the king of Bosnia in 1471, which signified the peak of his worldly successes. Nicholas, as well as his ancestors, was not lucky to have male issues. Although he himself had two sons, Nicholas and Stephen, together with his first wife Margaret from the Gorjan family, both of them died prematurely. His four daughters married distinctive Hungarian noblemen. Nicholas of Ilok married Dorothy Szécsi after the death of his first wife. The couple had two sons: Lawrence and Bernard, who died at an early age. Therefore, Lawrence became the sole and only male descendant of the Ilok lineage.

The story of the family of Ilok gives an example of an almost dreamy rise of a noble family, whose members managed to oppose the oligarchs and stubbornly supported the crowned King Charles Robert. Thanks to their loyal service and the king's generosity, they gradually established an extensive domain which commanded respect. The members of the family were typical representatives of the Hungarian aristocracy. As they were often to be found in the presence of the king, they were probably able to speak Hungarian. On the other hand, the majority of their estates were located in a Slavic language area (Croatian and Slovak), therefore, they spoke also these languages beyond any doubt. To sum up, they were full-blooded representatives of *natio Hungarica* – a multinational noble community of the Kingdom of Hungary.

[32] For individual offices, see Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, passim.
[33] *Spomienky Heleny Kottanerovej*. Ed.: Daniela Dvořáková – Mária Papsonová. Budmerice: Rak 2008, pp. 46–47.
[34] Anály alebo kroniky slávneho Poľského kráľovstva spísané Jánom Dlugoszom. Roky 1439–1444. Ed. et trans.: Daniela Hrnčiarová. In: *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov*, vol. 6. Ed.: Ján Lukačka. Bratislava: LIC, 2004, p. 188–189.
[35] Feledes, Tamás: Egy középkori főúri család vallássosága. Az Újlakiak példája. In: *Századok*, a. 145, 2011, pp. 377–418.



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DANIEL GAHÉR* – SUZANA MILJAN**

# A Magnate from Slovakia and Ban of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia: Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, His Life and Activities (* ca. 1345–1405)

## Gróf Tomáš zo Sv. Jura, veľmož zo Slovenska a bán Chorvátsko-dalmátskeho kráľovstva: Jeho život a činnosť / Knez Toma od Sv. Jurja, velikaš iz Slovačke i ban Kraljevine Hrvatske i Dalmacije. Život i djelovanje

*The article deals with the biography of Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, focusing on the moments when he was politically active either in Slovakia or in Croatia. Count Thomas held a number of important political positions from that of the castellan of the castle of Holíč to those of Ban of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia and the Chief Justice of the Kingdom of Hungary. Particular emphasis will be placed on his role in the turbulent period of the succession crisis after the death of King Louis the Great, during which he was one of the most important supporters of the Queens Mary and Elisabeth. The paper discusses the composition of his clientele, his economic background (including ownership of castles), and his family ties.*

Keywords: the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, aristocracy, Croatian-Dalmatian ban, Hospitallers

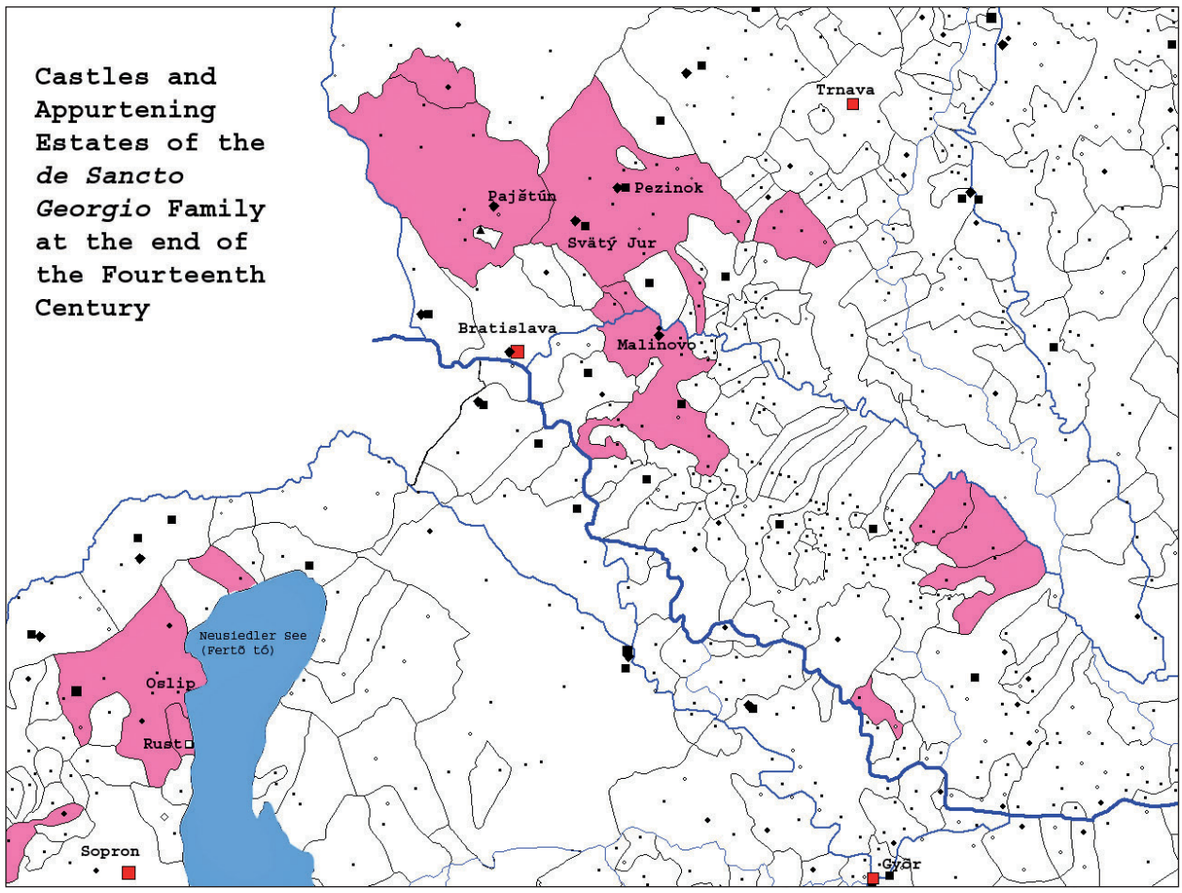
This article deals with the biography of Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, focusing on the moments when he was politically active either in Slovakia or Croatia, as an example of historical parallels and connections between those two areas. This article will try to point out that the activity of Count Thomas of Svätý Jur can be taken as a useful paradigm in two respects – for the functioning of noble kindreds in the peripheral parts of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and for the functioning of the institution of royal officials (known as the bans) in the Croatian historical area.

Count Thomas belonged to the magnate family that emerged as a separate branch of the Hunt-Poznans at the beginning of the thirteenth century and gradually assumed the title of the counts of Svätý Jur and Pezinok. They had a large number of estates and castles in the area of present-day western Slovakia. The core of their estate entailed the castle-lordships of Svätý Jur (Hun. *Szentgyörgy*), Pezinok (Hun. *Bazin*, Germ. *Bösing*) and Malinovo (Germ. *Eberhard*) with their appertaining market-towns and villages. Thus, the lordship of Svätý Jur consisted of the castle of Svätý Jur (Bratislava county), the market-town of Svätý Jur, villages of Šenkvice, Jarná, Blatné, Čataj, **Kwze* (today not existing, situated 3 km north-west of Nový Život), Topoľníky, Topoľnica, Horný Štál, Dolný Štál, Ohrady (*Nogkyrth*), Horné Mýto, and halves of villages of Štvrtok na Ostrove, Hviezdoslavov, and Veľká Paka.[1] The lordship of Pezinok consisted of the castle and market-town of Pezinok (Bratislava county), villages of Cajla (nowadays part of Pezinok), **Sumberk* (today not existing, situated 2 km north-east from Pezinok), Limbach, Viničné, Vajnory, Chorvátsky Grob, Veľký Grob, Slovenská Nová Ves, Nová Dedinka (Nová Ves pri Dunaji), Ohrady (*Bekenkyrth*), Kalinkovo, Veľký Biel, Vinosady, **Tykod* (today not existing, situated near Jelka), and halves of the villages of Štvrtok na Ostrove, Hviezdoslavov, and Veľká Paka.[2] Finally, the lordship of the castle of Eberhard consisted of the village Eberhard (nowadays Malinovo), Most

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[1] Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár (deinde MOL DL) 11105; 11120.
[2] MOL DL 11686; 11718.



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Map 1. *The castle and appertaining estates of the family of Svätý Jur in the course of the fourteenth century.*

pri Bratislave, Ivanka pri Dunaji, Grinava, *Zeke* (**Ceki*, **Ziky* – today not existing, near Svätý Jur).[3] The following text will demonstrate that during Count Thomas's lifetime the family also obtained and occasionally lost some other estates, e.g. the castles and lordship of castles Pajštún and Oslip, as well as some smaller properties. The castle of Pajštún held appertaining villages of Záhorská Bystrica, Borinka, Mást (part of Stupava), Stupava, Zohor, Vysoká pri Morave, Láb, Lozorno Gajary, and Malé Leváre. The villages of Oslip, Breittenbrunn, Wulkaprodersdorf, Baumgarten, Rohrbach bei Mattersburg, Sopronkovesd and market-town Rust were appertaining villages of the castle of Oslip. If we look at the distribution, we can see that the core of the economic basis of the family of Svätý Jur was in Bratislava county, with some other castles and appertaining estates in Sopron county (see Map 1).

The counts of Svätý Jur did not hold any high office during the reign of King Charles Robert of Anjou as the result of their neutral stance during his struggle against Matthew Čák (*de genere Chak*).[4] In that period, they formed two branches of the family: one of them originating from the line of Svätý Jur, founded by Peter, Count Thomas's father, and the line of Pezinok, founded by Sebeš, Thomas's uncle. We can trace the line of the division of brotherly estates with the help of the halves of the estates appertaining to both castles (of Svätý Jur and of Pezinok), already mentioned above. Both brothers focused mainly on the managing of the economy of their properties and its most essential part – viticulture. Wine-growing was tightly

[3] MOL DL 11105; 11120. For more on this, see: Wertner, Moriz: *Die Grafen von St. Georgen und Bösing*. Wien: Selbsverlag-Druck von Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1891, p. 94; Ila, Bálint: A szentgyörgyi és bazini grófok birtokainak kialakulása. In: *Turul*, a. 41, 1927, pp. 37–71; Lukačka, Ján: Pezinok a jeho majitelia v 13. a 14. storočí. In: *Bozen … Pezinok 1208–2008*. Pezinok: Mesto Pezinok, 2008, pp. 67–70; Gahér, Daniel: Pezinok v 15. storočí. In: *Bozen … Pezinok 1208–2008*, pp. 71–82; Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405). In: *Historia nova*, a. 1, 2010, pp. 9–21; Šmilauer, Vladimír: *Vodopis starého Slovenska*. Praha – Bratislava: Státní tiskárna v Praze, 1932.

[4] Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 9.



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bound to the German colonists who came to the Little Carpathian area from Bavaria and Tyrol.[5]

In the fourteenth century their political activity begins with Peter, the father of Count Thomas. Count Peter became the *comes* (Hun. *ispán*, Slov./Cro. *župan*) of Bereg County in 1360, almost at the end of his life.[6] In addition, he managed to have his sons Thomas and Peter the Younger (II) raised at the royal court.[7] They were both mentioned as the *familiares* of King Louis the Great in 1363, but in 1364 came back to their family properties for a while.[8] After their father's death, three sons divided family estates. The castle of Svätý Jur was the residence of two brothers, the oldest one, John, and the younger one, Peter. Thomas was given Eberhard castle.[9] In contrast to his brother, he carried on serving the king. As his diplomat, he arranged that the Austrian duke paid their debts back to the king.[10] Later, he is again mentioned as the owner of Eberhard castle, administrating one of two toll stations controlling the passing through the Little Danube (Malý Dunaj) from Žitný ostrov (Rye Island) to Bratislava. The second station, the one at Vrakuňa, belonged to the town of Bratislava. The port is mentioned at Eberhard (nowadays village Malinovo) in the second half of the fourteenth century as well. The aforementioned toll station of Vrakuňa triggered the conflict between Count Thomas and James, the mayor of Bratislava. Though Count Thomas did not succeed in gaining control over it, he increased his properties at the expense of the possessions of the mayor of Bratislava.[11]



Fig. 5. *Coat-of-arms of the family of Svätý Jur.*

Thomas started his political career in 1375 as the castellan of the castle of Holíč on the Hungarian-Moravian border, where he could fully utilize his previous experience gained while administering Eberhard. The castle of Holíč stood at the entrance to the Kingdom of Hungary from the old Bohemian trade route, leading from Prague through Brno. He held that position until 1378.[12] His first wife Ursula, the daughter of Otto of Maissau and Elizabeth of Puchheim, is mentioned in 1376. The counts of Maissau were an Austrian noble family, having estates in the North of Lower Austria, near Moravian Znojmo.[13] Thomas with Ursula had one daughter, Sibilla, born some time in the 1380s.[14] His career progressed in the period of 1378–1382, when he held the office of the master of the treasury (*magister tavernicorum*).[15] In 1382 he was also mentioned as the *comes* of Nitra county.[16]

After the death of King Louis the Great, in the subsequent political struggles that followed the

[5] Papsonová, Mária: Nápoje v právnych pamiatkach neskorého stredoveku. In: *Nápoje v minulosti a prítomnosti človeka*. Prešov: Filozofická fakulta PU, 2001, p. 40.

[6] According to our estimations, Count Peter must have been around sixty years old in 1360, since the first mention of him was in 1308– cfr. Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 9.

[7] Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 10 and references mentioned there.

[8] MOL DL 5236; Fejér, Georgius: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*), vol 9. Budae: Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1834, nr. 177, pp. 345–346. More on the context, see in: Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 10.

[9] The oldest brother was probably John, who stayed on the estate of Svätý Jur (cfr. Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 10 and genealogy in Appendix 1.

[10] *CDH* 9/3, nr. 347, pp. 640–641. Also, see: Gahér, Daniel: *Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405)*, pp. 10–11.

[11] Ibidem, p. 11.

[12] Ibidem, pp. 11–12; Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457* (deinde *Archontológiája*), vol. 1. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996, pp. 327–328.

[13] Wertner noted an interesting fact: there existed double marital connections between the counts of Maissau and the counts of Svätý Jur, since besides the marriage of Thomas and Ursula, another unnamed noblewoman belonging to the family of the counts of Svätý Jur was the second wife of *obrister marschalich in Oesterreich*, Stephen II of Maissau – Otto's brother and Ursula's uncle (cfr. Wertner, Moriz: *Die Grafen von St. Georgen und Bösing*, p. 25).

[14] Our estimation is that she was born around the 1380s, since her mother is first mentioned in 1376, and she married in 1397, thus, at the time she could not have been younger than the age of 15.

[15] *Archontológiája*, p. 38.

[16] Ibidem, p. 160. It is not known for how long he held that position, but it must have been between February 1380, when the *comes* of Nitra was Ladislas Bubek, and April 1384, when Thomas was appointed as the ban of Croatia-Dalmatia.



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succession of Queen Mary. Thomas of Svätý Jur was a part of the ruling structure that supported Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara. Count Palatine's party in the court supported Mary as the lawful queen of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and the regency of the Dowager-Queen mother, Elizabeth (née Kotromanić). He played an important role within this stream in the court, next to the bans of Slavonia, Stephan and John Banfi of Donja Lendava, and the voivode of Transylvania, Ladislas of Lučenec the Elder, and so on (see *Appendix* 2). Thus, Thomas of Svätý Jur was appointed to the office of the ban of Croatia-Dalmatia during very turbulent period of history for that part of the Kingdom. At the same time he became the count of Zadar. He was appointed to those positions in late April 1384[17] and arrived in Zadar on 15 May,[18] when he immediately started to perform his duties. He was installed there in order to neutralize the situation stirred up because of the general anti-reginal attitude. This was connected with the claim for the succession of the male line of the Angevins, to be precise, with the possibility of the election to the throne of Hungary of Charles of Durazzo (Drač), at that time already the King of Naples. Zadar and the whole of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia were considered to be one of the main areas of support for the Neapolitan party.[19]

This support can be discerned from the rebellion of the Priory of Vrana which happened in the autumn of the previous year,[20] but even more from the anti-royal conspiracy which occurred in Zadar soon after Ban Thomas of Svätý Jur arrived there.[21] The story is well known in Croatian historiography, but had different interpretations. Some authors attributed the event to the policy of Venice,[22] others to that of King Stephen Tvrtko of Bosnia,[23] or to the stream which wanted to see Charles of Durazzo not only as the ruler of the *Regnum*, but also crowned with the Holy Crown of Hungary.[24] The latter interpretation is the most probable one.

A contemporary of Ban Thomas, Paul de Paulo, one of the Zaratin patricians, briefly described the conspiracy against the queens. He did not state why it occurred, but gave the details of what had happened to the insurgents. It was in the middle of July 1384, when Zanin, his cousin Giancarlo, Peter Franchalanca, and Michael Milešić organized the rebellion. Three days later, the first three conspirators were brutally executed – they were dragged all over the town, they were decapitated, and their bodies were left on public display until the evening. Paul also noted that three judges had been appointed in charge of selling the confiscated property of the traitors. On the same day, the supporters of the three queens, Elizabeth, Mary and Hedwig, in Zadar decided to form an alliance with Ban Thomas and took an oath on the relics of Saint Chrysogonus, the patron saint of the city.[25] Notarial sources shed some light on the auction which took place after the events.[26] The first auction sold

[17] He is mentioned for the first time as ban and the count-elect of Zadar on 27 April 1384. cfr.: *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 16. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas et al. Zagreb: JAZU, 1976, p. 462.

[18] Šišić, Ferdo: Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskoga. In: *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva*, a. 6, 1904, p. 8.

[19] See, for instance, Klaić, Nada – Petricioli, Ivo: *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409.* Zadar: Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, 1976, pp. 352–353.

[20] More on the rebellion in Vrana cfr. Rački, Franjo: Pokret na slavenskom jugu. In: *Rad JAZU*, a. 2, 1868, pp. 107–108; Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povjest Hrvata*. Zagreb: Knjižara Lav. Hartmana, 1900, vol. 2/1, p. 209; Budak, Neven: John of Paližna, the Hospitaller Prior of Vrana. In: *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. Ed.: Zsolt Hunyadi - József Laszlovsky. Budapest: CEU, 2001, p. 286; Dobronić, Lelja: *Templari i ivanovci u Hrvatskoj.* Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2002, pp. 171–180. Concerning recent Hungarian scholarship, Engel maintains that John of Paližna was the only open supporter of Charles of Durazzo at that moment (Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. Trans.: Tamás Palosfalui. London: I. B. Tauris, 2001, p. 196), but, on the other hand, Hunyadi thinks that the reasons for the rebellion are still not known, but that John of Paližna did not have any political deal with Charles of Durazzo, but he sought recognition from the Avignon Master of the order (Hunyadi, Zsolt: *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387.* Budapest: METEM – CEU, 2010, pp. 62–63; 88–89). It is important to note that the headquarters of the Hospitallers in Vrana was important since it had a strong strategic position on the Dalmatian Coast (Hunyadi, Zsolt: *The Hospitallers in the Medieval*, p. 65).

[21] Šišić, Ferdo: *Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića*, pp. 8–9.

[22] Rački, Franjo: *Pokret slavenskom jugu*, p. 111.

[23] Šišić, Ferdo: *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba.* Zagreb: MH, 1902, p. 31; Klaić, Nada – Petriocioli, Ivo: *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*, Zadar: Sveučilište u Splitu, Filozofski fakultet Zadar, 1976, p. 352.

[24] For instance, cfr. Ibidem, pp. 350–355. This was deduced from the story presented by Lučić, Ivan: *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru*, vol. 2. Trans.: Jakov Stipišić. Split: Čakavski sabor, 1979, pp. 728–729, which stated that the rebelion should be regarded as a reflection of the earlier uprising in Vrana.

[25] Šišić, Ferdo: *Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića*, pp. 8–9.

[26] Cfr. Državni arhiv u Zadru, Spisi zadarskih bilježnika, Articutius de Riniguano, b. 1, fasc. 1, folia 96'–98' and transcriptions brought in *Appendix* 3 (deinde DAZd, S2B, AR).



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the property of Peter Opatičić or Franchalanca, the son of late John of Zadar. He is defined as *infidelis regie maiestatis Vngarie et comunis Iadre ac proditor patrie* in the document. Further on, it is specified that the conspirator owned two houses, of which the second one included two shops in the town centre. The social layer and wealth of the second conspirator is similar to the first one since Zanin was a *draperius*. His house was sold for the price of 800 florins. On the contrary, his cousin Giancarlo, the third recorded conspirator, did not own a house in Zadar, but he had a land which was sixty *gognai* large (approximately an estate providing the living for two peasant households). It is possible that he resided in his cousin's home. The fourth and the last conspirator, Michael Milešić, avoided the death penalty. It is generally held that the event was neither an isolated case nor the result of individual discontent, and that more than a half of the members of the city council supported the rebellion.[27] We can only speculate about the reason why it happened since Paul de Paulo did not record the reasons of their action. In that situation, Ban Thomas acted as a firm extended hand of the queens, and by doing so he managed to consolidate the situation in Croatia-Dalmatia. Shortly after, in the middle of July 1384, the Dowager-Queen Elizabeth sent her instructions that he should punish the Vlachs of the hinterland, who were responsible for several robberies and damages in the district of Šibenik. These robberies happened when Emeric Bubek was the ban (prior to June 1383); he was ordered to punish them, but failed to do so. As a punishment, the Vlachs were supposed to pay a fine of 200 golden florins, which, according to the queen's decision, should be divided in two halves between Ban Thomas and the commune of Šibenik.[28]

On the field, Thomas of Svätý Jur was supported not only by a network of his lower officers, but also by some other allies. The most important of them was the newly appointed prior of Vrana, Raymond Bellamonte, who assisted Ban Thomas in governing the area.[29] Reciprocally, Ban Thomas helped Bellamonte after he was appointed to the seat of the prior. Their cooperation should be seen in the context of the general history of the order. The end of the fourteenth century was a very disturbed period in its history since the order was torn in the internal fight between the Provençal and Italian streams for the control of the Priory of Hungary-Slavonia (the Priory of Vrana). Moreover, the papal schism was reflected in the double election of the priors. Hungarian rulers also interfered in the appointment of the priors (the right given to them as the successors of St. Stephen).[30] The help of Ban Thomas to the prior may be discerned from the fact that Bellamonte gave him two villages in Sopron county, stating that it was because "*of the benefices he did for us, the Knights of St. John and the Priory of Vrana*." The villages in question were Bő and Egyházasfalu in Sopron county ("*duas nostras et dicti nostri prioratus villas positas in comitatu Suspironii, uocatas vnam Beu et alteram Cristianam alias dictam Templum*"). The document on the donation was issued in the Hospitallers' headquarters in Zadar ("*Datum Iadre in hospitio nostro die sextodecimo mensis Nouembris, indictione septima, anno a Natiuitate dominica millesimo trecentesimo octuagesimo quarto*").[31] The villages, situated in the southern part of Sopron county,[32] belonged to the former Templar preceptory and got to the hands of the Hospitallers in the period after the Templar Order was abolished in the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.[33] The donation of those particular villages was important: the village of Bő was one of the places of authentication of the Hospitallers in the fourteenth century, although the charters produced by that house are not extant, except two of them.[34] It should be also noted that the act of donation may be interpreted as an attempt of Raymond de Beaumont to emphasize that he was still the legitimate prior at that time, because he attached both his personal

[27] Klaić, Nada – Petriocioli, Ivo: *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*, pp. 353–355.
[28] *CDCr* 16, pp. 480–481.
[29] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povjest Hrvata*, vol. 2/1, p. 210.
[30] For more, see: Hunyadi, Zsolt: *The Hospitallers in the Medieval…*, pp. 62–63, 88–89; Hunyadi, Zsolt: The Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary: Houses, Personnel, and a Particular Activity up to c. 1400. In: *The Crusades*, pp. 262–263; Ed.: Zsolt Hunyadi – József Laszlovszky; Luttrel, Anthony: The Hospitallers in Hungary before 1418: Problems and Sources, In: Ibidem, pp. 275–276.
[31] The document was first published by György Fejér (*CDH* 10/1, pp. 179–181), but with few typos. Thus, the quotations above were checked against the original (MOL DL 7111). Cfr. Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povjest Hrvata*, p. 215; Perićić, Eduard: Vranski prior Ivan od Paližne i Petar Berislavić. In: *Radovi Istraživačkog centra JAZU u Zadru*, a. 18, 1971, nr. 106A, p. 263.
[32] For the exact position, see: Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub vocibus: Bő and Egyházasfalu.
[33] Hunyadi, Zsolt: *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387*, pp. 51, 156–157, 256.
[34] For more details, see: Ibidem, p. 196, 264.



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seal and the seal of the Priory to the charter.[35]

Concerning his lower officers (for geographical distribution of the ban's honours, see Map 2 below), we found only several of them mentioned by names in the sources, mainly the counts of Dalmatian cities of Nin, Šibenik, Trogir, Novigrad, and of the insular communes of Hvar, Brač, and Korčula. The count of Nin was Budislav, son of Budislav *de genere Gusich*, a member of the family of the counts of Krbava, who would prove to be the great supporters of Queen Mary in the upcoming events. It is also noted that Budislav was a royal knight.[36] In Šibenik, two counts are mentioned in succession, Rafael de Sorba[37] and Louis de Georgiis de Iadra,[38] both of them belonging to the rank of Zaratin nobles who were also royal knights. It is interesting to mention that Count Paul of Trogir also came from the aforementioned Zaratin family, *de Georgiis*, and that he was also a royal knight.[39] The situation on the islands was different since at that time there was one count for all three islands of Hvar, Brač, and Korčula; his name was Matthew, son of Nicholas *de Petrachis* of Split.[40] This case is interesting since the count came from Split and at that period there was no count in Split itself, but the city was governed by the local patricians styled as rectors.[41] It is indicative that the situation there was probably completely consolidated with no problems at all. If we apply the method of prosopography to Ban Thomas's officials in the cities, it is evident that they came from the local noble families, which, starting from the Counts of Krbava to the noble families of Sorba or Jurjević, were later strong supporters of Queen Mary.

Regarding the officials in the extra-urban parts of the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia, the situation was a little different. In order to emphasize more clearly the extant of Ban Thomas's authority, it should be stated that as the ban he had immediate control over 20 castles, all placed on the strategically important route connecting Slavonia and Hungary with the sea, usually manned by the members of his retinue (see Map 2). Unfortunaly, the data on the most of them are rather scanty. For the castle of Novigrad, we found a mention of the first name of its governor only, Count Peter. For the time being, we cannot connect him with any of the local noble families.[42] Thus, it is more probable that he was a member of Ban Thomas's Slovak retinue, probably his own brother.[43] Besides him, only the castellans of Livno (as of 1384) – Ladislas, son of Martin, and John, son of Pop – are known by their names.[44] Still, the documents regarding the auction of the conspirators' property contain an important piece of information – a mention of the ban's scribe, probably a person educated in the legal affairs who accompanied him to Zadar.[45] Unfortunately, all we know about him is that his name was John and that at the time of the auction he was, like Ban Thomas himself, absent from Zadar.[46] At any rate, it seems that Ban Thomas emulated the system usual for the chancery of the bans of Slavonia, who were, as well as other high officers with judicial function, accompanied and assisted by a protonotary.

[35] Ibidem, p. 207.

[36] *CDCr* 16, p. 496. For more on the family of the Counts of Krbava, see: Botica, Ivan: *Krbavski knezovi u srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, unpublished PhD Thesis, 2011.

[37] Lucius, Iohannes (Lučić, Ivan): Ostavština, Kaptolski arhiv u Split, fasc. 528, folia 58 / Arhiv HAZU, vol. 29, p. 5. For Raphael de Sorba, see also: Grbavac, Branka: Prilog proučavanju životopisa đenoveškog i zadarskog plemića Baltazara de Sorbe, kraljevskog admiral. In: *Humanitas et litterae. Zbornik u čast Franje Šanjeka*. Ed.: Lovorka Čoralić – Slavko Slišković. Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina – Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009, pp. 231–232.

[38] Lucius, Iohannes: Ostavština, KASp, fasc. 528, folia 58/AHAZU, vol. 29, p. 5. For more information, see: Grbavac, Branka: Zadarski plemići kao kraljevski vitezovi u doba Ludovika I. Anžuvinca. In: *Acta Histriae*, a. 16, 2008, 1–2, pp. 95–96 and Jurjević, Franjo: Zadarska plemićka obitelj. In: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 6, pp. 634–637.

[39] Rački, Franjo: Notae Joannis Lucii. In: *Starine*, a. 13, 1881, p. 245. For more details on his career, see also: Grbavac, Branka: Prilog proučavanju životopisa zadarskog plemića Franje Jurjevića, kraljevskog viteza. In: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU*, a. 22, 2004, pp. 35–54.

[40] *CDCr* 16, p. 484.

[41] Cfr. A.: Serie dei reggitori di Spaleto. In: *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, a. 11, 1888, p. 128.

[42] Karbić, Damir – Katušić, Maja – Pisačić, Ana: *Velika bilježnica Zadarskoga kaptola. Quaternus magnus Capituli Iadrensis.* Srednjovjekovni registri Zadarskoga i Splitskog kaptola. Registra medievalia capitulorum Iadre et Spalati, a. 2, *Fontes*, a. 13. Zagreb: HDA, 2007, p. 68.

[43] On Count Peter's activity in Slovakia, see: Gahér, Daniel: *Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405)*, pp. 15–17.

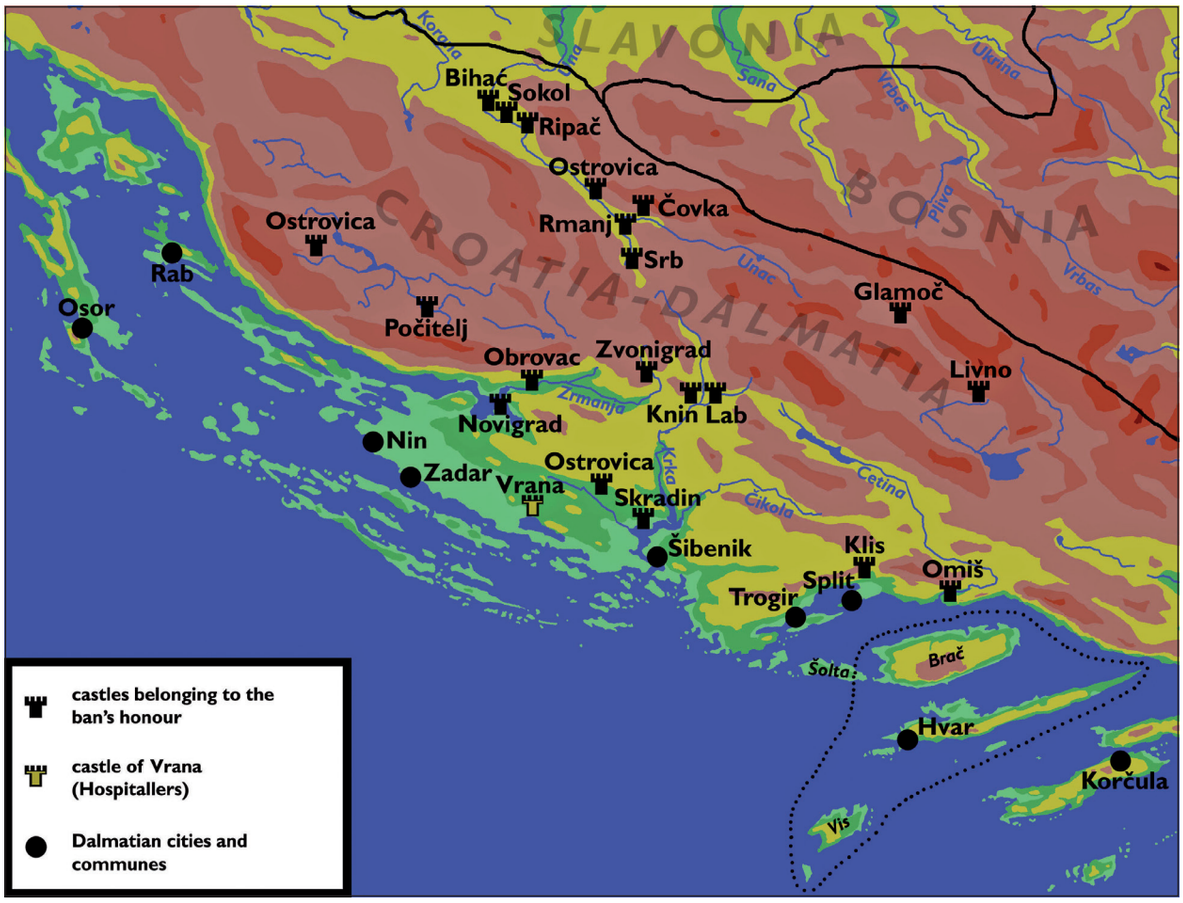
[44] *CDCr* 16, pp. 491–492.

[45] Cfr. DAZd, SZB, AR, b. 1, fasc. 1, pp. 96'–98'.

[46] They might have been in Šibenik, engaged in the aforementioned actions against the Vlachs.



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Map 2. *Spatial distribution of the castles and communes in the Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia at the end of the fourteenth century.*

The last mention of Thomas as the Ban of Croatia-Dalmatia dates to March 1385, when he was transferred to the position of the judge royal. Thanks to this appointment he became one of the most powerful men in the whole kingdom. His rise was part of relocation within the faction of Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara, which is clearly visible if we look at the structure of the royal officers. Those in power were the supporters of the royal marriage with Duke Louis of Orleans.[47] Thomas of Svätý Jur remained in the position of one of the most powerful men in the kingdom until the fall of 1385, when he was succeeded by John of Kapla.[48] The change was influenced by two semi-independent events: the invasions of King Charles and of the margrave of Brandenburg, Sigismund of Luxemburg. The latter was more directly connected to Count Thomas's fate. The exact sequence of events leading to the change seems to be as follows. In August 1385 Sigismund of Luxemburg militarily intervened; it is important to emphasize that his cousins, Moravian margraves Procop and Jodok, financed his campaign. According to their mutual contract, Sigismund promised to pledge several properties in Brandenburg in exchange for 50 thousand of Prague groschen.[49] The contract from the summer of 1385 is important also with regard to the fact that Moravian margraves held all the conquered lands between the river Morava and the river Váh in pledge. These were mostly

[47] See more in: *Archontológiája*, p. 196.

[48] Count Thomas is mentioned as judge royal for the last time in July 1385, while John of Kapla is mentioned for the first time only in October 1385. John of Kapla belonged to the party trying to find some mid-solution to the succession problem (there were, in fact, two parties taking more neutral stance in the events, the one around Emeric Bubek and the one consisting of "professionals," like Nicholas of Szécs, who managed to remain in their positions even during the changes caused by the coronation of Charles of Durazzo). See Table below. It is interesting to point out that John of Kapla also succeeded Thomas of Svätý Jur in the position of the ban of Dalmatia-Croatia, as well as in the position of judge royal.

[49] Šišić, Ferdo: *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba*, p. 42; Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, p. 197; Štěpán, Václav: Zápas moravského markraběte Prokopa o Liptov v rámci středoevropské politiky na sklonku 14. století In: *Historický časopis*, a. 40, 1992, nr. 5, p. 542; *Archontológiája*, p. 15.



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possessions in the county of Bratislava, where the domain of the counts of Svätý Jur was situated as well. Therefore they were formally under the custody of the margraves. Moreover, during the campaign, Jodok managed to capture Count Thomas and imprison him.[50] Even though Count Thomas fell into captivity, the fact that at the same time his faction temporarily lost its power by the coronation of Charles II, when they were all removed from their functions (see *Appendix* 2), was much more disastrous for his political career. Their return to power by the coup of January 1386 ended with the final defeat of Gorjani in the following July. Thus, although those turbulent events interrupted the career of Thomas of Svätý Jur, they also saved him from death, which would have most probably occurred either in these fights or in the ensuing civil war.

It is unclear for how long the count remained in prison, though he must have been set free before the coronation of Sigismund of Luxemburg (31 March 1387).[51] Particularly, his brother Peter helped him out of prison and negotiated peace between both sides. It is important to note that in 1390 Count Peter received Pajštún castle from King Sigismund for his mediation in this conflict.[52] In the charter issued on 29 June 1390, the counts from Svätý Jur and Pezinok confirmed that they would not try to revenge Count Thomas's imprisonment. The charter is also interesting because of Thomas's attached seal – the one that he used as the Ban of Croatia-Dalmatia.[53] It is interesting that he used that particular seal since he held higher office than that afterwards. He probably used it because he perceived that this office showed him in the best possible light.

Afterwards, Thomas was no longer active within the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Hungary and retired to his previous seat at Eberhard. In 1393, he had to sell his castle of Oslip (Sopron county) with appertaining possessions to John of Kaniža, Archbishop of Esztergom and the royal chancellor.[54] Oslip castle was valued at 6800 golden florins – which Thomas owed as a ransom for his release. He tried to consolidate



Fig. 6. *Seal of Thomas of Svätý Jur as the Ban of Croatia-Dalmatia.*



Fig. 7. *Seal of Thomas of Svätý Jur as judge royal.*

his status within the kingdom by connecting with Margrave Jodok. We found out that in 1399 Count Thomas received the town and the castle of Hodonín (present-day Czech Republic) as a reward

[50] Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 15 and the references mentioned there.

[51] Nagy, Imre: *Sopron vármegye története* (deinde *SVT*). Sopron: Litfass Károly, 1889, a. 1, pp. 512–514; Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 16. For Sigismund's coronation, see: Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, p. 199.

[52] MOL DL 7613.

[53] Brandl, Vincenz : *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae. Urkunden-Sammlung zur Geschichte Mährens*. Brünn: Verlag des Mährischen Landes-Ausschusses, 1885, a. 11, nr. 603, pp. 525–526. The edition only states that there are five well-preserved seals attached to the charter. The original of the charter is kept in Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni, Historica Třeboň, nr. 50. There is also a photograph in: MOL DF 289201.

[54] *SVT* 1, nr. 358, pp. 512–514.



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for his faithful service.[55] His second marriage with a woman from a family that was loyal to Margrave Jodok can be interpreted in the same manner. Margaret, daughter of Zdeněk and Kunigunda (Kunhuta), first mentioned in 1396, belonged to the noble Moravian family of Šternberk.[56] Count Thomas acted in a similar way when he looked for a husband for his only daughter Sibilla (from his first marriage with the aforementioned Ursula). He once again chose from the family loyal to Margrave Jodok, and so, Sibilla married Peter of Kravař and Strážnica in 1397.[57] After securing her position, Count Thomas gave some of his properties to other members of the family,[58] and ordered that after his death his brother Peter should give 750 *sexaginas* of Prague groschen to his widow Margaret of Šternberk.[59] Count Thomas died in 1405, leaving no male heir.[60]

* * *

To conclude, Count Thomas of Svätý Jur can be described as a loyal servant of the Anjou, thus representing a paradigm for social and professional mobility within the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. He started his career at the court of Louis the Great, alongside his brother, both of them being mentioned as royal *familiares*. Several years before the death of King Louis the Great he held the office of the master of treasury, which was one the top ten positions at the royal court of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. At the same time, he was mentioned as the *comes* of Nitra county in the north-western part of the kingdom, in present-day Slovakia. In the turbulent period after the death of Louis the Great, he became the ban of Dalmatia-Croatia, thus entering the inner cycle surrounding Queen Mary, Dowager-Queen Elizabeth, and Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara. In his office he confirmed his loyalty when acting decisively in the events around the conspiracy in Zadar, consolidating that part of the kingdom at least for a while. As an important and consistent supporter of Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara and his policy, Count Thomas of Svätý Jur became judge royal, and thus the second most important man in the royal court. Hence, he was inclined to support the marriage of Mary with Duke Louis, but his career was interrupted by the events following Sigismund's raid and his gaining of the crown of St. Stephen. Count Thomas of Svätý Jur, although imprisoned by Margrave Jodok during that turbulent political situation, suffered a stigma of an opponent of Sigismund of Luxemburg.

Count Thomas of Svätý Jur married twice, with only one surviving daughter, Sibilla, the fruit of his first marriage with Ursula of Maissau. Count Thomas tried to consolidate his position with his second marriage, choosing a wife coming from a family loyal to Margrave Jodok, and thus, consequently, to King Sigismund. His decision to marry his daughter off to a member of another family loyal to Jodok should be regarded in the same manner.

The history of Thomas of Svätý Jur represents a useful paradigm for the functioning of aristocracy in the political life on two levels – on the level of the whole kingdom and also on the local level of both Slovakian and Croatian history.

[55] Original of the charter: MOL DL 8454. See also: Lukačka, Ján: Moravský markgróf Jošt udeľuje grófovi Tomášovi staršiemu zo Svätého Jura za verné služby do doživotnej držby hrad a mesto Hodonín na Morave. In: *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov*, vol. 5. Ed.: Július Bartl et al. Bratislava: Literárne a informačné centrum, 2001, nr. 49, pp. 96–97.

[56] Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 18; Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia* – Arcanum CD disk. Budapest : MTA, 2001, sub voce Hontpázmány nem 9. Szentgyörgyi-ág, 2. tábla: Szentgyörgyi és Bazini.

[57] Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), pp. 18–19; Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, ibid.

[58] MOL DL 8556. For more, see: Gahér, Daniel: *Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405)*, p. 18.

[59] MOL DL 10011.

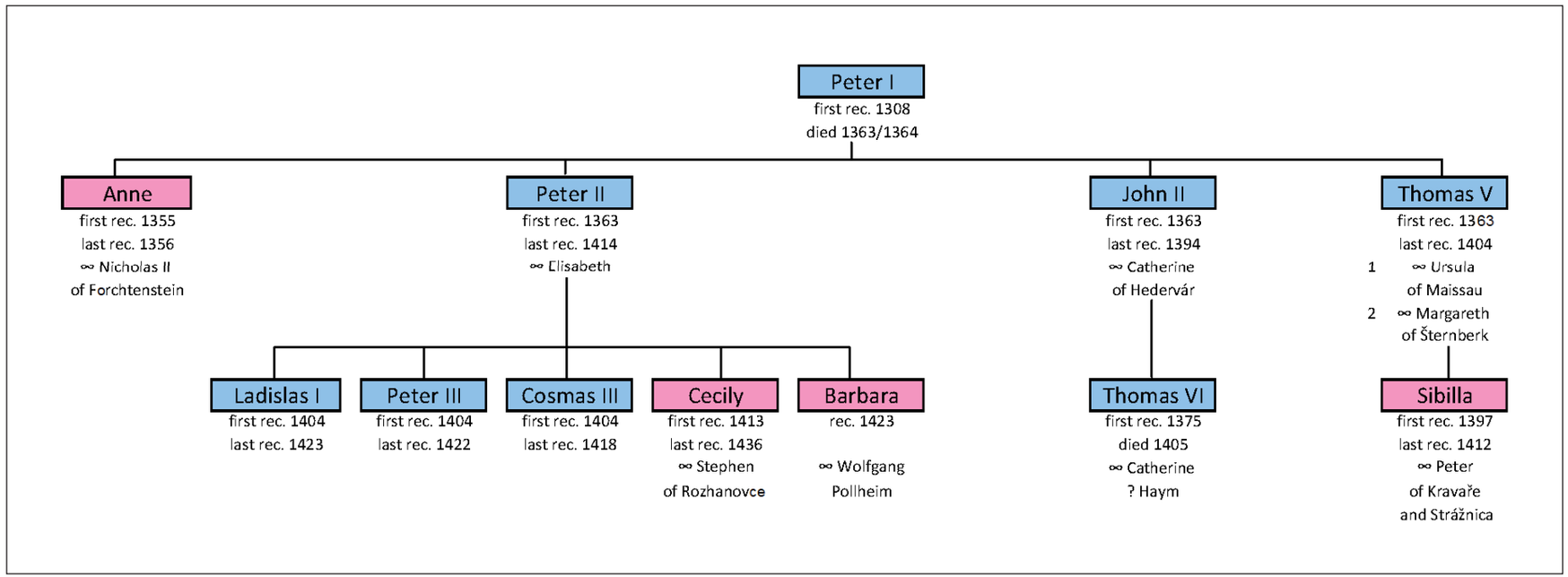
[60] Gahér, Daniel: Gróf Tomáš V. (Temel) zo Svätého Jura (*okolo 1345–†1405), p. 18; *Archontológiája*.



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# Appendix 1:

Extract from the genealogy of the Counts of Svätý Jur (the branch of Svätý Jur) in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century*






* Taken from the larger genealogical plate created by Daniel Gahér and published in his work on Count Thomas of Svätý Jur (cfr., p. 21).

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## Appendix 2:

*Table of court factions in the period after the death of Louis the Great until the succession of Sigismund of Luxemburg**

<table>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="5">Queen Mary and Dowager Queen Elizabeth (09/1382–09/1385)</td><td colspan="2">Charles of Durazzo (09/1385–02/1386)</td><td colspan="3">Queen Mary (03–07/1386) and the League and Sigismund of Luxemburg (from 08/1386)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Count Palatine</td><td colspan="5">Nicholas of Gara the Elder (10/1375–07/1385)</td><td colspan="2">Nicholas of Szécs (09/1385–10/1386)</td><td colspan="3">Stephen Lackfi/ Lacković (01/1387–11/1392)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Judge Royal</td><td colspan="3">Nicholas of Szécs (01/1381–10/1384)</td><td colspan="2">Thomas of Svätý Jur (03/1385–07/1385)</td><td>John of Kapla (10/1385–11/1385)</td><td colspan="3">Emeric Bubek (01/1386)<br>vacancy (03–04/1386)<br>Emeric Bubek (04/1386–03/1392)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ban of Slavonia</td><td colspan="5">Stephen and John Bánfi of Donja Lendava (03/1381–08/1385)</td><td colspan="2">vacancy (10/1385)</td><td colspan="3">Emeric Bubek (03–04/1386)<br>vacancy (06/1386)<br>Ákos Mikcsfi (05–09/1387)<br>John of Paližna (01/1387–03/1391) [at the same time ban of Dalmatia-Croatia]</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ban of Dalmatia-Croatia</td><td>Emeric Bubek (10/1380–06/1383)</td><td>Stephen Lackfi/ Lacković (06/1383–03/1384)</td><td>Thomas of Svätý Jur (05/1384–01/1385)</td><td>John of Kapla (03–10/1385)</td><td colspan="2">Nicholas of Gara the Younger (10/1385–06/1386)</td><td>Peter Cudar (09/1386)<br>John of Paližna (01/1387–03/1391)</td><td colspan="2">Stephen and Ladislas of Lučenec the Younger (08–10/1387)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Voivode of Transylvania</td><td colspan="5">Ladislas of Lučenec the Elder (05/1376–08/1385)</td><td colspan="2">Stephen Lackfi/Lacković (10/1385–01/1386)</td><td colspan="3">Ladislas of Lučenec the Elder (03/1386–11/1391)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ban of Mačva</td><td colspan="2">Paul of Lieskova (01–08/1382)</td><td colspan="2">Stephen of Koroď (01/1383–03/1385)</td><td colspan="2">John Horvat (05/1385–01/1386)</td><td colspan="3">vacancy (03–06/1386)<br>John Bánfi of Donja Lendava (?)<br>Nicholas of Gara the Younger (08/1387–04/1390)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Master of the Treasury</td><td colspan="3">Nicholas Zámbó (05/1382–06/1384)</td><td colspan="3">John Treutel (01–05/1385)</td><td colspan="4">Nicholas Zámbó (10/1385–04/1388)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Master of the Horse</td><td colspan="9">Stephen Lackfi of Simontornya (10/1382–06/1387)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Master of the Cup-bearers</td><td colspan="5">Blaise Forgács (01/1383–01/1386)</td><td colspan="2"></td><td>Blaise Forgács (02–07/1386)</td><td colspan="2">Nicholas of Perín (08/1387–04/1390)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Master of the Table</td><td colspan="7">Ladislas of Vezseny (01/1383–06/1386)</td><td colspan="2">George of Štítnik (07/1387–07/1396)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Master of the Doorkeepers</td><td colspan="5">Nicholas of Tileagd (01/1383–06/1384)</td><td colspan="3">Paul of Alsán (10/1385–06/1386)</td><td colspan="2">Eustace of Jelšava (05/1387–11/1392)</td></tr>
</table>

Legend: ■ – court faction of the Count Palatine Nicholas of Gara; ■ – court faction positioned around the Queens, trying to find mid-way; ■ – court faction positioned neutrally; ■ – anti-reginal party; ■ – ruling structure of Sigismund of Luxemburg

* The table was done according to the data from Pál Engel's *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, but also according to the data from the forthcoming publication of Damir Karbić dealing with various officials in the Kingdom of Dalmatia-Croatia, to whom we would like to thank for allowing us to use the information.



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## Appendix 3:

Unpublished documents on the auction of the property confiscated from the conspirators in Zadar, after they had been discovered and executed by Ban Thomas of Svätý Jur

(Državni arhiv u Zadru, Spisi zadarskih bilježnika, Articutius de Riniguano, b. 1, fasc. 1, ff. 96'-98')*

## Doc. 1.

*(fol. 96')*

In margine: Incantus domus minoris cum duabus stationibus condam Petri Opatichich uendite ser Andree de Cesamis ementi nomine Crisani draparii

Feci in auctentico emptori

MCCCLXXXIIII^to^ indictione VII^a^ ab incarnatione

Die XXVIII^o^ mensis Augusti

In Christi nomine. Amen. Anno ab incarnatione eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo octuagesimo quarto, indictione septima, die vigesimo octuauo mensis Augusti, regnante serenissima principe et domina nostra naturali, domina Maria, Dei gratia regina Vngarie, Dalmatie, Croatie et cetera, temporeque reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Petri de Matafaris, eadem Dei gratia Jadrensis archiepiscopi, necnon maginifici et potentis domini domini Thome de Sancto Georgio, regnorum Dalmatie et Croatie bani generalis ac comitis ciuitatis Iadre. Testificor ego Anthonius preco communis Iadre quod cum facta foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: "Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur vna domus minor cum duabus stationibus suis, que fuit condam Petri Opatichich, filii quondam Iohannis de Iadra. infidelis regie maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proditoris patrie et nunc est communis Iadre et in ipsum commune per sententiam confiscata, posita in confinio ecclesie Sancti Laurentii iuxta platheam magnam Iadre, cui domus cum stationibus hii sunt confines: de austro heredes condam ser Dominici de Nassis mediante muro communi, de borea domus maior cum suo sportico que fuit dicti condam Petri, mediante pariete de lignamine, de trauersa dicta domus maior mediante muro communi et de quirina uia publica, et hoc ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uirorum domini Ludouici de Georgiis, legum doctoris, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cresii condam ser Raynerii de Varicassis, officialium communis Iadre vigore partis capte in consilio secreto Iadre die quintodecimo Iulii instantis ad hec et alia specialiter deputatorum." Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre ac mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas seu debitas obseruari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Petri infidelis et proditoris, ut premittitur, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandata pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Petro et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premittitur, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo mensis Iulii proxime preteriti sub prescriptis anno domini et indictione, habito quod omnia obseruata fuerunt que in dicta cedula describuntur atque primo guarentatis debite confinibus suprascriptis, commiserunt mihi Anthonio preconi predicto ut dictam domum minorem cum duabus stationibus suis prout in dicta cedula enarratur secundum ordinamenta dicte ciuitatis Iadre ac secundum mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas obseruari incantare et deliberare deberem. Quorum mandata fideliter exequens predictam domum minorem cum dictis duabus stationibus suis prout in dicta cedula continetur diebus pluribus et pluribus per plateas et alia loca solita diebus festiuis et non festiuis, modo et horis debitis, publice incantaui, ubi moris est, preconia uoce denuncians atque dicens quod dicta domus minor cum dictis stationibus suis secundum formam dicte cedule plus offerenti et danti daretur et deliberaretur, predictam cedulam incantus publice in manibus semper ferens. Cumque prenotificato per me quod dicta domus minor cum dictis duabus stationibus suis cum earum iuribus et pertinenciis supradicto die daretur et deliberaretur prout in dicta cedula continetur nemoque se opposuisse incantui neque deliberationi nullusque comparuisse qui se pro dicta domo et stationibus plus nec tantum daturum offeret quantum ser Andreas de Cesamis, nobilis ciuis Iadre, qui se (fol. 97) uice et nomine Crisani

* On this occasion we would like to thank Branka Grbavac for providing us with the photos of the documents from the Archive in Zadar, and also to Damir Karbić for the helpful and useful suggestions while transcribing, and any other friendly advice while writing this article.



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draparii condam Martini de dicta ciuitate Iadre daturum obtulit ducatos auri centum et octuaginta ad soldos octuaginta pro singulo ducato. Tandem de mandato supradictorum dominorum iudicum et officialium, videlicet Ludouici, Iohannis et Cressii, supradicto die uigesimo octuauo mensis Augusti dedi, uendidi et deliberaui sub logia magna communis dicto ser Andree de Cesamis ementi uice et nomine et pro parte dicti Crisani draparii domum predictam cum dictis duabus stationibus et omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis eorumdem prout in dicta cedula declaratur pro precio et nomine precii ducatorum auri centum et octuaginta, ut premittitur, ad soldos octuaginta paruorum pro singulo ducato superius oblatorum, ad habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et possidendum et quiquid dicto Crisano drapario et eius heredibus et successoribus de inceps placuerit perpetuo faciendum seu quiquid alicui rem aliquam ad incantum ementi ex forma statutorum et ordinamentorum Iadre ac consuetudinum fieri promittitur. Quemquidem ser Andream emptori quo supra nomine dictus dominus Ludouicus iudex ex sui officio et de commissione, uoluntate et mandato dictorum aliorum duorum iudicum suorum colegarum sedentium cum eo ad bancum sub logia magna, tunc absente a ciuitate Iadre domino Iohanne scriba supradicti domini bani et comitis ciuitatis Iadre qui ad hec et alia cum eis solitus erat sedere pro ipso domino bano, de possessione dicte domus et dictarum duarum stationum et earum iurium et pertinentiarum cum baculo quem sua tenebat in manu, ut est solitum in talibus, inuestitiuit et dictam deliberationem totaliter confirmauit, qui quidem emptor nomine quo supra et de denariis propriis ipius Crisani dedit, soluit et manualiter numerauit ipsis dominis iudicibus et officialibus dictam ducatorum quantitatem, videlicet ducatos auri centum et octuaginta ad rationem, prefatam, prout dicti domini iudices et officiales contenti et confessi fuerint se habuisse et recepisse a supradicto emptore nomine antedicto, predicti domini iudices et officiales mandauerunt mihi notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri presens brauiarii incantus publicum instrumentum. Actum Iadre sub dicta logia magna communis, presentibus ad supradicta omnia ser Cressio condam ser Petri Zadulinis et ser Micha de Nassis, procuratoribus dicti communis Iadre, et ser Francisco de Zadulinis et ser Iohanne de Nassis, nobilibus ciuibus Iadre, testibus ad premissa uocatis et rogatis et cetera.

## Doc. 2.

In margine: Incantus domus maioris cum duabus stationibus sub ea positi condam Petri Opatichich uendite ser Andree de Cesamis ementi nomine Crisani draparii

Feci in auctentico

Die XXVIIII$^{o}$ mensis Augusti

Testificor ego Anthonius preco communis Iadre quod cum facta foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: "Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur domus maior cum duabus stationibus sub ipsa domo positis cum sportico, curia, orto, puteo, canipa, camera, coquina, balatoriis et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis que fuit condam Petri Opatichich, filii condam Iohannis de Iadra, infidelis regie maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proditoris patrie, et in qua ipse condam Petrus habitabat, que domus est posita Iadre in confinio ecclesie Sancti Laurentii iuxta platheam magnam Iadre, cui domus cum stationibus hii sunt confines: de trauersa partim ser Petrus de Lubanaç mediante muro communi pro parte et partim Grescus butiguarius et partim Draga, uxor Pripci sartoris condam Perfci, mediante androna, de borea ser Marcus de Pomo (fol. 97') mediante muro communis, de austro partim heredes condam ser Dominici de Nassis mediante muro communi et partim domus parua cum aliis duabus stationibus dicti condam Petri usque ad sporticum mediante pariete communi de lignamine et de quirina uia publica, que quidem domus cum suis iuribus et pertinenciis est nunc communis Iadre, in ipsum commune per sententiam confiscata et uenditur ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uirorum domini Ludouici de Georgiis, legum doctoris, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cresii Raynerii de Varicassis, officialium communis Iadre ad hec et alia vigore partis capte in consilio secreto Iadre die quintodecimo Iulii instantis deputatorum." Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre ac mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas seu debitas obseruari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Petri infidelis et proditoris, ut premittitur, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandata pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Petro et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premittitur, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo



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mensis Iulii proxime preteriti sub prescriptis anno domini et indictione, habito quod omnia obseruata fuerunt que in dicta cedula describuntur atque primo guarentatis debite confinibus suprascriptis, commiserunt mihi Anthonio preconi predicto ut dictam domum maiorem cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipso domo positis prout in dicta cedula enarratur secundum ordinamenta dicte ciuitatis Iadre ac secundum mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas obseruari incantare et deliberare deberem. Quorum mandata fideliter exequens, predictam domum maiorem cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis, prout in dicta cedula continetur, pluribus et pluribus diebus per plateas et alia loca solita diebus festiuis et non festiuis, modo et horis debitis publice incantaui, ubi moris est, preconia uoce denuncians atque dicens quod dicta domus maior cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis secundum formam dicte cedule plus offerenti et danti daretur et deliberaretur, predictam incantus cedulam in manibus publice semper ferens. Cumque prenotificato per me quod dicta domus maior cum dictis duabus stationibus sub ipsa positis cum earum iuribus et pertinenciis supradicto die daretur et deliberaretur, prout in dicta cedula continetur, nemoque se opposuisse incantui neque deliberationi nullusque comparuisse qui se pro dicta domo et duabus stationibus sub ipsa plus nec tantum daturum offeret quantum ser Andreas de Cesamis, nobilis ciuis Iadre, qui se uice et nomine Crisani draparii condam Martini de dicta ciuitate Iadre daturum obtulit ducatos quadringentos et septuginta tres auri ad soldos octuaginta pro ducato singulo. Tandem de mandato supradictorum dominorum iudicum et officialium, videlicet Ludouici, Iohannis et Cressii, supradicto die uigesimo octuauo mensis Augusti dedi, uendidi et deliberaui sub logia magna communis dicto ser Andree de Cesamis ementi uice et nomine et pro parte dicti Crisani draparii domum predictam cum dictis duabus stationibus et omnibus iuribus et pertinenciis earumdem, prout in dicta cedula declaratur, pro precio et nomine precii ducatorum auri quadringentorum et septuaginta trium, ut premittitur, ad soldos octuaginta paruorum pro singulo ducato superius oblatorum, ad habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et possidendum et quicquid dicto Crisano drapario et eius heredibus ac successoribus deinceps placuerit perpetuo faciendum seu quicquid alicui rem aliquam ad incantum ementi ex forma statutorum et ordinamentorum Iadre ac consuetudinum fieri promittitur. Quem quidem ser Andream emptorem quo supra nomine dictus dominus Ludouicus iudex et officialis ex sui officio et de commissione, uoluntate et mandato dictorum aliorum duorum iudicum et officialium suorum colegarum sedentium cum eo ad bancum sub dicta logia magna, tunc absente a ciuitate Iadre domino Iohanne scriba supradicti domini bani et comitis ciuitatis Iadre, qui ad hec et alia cum eis solitus erat sedere pro ipso domino bano, de possessione dicte domus et dictarum duarum stationum et earum iurium et pertinentiarum cum baculo quem sua tenebat in manu, ut est solitum in talibus, inuestitiuit et dictam deliberationem totaliter confirmauit, qui quidem ser Andreas emptor quo supra nomine de denariis propriis ipius Crisani dedit, soluit et manualiter numerauit ipsis dominis iudicibus et officialibus dictam ducatorum quantitatem, videlicet ducatos auri quadringentos et septuaginta tres ad rationem prefatam, prout dicti domini iudices et officiales contenti et confessi fuerint se habuisse et recepisse a supradicto emptore nomine antedicto, predicti domini iudices et officiales mandauerunt mihi notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri presens brauiarii incantus publicum instrumentum. Actum Iadre sub dicta logia magna communis, presentibus ad supradicta omnia ser Bartolo de Cipriano et ser Micha de Nassis, procuratoribus communis Iadre predicti, et ser Damiano condam ser Grisogoni de Begna et ser Colano de Matafaris, nobilibus ciuibus Iadre, testibus ad premissa uocatis et rogatis et cetera.

## Doc. 3.

*(fol. 98)*

In margine: Incantus domus habitationis condam Zanini draperii condam Iacobi de Iadra empte per ser Cosam de Begna

Feci in auctentico ser Cose emptori

MCCCLXXXIIII$^{to}$ indictione VII$^{a}$ ab incarnatione

Die XXVIIII$^{o}$ mensis Augusti

In Christi nomine. Amen. Anno ab incarnatione eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo octuagesimo quarto, indictione septima, die vigesimo nono mensis Augusti, regnante serenissima principe et domina nostra naturali, domina Maria, Dei gratia regina Vngarie, Dalmatie, Croatie et cetera, temporeque reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Petri de Matafaris, eadem Dei gratia Jadrensis archiepiscopi, necnon maginifici et potentis domini domini Thome de Sancto Georgio, regnorum Dalmatie et Croatie bani generalis ac comitis ciuitatis Iadre. Testificor ego Anthonius preco communis Iadre quod cum facta



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foret per infrascriptos dominos iudices et officiales et de eorum mandato cedula incantus infrascripti tenoris, videlicet: "Incantatur et per incantum plus offerenti et danti dabitur et deliberabitur vna domus cum suis cameris, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, posita Iadre in contrata Porte ferree iuxta ecclesiam sancte Marie de Bongaudo, que fuit condam Zanini draperii de Iadra, infidelis sacre regie maiestatis Vngarie et communis Iadre ac proditoris patrie, et nunc est dicti communis Iadre et in ipsum commune confiscata, cui hii sunt confines: de trauersa domus que fuit condam illorum de Bogde mediante muro communi sicut fuit antiquitus, de quirina uia conuicinalis, de austro uia publica et de borea heredes condam ser Francisci de Saladinis partim mediante muro communi et partim non, et hoc ad petitionem et instantiam nobilium uirorum domini Lodouici de Georgiis, ser Iohannis de Petriço et ser Cresii Raynerii de Varicassis, officialium communis Iadre ad hec et alia super bonis dicti infidelis et cetera specialiter vigore partis capte in consilio Iadre deputatorum." Igitur presens incantus procedit secundum ordinamenta Iadre et consuetudines in talibus debitas et solitas obseruari, et intelligatur ducatus aureus uel libre quatuor paruorum pro singulo ducato, prefati domini iudices et officiales ad uendendum bona dicti condam Zanini infidelis et proditoris, ut premittitur, ad incantum et ad alia facienda habentes speciale mandato (!) pro soluendo creditoribus habere debentibus ab ipso condam Zanino et pro ponendo residuum in commune Iadre vigore dicte partis, ut premittitur, in dicto consilio secreto Iadre capte die quintodecimo mensis Iulii proxime preteriti sub prescriptis anno domini et indictione, habito quod omnia obseruata fuerunt que in dicta cedula describuntur, commiserunt mihi Anthonio preconi predicto ut dictam domum cum suis cameris, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, prout in dicta cedula declaratur, secundum ordinamenta dicte ciuitatis Iadre ac secundum mores et consuetudines in talibus solitas obseruari incantare et deliberare deberem. Quorum mandata fideliter exequens predictam domum cum suis cameris, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, prout in dicta cedula continetur, pluribus et pluribus diebus per platheas et alia loca solita diebus festiuis et non festiuis, modo et horis debitis publice incantaui, ubi moris est, preconia uoce denuncians atque dicens quod dicta domus cum suis cameris, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis secundum formam dicte cedule plus offerenti et danti daretur et deliberaretur, predictam incantus cedulam in et (!) manibus publice semper ferens. Cumque prenotificato per me quod dicta domus cum suis cameris, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis, supradicto die vigesimonono mensis Augusti daretur et deliberaretur, prout in dicta cedula continetur, nemoque se opposuisse incantui neque deliberationi nullusque comparuisse qui se pro dicta domo cum suis cameris, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus aliis suis iuribus et pertinenciis plus nec tantum daturum offeret (fol. 98′) quantum ser Cosa condam ser Mathei de Begna, nobilis ciuis Iadre, qui se daturum obtulit ducatos octingentos auri ad soldos octuaginta pro ducato singulo. Tandem de mandato supradictorum dominorum iudicum et officialium, videlicet Ludouici, Iohannis et Cressii, supradicto die uigesimo nono mensis Augusti dedi, uendidi et deliberaui sub logia magna communis Iadre dicto ser Cose de Begna dictam domum cum suis cameris, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus suis iuribus et pertinenciis, prout in dicta cedula declaratur, pro precio et nomine precii ducatorum auri octingentorum, ut premittitur, ad soldos octuaginta paruorum pro singulo ducato superius oblatorum, ad habendum, tenendum, gaudendum et possidendum et quicquid ser Cose emptori et eius heredibus ac successoribus deinceps placuerit perpetuo faciendum seu quicquid alicui rem aliquam ad incantum ementi ex forma statutorum et ordinamentorum Iadre ac consuetudinum fieri promittitur. Quem quidem ser Cosam emptorem dictus dominus Ludouicus iudex et officialis ex sui officio et de commissione, uoluntate et mandato dictorum aliorum duorum iudicum et officialium, suorum colegarum, sedentium cum eo ad bancum sub dicta logia magna, tunc absente a ciuitate Iadre domino Iohanne scriba supradicti domini bani et comitis ciuitatis Iadre, qui ad hec et alia cum eis solitus erat sedere pro ipso domino bano, de possessione dicte domus cum suis cameris, magaçeno, canipis, salla, balatoriis, caminis, curia, puteo et omnibus eius iurium et pertinenciarum cum baculo quem sua tenebat in manu, ut est solitum in talibus, inuestitiuit et dictam deliberationem totaliter confirmauit, qui quidem ser Cosa emptor dedit, soluit et manualiter numerauit ipsis dominis



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iudicibus et officialibus dictam ducatorum quantitatem, videlicet ducatos auri octingentos ad rationem prefatam, prout dicti domini iudices et officiales contenti et confessi fuerint se habuisse et recepisse a supradicto emptore, predicti domini iudices et officiales mandauerunt mihi notario infrascripto ad cautelam fieri presens brauiarii incantus publicum instrumentum. Actum Iadre sub dicta logia magna communis, presentibus ad omnia supradicta ser Bartolo de Cipriano et ser Micha de Nassis, procuratoribus communis Iadre predicti, et ser Colano de Matafaris et ser Simone de Rosa, nobilibus ciuibus Iadre, testibus ad premissa uocatis et rogatis et cetera.



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VEDRAN KLAUŽER*

# Croatian-Slovak Connections through the Activities of Blaise Magyar. An Example of Political and Family Connections between Slovak and Croatian Nobility

Chorvátsko-slovenské kontakty prostredníctvom činnosti Blažeja Maďara. Príklad politických a rodinných vzťahov medzi slovenskou a chorvátskou šľachtou / Hrvatsko-slovačke veze kroz djelovanje Blaža Mađara. Primjer političkih i obiteljskih veza slovačkog i hrvatskog plemstva

*The paper deals with the political and administrative activities of Blaise Magyar, military commander of King Matthias Corvinus. His administrative functions are well-known, he was a member of the Black Army (legio nigra), captain of Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia) in 1462, captain of the newly-established Captaincy of Senj in the Kingdom of Croatia (1469–1471) and twice Ban of Croatia and Slavonia (1470–1471 and 1480–1483). Also, Blaise Magyar was an important member of the nobility of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia who had estates in different counties and formed political and family connections with local nobility there. The emphasis is placed on the reconstruction of political influence and established family connections of Blaise Magyar in the regions which he governed, and of which the most evident connection is the one with the Croatian noble family Horvat de Kamičac, whose member Mark Horvat married Benigna, daughter of Blaise Magyar.*

Keywords: Blaise Magyar, the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, nobility, the fifteenth century, Black Army

During the struggle for the power between the Hunyadi and their opponents (later it was also the case during the reign of Matthias Corvinus), many noble families which were earlier of little importance and had little power came on the political scene of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, thanks to their loyalty to the members of the Hunyadi family.[1] Blaise Magyar, a nobleman of unknown ancestry, was also one of them. In presenting his life and career, the emphasis will be placed on the reconstruction of political influence and established family connections of Blaise Magyar in the regions which he governed during his lifetime.

## Origin of Blaise Magyar

In presenting Blaise's life and career the first question which has to be raised is that of his origin. Modern scholarship has offered several interpretations regarding his origin but none of them has been accurate and convincing enough. In Croatian historiography, Blaise has often been identified and associated with Blaise Podmanický, a member of the noble family Podmanický of Podmanín who had their estates in the county of Trenčín near the hill Podmanín in the vicinity of Považská Bystrica, who was also active in this period.[2] This is based on the misinterpretation of Bonfini's statements about Blaise Magyar and Blaise Podmanický.[3] The argument against the

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[1] Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. Trans.: Tamás Palosfalui. London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001, p. 312.

[2] For example, such an equalization of Blaise Magyar with Blaise Podmanický can be seen in the works of Vjekoslav Klaić and Rudolf Horvat. Cfr. Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 4. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod MH, 1974, p. 104 and Horvat, Rudolf: *Povijest Hrvatske, od najstarijeg doba do g. 1657*, vol. 1. Zagreb: Merkur, 1924, p. 174.

[3] For example, see: Horvat, Rudolf: *Povijest Hrvatske*, p. 174, nota 8.



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identification of Blaise Magyar with Blaise Podmanický lays in their wives' names and lifetime span. First of all, Blaise Podmanický of Podmanín died around 1480 and his wife was Dorothea,[4] while Blaise Magyar died around 1492 and was married to Barbara. In addition, I have found one document which mentions both aforementioned persons together: Blaise Magyar as a nobleman introduced to certain estates and Blaise of Podmanín as a witness.[5] Hungarian historiography has distinguished between Blaise Magyar and Blaise Podmanický, as it can be seen in most of the scholarly works.[6] Slovak historiography, to my knowledge, in different stages of its development came to both conclusions.[7]

Considering the fact that there is no document in which Blaise is mentioned with the noble adjective denoting his main estate before he entered into the service of the Hunyadi, none of those interpretations has provided the exact place of Blaise's family origin and their estates. Regarding this lack of basic data required for the detection of Blaise's origin, further genealogical research is very difficult but not impossible. However, I will offer some observations on Blaise's origin. First of all, in concordance with the documents, only reliable information about Blaise's family before the 1450s is that Blaise had a brother Clement and a wife Barbara, a noblewoman of unknown origin.[8] In order to further research Blaise's origin, it is important to mention some other difficulties which occurred. No document mentions Blaise's parents, primarily the name and a surname of his father, which would provide us with data about the estates of Blaise's father and give us the possibility to detect those estates and hence further genealogical research concerning the place of his origin. Further difficulty about detecting Blaise's origin lay in the interpretation of his surname Magyar. It was not uncommon in the Middle Ages to use such a surname for distinguishing one person as a member of certain ethnic group, especially when that person performed some duties in different areas of the kingdom. In Croatian part of the kingdom, according to Emilij Laszowski, it was not exceptional to use such a surname for bans and other officials of the kingdom from the fifteenth century onwards.[9] A good example of such practice is the case of Damian Horvat of Litva, a ban of Croatia who obtained the aforementioned post along with Blaise Magyar in 1471: in his surname, the part Horvat symbolized his belonging to an ethnic group, while the other part, Litva, marked his principal estate (*locus residentiae*), which was located in the county of Hont.[10] In this sense the surname Magyar, which is always connected with Blaise's name in the documents, cannot be useful in considering it as a full surname of noble family. Next difficulty arises from the fact that there are several more persons with a similar or the same name and surname, which could be associated with Blaise Magyar, but all of those interpretations lack arguments and further evidence in documents and sources. Analyzing their ancestry and estates I have come to conclusion that none of them could be associated with Blaise Magyar, either because their estates were in totally opposite parts of the kingdom, or because their respective genealogical data are incongruous. I will mention one such case here. One nobleman from the county of Heves appears in the documents under the name Blaise of Kenderes and sometimes as Blaise Magyar of Kenderes. In 1465 King Matthias gave to Blaise of Kenderes,

[4] Magyar Országos Levéltár (deinde: MOL), Diplomatikai Levéltár (deinde: DL) 88644.

[5] MOL DL 15773.

[6] Such as genealogies of noble families made by Iván Nagy and Pál Engel. Cfr. Nagy, Iván: *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzedékrendi táblákkal*, vol. 6. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1860, p. 40. For the data on the genealogy of the Podmanický family, see: Nagy, Iván – Friebeisz, István: *Magyarország családai czímerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, vol. 9. Pest: Ráth Mór, 1862, pp, 333–342 and Engel, Pál: *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia* [CD-ROM]. Budapest: Arcanum and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001 (deinde: Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*), sub vocibus – Magyar and Podmanicki.

[7] While older historiography, such as František Víťazoslav Sasinek, associated Blaise Magyar with Blaise from Borotin (Slovak: Blaž z Borotina) and aforementioned Blaise Podmanický, thus making one person out of three, this mistake was later noticed and corrected by Vaclav Chaloupecký. Cfr. Sasinek, František Víťazoslav: Slovanski válečnici v Uhorsku XV.–XVII. storočia. In: *Letopis Matice Slovenskej*, a. 9, nr. 2, pp. 12–16 and *Středověké listy ze Slovenska. Sbírka listů a listin, psaných jazykem národním*, vol. 1. Ed.: Václav Chaloupecký. Bratislava – Prague: Melantrich, 1937, p. 115.

[8] Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, sub voce Magyar.

[9] Laszowski, Emilij: Prilog historiji hrvatskih porodica Martinuševića, Utješenovića, Mišljenovića i njihovih srodnika. In: *Vjesnik kraljevskog državnog arkiva u Zagrebu*, a. 7, 1937, p. 156, nota 11.

[10] Karbić, Marija: Od hrvatskoga sitnog plemića do ugarskoga velikaša i hrvatskoga bana: Damjan Horvat od Litve i njegova. In: *Croato-Hungarica. Uz 900 godina hrvatsko-mađarskih povijesnih veza*. Ed.: Milka Jauk-Pinhak – Csaba Gy. Kiss – István Nyomárkay. Zagreb: Katedra za hungarologiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2002, p. 120.



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on the return from his campaign in Bosnia, the estates of rebelled noblemen Martin Bodó and Nicholas Poljak.[11] However, his equalization with Blaise Magyar must be eliminated because of several facts. First, in the genealogical reconstruction of Kenderes family, I have found out that Blaise had a wife Sofia,[12] while Blaise Magyar, as I have already mentioned, had a wife Barbara. Furthermore, the charters concerning the estates of Blaise of Kenderes mention only estates in the county of Heves and only the name of Blaise of Kenderes,[13] while many of the estates of Blaise Magyar were joint possessions with his brother Clement.

The closest clue to which I came through the research of documents also lacks decisive arguments, but it is worth mentioning it here. The first information about Blaise Magyar could be that in a document of 1449 describing and citing him along with his father-in-law (*socer*) Lucas, son of John, as a nobleman from Újfalu in the county of Doboka.[14] According to Pál Engel, the place Újfalu was also named Magyarújfalu,[15] which gives us space for some possible conclusions. If we consider Blaise's surname Magyar as a toponym, it is possible that the place Újfalu/Magyarújfalu was the first known residence of Blaise Magyar. The placing of Újfalu/Magyarújfalu in the county of Doboka is further confirmed with other data from the aforementioned document. Namely, the document describes how Blaise Magyar came along with his father-in-law to the diet in Ciumăfaia[16] (*congregatio generalis*) and complained against certain Clement of Chidea.[17] Topographic research has showed that three aforementioned places, Újfalu/Magyarújfalu, Ciumăfaia, and Chidea, are close to each other in the county of Doboka. It is possible that Emeric Bubek (Bebek) of Plešivec, voivode of Transylvania in 1446, accepted Blaise in his service around that time. When he finished with the duty of voivode of Transylvania, Emeric shifted Blaise to various duties on his estates in the county of Gemer.[18] To conclude, in my opinion, according to the surviving sources, Blaise Magyar could not be a member of the Podmanický family, but rather a lesser nobleman, most probably from the eastern part of the kingdom, who had come to the territory of present-day Slovakia and started to rise upwards there. In that sense Blaise was a representative of the upward-moving new noble families that started their careers under the Hunyadi.

## Services

Opposite to the limited possibility of researching his family background, there are much more data about Blaise's services and estates which he obtained during his lifetime. At first, Blaise, as a lesser noblemen, entered the service of Emeric Bubek of Plešivec (lat. *Pelsewcz*),[19] voivode of Transylvania and a member of the Bubek branch of the magnate Ákos kindred,[20] before 1453 and was appointed to the duty of the castellan of the castle of Tokaj.[21] Later, after the death of Emeric Bubek, Blaise remained in the service of Emeric's wife Dorothea and was settled around 1455 in the *castellum* of Jelšava (lat. *Ilswa*)[22] in the county of Gemer as a *familiaris* together with some other lesser noblemen.[23] It is not known how exactly Blaise entered in the service of the Hunyadi family, but he started to serve them as a military commander during the lifetime of John Hunyadi, engaged against the Brethren (*bratríci*) and John Jiskra of Brandýs (Ján Jiskra z Brandýsa),[24] somewhere in the vicinity of Podolínec, apparently before 1456.[25]

[11] Cfr. Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata*, vol. 4, p. 81; MOL DL 99699.
[12] MOL DL 16159.
[13] MOL DL 99702, DL 15695. For more details about estates of Blaise of Kenderes, see also: *Adatok Szolnok megye történetéből*. Ed.: Tibor Tóth. Szolnok: Szolnok Megyei Levéltár, 1980, p. 45 and pp. 427–429.
[14] MOL DL 36391.
[15] Today Vultureni in Romania. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén* [CD-ROM] (deinde: Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*). Budapest: Térinfo, 2001, sub voce Magyarújfalu.
[16] Csomafája in the county of Doboka, present-day Ciumăfaia in Romania. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Csomafája.
[17] Kide in the county of Doboka, present-day Chidea in Romania. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Kide.
[18] For the data about Blaise's duties for Emeric Bebek of Plešivec in the county of Gemer, see later in this article.
[19] Plešivec in the county of Gemer. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Pelsőc.
[20] Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, sub voce Ákos nem 1. Bebek-ág, 4. tábla: Bebek (vámosi ág).
[21] MOL DL 14668.
[22] Today Jelšava in the county of Gemer. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Jolsva.
[23] MOL DL 56982. Among other noblemen alongside Blaise a lesser nobleman Ladislas Zempche was also mentioned as a *familiaris*, who later became Blaise's viceban of Croatia and count of the Križevci county.
[24] On the activities of John Jiskra of Brandýs and the Brethren, see: Oslanský, František: The Role of John Jiskra in the history of Slovakia. http://www.dejiny.sk/mikro/SLde/jiskra.htm, 16 December, 2011; Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, p. 300.



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Obviously, Blaise was a good military commander and a man of valour, so he remained in the service of Matthias, John Hunyadi's son and a future king. In the enforcing of Matthias's authority as king among reluctant noblemen and opponents, Blaise took part in a campaign against John Jiskra of Brandýs and his followers, the Brethren, in 1458. King Matthias sent him together with Bartholomew of Hartvikovice (Slovak: *Bartošek z Hartvikovic*),[26] a Slovak noblemen from northern Moravia, to assist the town of Bardejov against various attacks of villains.[27] Because of his excellent military skills, King Matthias appointed Blaise in 1459 to the duty of the captain of Upper Hungary nowadays East of Slovakia along with John of Čata,[28] a Slovak nobleman from the county of Tekov.[29] In the following years, Blaise defended the Upper Hungary from the king's enemies, along with other captains such as Stephen of Zápolya,[30] and ceded to perform this duty in 1463, when he was for the last time in the sources styled and signed as a captain of Upper Hungary *capitaneus partium superiorum*[31] in his letter to Peter, son of John Forgach of Jelenec.[32] In this phase of his upward movement on the political and office scale of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, Blaise's brother also gained success and offices. Clement was for the first time mentioned in 1451[33] and became the castellan of the castle of Sziget in 1455.[34] After 1463, there are no mentions of Blaise Magyar in the documents until 1469, when Blaise appears as a commander of the royal army in the county of Zala located along with his castellans in the castle of Kanizsa.[35] It seems that from 1463, according to Bonfini, Blaise remained on some sort of military duty in Upper Hungary and was engaged in King Matthias's campaign against the plundering mercenary bands and their commander Jan Švehla, which culminated with the annihilation of the latter in the Battle at Kostoľany in 1467.[36] Next year, Blaise was engaged in the king's campaign against Victorin, son of George of Poděbrady, King of Bohemia, in 1468 and 1469.[37]

In the following years, Blaise as a loyal commander continued to perform services for King Matthias and the Hunyadi. Within the scope of Matthias's attempts to suppress powerful magnate families all around the kingdom, Blaise was appointed and ordered to move to the Kingdom of Croatia to suppress Frankapan family in the south of the Kingdom, where they had their most important estates, primarily the coastal city and the port of Senj and the island of Krk. Because of the Frankapans' defiance to the king, Blaise was sent with an army and captured the city of Senj in 1469.[38] Simultaneously, Blaise became the first captain of the newly-established Captaincy of Senj and the ban of Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia

[25] MOL Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény (deinde: DF) DF 213267. The document is not dated, but John Hunyadi is titled as count of Bistrița, so the possible date must be between his achievement of this title, which was in 1452, and his death in 1456. See: Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, pp. 289, 296.

[26] According to Chaloupecký, Bartholomew of Hartvikovice (lat. *Barthos de Harthwykowycz*) was from northern Moravia and was first in the service of John Jiskra and later, at the end of the 1450s, in the service of King Matthias Corvinus. Cfr. *Středověké listy ze Slovenska.* p. 45. For data on Bartholomew of Hartvikovice, see also: Bovan, Marián: *Bratrícky veliteľ Bartoš z Hartvikovic v Tekovskej Breznici a nález mincí na tamojšom hrade*. Lučenec: Mestský úrad Lučenec – Novohradské múzeum Lučenec, 2001–2004. Unfortunately, until now, I did not yet have the opportunity to consult it personally.

[27] MOL DF 213699. On the events and actions of Blaise and Bartholomew concerning the town of Bardejov, see also: Kubinyi, András: Városaink háborús terhei Mátyás. In: *Házi Jenő emlékkönyv. Emlékkönyv Házi Jenő Sopron város főleveltárosa születésének 100. évfordulója tiszteletére*. Ed.: Péter Dominkovits – Éva Turbuly. Sopron: Soproni levéltár, 1993, p. 161.

[28] To my knowledge, John of Čata was also a member of lesser nobility, which performed various duties for King Matthias, most probably because of his military abilities and engagement on the side of the Hunyadi. Further details about the origins of John are unknown, yet the topographic research concerning his surname gives us a possible location of his origin. Čata was a village in the county of Tekov in the vicinity of today's place Hronovce. Cfr: Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Csata.

[29] MOL DF 213767. Apparently, John of Čata remained in the duty of the captain of Upper Hungary along Blaise only in 1459.

[30] Stephen Zápolya was captain of Upper Hungary from 1460 until 1465. Cfr: MOL DL 21342, DL 214268.

[31] MOL DL 59499.

[32] Jelenec in the county of Nitra and in the vicinity of Lefantovce. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Gimes.

[33] MOL DF 234052.

[34] MOL DF 203027.

[35] MOL DL 16908. The document is published in: *Zala vármegy története. Oklevéltar*, vol. 2. Ed.: Imre Nagy – Dezső Véghely – Gyula Nagy. Budapest: Zala vármegye közönsége, 1890, nr. 307, p. 591.

[36] Antonius de Bonfinis: Rerum Ungaricum decades, vol. 4. In: *Bibliotheca scriptorum medii recentisque aevorum. Saeculum XV.* Ed.: Jozsef Fógel – Béla Iványi – László Juhász (deinde Antonius de Bonfinis: *Rerum Ungaricum decades*). Budapest: K. M. Egyetemi nyomda, 1941, p. 88.

[37] Ibidem, p. 27.

[38] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata*, vol. 4, p. 104.



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and Slavonia in 1470.[39] While Blaise performed the office of the captain of Senj with Ivan Both de Bayna, from October 1471 he performed the office of ban of Croatia together with Damian Horvat of Litva. As the ban of Croatia, Blaise issued various charters. As their main task was the defence of Kingdom of Slavonia against the Ottomans, Blaise and Damian summoned the Diet of Slavonia in Rakovac in July 1471. As the ban of Croatia, Blaise was supported by his fellow nobleman from previous services. The viceban of Croatia under Ban Blaise Magyar was Croatian nobleman Ladislas de Zempche, with whom Blaise started his career as a familiar of Emeric Bubek of Plešivec, appointed to the aforementioned service in the *castellum* of Jelšava.[40] Another viceban and count of Križevci county was Ladislas *Weres of Zepes*,[41] apparently identical to Ladislas *Weres of Kysfalwa*, a lesser nobleman from the county of Šariš and a *familiaris* of Blaise Magyar and Paul Kinizsi.[42] Blaise remained at the post of the captain of Senj and Croatian ban only for a year. In the following years, from December 1472,[43] he performed the duties of the voivode of Transylvania until June 1479.[44] There have been various scholarly interpretations concerning the reason causing this shift in his career. There was a hypothesis that Blaise lost his office of the ban of Croatia and of the captain of Senj because of his participation in 1471 in the conspiracy of certain magnates led by John Vitez of Sredna (Sl.: *Ján zo Sredny* or *Ján Vitez*), the archbishop of Esztergom, and John of Česmica (Sl.: *Ján z Čazmy*, Lat.: *Janus Pannonius*), the bishop of Pécs, which attempted to offer the Hungarian throne to a son of King Casimir IV of Poland. However, the evidence in favour of his participation is rather debatable.[45] It is more likely that Blaise was assigned to the office of the voivode of Transylvania and the count of Székely because of his reliability and allegiance toward Hunyadi. Anyway, while he was the voivode of Transylvania, Blaise fought successfully against the Ottomans when he was sent by King Matthias Corvinus with auxiliary troops to the aid of Stephen, prince of Moldavia, and when their armies defeated the beylerbey of Rumelia at the Battle of Vaslui in Moldavia in 1475.[46]

After he held the office of the voivode of Transylvania, he was again an army commander of King Matthias and was sent to the Kingdom of Croatia to suppress the rise and revolt of Frankapan family in the 1480s. This time Blaise was sent as an army commander (*capitaneus generalis*) to the city of Senj, because of the violation of the peace agreement between the Frankapan and King Matthias and because of a potential retaking of city of Senj by the former.[47] In this campaign Blaise was supported by the captain of Senj, Maroje Žunjević, a Croatian nobleman originating from Dubrovnik, who provided Blaise's army with ships needed for their transportation to the isle of Krk, the core of the Frankapans' estate.[48] Although the invasion of the Frankapan towns on the isle of Krk, namely Omišalj and Krk, because of the Venice intervention in favour of and finally against the Frankapan ended with a withdrawal of Blaise's army, a great portion of the mainland estates of the Frankapan family were occupied and placed under the government of the Captaincy of Senj.[49] Soon after, probably because of his military skills, Blaise participated in the successful expulsion of the Ottomans from Otranto, in Apulia, Southern Italy, in 1481.[50]

As a reward for this partial success and achievement, Blaise was once again appointed to

[39] For the data about King Matthias's struggle with the magnate family of Frankapans, see Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Krčki knezovi Frankapani. Od najstarijih vremena do gubitka otoka Krka. Knjiga prva* (*od god. 1118. do god. 1480*). Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1901, pp. 259–263.

[40] MOL DL 56982.

[41] MOL DL 100795.

[42] Blaise and Paul Kinizsi donated in 1478 the estates Roškovany, Uzovský Šalgov and Hubošovce to their *familiaris* Ladislas *Weres de Kysfalwa*. Cfr: *Codex diplomaticus Patriae. Hazai oklevéltár 1234–1536*. Ed.: Imre Nagy – Farkas Deák – Gyula Nagy. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1879, nr. 366, pp. 435–436.

[43] MOL DL 28046.

[44] MOL DF 277587.

[45] For example, according to the opinion of Vjekoslav Klaić, Blaise Magyar was involved in the conspiracy according to the letter sent to the Venetian rectors in Zadar describing that Blaise rebelled against the king in the castle of Đurđevac with other noblemen. However, Klaić did not indicate the source for his statement. See: Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Povijest Hrvata*, vol. 4, p. 109.

[46] Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, p. 308.

[47] Klaić, Vjekoslav: *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, p. 273.

[48] Ibidem, p. 276.

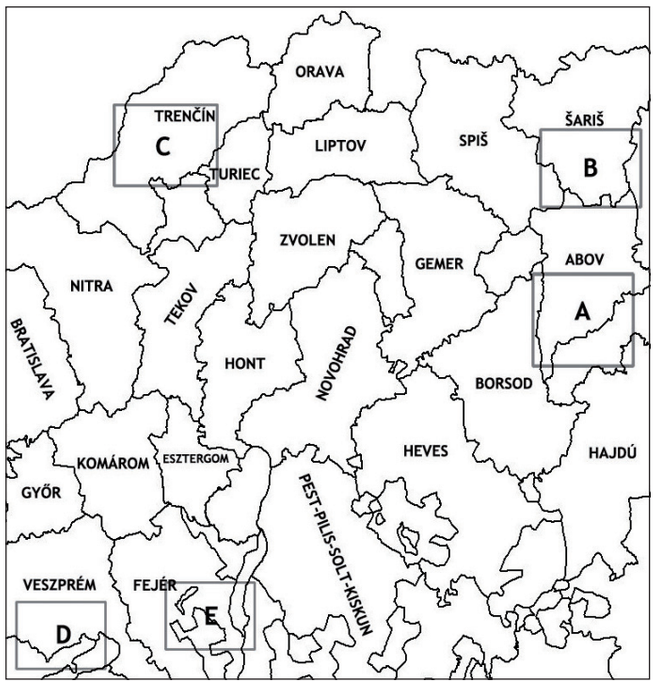
[49] Ibidem, p. 282.

[50] Thallóczy, Lajos: *Povijest banovine, grada i varoši Jajca 1450–1527*. Trans. Milan Šufflay. Zagreb: Tisak kr. Zemaljske, 1916, reprint Zagreb: Dora Krupićeva, 1998, p. 118.



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the duty of ban of Croatia in August 1482,[51] in which he remained until December of the same year.[52] After he finished the duty of ban of Croatia, Blaise returned to his castle of Ilava in the county of Trenčín, where he most probably mourned for his deceased wife Barbara, who died around 1485.[53] For the rest of the time spent in his castle of Ilava Blaise was occupied mainly with allocating and distributing the estates to his children and supporters.[54] In 1485 Blaise donated to Caspar of Medné,[55] castellan of his castle of Košeca, some estates in the vicinity of the castle of Ilava.[56]



Map 3. *Locations of the estates of blaise Magyar in the counties of the Kingdom of Hungary.*

Some form of decline in the career of Blaise Magyar started after the death of Matthias Corvinus. Strangely, Blaise did not support Matthias's illegitimate son John Corvinus but rather Polish prince John Albert, a younger brother of future King Wladislas I and one of the claimants for the Hungarian crown. In the service of John Albert in the struggle for the Hungarian throne, Blaise participated in the siege of the towns of Košice and Tokaj in 1490.[57] After Wladislas defeated John Albert, Blaise apparently withdrew from political and military activities. He returned to his castle of Ilava in the county of Trenčín, where he, signed as a former voivode of Transylvania, issued a private charter in 1492 donating some estates to his loyal servants.[58] Most probably soon afterwards he died.[59]

## Estates

Due to the aforementioned participation in various affairs on the side of the Hunyadi, Blaise and his brother Clement gained various estates. As the data about Blaise's estates actually come from King Matthias's confirmations of previous charters granted after his accession to the throne, it seems that Blaise might have gained various estates through donations from Matthias's predecessor John Hunyadi. As soon as Matthias had consolidated his royal authority, he began to reward his loyal supporters, among whom there was definitely Blaise Magyar. In the course of rewarding his supporters, the king reached for the requisition and confiscation of estates from those noblemen who were not supporters but rather enemies of the Hunyadi. In this sense, Matthias confirmed to Blaise and his brother Clement many estates of noblemen accused for treason and disloyalty during the struggle for the throne. So, in 1459, King Matthias confirmed with a new charter two of his own previous donations, in which he gave to Blaise and his brother Clement parts of the estate of Buzica[60] along with its

[51] MOL DL 66604.
[52] MOL DL 103878.
[53] MOL DL 24853. Blaise's wife Barbara is mentioned in a document as deceased (*condam*).
[54] For the data on division of Blaise's estates among his children, see further in this article.
[55] Lednické Rovne-Medné in the county of Trenčín in the vicinity of Košeca. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Medne.
[56] MOL DL 24853.
[57] MOL DL 92901, DF 213036, DF 270697, DF 270698. On the events concerning John Albert's struggle for the Hungarian crown, see also: Székely, György: Magyarok és lengyelek közös jagar allat (personál unió, közös királyválasztási ternek). In: *Sobieski emlékkönyv*: *Sobieski III. János lengyel király halálának 300. évfordulója alkalmából rendezett konferencia anyaga*. Ed.: Erzsebét Csombor. Esztergom: Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Önkormányzat Levéltára, 1999, p. 16.
[58] MOL DL 33895.
[59] As soon as the beginning of September 1492, Benigna is mentioned as a daughter of deceased Blaise Magyar.
[60] Buzica in the county of Abov. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Buzita.



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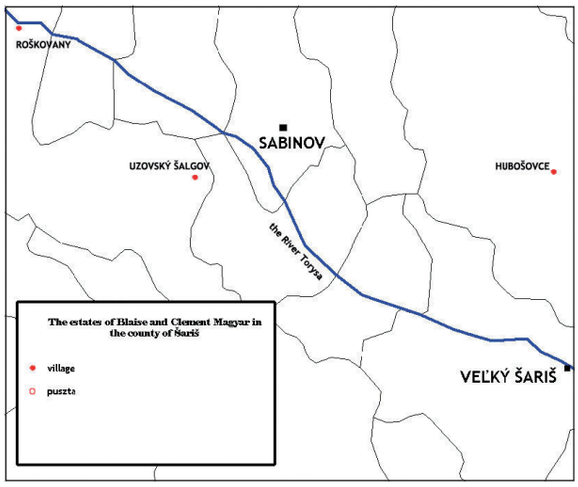

Map 4.

revenue, as well as many other estates in the county of Abov (Hun. *Abaúj*) which were confiscated from a disloyal nobleman Michael Kardos of Buzica (see Map 3).[61] Blaise, son of John of Puzstaradvány,[62] was another nobleman who lost his estates due to *nota infidelitatis*, and Blaise Magyar with his brother Clement again achieved in getting further estates, namely part of estates Puzstaradvány and others, also in the county of Abov (see Map 3).[63] Another donation followed in 1460, donating to them estates Roškovany,[64] Hubošovce[65] and Uzovský Šalgov[66] in the county of Šariš which were taken from disloyal members of the noble family Czana of Roškovany[67] (see Map 4). Also in 1460, Blaise and Clement further enlarged their possession in the county of Abov with the estates of George of Peder.[68] It seems that Blaise and Clement also had some property in the city of Košice as early as in 1461, when they are mentioned as inhabitants (Lat.: *inhabitatores*) arranging some proprietary relationship with other co-owners of the aforementioned estates in the county of Abov in front of the prior of the Convent of Leles.[69] In 1462, Blaise and Clement gained the castle of Košeca[70] with the village of similar name in the vicinity of present-day Košecké Podhradie, *castellum* of Vilcnó[71] and also the villages of Kopec,[72] Zliechov-Košecké Rovné,[73] Zavratie,[74] Omšenie,[75] Ladce-Tunešice,[76] Beluša-Podhorie,[77] Beluša-Hlosa,[78] Kočkovce,[79] Prušina with revenue[80] and Sztredna[81] in the county of Trenčín, which were confiscated from various disloyal noblemen such as John and Stanislaus, sons of Stephen of Košeca, and Albert, son of Peter of Košeca[82] (see Map 5). In the following years and before 1472, Blaise enlarged his estates in

[61] MOL DL 15412.
[62] In the vicinity of today's place Pusztaradvány in the county of Abov/Abaúj, Hungary and in the vicinity of the aforementioned estates of Michael Kardos of Buzica. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Radvány.
[63] MOL DL 15412.
[64] Roškovany in the county of Šariš. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Roskovány.
[65] In the vicinity of today's place Hubošovce in the county of Šariš. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Szentgyörgy.
[66] Salgó in the county of Šariš. Today Uzovský Šalgov, Slovakia. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Salgó.
[67] MOL DL 15520. This donation was not implemented peacefully because noblemen of Roškovany opposed the introduction of Blaise and Clement Magyar as new owners. Yet, their complaint was not accepted at the trial in 1464 and thus King Matthias confirmed his previous decision.
[68] MOL DL 15516. Peder in the county of Abov. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Péder.
[69] MOL DL 15549.
[70] Košeca in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Kasza.
[71] Probably Vieszka in the county of Trenčín, in the vicinity of the castle of Ilava. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Vilcnó and Vieszka.
[72] Košecké Podhradie-Kopec, village in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Kopecz.
[73] Zliechov-Košecké Rovné in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Rovne.
[74] Zavratie or Predvrata in the county of Trenčín in the vicinity of Košecké Rovné/Mojtín. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Predvrata.
[75] Omšenie in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Omsar/ Missén.
[76] Ladce-Tunešice, village in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Tunezsic.
[77] Beluša-Podhorie, village in the county of Trenčín. Today Beluša-Podhorie. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Podhor.
[78] Beluša-Hloša, village in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Hlozsa.
[79] Púchov-Dolné Kočkovce and Púchov-Horné Kočkovce in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub vocibus Alsókocskóc and Felsőkocskóc.
[80] Prušina in the county of Trenčín. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Pruszina.
[81] Sztredna in the county of Trenčín in the vicinity Zliechov-Košecké Rovné. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Sztredna.
[82] MOL DL 15773.



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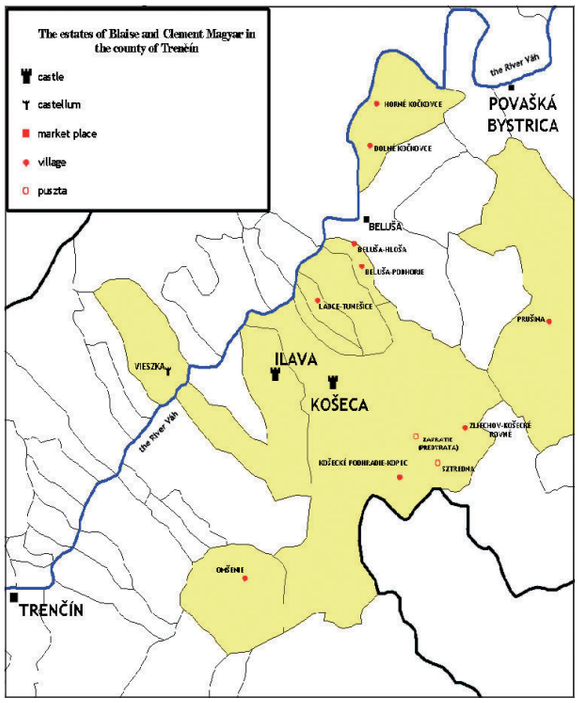



Map 5.

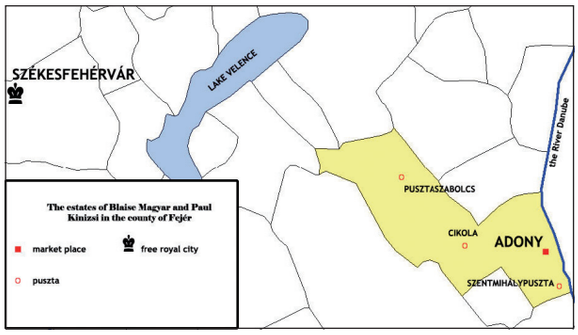
the county of Trenčín with many estates, among which the most important gain was the castle of Ilava[83] (see Map 5). However, when Blaise adopted Paul Kinizsi around 1472, most of these estates fell into joint possession of his and his adoptive son.[84] On the other hand, Blaise gained proprietary right in some of Paul Kinizsi's estates in the county of Fejér, among which the most important were the market place (*opido*) Adony, Pusztaszabolcs,[85] Szentmihály[86] and Cikola[87] (see Map 6).[88]

## Family connections

At the same time, along with gaining the estates and thus strengthening political and financial importance of his family, Blaise created a network of allies through family connections with various noble families. Blaise's own advancement on the social scale of the nobility of the kingdom was most probably not enhanced with a marriage to a daughter of a wealthy magnate family, because Blaise's his wife Barbara was probably from a lesser noble family, like Blaise. However, it is evident that marriage strategy of younger members of Blaise's family was a way of creating family connections and alliances within the nobility of Hungary. Needless to say, many of those noblemen which




Map 6.



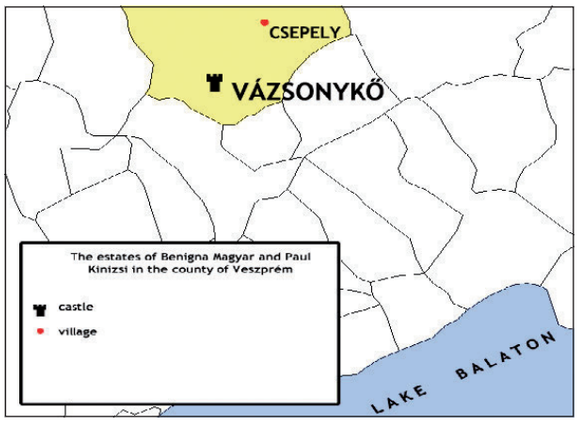

Map 7.

married Blaise's daughters also achieved many political and proprietary benefits through family connection with the Magyar family. Although it is not known whom Blaise's only son Ladislas married,[89] this strategy is evident in the marriages of Blaise's four daughters, Barbara, Benigna, Margaret and Martha, who were all married to various important noblemen. Thus, Barbara was married

[83] MOL DL 15773.
[84] MOL DL 15773.
[85] Szabolcs in the county of Fejér, present-day Pusztaszabolcs. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Szabolcs.
[86] Szentmihály in the county of Fejér, present-day Szentmihálypuszta. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Szentmihály.
[87] Cikola in the county of Fejér, present-day Cikola. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Cikola.
[88] *A Zichy és Vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő* (deinde: *CD Zichy*), vol. 11. Ed.: Iván Nagy – Dezső Véghely – Ernő Kammerer – Pál Lukcsics. Pest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1915, doc. 55, pp. 103–107.
[89] Ibidem, doc. 55, pp. 103–107.



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Map 8.

to Teophil, a son of George Turiec of Betlanovce.[90] Margaret was married to John Malovecký, a nobleman originating from the Bohuslavice family, which had their estates in Trenčianske Bohuslavice in the county of Trenčín,[91] and Martha was married to George, son of Peter Pető of Gerse,[92] who had their estates in the county of Vas.[93] The fourth daughter Benigna was married three times: first to Paul Kinizsi, King Matthias's military commander of unknown origin, second to Mark Horvat of Kamičac, a Croatian nobleman, and last time to George Kereki. Another form of family connection was also made when Blaise adopted Paul Kinizsi and accordingly accepted him as a member of his family around 1472.[94] To enforce and secure the wealth for his descendants, Blaise allocated and arranged some of the gained estates among his children. In 1472 Blaise, along with his brother Clement and adoptive son Paul Kinizsi, made an agreement about the division of the estates of Adony and others estates in the county of Fejér, which the three aforementioned noblemen possessed jointly.[95] It seems that Blaise got married again around 1486 to a certain noblewoman by the name of Clara, and gave, together with Paul Kinizsi and with the consensus of his other daughters, to his daughter Barbara and son-in-law Teophil Turiec of Betlanovce the aforementioned parts of the estates in the county of Abov.[96] In the same year, Blaise sold to Teophil and Barbara, again with the consensus of the other daughters, a stone house in the city of Košice with a garden in the suburb along with a residence and a vineyard in the province for 2 000 florins.[97]

After the death of Blaise Magyar, his daughter Benigna continued to maintain family connections with various noblemen, in order to preserve the estates of the Magyar family, due to the fact that she did not have children from any of her three marriages. It seems that the dissipation of many estates, especially those in the county of Trenčín, began when Paul Kinizsi mortgaged the castles of Košeca and Ilava to Stephen Zápolya and his son John for 40 000 florins.[98] It is also possible that many other estates fell back into the royal hands by escheat and were given to other noble families. However, Benigna did not lose all of the estates which were acquired by her father and other family members. First in 1492, through the donation from her husband Paul Kinizsi she acquired the castle of Vazsonykő in the county of Veszprém[99] (see Map 7). After the death of Paul Kinizsi around 1494, a Croatian nobleman Mark Horvat of Kamičac married Benigna, and got the confirmation of the estates in the county of Fejér from King Wladislas I.[100] She remarried after his death and, as a widow, after the death of her third husband George Kereki, still held the castle of Vazsonykő and got a confirmation of this

[90] Betlanovce in the county of Spiš, in the vicinity of Hrabušice. Cf. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Betlenfalva and *Középkori magyar genealógia*, sub voce Thurzó (Betlenfalvi). George Turiec of Betlanovce was castellan of the castle of Spišský hrad in 1455. Cfr. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, vol. 1. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 1996. I have used the digital edition: Engel, Pál: *Magyar középkori adattár. Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. Középkori magyar genealógia* [CD-ROM] (Budapest: Arcanum and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001), sub voce Szepesvár and Spišský hrad.

[91] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Bohuszlavic.

[92] Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, sub voce Nádasd nem: 3. tábla: Pető (gersei)

[93] Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Gerse.

[94] *CD Zichy*, vol. 11, doc. 55, pp. 103–107. Paul addressed Blaise as his father in 1486 (MOL DL 24769).

[95] Ibidem, pp. 103–107.

[96] MOL DL 19105. Among other reasons for this donation, it is interesting to mention that Teophil Turiec of Betlanovce was in the service of Paul Kinizsi in the 1470s as the castellan of Kinizsi's castle of Strečno in the county of Trenčín. Also, it is interesting that the castle of Strečno fell in 1498 into the possession of the noble family Horvat of Kamičac. See: Engel, Pál: *Magyarország a középkor végén*, sub voce Sztrecsény.

[97] MOL DL 19104.

[98] MOL DL 50614.

[99] MOL DL 82047, DL 82050.

[100] Kállay, István: Adony. In: *Fejér megyei történeti évkonyv*, a. 13, 1979, p. 43.



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estate from the king.[101] Finally, in 1521, showing her allegiance and strong attachment to the family of Horvat of Kamičac, she donated the estate of Adony and other property in the county of Fejér to the brothers of her deceased second husband Mark Horvat, Matthias and Andrew.[102] It seems that she donated the castle of Vazsonykő also to the members of the Horvat of Kamičac family, who soon after that started to use the name of the aforementioned castle as their noble adjective.[103]

## Conclusion

To conclude, it should be noted that Blaise's political career and the family alliances which he made during his lifetime are an interesting example of the rise of a lesser nobleman to the ranks of the most important noblemen of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Starting his career in service as a castellan and choosing to support and perform services under the Hunyadi, Blaise achieved the offices of the captain of Upper Hungary, ban of Croatia, captain of Senj and voivode of Transylvania, which he performed alongside various noblemen, to whom he was thus politically connected and allied. Along with the services he gained the estates in present-day Slovakia (in the counties of Trenčín, Šariš and others) in which Blaise made family connections with local nobility through the marriages of his daughters. Blaise's career was strongly connected with the Hunyadi and particularly with Matthias; after the death of the latter, Blaise's career started to decline. After he had chosen to support the wrong pretender to the Hungarian throne, he retired to his estates in present-day Slovakia, where he, most probably, ended his life. In addition, his significance as once important official of the kingdom surely contributed to the career of every nobleman who was related to him. A good example of this is the case of Mark Horvat of Kamičac who later became a *cubicularius* of King Wladislas, ban of Croatia and the captain of Senj. Even after Blaise's death, his daughter Benigna was still connecting Croatian and Slovak history. A good example of this role of hers was the donation of her estates to Matthias and Andrew, brothers of Mark Horvat of Kamičac, to whom she was strongly attached.

[101] According to Nagy, she was first accused of murdering her third husband and expelled from the kingdom, but then gained a royal pardon around 1520. See: Nagy, Ivan: *Magyarország családai*, vol. 6, p. 249.
[102] MOL DL 82570.
[103] Zsiray, Lajos: A vázsonykői végvar története. In: *Tanulmányok Veszprém megye múltjából*, a. 3, 1984, p. 296.



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# LESSER NOBILITY

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TOMÁŠ GÁBRIŠ* – JANA BAČOVÁ**

# Parallels of Medieval Autonomous Communities in Slovakia and in Croatia

## Paralely autonómnych stredovekých komunít na Slovensku a v Chorvátsku / Paralele autonomnih srednjovjekovnih zajednica u Slovačkoj i Hrvatskoj

*The paper deals with autonomous communities from the period of Arpadian and Angevin Hungary. Due to the scarcity of preserved sources, stress is placed on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This period also allows for a comparison between Slovakia and Croatia. As basic material for the comparison, special autonomous communities in Central and Eastern Slovakia and in Croatia are researched – Slovakian lower nobility from Turiec and Liptov, lancers from Spiš and the Croatian principality of Poljica and municipalities of Vinodol. Attention is paid to the way these communities evolved and to the role they played. It is possible that these communities had similar functions in both regions, which led to preservation of their special autonomous status and autonomous regulation throughout the following centuries.*

Keywords: Spiš lancers, Poljica, Vinodol, autonomous communities, legal status

## Introduction

The main aim of this article is to examine the character of communities in medieval Hungary (particularly in nowadays' Slovakia and Croatia) in the context of changes taking place in the thirteenth century. During this century a revolutionary change of the character of medieval state occurred together with a change of the character of communities, whereby a new type of community was created. In this context, our research question is whether it is possible that some of the original communities were able to survive under the new social conditions. Specifically, we focus on the community of *ten-lancers* in Spiš (Scepusium/*Scepusia*), on the social class of *populos* in the territory of Liptov and Turiec, and on the Croatian communities of Poljica and Vinodol. The article is divided into four chapters. The first one defines the concept of community in the modern historiography and places it into the context of changes occurring in Central Europe in the thirteenth century. Subsequently, after formulating the hypothesis on continuity of traditional communities under new social conditions, in the following chapters we discuss the problem of medieval social classes that formed these communities. Finally we focus on particular communities in Slovakia and in Croatia in order to verify our hypothesis.

## 1. The Concept of Community and Changes of the Thirteenth Century

The concept of community in the modern scholarship was newly coined by Susan Reynolds at the end of the twentieth century.[1] She built on the basic nineteenth-century works on the types of communities – for instance, the division into *Herrschaft* and *Genossenschaft* as it is presented in the work of Otto von Gierke and division into *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* in the work of F. Tönnies. Similar ideas about the descending and ascending societies are to be found in the works of W. Ullmann from the mid-twentieth century.

Already in the late nineteenth century Otto von Gierke, in his treatise on the types of communities, distinguished the community type of *Herrschaft* and the opposite type of communities – *Genossenschaft*.[2] The first type is characterized by governance "from above," by the authority which is not a part of the community, and is a rather foreign element within the community. On the other hand, *Genossenschaft* is an autonomous

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[1] Reynolds, Susan: *Kingdoms and Communities 900–1300.* Oxford: Oxford University, 1997.

[2] Ibidem, p. xxviii. Gierke, Friedrich Otto von: *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht: bd. Rechtsgeschichte der deutschen Genossenschaft.* Berlin: Weidmann Buchhandlung, 1868.



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community which handles its affairs on its own. Similarly, Walter Ullmann in the twentieth century wrote about descending societies controlled from above, and ascending ones which established their own rules of behaviour.[3]

The German scholar, Ferdinand Tönnies, distinguished between *Gemeinschaft* as the traditional tribal and family system of the governance of community, and *Gesellschaft*, where the relations between the community members as well as the administration of community are more professional.[4]

In recent years it was especially the already mentioned historian Susan Reynolds who dealt with the issue of communities from a historical perspective, particularly in the Middle Ages. In her book *Kingdoms and Communities 900–1300*, she discusses a period when a new – feudal – type of community and state already existed in Western Europe, while the Central European "ministerial" type of state still partly persisted in our region. Reynolds thus focuses on the feudal type of communities only, while she discerns several levels of these – kingdoms, counties, cities, guilds, parishes, etc.[5]

In this paper we will examine the possibility of continuity of communities existing in two different historical and social eras – in the so-called Central European type of state and subsequently in the feudal state. Our focus will be on specific Hungarian conditions in the thirteenth century, which is characterized by a change of the type of state (from the Central European ministerial type of state to a feudal state) as well as change of the type of communities. Namely, new privileged feudal communities emerged at this time.

We may raise the assumption that the idea of a community which is not controlled by any foreign element (ruler, count) but rather governed by traditional authority originating from the society itself (as it may have existed in the proto-state period of our history) was again re-established in the form of an officially confirmed "autonomy" (by a royal privilege) in the thirteenth century. This "autonomy" was a kind of counterpart to the ministerial way of governing the state and society. The community thus gains the formal right to administer itself without any major intervention from outside. This was the essential feature of all the privileges dating from the thirteenth century – an exemption from the power of the local count (*comes*). The period of emergence (or possibly "restoration") of autonomous communities in medieval Hungary from the thirteenth century onwards thereby coincides with the colossal transformation of the state and of the mode of operation of the medieval Hungarian society in the context of transition from the Central European ministerial state to the feudal type of state.

According to prevailing contemporary views, the Central European type of state (existing from the tenth to twelfth century) was a special type of state different from the feudal one, and was represented mainly by medieval Poland, the Bohemian Crown lands and medieval Kingdom of Hungary. The basic feature of this kind of state is a bureaucratic operation based on the ministerial apparatus, without existence of nobility and without the class of bondsmen.[6]

The Central European type of state is also characterized by an idea that all the population is in a servile relationship to the ruler. This is reflected also in the name – "ministerial" type of state. Moreover, the "ministerial" state is also connected with existence of a specific servile organization in the form of so-called "servile villages". These villages, consisting of direct royal servants, were usually named according to the dominant economic activity of royal servants residing in these (Sokolovce, Dechtáre, Mlyňany, etc.). Their main task was to economically provide for the maintenance of the royal household and the state apparatus.

Another specific feature of this kind of state is a castle-based administration, i.e. the division of the country into castle-counties, which were governed by the ruler's representatives (*comites*).[7] This is closely connected with the existence of other communities besides the servile villages – especially communities of castle-inhabitants (*castrenses*) and castle warriors (*jobagiones castri*) with specific economic and military functions.[8] In terms of medieval Hungary, it is considered

[3] Ullmann, Walter: *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages.* London: Methuen and Co Ltd, 1974.

[4] Reynolds, Susan: *Kingdoms and Communities 900–1300*, p. XLIII. Tőnnies, Ferdinand: *Community and Society: Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Ed. et trans.: Charles P. Loomis. Michigan: Michigan State University, 1957.

[5] Ibidem.

[6] Třeštík, Dušan: *Mysliti dějiny*. Praha: Paseka, 1999, p. 168.

[7] Ibidem, p. 96.

[8] The proof of this is a legal dispute over the duties of *castrenses* and castle warriors mentioned in the *Oradea Register*, case nr. 223/1219: "*Peter,* jobagio *of Borsod Castle, brought* castrenses *of the same castle, living in the villages of Beleta, Lanczii, Mulchun, Zudesthan, and Shazka to the court claiming that their duty was to guard a prison. However, they claimed that they were castle warriors and should fight and not guard a prison. Their* comes*, Theodor, dealing with their case, sent them with* pristaldus



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possible that some of these communities had even Great Moravian origin, especially if they were connected to castles which had originated in the Great Moravian settlements.[9]

The ministerial type of state, with a strong position of the ruler, with apparatus and dependent servile population, is not an invention of our countries, though. It is rather the model that was already used in the Carolingian Empire in the eighth century. When examining the pathways by which the Carolingian type of state could function as a model for the organization of the Bohemian countries, Poland and Kingdom of Hungary two centuries later (in the tenth century), some scholars maintain that it was due to the impact of the Great Moravian state traditions in Central Europe. Similarly, one might assume that some communities which were created already in the Great Moravia could have survived (albeit in a changed form) from the Great Moravian period until the end of the twelfth century.

The ministerial type of state lasted until the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[10] when it was replaced by a new type of state – the so-called feudal state – state of estates. Contrary to the ministerial state, where there were no strictly defined social classes in the form of special estates and virtually all the population was subordinated to the ruler and administered by his apparatus (royal retinue), the basic features of the feudal state were different:

— existence of privileged and underprivileged social classes
— existence of estates – i.e. personal particularism of governance
— territorial particularism of governance
— formation of noble communities – noble counties
— formation of a new type of urban communities – the privileged free royal towns
— formation, re-formation or continuity of rural communities which mostly provided for military functions in exchange for privileges as a guarantee of their autonomy

Focusing on the communities, the change in the character of state and its administration necessarily brought about certain consequences, such as already mentioned:
1) establishment of new communities (new free royal towns, new autonomous noble counties),
2) change in the nature of the already existing communities (e.g. transformation of "old" type of towns into a new type).

In this light one can also submit the idea of preservation of traditional rural communities such as the population of castle warriors, undergoing a change in this period (based on a royal privilege) in the form of exemption from the competences of a *comes*. In this paper we are going to examine exactly these communities which represent a nascent feudal type, in connection with the above-mentioned overall change of understanding of the state and of the communities.

A new element emerges in this context – the royal privilege, which in exchange for services expended for the sovereign guarantees the community a certain degree of autonomy. The traditional communities which did not gain such privilege soon perished or got subjected to emerging local landlords. On the other hand, those communities which received a royal privilege, changed into new, privileged communities recognized by the ruler by a grant of autonomy. The privileged administration and its authority is thus derived from and supported by the king's *Herrschaft*. Therefore, this is a dialectic synthesis of advantages of autonomy and of the formal superiority of royal administration.

The reason for this is the already mentioned transformation of the state's character which is a consequence of change in the organization of state power, change in the king's position, change in the ownership of land, and in the military organization. The ruler is losing direct control of the country in the context of the growing power of oligarchs who gained control over most of the kingdom. The ruler is not able anymore to secure the necessary military force by calling to arms all free population (headed by *decuriones* and *centuriones*[11]), as it might have been the case in the period

*Stephen from the village Nemeth to Oradea for the ordeal of hot iron. Peter refused the test, claiming that he accused* castrenses *from mentioned villages of duty to guard a prison unjustly." Regestrum Varadinense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum descripta effigie editionis A. 1550 illustratum sumptibusque capituli Varadinensis Lat. Rit.*. Ed.: Joannis Karácsonyi – Samuelis Borovszky. Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1903.

[9] Homza, Martin: Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša. In: *Historia Scepusii*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin Homza and Stanisław A. Sroka. Bratislava: Katedra Slovenských Dejín UK FiF – Kraków: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2009, p. 187.

[10] See also Třeštík, Dušan: *Češi a dějiny v postmoderním očistci.* Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2005, p. 229.

[11] For the evidence, see for instance: Beňko, Ján: *Starý Turiec.* Martin : Osveta, 1996, p. 95; Kučera, Matúš: Desatinná a stotinná organizácia. In: *Historické štúdie*, a. 11, 1966, pp. 57–77.



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of the Central European ministerial type of state. Instead, he needs that either money or soldiers are provided to him by the communities which are under the ruler's control. After the Mongol invasion in the mid-thirteenth century, this was the reason why the king granted privileges to various communities, but also to individuals, by which he granted them autonomy in the form of independence from the local *comes*. This can be considered as a formation of a legislative framework for development of the self-governing autonomy. At the same time, the autonomous authorities were vested with a part of the previously royal power. Thus, this is not only a process of delegation of state power but rather of conscious and controlled de-etatization. On the one hand, the ruler gives up his *Herrschaft* in the form of control by *comes*, but on the other hand, he confirms his *Herrschaft* in the form of a granted privilege. At the same time, the community loses its traditional form of *Genossenschaft* but gains a new character of *Genossenschaft*, or potentially becomes a *Gemeinschaft* on its way to *Gesellschaft*,[12] characterized by a new Royal source of authority. The newly established authorities must respect the rules set by the ruler, but at the same time they must do their best to meet the community's own ideas of administration of common affairs.

The transition from *Genossenschaft* to *Gesellschaft* is also closely associated with professionalization and bureaucratization. This is a progressive element of the new public administration, also visible in some municipal law regulations (for instance in Bratislava), according to which inhabitants who are murderers, widows that do not want to marry again, adulterers, perjurers, and those who reveal to their wives what was discussed at the council cannot be elected into the town council. Also the behaviour during the meeting of the municipal council was under certain restrictions – members were required to wear decent clothes and during the meeting they were not allowed to eat and drink.[13]

Moreover, towns emphasized the rules of conduct of the mayor and assessors – they were to be religious, moderate in eating and drinking, they were to love justice and ethics, keep confidentiality, be strong in words and deeds, helpful to rich as well as to poor, not closefisted, neither perjurers nor adulterers. On the contrary, they were to be far-sighted, eloquent and thrifty people. To avoid nepotism, neither two men from one household nor two who did business together were to hold a municipal office (the term *geselschaft* indicates the business partnership here).[14]

There were also some regulations concerning the professional training and guidance of new municipal officials – such as the regulation of the municipal law of Trenčín where older officials were to share their experience with the younger ones on the day following their election.[15]

To sum up, the emerging "public administration" had four basic features:

1) right to free election of local authorities
2) right to pass own regulations – statutes or customs
3) right to freely dispose of the property of the community
4) right of control over local authorities[16]

Formation of public administration as well as principles of its functioning, including the principle of election and of control of public power, undoubtedly represents an innovation and a dynamic element in the development of feudal Hungarian communities. Our article is, however, aimed only at the very moment of a break between the traditional community of the *Genossenschaft* type, and the new, partly professionalized feudal community.

## 2. Hypothesis, Research Question and Methodology

In this article we propose a hypothesis that twelfth – and thirteenth-century communities were transformed from traditional communities, which performed specific tasks being subordinated to the ruler and his apparatus, into feudal privileged communities exempted from the direct control of the sovereign and his apparatus. While the traditional community was united by its tasks, the feudal communities were united through privileges they obtained from the ruler, and their original tasks could be modified or abandoned. An

[12] According to formulation of Bratislava Municipal Law, it was a community of "reichen und armen der statt". *Monumenta Hungariae Juridico-Historica: Corpus Statutorum*, vol. 4, pars 2.: Statuta et articuli municipiorum Hungariae cis Danubianorum. Ed.: Sándor Kolosvári and Kelemen Óvári. Budapest: Editio Academiae Scienciarum Hungaricae, 1897, p. 13.
[13] *Monumenta Hungariae Juridico-Historica,* 4/2., p. 16.
[14] Regulations of Bratislava Municipal Law. Ibidem, pp. 27–29. See also the statute of Trenčín from the year 1476. Ibidem, p. 34.
[15] Ibidem, p. 35.
[16] Lehotská, Darina: Vývoj mestského práva na Slovensku. In: *Historica,* a. 10, 1959, p. 104.



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example is the transformation of the previously royal counties into noble counties. The same is the case of towns and their transformation from the "old" into the "new" towns (free royal towns). At the same time, it is true that not all the communities had to go through this kind of transformation because some of them (the new ones) could emerge from scratch without any need for modifications of previous shape – as is the case of some noble counties and royal towns.

Therefore, one may expect that also the rural autonomous communities, which gained privileges or at least the confirmation of their privileged status in the thirteenth century, represented either the newly established communities or a continuation of traditional communities. In the case of continuous communities, these could be identical or similar to the traditional ones that existed in the castle-based system of the Central European ministerial type of state. Therefore, our research question is: Is there a possibility of continuity between traditional and new communities? Under what conditions is the continuity preserved?

We assume there were two stages in the process of transformation of original communities:

In the first stage, the ruler granted individual privileges by which he created various groups of *jobagiones*, who had military duties but did not belong to any specific community. These *jobagiones* were either subordinate to the sovereign (*jobagiones regii*) or to the local *comes* (*jobagiones castri*). By this process a disruption of possible traditional communities, from which the *jobagiones* were exempted, arose. This is documented in privileges which mention that *jobagiones* received land allocated to them from the lands of the *populos*, to whom they originally belonged.

The main reason for granting these individual privileges lies in the military reform of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the context of Mongol invasion.

The second stage, taking place at the same time or subsequently, represents grants of collective privileges to the communities (whether traditional or newly created) by which they were changed into privileged territorial communities, such as:

— towns (e.g. Trnava in 1238)
— autonomous (noble) counties (for the first time in the county of Zala in 1232)
— rural communities (being either ethnic – for instance, the community of *Saxons*, or territorial – e.g. *lancers* in Spiš).

In this paper, we concentrate only on rural communities and specifically analyse the following ones:

- outside of Spiš territory:
— in the regions of Turiec and Liptov, where:
  — in the privilege from 1255, *filii jobagionum* had the duty to provide armed warriors,
  — the charter from 1257 imposed on the *populos* a duty to provide one warrior *per* every six households,
  — the charter from 1316 informs that in the locality of Istebné, fifteen nobles-*lancers* were residing,
- the territory of Spiš
— Saxons – according to the privilege from 1271, they had to provide 50 lancers,
— *lancers* – according to the privilege from 1243, they had to provide lancers in undetermined number,
- Croatia
— Vinodol and Poljica, where we lack the original privilege as well as the mention of their military duty (unlike in *Campus Zagrabiensis*, which is, however, not in the centre of our analysis here, as it is the subject of another paper in this volume).

We try to answer the research questions through an analysis of the above-mentioned territorial rural communities, although we mostly possess information on their form and functioning only from the mid-thirteenth century onwards.

In this context, the key question is whether it was a collective privilege which helped to preserve the community, or whether these communities had different reasons of survival. Here it is necessary to point out that the Spiš *lancers*' privilege, as a collective one, is only a declaratory privilege, which means that it is not granting any new rights but only confirming the already existing noble status, rights and duties of the population. The cases of Vinodol and Poljica, however, could show that a community might have persisted even without any need for privileges. On the other hand, both Vinodol and Poljica, contrary to lancers, underwent a period of infeudalization by a noble magnate family, which might have been the consequence of lacking privilege. Moreover, Vinodol as a community of peasants disintegrated in the infeudalization period. Only Poljica was able to overcome the situation and to preserve its noble autonomy for the following centuries.

## 3. Social Stratification in the Thirteenth Century

Concerning the nature and status of populations forming the researched communities, the prevailing view is that:



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(1) the lancers in Spiš, just like in Croatian Poljica, represented the community of nobles together with their bondsmen,
(2) the territory of Turiec and Liptov was inhabited by the communities of *populos* which were never transformed into a community of nobles because they either vanished (possibly were reduced to the position of bondsmen) or were individually elevated into the ranks of free *jobagiones* who never created a stable community supported by a collective privilege,
(3) Vinodol in the thirteenth century seems to have been a community of *jobagiones castri* which later vanished due to their infeudalization.

In connection with the above-mentioned various social classes, which represented the analyzed communities of the thirteenth century, it is necessary to pay a closer attention to these groups of population. This issue was already elaborated by numerous scholars.[17] For the purpose of this paper, we will mainly use the studies of Hungarian and Slovak historians.

According to current Hungarian research results,[18] in the period from the eleventh to thirteenth century one can distinguish the following social classes.

During the lifetime of Saint Stephen, the main social classes were *comes*, *maior*, *miles*, *liber*, and servile population.[19] From among the servile population, *cives*, as a first group, represented the population under direct control of *comes*, but their exact function has been the subject of dispute between K. Tagányi and L. Erdélyi.[20] It is possible that they performed military function.

Some other scholars maintain that one can differentiate between *cives* and *civiles*. While the *cives* performed various services, the *civiles* were mostly in charge of agricultural activity, similarly as *dvorníci* (*udvarnok*)[21] – direct royal servants living in royal servile villages.

Another group, of semi-independent population, were *populos*, divided into *populos provinciae* and *populos castri*,[22] the latter being also denoted as *castrenses*, who were subordinated to the *comes*.

According to G. Györffy, during the early Árpádian period the free population represented a fifth of the whole population.[23] This group comprised among others the castle warriors – *jobagiones castri*, who emerged in the eleventh and twelfth century.[24]

Štefan Luby was of opinion that another type of *jobagiones*, *filii jobagionum*, originally lived side-by-side with *populos* and only step by step, partially, plots of land were allocated to them as donation. The size of the donated land was usually three *aratra* (*jobagiones castri* usually received two *aratra*, and in Turiec four *aratra*).[25] They could also receive land *sub libertate* and in this case they were almost equal to nobility. To prove this, Luby points to a charter from 1248 in which *filii jobagionum*, instead of performing their duty for the castle, were required to participate in military campaigns of the royal army.[26] Rapant demonstrates the same situation.[27] In order to raise somebody from lower class into the rank of *filii jobagionum* it was necessary to obtain the king's or the count's privilege (usually at the behest of the king or with his consent).[28]

The term *jobagio* itself means in general a person who is bound by *feudal service* to a higher-standing, more powerful and socially superior person.[29] Around the twelfth century the term *jobagiones* (instead of some older terms such as *principes*, *primates*, *optimates*, etc.) was used to denote the highest royal officials, though.[30]

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[17] For instance, see Marsina, Richard: Štruktúra šľachty na Slovensku v 9. až 13. storočí. In: *Najstaršie rody na Slovensku.* Ed.: Katarína Štulrajterová. Martin: Slovenská genealogicko-heraldická spoločnosť, 1999, pp. 35–43. Javošová, Erika: Spoločenské postavenie šľachty na Slovensku v prvej polovici 13. storočia. In: *Slovenská archivistika,* a. 38, 2003, nr. 2, pp. 40–77.

[18] Concisely summarized e.g. in *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary 1000–1301*: *Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae* (deinde *DRMH* 1), vol. 1. Ed.: János Bak – György Bonis – Janes Ross Sweeney. Idyllwild: Charles Schlacks, Jr., 1999.

[19] Ibidem, p. 80.

[20] Ibidem, p. 79.

[21] Ibidem, p. 45.

[22] Luby, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391.* Bratislava : Rudolf Rauscher, 1932, p. 79.

[23] *DRMH* 1, p. 121.

[24] Ibidem, p. 140.

[25] Luby, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 58.

[26] Ibidem, p. 55.

[27] "*The undeveloped castle system and the process of decline of stratum of* jobagiones *is most probably connected with the fact that* filii jobagionum *in these territories performed the military duty, albeit only during the time of war and in a royal army. From this point of view they were similar to Spiš lancers and also to free (later noble) owners of donations*." Rapant, Daniel: Drobné štúdie k slovenskému stredoveku. In: *Slovenská archivistika*, a. 9, nr. 1, 1974, pp. 70–71.

[28] Rapant, Daniel: *Drobné štúdie k slovenskému stredoveku*, pp. 64–65.

[29] Luby, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 65.

[30] Ibidem, p. 65.



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From the upper layers of castle warriors and other free *jobagiones* (such as *jobagiones regis*, or *filii jobagionum*) a class of *servientes* was formed in the twelfth/thirteenth century.[31] In a confirmation of the *Golden Bull* from 1267, *servientes* were considered as *nobiles*.[32] This all demonstrates the fact that the ministerial type of state was changing into a feudal state.

Still, in the thirteenth century there existed a difference between *nobiles* and *jobagiones*, which is visible also in the preserved charters.[33] According to Luby, *nobiles* were the nobility who received land for their merits. The grants of land multiplied in number especially after the year 1250 in connection with the military reform of Bela IV. In contrast, *jobagiones regales* (and originally also *servientes*) were *sub conditione servitii* and thus were not equal to noblemen. They were mostly the soldiers to whom the land was granted as a dependant estate and therefore they belonged only to the lower military nobility. However, with regard to grants of land for this group of people since the late thirteenth century, the differences between the classes of nobility, *servientes,* and *jobagiones* were blurring. This happened also due to frequent ennoblement of *jobagiones*.[34] Subsequently, the social status expressed by the term *jobagio* slowly decreased until it stopped at the lowest level – that of bondsmen.

Yet, the *jobagiones* in the period under review in this paper were in general still free (or semi-dependent) people of middle and lower rank who performed various military, administrative, and economic functions in state administration, in church, and in local apparatus. The general degradation of this term started only in the last third of the thirteenth century and in the mid-fourteenth century in connection with the rise of the original *jobagiones* into higher positions – those of royal *servientes* and noblemen of the realm.[35]

Nevertheless, already Luby noted the terminological inconsistency in the naming of the same persons in the sources. That is to say, the same persons were once termed as *nobiles*, then as *comites liptoviensi,* and, finally, as *jobagiones* who held *possessio conditionalis*.[36] Thus, one cannot draw final conclusions solely based on the terminology used in sources.

## 4. Analysis of the Examined Communities

### 4.1 Spiš Lancers

Spiš lancers represent only one from many privileged communities that existed in Spiš. Concerning their origin, according to the privilege from 1243, it seems that Spiš lancers were a privileged community already before the year 1243. However, we do not dispose of any more information on their original status.

Regarding their origin and nationality, several theories were proposed.[37] The first theory suggested the Hungarian origin of Spiš lancers who, supposedly, came to Spiš from Gemer region as guards of borders.[38] This theory was presented by the author of the first monograph on Spiš lancers, József Hradszky[39] and was accepted by several scholars. The origin of lancers in Gemer was recognized also by Ivan Chalupecký, but, to the contrary, he considered them to be Slovaks.[40] More recently, he admitted also the possibility that they had been the remnants of original Slavic nobility which had later offered their services to Hungarian king. This view is close to the opinion of František Javorský, who also suggested the Slavic origin of lancers. He believed that they had been "*special military units*" existing already in the Great Moravian period. According to him, their duty was to protect two biggest settlements in Spiš territory – Čingov and Dreveník.[41] Other historians also tried to find lancers' origin in the "castle warriors" – *jobagiones*

[31] *DRMH* 1, p. 147.
[32] Ibidem, p. 105.
[33] *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus et Civilis* (deinde *CDH*), tom. 6, vol. 2. Ed.: György Fejér. Budae: Typis Regiae Scient. Universitatis Ungaricae, 1838, pp. 245–246.
[34] Luby, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 4.
[35] Ibidem, p. 66.
[36] Ibidem, p. 54.
[37] For a short overview see Žifčák, František: K identifikácii najstarších kopijníckych rodín. In: *K stredovekým dejinám Spiša.* Ed.: Miroslav Števík. Stará Ľubovňa: Ľubovnianske múzeum, 2003, pp. 42–43.
[38] Fekete Nagy, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása.* Budapest: Akadémia : Orsz. Levéltár, 1934, 253 pp.
[39] Hradszky, József: *A szepesi "Tíz-landsások széke" vagy a "Kisvármegye" története.* Lőcse: Nyomatott Reiss J.T. Könyvnyomdájában, 1895.
[40] Chalupecký, Ivan: Prehľad vývoja verejnej správy na Spiši. In: *Sborník archivních prací,* a. 13, 1963, p. 128.
[41] Števík, Miroslav: Sídelná štruktúra kopijníckych osád, cestná sieť, strážne a zásekové miesta na Spiši v stredoveku. In: *Z minulosti Spiša,* a. 9–10, 2001–2002, pp. 42–43. According to Marián Soják already at the time of Grand Moravia there were created special military units – Spiš lancers. SOJÁK, Marián: Kopijnícke osady z pohľadu archeológie. In: *Z minulosti Spiša,* a. 11, 2003, p. 6.



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*castri*, *milites castri*, or in *filii jobagionum*. Radziszewska saw the analogy to them in the population of "frontier areas" (*comitatus confiniorum*) which existed already at the time of Charlemagne and whose task was to stop the first enemies' attacks on the borders.[42] Contemporary Slovak scholar M. Števík is of similar opinion.[43]

However, the theory that the primary duty of the lancers was guarding the borders is no longer valid because the settlement structure of lancers' villages is located mainly in the central part of Spiš and not at its borders.

Moreover, in the recent years, scholars are more inclined to the hypothesis that the lancers were of no particular nationality, but rather they consisted of peoples of Slavic/Slovak, Hungarian, Latin, and German origin.[44] We also believe that Spiš lancers were a multiethnic group of population, just as the whole Spiš county was multiethnic.

The lancers were namely not the only community in Spiš. There was yet another community in Spiš besides lancers which was represented by *filii jobagionum*. Kostelník points out in this respect that some charter references indicate the existence of a collective privilege for the *filii jobagionum* in Spiš.[45] This privilege is directly mentioned in the charter from 1255 where Bela IV confirms the property of four *aratra* to Myčelet (*Mytscheleth*) and to the widow of Ďurko (*Gyurkonis*). According to the charter, with regard to this possession, Myčelet's and Ďurko's sons had the duty of such military service as was the custom of other *filii jobagionum* in Spiš and as it was specifically defined in their common privilege.[46]

Another type of community in Spiš is reported in a charter from 1264 which states that Bela IV granted the forest Chetene to Batyz under condition that people who settle there should enjoy the same status as other free people of Spiš. They were to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the *comes* and to have a right to choose their priest and mayor.[47]

Still, there were other communities in Spiš – since 1241 the community of Saxons – *Provincia Saxonum de Zips*, from the year 1278 the Province of *Sclavorum* governed by a *comes Sclavorum*, since 1280 the Organization of Latins, and, finally, the Spiš noble county itself.

It might also be possible that it was this very unique fragmentation of Spiš county that allowed Spiš lancers to retain their special status and unified them by defining their noble status against other communities in Spiš. (Most likely, the situation in Poljica was similar, representing an autonomous noble community at the periphery of medieval Hungarian Croatia.)

Regarding the territorial and personal specification of lancers in Spiš, it is necessary to point out that the privilege from 1243 is neither addressed to any particular person, nor is the territory specified. It is addressed to the "nobility" of Spiš.

However, in general the term *nobiles de Scepus* did not necessarily indicate lancers. It should be understood in a broader meaning. It most probably involved anyone who served to the ruler in the territory of Spiš. Among them there were also the most important families of Spiš, who were otherwise in the charters called as the nobles of the Kingdom – *nobiles regni*.[48] Still, it was only the relatively narrow group of lancers who made use of this privilege and were for centuries able to defend their independent organization against the general noble county of Spiš.

In order to explain this feature, M. Homza supposes that the creation of specific groups of nobles such as the lancers is connected with the fact that this community was established on both a territorial and relational principle.[49] Still, he admits, numerous ennoblements into the rank of *jobagiones* from a later period demonstrate that the lancers were connected neither ethnically nor by blood relationship (even though M. Homza claims their core was of Slovak/Slavic origin). That is to say, one could become a lancer either by birth into

[42] Žifčák, František: *K identifikácii najstarších kopijníckych rodín*, pp. 42–43.
[43] Števík, Miroslav: *Sídlená štruktura kopijníckych osád, cestná sieť, strážne a zásekové miesta na Spiši v stredoveku*, p. 52.
[44] Idem: *Z dejín osídlenia a verejnej správy stredovekého Spiša.* Stará Ľubovňa: Ľubovnianske múzeum, 2005, p. 20. See also Soják, Marián: *Kopijnícke osady z pohľadu archeológie*, p. 6. Kostelník tries to prove also Szeklers ethnicity. Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*. MA thesis. Trnava: Filozofická Fakulta Trnavskej Univerzity, 2008, p. 14.
[45] Unfortunately, this privilege was not preserved, but its existence is more than probable. Numerous scholars are of this opinion, see Homza, Martin: Ku genéze spišských kopijníkov. In: *Historický zborník,* a. 16, 2006, pp. 24–25; some admit its possible existence, see Žifčák, František: *K identifikácii najstarších kopijníckych rodín*, pp. 49–50.
[46] *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde *CDSl*), vol. 2. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislava: Obzor, 1987, nr. 492, p. 342.
[47] Beňko, Ján: *Osídlenie severného Slovenska.* Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1985, p. 150.
[48] Homza, Martin: Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša, p. 188.
[49] Ibidem, p. 188.



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a family that belonged to the lancers community, or by being raised into the rank of *jobagiones* by a royal privilege.[50] Therefore, he summarizes, the lancers were not a closed community.[51]

M. Homza summarizes his notion of lancers' origin as follows:

"*the original population of Spiš – the* castrenses *of Spiš, performing their duty in a form of military service for the castle and organized as elsewhere in medieval Hungary into tens and hundreds (or at least this was the case in Turiec and in Liptov), was due to the necessity of military services collectively exempted from the jurisdiction of the original official of the royal castle – the* comes *of Spiš and was transformed into a nobility of Spiš, in principle analogous to royal* jobagiones *(with the right and duty to provide ten fully armed soldiers for the royal army)… Therefore, the 'Small Scepusian county' was the original Spiš autonomous organization and was mostly represented by the oldest inhabitants of Spiš. These oldest inhabitants were from the thirteenth century ennobled on the basis of a collective privilege. The following scheme corresponds to this idea: the original settlements –* castrenses *– castle* jobagiones *– royal* servientes *– royal* jobagiones *–* nobiles de Scepus."[52] According to Homza, the elevation of the local population into a privileged community took place at the time when Spiš was under the control of the future Hungarian King Andrew II (i.e. before the year 1205). This elevation happened in connection with the creation of his *dominium* in this area. Miroslav Števík also came to the conclusion that the beginnings of lancers in Spiš can be traced back to the twelfth century (i.e. to the time when the territory of Spiš was attached to the Hungarian state).[53] We agree with Homza that the lancers community *de facto* existed already in the times when Coloman was the lord of Spiš. It is confirmed by the content of a charter from 1229. This charter was issued by Coloman of Galicia in favour of his familials Don and Matthew. The charter stated that they had been raised to the rank of *jobagiones* with the approval of all royal *jobagiones* in this area.[54] Homza considers the royal *jobagiones* of the area (*jobagiones regis*) to be identical with the lancers.

Concerning their designation as "lancers", Kostelník points out (in his thesis dealing with Spiš lancers[55]) that this community was called by multiple names. For the first time, in the privilege from 1243, they are mentioned as *universitas nobilium de Scepus* – "the community of nobles from Spiš".[56] In the following period we can find references to this community under several names, e.g. *communitas nobilium de Scepus* – "the community of nobles from Spiš" (1301),[57] *communitas nobilium de Scepus* – "the community of nobles from Spiš" (1312),[58] *Nobiles sub Decem lanceis servientes* – "the nobles serving under ten lances (1339)",[59] *consortio Nobiles sub Decem lanceis militantes* – "the community of nobles fighting under ten lances" (1343),[60] *nobiles exercituantes Decem lanceatorum* – "the nobles of ten lancers" (1388),[61] *nobiles decem Lanceatorum Comitatus Scepes* – "the nobles of ten lancers of Spiš county" (1391),[62] or *iuxta libertatem nobilium decem lanceatorum* – "according to the law of the nobles of ten lancers" (1395).[63] Moreover, Chalupecký quotes some additional names – "Small county" (*Parvus comitatus*) and "Upper County" (*Sedes superior*).[64]

Providing lancers as soldiers was a relatively common duty in the period. For example Saxons were also obliged to provide as many as fifty lancers in case of war and that from a territory not much larger than the lancers had.[65]

To sum up, one can work with two hypotheses on the origin and the formation of the Spiš lancers community. The first one defends the

[50] Ibidem, p. 189.
[51] It is also demonstrated by the famous case of Pyrin who became a lancer. *CDSl* 2, nr. 289, p. 202.
[52] Homza, Martin: Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša, p. 193.
[53] See Števík, Miroslav: *Sídlená štruktura kopijníckych osád, cestná sieť, strážne a zásekové miesta na Spiši v stredoveku*, p. 51.
[54] Homza, Martin: Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša, p. 188. *CDSl* 1. Ed.: Richard Marsina, Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1971, nr. 359, p. 256.
[55] Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*.
[56] *CDSl* 2, nr. 131, p. 89. Cited in Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.
[57] *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* (deinde *RDSl*), vol. 1 and 2. Ed.: Vincent Sedlák, Bratislava: VEDA, 1980 and 1987, nr. 58, p. 51. Cited in Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.
[58] *RDSl* 1, nr. 980, p. 421. *CDH* 8/5, nr. 42, p. 82. Cited in Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.
[59] *CDH* 8/5, nr. 153, p. 274. Cited in Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.
[60] *CDH* 9/1, nr. 56, p. 141. Cited in Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.
[61] *Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár (1387–1420)* (deinde *ZsO*), vol. 1–7. Ed.: Elemér Malyusz and Iván Borsa. Budapest: Arcanum Adatbázis, 1951–2001, vol. 1, nr. 471. Cited in Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.
[62] *CDH* 10/1, nr. 393, pp. 708–710. Cited in Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.
[63] *ZsO* 1, nr. 3916. Cited in Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*, p. 15.
[64] Chalupecký, Ivan: *Prehľad vývoja verejnej správy na Spiši*, p. 126.



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idea of continuity of a castle community from the earlier period, perhaps even from the times of Great Moravia. The second hypothesis supposes the formation of this community around the year 1200, which means still at the time of ministerial type of state.

One can also try to link together the two abovementioned hypotheses concerning the formation of lancers' community in the following way: the community smoothly developed from the original settlements of *castrenses* to the privileged noble community in the early thirteenth century. This does not diminish the possibility of a continuous lancers' community starting from the original settlements and finishing with the *jobagiones*, as Chalupecký suggested.

Neither Števík rejects this explanation of the development of lancers' community. Instead, he confirms that the lancers' settlement structure overlaps with the settlement structure of the older privileged population. He considers the lancers to have been the representatives of the original military element, while only a small part of these *jobagiones* gained the status of lower nobility by the privilege from 1243.[66] He points out that in the lancers' villages not only lancers, but also *jobagiones castri* lived. By claiming so, however, it seems he denies the fact that the privilege from 1243 only confirmed the already existing status of lancers. He seems to claim that this privilege had constitutive effects of ennoblement of a certain group of the original population, while the rest remained at the level of *jobagiones castri*, whom he apparently considers to be the original population of the community before the year 1243. Nevertheless, this small variation reflects only the problem of dating of the status of *jobagiones regis* but not the very existence of the community.

In order to answer our research question it is not even important whether the community was founded in the times of Great Moravia or only around the year 1200, though. In both cases, the lancers may have represented a traditional community from the period of ministerial type of state, preserved due to the early granted privilege and due to their very early ennoblement– in the first stage of nobility establishment in the Hungarian Kingdom.

## 4.2 Turiec and Liptov

At the same period as in Spiš, similar rural communities of *populos* as well as privileged individuals may be identified in the territories of Liptov and Turies. Both categories of local population (individuals and communities) exerted military functions. However, while in the case of the *nobiles* the military duty automatically arose from their status, the rest of population provided the military duty in exchange for equivalent value from the king, specifically, for certain liberties the ruler attributed to the population.

In this way, the ruler created two groups of population with military duties – *jobagiones* (eventually lower nobility), and the community of *populos*. The individual military duty is connected with the process taking place between the years 1250–1270, when in Turiec and Liptov the phase of so-called conditional colonization peaked, actually imposing military duty by way of twenty-four donations of land to the *jobagiones regis*.[67] One can thereby discern three different forms of individual donations:

1) without any duty imposed – this was connected with the process of ennoblement,
2) donation in exchange for military duty – associated with *jobagiones regis*,
3) the lowest level of donation – addressed to *jobagiones castri*, who also had some other duties imposed on them. Quite often it was a tax duty, from which some of them were later exempted by an exemption privilege.[68] This exemption could actually mean ennoblement into an upper class of *jobagiones*.[69]

The various layers of nobles and *jobagiones* are mentioned in the sources as follows:

Nobility, even titled as lancers, lived in Istebné – a charter refers to fifteen lancers-noblemen that lived here.[70] Moreover, in 1316 the *comes* of Zvolen, Magister Donč, exchanged a piece of land called Belezk (placed between White and Black Váh and Belá) which belonged to Mikuláš, Bod, Denk, and their sons as lancers (*nobilibus unius lancee*). These lancers derived their right of possession from a donation by Bela IV. The existence of lancers-noblemen is evident also in the year 1341 (from Liptov register).[71] Concerning the origins of

[65] Ibidem, p. 128.
[66] Števík, Miroslav: *Z dejín osídlenia a verejnej správy stredovekého Spiša*, p. 19.
[67] Luby, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 22.
[68] Ibidem, p. 50.
[69] Ibidem, p. 73.
[70] MOL DL 40 361. See Beňko, Ján: *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*, p. 52.
[71] Ibidem, pp. 97–98.



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these lancers, similarly as in case of Spiš lancers, we do not know much on their pre-history.

Other types of nobles in Turiec and Liptov emerged from royal servants. For instance, in 1263 Bela IV liberated his dog-carers from tax and census, which means that he *de facto* raised them into the rank of lower nobility and at the same time he allocated them a piece of land near Okoličné from the royal estate.[72]

According to Luby, the king recognized only *jobagiones castri* in Liptov and Turiec originally, but after the Mongol invasion the royal property in the area was divided between the nobility and various layers of *jobagiones*.[73]

The military duty of *jobagiones regis* is specified, for example, in the Liptov register (under paragraph 26) as the duty of a donee and his heirs to send one fully armoured man to the royal army. On the other hand, in 1388 they had to send one cavalryman. In this way the *jobagiones* lagged behind the nobility, which did not have their military duty specified in such a detail. However, *jobagiones regis* were still considered to be prior in rank in comparison with the *jobagiones castri*, who only formed garrison of the castles and waged war in the local troops of the *comes*.[74]

A special group of *jobagiones* in Turiec and Liptov were so-called *filii jobagionum*. References to them can be found in the charter of Bela IV from 1255 – "*since the number of* fillii jobagionum *in Turiec raised and somehow it went beyond the required number, we consider as a good thing to restitute some of them back among our conditional* populos, *and others should keep their status of* filii jobagionum, *especially Obusko, Obuda, Preslav, Stojslav, Vylegane, Nahcko, and Jakub, on condition that always six of them provide one cavalryman for the royal army.*"[75] The lowering of the number of *filii jobagionum* was connected with the fact that some claimed being *filii* without any actual proof of such a status. This might indicate that in order to gain the status of *jobagiones*, there was no requirement of any special privilege. However, in contrast, there are also examples of privileges by which a person was elevated to the status of *filii jobagionum*. For instance, Ladislas IV in 1286 and *comes* Demeter of Zvolen (based on the mandate of Andrew III from 1296) extracted Benedict and Stephen, sons of Kevel from Sielnica, from among the *populos*, and promoted them to *filii jobagionum* with the rights and liberties of other *filii jobagionum* in Liptov. At the same time they received a right of possession of the land Sielnica. They received this property in exchange for the land which they cultivated together with other *populos* before their elevation to the rank of *filii*. In a similar way, the property of Behar's sons (who owned this property since the times of Bela IV) was separated from the land of *populos* from Podhradie in Liptov in 1295.[76]

The last group of population in Liptov and Turiec was that of already mentioned personally free royal *populos*.[77] Their denotations were also *populi castri* or *castrenses*.[78] *Populos* were also addressees of royal charters with rights and duties. The collective charters issued for the *populos* in Turiec and Liptov thereby only confirmed the "*liberties exerted already for a long time*,"[79] similarly as we know it from noble Spiš lancers' privilege from 1243.

The first written references dealing with the duties of *populos* in Turiec are connected with donation of Sokolec to Premonstratensians in Zniev in 1251 and 1252. "*Their duty was to keep hunting falcons for the king, to participate in royal hunting, to protect animals in royal forests and fish in royal waters, and we assume that certainly they had to annually provide the required number of wild animals, especially* leather *and possibly also fish. Among their privileges counted the exemption from taxation and other services, and their exclusive subjection to the ruler or to his representative in this region – the* comes *of Zvolen.*"[80] Subjection to the king and to his *comes* thereby shows a lack of autonomy in comparison with noble communities of the period. Those had their own authorities, instead of falling under the competence of *comes*.

The possibly traditional community of *populos* received specific liberties from Bela IV on fact only in order to prevent his dependent population from running away. Bela IV by his charter from 12 June, 1257 brought back the escaped *populos*, exempted them for the period of three harvests (3 years) from all tributes, and gave them

[72] Ibidem, p. 106.
[73] Luby, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, p. 49.
[74] Ibidem, p. 53.
[75] Beňko, Ján: *Starý Turiec*, p. 64.
[76] Beňko, Ján: *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*, pp. 110–111.
[77] Beňko, Ján: *Starý Turiec*, p. 72.
[78] Luby, Štefan: *Liptovský a turčiansky register z roku 1391*, pp. 58–59.
[79] Ibidem, p. 74.
[80] Beňko, Ján: *Starý Turiec*, p. 94.



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the right of free migration within Turiec, Liptov, and the whole Zvolen county. After those three years they had to pay the tribute again – in the form of cash as well as *in natura*, and in case of military campaign they had to provide one cavalryman for the needs of the royal army. Before moving to another place, they had to pay twelve coins to the mayor of the village from which they were moving out.

They also had the right to elect their own mayor, who had the competence to judge them in legal disputes when the amount of fine did not exceed two or three *pondera* (1 *pondera* = 1/24 marks = 10,23 grams of silver). In case of the most important disputes, jurisdiction of *comes* was applicable, and in that case two thirds of the fine were to be paid to *comes* and one third to the mayor.[81]

*Populos* thus represented a certain community which had only minor local authorities, responsible directly to *comes*. For example, the *villicus praeconus* (*villicus qui bachen dicitur*) was in charge of transfer of collected tributes to *comes*. According to the charter from 1265, *populi provinciales* (not *populi castri*) were also represented by their own elected deputy (*homo*) before *comes* of Zvolen.[82]

However, this community was not stable enough. As *populos* were not ennobled during the following decennium, their property rights to the land ceased and the whole community disintegrated.

To conclude, lower nobility (*nobiles*), *jobagiones regis*, or *jobagiones castri* in Turiec and Liptov did not gain any collective privileges. *Filii jobagionum*, after their reorganization and reduction in number, received only the duty of providing soldiers, similarly as the *populos*. Nevertheless, neither *filii* nor *populos* created any permanent community and in the following decades they either merged with bondsmen, or they moved to another community through ennoblement – they acquired a noble county identity. The differences in comparison with the Spiš lancers can thus be summarized as follows:

1) the lancers in Liptov and Turiec did not receive any collective privileges,
2) the *jobagiones* in Liptov and Turiec became nobles on the basis of individual privileges and they only participated in the community of county nobility,
3) the collective regulations in Liptov and Turiec focused only on the lower social strata – *populos* or *filii jobagionum*, who never created any privileged community and they either merged with bondsmen or with nobility.

## 4.3 Comparison with Croatian Communities

Martin Homza supposes that Croatian and Slovak communities are somehow similar concerning their origins as peasant communities which firstly changed into paramilitary communities (gradokmeti[83] – *jobagiones castri*) due to the expansionist policy of the Hungarian rulers (from the time of Bela III) and later they changed their status into royal *jobagiones*.[84]

In Vinodol, transformation of population into royal *jobagiones* did not take place, nor did all the population have a status of *jobagiones castri*. Most probably the majority of the population was represented by *populos, cives, populares*, possibly *castrenses*, or any other subordinated population (*pučani*).

At the same time Vinodol represents a community that lacked any common privilege just like the Turiec and Liptov populations in Slovakia. Consequently, as Vinodol community did not receive any privilege in exchange for the military service, the military duties began to be performed by aristocracy – the Frankopans as the dukes of Krk, who later dominated the entire community of Vinodol. In the year 1193 a royal donation charter was issued based on which the Frankopans acquired this territory (actually only the territory of Modruša, but it seems that on this basis the Frankopans laid their claims for Vinodol as well) in exchange for providing ten soldiers.[85] This is confirmed also in the subsequent confirmations of the donation of this

[81] Ibidem, p. 94.
[82] Beňko, Ján: *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*, p. 131.
[83] Levak, Maurizio: Podrijetlo i uloga kmetâ u vinodolskom društvu XIII. Stoljeća. In: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, a. 19, 2002, pp. 35–81. Accessible also on the internet: http://hrcak.srce.hr/11180?lang=hr. See also Szeberényi, Gábor: A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. In: *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok. A IV. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia.* Szeged: Előadásai, 2005, pp. 143–167. See also: http://www.scribd.com/doc/32566385/Szeberenyi-Gabor-A-13-szazadi-horvat-tarsadalom-szerkezetenek-nehany-aspektusa-a-Vinodolski-zakon-tukreben.
[84] Homza, Martin: Administratívno-politický vývoj včasnostredovekého Spiša, p. 192.
[85] This refers to a charter of Bela III from 1193 dealing with the donation of Modruša – in exchange for providing 10 soldiers and, in case of a battle outside of country, 4 soldiers. Klaić, Nada: *Vinodol.* Rijeka: Historijski arhiv, 1988, pp. 75–76.



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territory, issued in the years 1209,[86] 1223[87]/1225,[88] 1241,[89] 1251,[90] 1270, 1279, and 1322/1323.[91]

An attempt to fight the dominance of the Frankopans was the process of writing down the law of Vinodol – *Vinodolski zakon* (1288), which has been preserved until present time.[92] It was issued during the time when the landlord acquired possession of this community. However, despite the existence of the written law, the community ceased to exist and during the fifteenth century it definitely came to an end.

To conclude, evidently, Vinodol represents a traditional community of *jobagiones castri* and *castrenses*, which upon the donation to landlord disintegrated and the population got under the *Herrschaft* of the landlord. This way the community and its autonomy came to an end.

On the other hand, Poljica represents a territory and a community that was preserved until the early nineteenth century, likewise the community of ten-lancers in Spiš. Similarly to the lancers, Poljica did not represent a purely noble community – nobility lived here together with free population and bondsmen, originally representing *jobagiones castri* most probably. Concerning the various social classes, some scholars maintain that this territory was originally a *territorium regale*. The references speak here only about the villagers, *villains*. Thus, the nobility most probably emerged only in the mid-fourteenth century.[93]

Most of the Poljica population were free peasants – *pučani*. It is said that around the year 1500 this community had 40 houses of noblemen (80 families, i.e. 400–500 members), 120 families of *kmeti* (500–600 members), and 500 houses with 800 families (4000–5000 members) of free peasants – pučani.[94] Allegedly, in 1781 Poljica had 6813 inhabitants, of which only 52 were nobles.

The free population could freely dispose of their proporty.[95] Moreover, *kmeti* as bondsmen were not *glebae adscripti*, they only did not take part in the administration of the Poljica community. Nevertheless, they administered their own villages as part of Poljica community.[96]

An interesting feature is that the nobility nurtured a legend according to which they had common origin in three tribes – three sons (Krešimir, Tješimir, and Elem) of Bosnian King Miroslav who was killed by *banus* Pribina in 949. Supposedly, they left Bosnia and settled in this territory.[97] However, according to Pivčević, the nobles of Poljica are not descendants of the Bosnian prince, but rather of the local Croats.[98] Nevertheless, it is questionable whether it was this myth of their common origin from Bosnia that was able to hold this community together, or rather this was due to the geographical and other favourable conditions so as to preserve its identity and autonomy.[99]

Another factor could be the codification of the law of Poljica, similarly as in Vinodol. The law was written down shortly before Poljica concluded an agreement with Venice in 1444, based on which Poljica would function as a defensive shield against the Turks. The written law could

[86] In 1209 Andrew II confirmed the donation of Bela, plus he confirmed the heir of Bartolomew – Guido de Wegla – in possession of Modruša. Ibidem, p. 76.

[87] It refers to the text of the donation charter for Vinodol and Modruša issued by Andrew II from 1223 for Guido de Wegla. However, it does not refer to the status of Vinodol inhabitants, which makes Nada Klaić think that it might be forgery. Ibidem, pp. 76–80.

[88] In 1225 Andrew II gave Vinodol and Modruša to the Frankopans as a *feudum*. Margetić, Lujo: *Srednjovjekovni zakoni i opći akti na kvarneru*, vol. 3. Rijeka: Adamić, 2007, p. 279.

[89] In 1241 Bela IV confirmed the privilege from the year 1193 and 1223 under condition that they provided only three soldiers, and outside the country only two. This charter, however, is wrongly dated, which leads Klaić to question its authenticity. Klaić, Nada: *Vinodol*, pp. 89–90.

[90] This confirmation requires providing one boat and 20 or 10 cavalrymen. Ibidem, p. 92.

[91] Klaić considers only the last privilege to be authentic. Supposedly, during its confirmation, all the previous forgeries were created. Ibidem, p. 94.

[92] The Vinodol Law was composed by 9 villages – Grobnik, Trsat, Bakar, Hreljin, Drivenik, Grižane, Bribir, Novi, and Ledenice, when all of them got subjected to the Frankopans, the dukes of Krk. Margetić, Lujo: *Srednjovjekovni zakoni i opći akti na kvarneru*, p. 266.

[93] Laušić, Ante: *Postanak i razvitak poljičke kneževine (do kraja XV. Stoljeća)*. Split: Književni krug, 1991, p. 143.

[94] Ibidem, pp. 144, 156.

[95] Marušić, Juraj: O agrarno-pravnim pitanjima i društvenom uredenju poljica. In: *Poljički zbornik*, a. 1, 1968, pp. 187–190.

[96] Laušić, Ante: *Postanak i razvitak poljičke kneževine*, p. 150.

[97] Ibidem, p. 27.

[98] Ibidem, p. 29. Other opinions are also mentioned there. Kaštelan also points out that Archdeacon Thomas from Split does not refer to this legend.

[99] This idea is advocated by Pivčević. Pivčević, Edo: The Autonomous Principality of Poljica. In: *British-Croatian Review*, a. 11/12, vol. IV, 1977, p. 6. See also Pivčević, Edo: The Principality of Poljica. In: *Journal of Croatian Studies*, a. 28/29, 1987–1988. Accessible on internet: http://www.almissa.com/theprincipalityofpoljica.htm.



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potentially serve as an identification symbol of the Poljica community, just like the privilege from 1243 united the lancers in Spiš.

On the other hand, unlike Spiš lancers, Poljica was not an autonomous community continuously. Similarly as Vinodol, Poljica was infeudalized, in fact already in the twelfth century, by the Kačić dynasty.[100] This could have been again, just like in case of Vinodol, caused by the lack of collective privilege issued by the king for this community. Poljica gained its independence again only in the mid-fourteenth century, when Louis the Great sent two commissioners, Rajčič and Dražojević, to govern this territory on behalf of the king. The commissioners' descendants merged with the local nobility and after the end of Kačić domination Poljica had again the opportunity of an independent development.

## Conclusion

From the comparison of the communities it appears that all of them might have been traditional communities, however, only a few of them survived the transformation of the thirteenth century. Spiš lancers survived because they gained royal collective privilege, which helped them to preserve their autonomy in the process of formation of the Spiš county. Because of their noble status, they were also not subject to destructive infeudalization pressure from the local magnates.

The communities in Turiec and Liptov were in a completely different situation. The collective liberties were granted to the underprivileged class of *populos* (and to some extent also to *filii jobagionum*). These (collective) liberties and duties were not significant enough to secure an autonomous existence within the emerging noble county, in which *populos* were degraded to bondsmen.

On the other hand, the upper stratum of *jobagiones* in Liptov and Turiec received individual privileges due to which they were taken out from their indigenous communities and after their transformation to nobility they created a new community in the form of Liptov and Turiec noble counties.

In Croatia, it seems that Vinodol represents a traditional community which did not survive the process of infeudalization. Vinodol did not receive any privilege which could unite this community together and which could protect it against the domination of the Frankopans. It only had the *Vinodol Law* written down, which did not actually help in preserving the community. During the process of infeudalization, which lasted over 200 years, the Vinodol community completely disintegrated.

In contrast, Poljica was also infeudalized, but it was able to (re-)create the autonomous community again (in the fourteenth century). The explanation could lie in the fact that Poljica created its own myth of common origin and perhaps also in the fact that the infeudalization process of Kačič dynasty was not intense enough. Moreover, the location of Poljica on the borders of the kingdom could have also played a role, just like the codification of the Poljica laws and the presence of a noble element in Poljica, unlike in Vinodol.

The comparison thus shows that Poljica and Spiš lancers share the most similar features. However, while the lancers had their own noble privilege and they were never infeudalized, Poljica never gained any privilege and survived as a partly noble community after the temporary infeudalization. In contrast, the communities in Turiec and Liptov share similar features with Vinodol. They were traditional communities which did not survive the changes of the thirteenth century, mainly due to the absence of their noble status. In Turiec and Liptov, only a few members of the original communities were ennobled and, consequently, they became part of a new community of county nobility. The population of Vinodol did not have a chance to survive the pressure of the Frankopans, which caused the loss of its autonomous identity.

[100] Laušić, Ante: *Postanak i razvitak poljičke kneževine*, p. 248.



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GÁBOR SZEBERÉNYI*

# Noble Communities in Spiš and Turopolje in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

## Šľachtické komunity na Spiši a v Turopolji v 13. a 14. storočí / Plemićke zajednice u Spišu i Turopolju u 13. i 14. stoljeću

*This paper briefly characterizes the most important structural similarities and local specialties between two of the most significant lower-rank noble communities who lived in the peripheries of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary: the so-called "ten-lancers of Spiš" in its the northern parts, and the "noble community of Turopolje" in Sclavonia. An extensive analysis of some medieval charters from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries points out that there were some important structural connections between the two distant regions situated within the general framework of the Hungarian Kingdom and we can trace similar social institutions and organizational forms in the historical sources. On the other hand, it seems that for a proper interpretation of our sources we should take into consideration the apparent local specialties as well, which leads us to the questions of the origin of these communities.*

Keywords: thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Spiš, Turopolje, privileged communities, lesser nobility, critical analysis

"*Turmező [Turopolje] (…) and the once independent seat of the ten-lancers of Spiš are those relics which prodigiously survived the shipwreck of the old castle-system, and remind us of our former glory, strength, and the ancient type of our national defense*" – Tivadar Botka wrote in 1844.[1] If we set aside the apparent patriotic point of view that evidently characterized the Hungarian historiography at that time – they wanted to trace every institution rose in the Carpathian Basin back to Hungarian origin – Botka pointed out an important analogy in the history of the "*communitas* of the ten-lancers of Spiš" and of the "*universitas* of the nobles of the plains of Zagreb". Both "noble communities" endured until the nineteenth century (the former one ceased to exist in 1804, while the latter – irrevocably – in 1874), and both of them originated in the thirteenth century or even an earlier time. This indisputable centuries-long historical continuity is definitely an important factor regarding the social history of Slovakia and Croatia. But it also makes it considerably more difficult to determine the origin, and – more importantly – the institutional and social (regional) characteristics of these communities in the early period, and to define the similarities and dissimilarities between them. In this paper I try to point out – basically proceeding from the comparison of privileges of the "nobles of Spiš" from 1243 and of the "nobles of the plains of Zagreb" from 1278, and other charters related to them – that the history of these communities (especially in the case of Turopolje) were not only somehow discontinuous with respect to their later story, but structural dissimilarities between them were definitely more numerous than parallel aspects in the early period due to the institutional, social, and mainly the legal differences which can be traced back to the origins of these communities.

From a mere (Hungarian) historiographical point of view, we can say that in the last more than hundred years Hungarian research was apparently more prolific in the case of Spiš, while almost completely lacking in the case of Turopolje. Nevertheless, this situation allows me to summarize the history of Spiš nobles on the basis of relevant literature, while I can be more meticulous and detailed about the questions of presumed Slavonian parallels.

The history of the "ten-lancers of Spiš" was discussed by J. Hradszky for the first time,[2] but the most elaborate work was written by A. Fekete

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[1] Botka, Tivadar: Turmező ismertetése. In: *Századunk*, a. 7, 1844: pp. 278–279, 318–322, 324–330, quotation: p. 322.

[2] Hradszky, József: *A szepesi „tíz-lándsások széke" vagy a „Kisvármegye" története*. Lőcse: A Szepesmegyei Történelmi Társulat, 1895.



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Nagy, published as a chapter of his large monograph on Spiš in 1934.[3] Important remarks were made by P. Váczy[4] and Gy. Bónis[5] as well, while recently A. Zsoldos's essays shed new light upon the case.[6] According to these works, some wardens lived in the territory of Spiš, at the confines of the former Gömör/Gemer county.[7] These wardens – no matter whether they were originally *filii iobagionum* like their counterparts in Turóc/Turiec (as Váczy thought), or came from a nomadic (*kabar*) population of Abaúj/Abov (as presumed by Fekete Nagy) – were not integrated without trace into the county (*megye*) of Spiš at the time of its establishment during the second half of the twelfth century. Instead, these wardens instituted – like the local German (Saxon)[8] and Slavic[9] populations – their own *comitatus* (*ispánság*), which finds its most important proof exactly in their old privileges, chartered by the king in 1243.[10] Hence the *comitatus* (singular) of these former wardens became only one among the bunch of other *comitatus* (plural) which could be found all over the territory of Spiš county.[11] This is a very important aspect because it deserves attention that Spiš county possessed some definite organizational specialities in the general system of counties of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Namely, as the basis of its establishment it lacked both the separated *comitatus castri* (*várispánság*; the district and the domain belonged explicitly to the castle of Spiš[12]) and that kind of special organizational form which could only be found in the territory of royal forests (*erdőispánság*[13]) like in the territory of the neighbouring Zvolen county.

In this patchwork-like system of miscellaneous *comitatus* in Spiš, the wardens lived in defined autonomy, which contained (among others) rules of inheritance, the right to appoint their own judge, and a special corporate unit called "Szék" (i.e. 'seat', similar to the Székelys' seats in Transylvania). Thus, they formed one of the numerous and heterogeneous groups of local nobles, which could be found all over the peripheries of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.[14] The wardens' characteristic name ("ten-lancers", mentioned for the first time only in 1318[15]) was given after their special military duty, which they bore as a community since the Mongol invasion. Nevertheless, they were regularly called *nobiles de Scepus* (as in 1243) or *nobiles de Zeek* ("nobles of the Seat") as well. However, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries their lands were gradually morseled. Therefore, they

[3] Fekete Nagy, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*. Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1934. pp. 253–301, and Idem, Antal: A szepesi lándzsás nemesség szabadságleveleinek sorsa. In: *Emlékkönyv Károlyi Árpád születése nyolcvanadik fordulójának ünnepére 1933. október 7*. Budapest: Sárkány-Nyomda Részvénytársaság, 1933, pp. 153–162.

[4] Váczy, Péter: A királyi serviensek és a patrimoniális királyság. In: *Századok*, a. 62, 1928, pp. 69–76.

[5] Bónis, György: *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban.* Kolozsvár: Nagyenyedi Bethlen Nyomda, 1947, p. 359, pp. 369–373.

[6] Zsoldos, Attila: A nemesség határán. In: *Turul*, a. 72, nr. 3–4, 1999, pp. 118–122; Zsoldos, Attila: Szepes megye kialakulása. In: *Történelmi Szemle*, a. 43, nr. 1–2, 2001, pp. 19–31; Idem: Nemes, szepesi nemes, aranyadó. (Jogállás és birtokjog mint lehetőség és eszköz.) In: *Történelmi Szemle*, a. 51, nr. 3, 2009, pp. 419–429.

[7] Their original name was "gömörőr" (*Gumureur*), i.e. "wardens of Gömör" in Hungarian. See Fekete Nagy, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása,* p. 18; Zsoldos, Attila: *Szepes megye kialakulása*, p. 29. On the problems of *confinia* see Zsoldos, Attila: Confinum és marchia. In: *Századok*, a. 134, 2000, pp. 99–112.

[8] The *comites Saxonum de Scepus* can be traced in 1254. See Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011, p. 240.

[9] Goblinus, *comes Sclavorum*, was referred to as *quondam comes* in 1274. *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, vol. 2/2–3. Ed.: Imre Szentpétery – Iván Borsa. Budapest: MTA, 1961, nr. 2518. See also Zsoldos, Attila: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, p. 241.

[10] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civiis* (deinde *CDH*), vol. 4/1. Ed.: György Fejér. Budae: Typis typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1834, pp. 279–280.

[11] We cannot overestimate the importance of those researches which proved that the term *comitatus* used in the historical sources could cover very different institutions of the Hungarian Kingdom. For the differences between the *comitatus* as a county (*megye*) and the *comitatus* as an "ispánate" (*ispánság*), see Kristó, Gyula: *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*. Budapest: Magvetö, 1988. pp. 100–207.

[12] Zsoldos, Attila: *Szepes megye kialakulása*, p. 29.

[13] Idem: *Nemes, szepesi nemes, aranyadó*, p. 420.

[14] On the particular (local) nobility in the Hungarian Kingdom: Fekete Nagy, Antal: Az országos és particularis nemesség tagozódása a középkorban. In: *Emlékkönyv Domanovszky Sándor születése hatvanadik fordulójának ünnepére, 1937. május 27*. Budapest: Királyi magyar egyetemi nyomda, 1937, pp. 159–184. With regard to the Slovakian highlands and Slavonia: Bónis, György: *Hűbériség és rendiség a középkori magyar jogban*, pp. 331–378 and Rady, Martin: *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*. Basingstoke – New York: Macmillan – St. *Martin's* Press, 2000, pp. 79–89.

[15] *CDH*, vol. 7/7. Budae: Typis typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1831, nr. 95: "*nobilibus sub decem lanceis constitutis*". See also 1343: "*ad consorcium nobilium sub decem lanceis militantium*" Ibidem, vol. 9/1. Budae: Typis typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1833, nr. 61.



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lacked the necessary resources to maintain a true noble status, so they gradually came closer to the status of serfs. Although by means of their privileges they were able to keep their particular and corporate organization (*universitas nobilium decem lanceatorum*) till the nineteenth century,[16] they were unable to step up as a group to the rank of full-scale nobility (*nobiles regni*).[17]

In the case of the "nobles of Turopolje", the story – as it was reconstructed by the most important author of the topic, Emilij Laszowski[18] – started at the beginning of the thirteenth century as well. [19] The first data that is usually connected to them emerged in 1225, when Duke Bela absolved Budune and his cognates of their obligations to the castle of Zagreb, and raised them to the rank of *servientes regis*.[20] It is generally conceived that this act laid the foundations of the later noble community of Turopolje. During the 1250s the castle-warriors (*iobagiones castri*) of Zagreb got additional privileges, which were finally chartered at the *sabor* (*generalis congregatio*) held in 1278. At this assembly the ban of Slavonia affirmed their ancient freedoms, including commutation of the obligation of *descensus*, and their right to elect their own judge.[21] The end of the process came in the following year, when King Ladislas IV confirmed the ban's charter.[22] According to the commonly shared opinion, the *universitas nobilium campi Zagrabiensis* was created by this act, and its story in the next centuries was nothing else but the history of a basically intact and continuous local noble community, the privileges of which were confirmed periodically by the Hungarian-Croatian kings.

So, it seems that in the history of the "nobles of Spiš" and the "nobility of Turopolje" we can find more than one analogous aspect. However, the comparison of their important charters from 1243 and 1278, respectively, together with other historical data from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and mainly a closer inquiry into the history of these communities during the fourteenth century suggest a slightly different interpretation, especially concerning factors related to the origin and operation of these noble organizations.

First of all, we can lay it down as a principle that both communities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (and later) fell under the category of *conditional nobility*. Although in both cases our sources emphasize that the members of these communities were "nobles", it is completely sure that this kind of "nobility" was not equivalent to *aurea libertas*, but represented only a restricted "freedom", compared to the term of full-scale nobility.[23] Nevertheless, this conditional noble existence hid divergent contents in the case of the nobles of Spiš/*Scepus* and Turopolje. The former were wardens who were not subjugated to the *comitatus castri* of Spiš (simply because it did not exist) and they were able to obtain a *comitatus* of their own, while the latter, the "nobles of Turopolje", originally were (but with no doubt at the time when their charter was issued in 1278) castle-warriors of Zagreb (*iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis*), i.e. they occupied – because of their military duties – the most honourable rank within the population of the castle, but they were definitely subjugated to the jurisdiction held by the *comes* of Zagreb. Moreover, this situation remained

[16] Fekete Nagy, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása,* p. 271, pp. 297–301.

[17] Fekete conceived that the lancers had been full-scale nobles during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Ibidem, pp. 274–277), which was disputed by Zsoldos, who pointed out the legal differences between *nobiles regni* and the "nobles of Spiš". See Zsoldos, Attila: *A nemesség határán*, pp. 120–121.

[18] Laszowski, Emilij: *Povijest plem. općine Turopolja.* vol. 1–3. Zagreb: Tiskom Antuna Scholza, 1910–1924.

[19] On the nobles of Turopolje we have not had any detailed monograph in Hungarian. On their short history (based on the relevant Croatian literature): Katus, László: *A délszláv-magyar kapcsolatok története.* I. rész. A kezdetektől 1849-ig. Pécs: Kódex Nyomda Kft., 1998, pp. 20–21. Katus, László: A túrmezei nemesi közösség. In: *Rubicon*, a. 4–5, 1994, pp. 38–39. Rokay, Péter: A Túrmezei kerület. In: *Vármegyék és szabad kerületek*, vol. 1–2. Ed.: Kalmán Radics. Debrecen: Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár, 2001. pp. 303–308. On their history in the age of the Árpáds, see Szeberényi, Gábor: A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon. In: *Medievisztikai tanulmányok. A IV. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2005. június 9–10.) előadásai.* Ed.: Szabolcs Marton – Éva Teiszler. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2005, pp. 143–167, mainly pp. 155–167.

[20] *Monumenta historica nobilis communitatis Turopolje olim "campus Zagrabiensis" dictae* (deinde *MHNC*), vol. 1. Ed.: Emilius Laszowski. Zagreb: Tiskom Antuna Scholza, 1904, nr. 1 (1225).

[21] Ibidem, nr. 28 (1278).

[22] Ibidem, nr. 32 (1279).

[23] In the case of the lancers it was proved by the mere fact that their lands were debited by services (while possessions of full-scale nobles were free of any kind of *servitia*; see Zsoldos, Attila: *A nemesség határán*, p. 120, and Idem: *Nemes, szepesi nemes, aranyadó*, p. 426). However, in the case of the Slavonian community (beyond the fact that they were denominated as castle-warriors), even the charter of 1278 emphasized that their freedoms had defined conditions. *MHNC*, nr. 28: "*condiciones libertatum ipsorum antiquas*". See Rady, Martin: *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*, p. 81, p. 89.



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untouched even by the charter (which referred to *all* of the castle-warriors[24]) issued in 1278.[25]

The differences between the two communities' territorial framework ensued from this situation as well. The "nobles of Spiš" obtained a "seat" of their own[26] and its territorial frames were defined by the location of villages held by lancer-families (west of Levoča). But the main factor was that the undertaking of the *servicium* belonged to the land itself. Consequently, only those were allowed to be lancers who took upon themselves the defined conditions connected to the land held by lancers.[27] This kind of logic was supported even by their special rights of inheritance,[28] which is unparalleled beyond the river Drava. On the contrary, in the case of Zagreb castle-warriors we can find that only those of them who owned their properties on the "plains of Zagreb" (*campus Zagrabiensis*, i.e. Turopolje or Mezeu, meaning 'plains' in Hungarian) were successfully transformed into the state of "nobles of Turopolje". However, on the one hand, in the thirteenth century Zagreb castle-warriors held parcels of lands which were situated *outside* the territory of later Turopolje, i.e. north of the river Sava.[29] On the other hand, the fate of the Zagreb castle-warriors who were members of the kindreds *Laztech* and *Stankouch* in the early fourteenth century proves that the warriors of the castle of Zagreb could equally turn into the "nobles of Turopolje", just as into episcopal *praediales* of the bishop of Zagreb.[30] Therefore, in the case of the successors of Zagreb castle-warriors (unlike their Spiš counterparts), their "ancient" privileges collected in 1278 gave no guarantee for their commonly shared "noble" status (so, in this narrow sense, I should say, it was not a "freedom charter"). This state was only obtained by those of them (and this meant *only a part* of the group formerly known as Zagreb castle-warriors!) who possessed their lands side by side in a shared neighbourhood on "the plains of Zagreb", which situation gave them a chance, on one hand, to act like a community, and, on the other hand, to gradually transform the charter of 1278 (and its version confirmed by the king in 1279) into a valid "freedom charter of the nobility of the plains of Zagreb" till the middle of the fourteenth century. It is proved precisely by the fact that our sources started to emphasize that someone was "of Turopolje" only from the middle of the 1320s,[31] while references solely to Zagreb castle, without the mentioning of being *de Campo*, gradually vanished from the charters at the same time.[32]

[24] *MHNC*, nr. 28: "*vniversi iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis*".

[25] The conditions enumerated in the charter of 1278, related to the exceptions of various forms of feed and fodder (*descensus*), are the decisive proofs of that. The exemption or commutation was appertained to the *viceiudex* of the ban and his *curialis comes*, and to the *curialis comes* of Zagreb count, while the count himself was not referred to. Moreover, it was the count's duty to gather the sum (18 *pensa*) of the commutation (*racione eiusdem descensus comiti nostro decem et octo pensas iidem iobagiones castri dare tenerentur*). *MHNC*, nr. 28.

[26] It is possible that they had two "seats" before 1242. See Fekete Nagy, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*, p. 259.

[27] Idem: *A nemesség határán*, p. 120.

[28] *CDH* 4/1. p. 280, 1243: "*si quis de ipsis sine herede decesserit; vniuersa bona tam mobilia, quam immobilia ipsius, cui filia, si habeat, vel relicta, si nupserint succedant; sed illa ad eadem seruitia teneatur, ad quae decedens, cui succedit, fuit obligatus*".

[29] For example, *Blagusa* and *Scepnica* domains: see *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 1–18. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas et al. Zagreb: Tisak Dionicke Tiskare, 1904–1990, vol. 5, nr. 711 (1261), nr. 944 (1268), vol. 6, nr. 168 (1277), nr. 171 (1277), and Ibidem 4, nr. 451 (1252), Ibidem 5, nr. 44. (1271), Ibidem 6, nr. 488 (1287), nr. 584 (1290) On their localization: Dobronić, Lelja: Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkog kaptola prema izvorima 13. i 14. stoljeća. In: *Rad Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.* Zagreb: JAZU, vol. 286, 1952, pp. 171–256, here: p. 237, p. 240. See also Szeberényi, Gábor: *A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon*, p. 158.

[30] King Charles I gave the castle-warriors (*iobagiones castri nostri Zagrabiensis de genere Laztech et de genere Stankouch cum omnibus possessionibus ac rebus suis, exemptos ab omni seculari famulatu – CDCr* 8, nr. 191) as episcopal *praediales* to Augustin Kažotić, the bishop of Zagreb, in 1308. See also *CDCr* 8, nr. 195, nr. 211, nr. 297.

[31] The term "(nobles of) the plains of Zagreb" occurred for the first time in an immaculately authentic charter only in 1326: *MHNC*, nr. 40. It supposedly appeared in two cases from an earlier period, but the authenticity of those charters is questionable. The first one from 1279 had been scraped exactly on the terminologically most important places (*MHNC*, nr. 30, see also nr. 31), while the other one, dated to 1300, was preserved only in a copy made in the eighteenth century and its interpretation is also problematic (Ibidem, nr. 35, see Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Filmtár. *Collectio Diplomatica Hungarica. A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásainak adatbázisa. Internetes kiadás* (deinde DLDF 5.1), 2009, nr. 230256). In every other case – before and after 1278, respectively – the denomination of the castle-warriors was *iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis*. Szeberényi, Gábor: *A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon*, p. 157. The name *Turopolje* appeared for the first time in 1334, in the Statute of the Chapter of Zagreb. *MHNC*, nr. 51: "*ecclesie de Campo Turovo*".

[32] The persons who wanted the charter of 1278 (or its royal confirmation of 1279) to be confirmed again in the first half of the fourteenth century were denominated consistently as *iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis* in *MHNC*, nr. 38 (1324), nr. 39 (1326), nr. 49 (1333). For the first time in 1347, a group of nobles from Turopolje who obtained the confirmation of their privileges by the ban again (in the form as it was previously affirmed by King Charles I in 1333) was called *nobiles iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis de Campo, suo et nomine vniversorum iobagionum castri de eodem Campo*. Cfr. *MHNC*, nr. 61.



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The above mentioned aspects also explain the differences we can find between the officials who were to represent their communities both socially and juridically. Both the *iudex/comes nobilium* of Spiš and the *comes terrestris* of Zagreb were elected annually,[33] but their jurisdiction differed fundamentally. The legal autonomy of "Spiš nobles" rose from their old organization – both the lancers and their serfs (with the exception of *causae maiores*) were absolved from the jurisdiction of the count of Spiš – and it seemed to be fully developed in the thirteenth century, and was confirmed by the Angevin kings many times in the first half of the fourteenth century.[34] On the contrary, the row of the *comites terrestres* of Zagreb in the thirteenth century[35] – in accordance with the mentioned factors – suggests that although they were definitely elected deputies, initially they were the officials of *every* castle-warrior, who were subjugated as a whole (according to the system of *comitatus castri*) to the (Zagreb) count's jurisdiction.[36] The *comites terrestres*' scope of activities firmly points to the fact – which is suggested even by the term's literal meaning, i.e. "count of the land" – that their main function was to manage the tangled and frequently occurring legal actions related to the landholding of the castle-warriors,[37] which suggests that their official role was narrower than that of the *iudex* of Spiš. The *comes terrestris* of "Zagreb plains" rose only in 1326,[38] which proves again that the middle of the 1320s was a turning-point in the history of the noble community of Turopolje. But we must emphasize again that the mere existence of Zagreb *comes terrestris* before that time cannot be considered as a proof of the special, exclusive autonomous organization of Turopolje, which existed in the following centuries. Especially so, as *comites terrestres* were also to be found in other *comitatus castri* all over medieval Slavonia – like in Križevci, Kalnik, Rovišće, or Moravče – in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.[39]

Numerous other noticeable aspects could be alluded to: from the comparison of military services required from the communities (which are far better known in the case of the lancers than the nobles of Zagreb), through the differences of social connections based on privity and kindreds, to the meticulous collation of phenomena related to their landholding, etc. Nevertheless, this short survey, focused mainly on the differences in origin and jurisdiction, was hopefully able to prove that the old autonomy of "the nobles of Spiš" and of the former castle-warriors of Zagreb who successfully became "the nobles of Turopolje" by the middle of the fourteenth century differed in many ways during these communities' early history. The two groups – in very different economical, legal, and, chiefly, regional circumstances[40] – seemed to be analogous only from the point of view of later centuries (regarding the later successors of both communities as well as the historiography of the numerous local nobilities in the Hungarian Kingdom alike), but the differences between them remained considerable.

[33] Fekete Nagy, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*, pp. 273–274, Laszowski, Emilij: *Povijest plem. općine Turopolja*, vol. 2, pp. 20–22.

[34] *CDH* 8/5. p. 93 (1314), p. 129 (1323); *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár*, Vol. XII. (1328). Ed.: Gyula Kristó – Tibor Almási. Budapest – Szeged, *Szegedi* Középkorász Műhely, 2001. nr. 458; MOL DL nr. 38 884 (1346). See Fekete Nagy, Antal: *A szepesi lándzsás nemessek*, 1933. pp. 272–273.

[35] Laszowski, Emilij: *Povijest plem. općine Turopolja*, vol. 2, p. 29.

[36] The charter of Tyburcius, count of Zagreb, mentioned Wolizlaus as "*terrestris comitis nostri*" in 1257. *MHNC*, nr. 10, see Szeberényi, Gábor: *A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon*, pp. 164–165. Even the charter of 1278 suggests vaguely that the count of Zagreb was the superior of the *comes terrestris*. *MHNC*, nr. 28.

[37] Klaić, Nada: *Doba i funkcioneri comitata u XII. i XIII. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Hrvatske, 1946, p. 15. Szeberényi, Gábor: *A 13. századi horvát társadalom szerkezetének néhány aspektusa a Vinodolski zakon tükrében. Gradokmetek és várjobbágyok a Drávántúlon*, p. 165.

[38] The charter of Count Punek mentions Jacob, son of Wlkota, as *comes terrestris* "*de Campo*". *MHNC*, nr. 41.

[39] Klaić, Nada: *Doba i funkcioneri comitata u XII. i XIII.* stoljeću, p. 14. On the case of Križevci, see Halász, Éva: A kőrösi comes terrestrisek tevékenysége a XV. században. In: *Fons, skepsis, lex. Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendős Makk Ferenc tiszteletére*. Ed.: Tibor Almási – Éva Révész – György Szabados. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2010, pp. 13–20, and Halász, Éva: Adalékok a kőrösi comes terrestrisek tevékenységéhez a XIV. században. In: *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis, Acta Historica*, a. 132, 2011, pp. 37–50.

[40] Truly analogous phenomena should be sought – evidently – *within the respective regions*, whether in the case of "the nobles of Spiš" and the *filii iobagionum* of Turiec/Turóc, or of "the nobles of Turopolje" and the *praediales* of Rovišće. On the latter, see Szeberényi Gábor: A rojcsai prediálisok a 13–14. században. In: *Medievisztikai tanulmányok*, vol. 7. Ed.: Attila Kiss – Beáta Vida. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2012 (in print).



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TATIANA HUTYROVÁ* – NEVEN BUDAK**

# A comparison of the privileged communities *Campus Zagrabiensis* and *Parvus comitatus*

## Porovnanie privilegovaných komunít „Campus Zagrabiensis“ a „Parvus comitatus“ / Usporedba povlaštenih zajednica„Campus Zagrabiensis“ i „Parvus comitatus“

*The lancers (in Spiš) and the Turopolje community inhabited the territories which had very notable strategic positions within the realm of Saint Stephen. The lancers were situated on the north-eastern border territory of the realm, which nowadays lies within Slovakia whereas the Turopolje community was settled on the south-western border of the realm, in today's Croatia. Both communities belong to lesser nobility, both are questionably defined by historiography especially according to their origin and use. This study defines the origin and the development of this specific noble class on the basis of the comparison of their territories (Spiš, Turopolje), privileges, and the structure of their organization until the end of the fourteenth century.*

Keywords: the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Spiš, Turopolje, privileged communities, lesser nobility

Communities which developed as specific forms of privileged servants and gradually became part of the lesser nobility always preserved features which differentiated them from other social categories. Such communities were, among others, the Turopolje community (*Campus Zagrabiensis*), placed in Zagreb county, in the south-western part of the Hungarian Kingdom, and the *Parvus comitatus*, situated in Spiš county, near the north-eastern borders of the kingdom.

The research of both noble communities faces certain difficulties, due to the lack of written sources and archaeological research in general, and specifically of the archaeological criteria that could distinguish the lesser nobility from the rest of the population. Another problem is the absence of clear legal differentiations between various categories of nobility. Each nobleman could be promoted in his rank, but in practice it was usually those who had their possessions on strategically more important positions or in economically more active territories, thus being politically more significant, who achieved promotion. Some historians find it necessary to distinguish among different categories of lesser nobility, which in practice results in a situation when some scholars consider the privileged communities as noble, while others do not share such a view and determine their status as non-noble.[1] Such ignoble status would correspond to what the sources recognize as *jobagiones* or *castrenses*. This is done without taking into account that the formation of nobility is a long lasting process, which starts in the thirteenth and ends in the fourteenth century. Because of all these reasons, scholars came to very different conclusions concerning the Turpolje community and the lancemen of Spiš.

One way which might improve our knowledge and bring us to more firm conclusions is comparative research of the earliest history of both communities in the period to the end of the fourteenth century. It would, of course, be worthwhile taking into account also the later development, when the noble communities were already formed, but this would be the task of some future research.

## Territorial comparison

Both the Turopolje (*županija*) and the Spiš county of the lesser nobility had strategically important positions. The Turpolje nobility emerged and acted on the territory of Zagreb county, which was the south-western border zone of the kingdom. The Spiš nobility took a similar position on the north-eastern border of the lands of the Holy Crown, in Spiš county. Through both counties ran an important communication, called the *magna via*. The one going over Spiš territory led to Halič (Galicia) and

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[1] Karbić, Damir: Plemstvo – definicija, vrste i uloga. In: *Povijesni prilozi*, a. 31, 2006, p. 18.



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the Kievan Rus, while the other, running through Turopolje, called *via antiqua* or *via exercitualis*, connected Hungary and Slavonia with Croatia and the maritime regions. Both territories were interesting for military as for commercial reasons.

In both cases, in Turopolje as in Spiš, we can distinguish among two groups of settlements according to their geographical position. In Spiš one group was placed in the upper part of the Hornád basin and the other in the Podhradie basin. In Turopolje some settlements emerged in the Turopolje plain, while others were founded on the heights of Vukomeričke gorice, a vine-growing hillside. The Hornád basin, as well as the regions of the Turopolje plain, along the rivers Lomnica and Odra (the *Campus Zagrabiensis*), were very fertile and convenient for agriculture. The districts of the earlier founded settlements were bigger than those which appeared in the late Middle Ages. The oldest possessions were usually called *terra* and they were situated in the most fertile parts of the Hornád basin and the *Campus Zagrabiensis*. These territories belonged to the royal castles and were given to the *jobagiones castri*. The districts of the nobility settlements were gradually changing: either growing by purchasing land from the neighbours, or being reduced through selling or division between the members of a kindred.

## Comparison of the collective privileges

The precondition for the granting of privileges which confirmed common freedoms and duties was the existence of a community as an organisational and judicial entity. It was Bela IV who in 1243 granted the Spiš lancemen the freedoms which they had enjoyed since old times (*quam ab antiquo habuerunt*).[2] The freedoms and duties of the Turpolje noblemen were first mentioned in 1273, on the diet of the Kingdom of Slavonia.[3] It was then that Ban Matthew, being asked by the noblemen and *jobagiones* of the Zagreb and Križevci castles, listed their freedoms and duties. The Turopolje noblemen received in 1278 a separate confirmation of their old privileges by Ban Nicolas (*libertatum ipsorum antiquas*).[4]

In the cases of both Turpolje and Spiš lesser nobility, comparing their privileges, we can see that both communities were freed from paying the *collecta*, with an addition mentioned in the Spiš privilege (1243). An exception was the order that royal *servienti* and other noblemen had to pay it. Both communities also did not have the obligation of *descensus* for the respective counts. The difference between them was that the Turpolje community had to give, instead of the *descensus*, once a year, on the feast of St. Martin, 18 *pensa* to the Zagreb count and 8 marks to the ban.

If one of either the Spiš or Turopolje noblemen had to prove his innocence, he could free himself from charges by pledging an oath in the presence of seven witnesses and by paying a fee not higher than 40 denars. If, on the other hand, his crime was proven, this nobleman had to pay his fine to the judges according to the customs of the noble district.

Both the Spiš and Turopolje noblemen had the right to bequeath lands. If the lancer's family died out in the male line, his possessions had to be given to the one who married his widow or his daughter. The one who inherited these lands had to take over the lancer's service in the king's army. If a Turpolje noble died without a male heir, his lands had to be left within his kindred. In addition, in Turopolje the *quarta puellaris* was also practiced, whereby a quarter of the nobleman's possessions had to be given to his female descendants.[5]

Military duties were regulated by privileges. Four Spiš lancers who owned 8 acres (*aratra*) of land had to equip one armed soldier to fight under the king's banner. The *iobagiones Campus Zagrabiensis* had the duty to defend the country in case of an enemy attack, but also if the king himself took part in the war. In the decisions made by the Slavonian diet in 1273 they were given the liberty to choose the baron they would follow into war, without necessarily having to serve directly under the king's command. It is important to notice that the Turpolje privileges were written down some thirty years after those of the lancers, so we must take into account that the differences between them might have been the reflection of

[2] The document was issued on 7 June 1243 with the double royal seal. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde *CDSl*), vol. 2. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1987, pp. 88–89. See also *Dokumenty slovenskej národnej identity a štátnosti*, vol. 1. Ed.: Ján Beňko. Bratislava: Slovenské literárne informačné centrum, 1998, p. 131.

[3] *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 6. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1908, pp. 25–28.

[4] *Monumenta historica nobilis communitatis Turopolje olim "Campus Zagrabiensis" dictae* (deinde *MHNC*), vol. 1. Ed.: Emilij Laszowski. Zagreb: Tiskom Antuna Scholza, 1904, pp. 30–31, also *CDCr* 6, pp. 242–243.

[5] Apostolova-Maršavelski, Magdalena: *Iz pravne prošlosti Zagreba (13.–16. stoljeće).* Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1998, p. 243.



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changes in the relations between the king and nobility within the Hungarian Kingdom.[6]

Neither the Spiš, nor the Zagreb *župan* (*comes*, count) had the right to frequent them, and they were exempted from their respective judicial authority. Only if the law suits were about financial disputes, the tithe or a theft, could a *župan* administer justice upon them, but even then only in the presence of royal judges who had been elected from among the county nobility. Law suits of greater value had to be brought in front of the king.

We also know that both communities elected annually a representative from their own ranks who represented them before the king, the ban or the *župan*. In Turpolje he had the title *comes terrestris*, and in Spiš *iudex nobilium* or *comes nobilium*.

## Comparison of the structures

Both the Turopolje and Spiš nobility existed as communities since the thirteenth century. Although the first mention of the Turopolje community (*communitas* or *universitas*) dates only from 1455, it is obvious that it had existed before. Already in 1249 the Turopolje forrest is mentioned as a common good of all Turopolje families and in 1257 there is the first mention of their *comes*.[7] The latter charter mentions the Turopolje community as *iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis*, but the word *communitas* is not used. On the other hand, the Spiš nobility (*nobiles de Scepus*) appears as a community (*universitas*) already in 1243. Since then, this designation was regularly used in the title of the community.[8]

There is no data about the terms of elections within the Spiš community. We can presume from the later source material that these were annual elections. Since the Turopolje nobility elected its representative every year, that supports our presumption about the rythm of elections in the Spiš case.

In the collective privileges there is no accurate description of the responsibilities of either of the principals of the two communities. From the thirteenth century both communities evolved and therefore the competencies of their principals expanded. We know that they were present at hearings held by the Zagreb or Spiš *comes*, they could organize an assembly of their community and represent the community before the king or the *ban* of Slavonia.

In the late fourteenth century the assemblies of the Spiš lesser nobility were held in Spišský Štvrtok which belonged also to the Spiš Saxons, which means that the lancers held their congregations outside their own territory. The venue of the Turpolje assembly is not known. In 1333 Mykec, *comes terrestris*, issued a charter to a family of the Turopolje nobles in Chicha (today Čiče), but that in itself does not prove that that was the place of regular assemblies.[9]

The oldest preserved seal of the Spiš community is attached to a document issued in 1464 Spišský Štvrtok by *comes* Martin, while the charters of the Turopolje community were verified with seals of the communities principals. Turopolje was granted a seal only in the eighteenth century.

## Comparison of their origin

The emergence of the lesser nobility, both in Spiš and Turopolje, as has already been said, remains unclear even after the most recent research. It seems that the problem lies in the fact that most of the researchers believe that the formation of lesser nobility was already concluded by 1222 and the granting of the *Golden Bull* by Andrew II.[10] Therefore some believe that the Turopolje community did not have a noble status. They were just *iobagiones*. On the other hand, the Spiš lancers are considered to have been noble, but the origin of their nobility remains unclear. The issue is also connected with the naming of both communities. The Turopolje nobility used the word *iobagiones* to describe itself, while the Spiš lancers called themselves *nobiles*. Another problem in defining their status derives from the fact that members of neither community were elevated to the noble rank by royal privileges granted to

[6] In the fourteenth century the military duty changed to military tax (*iudiciore exercitus*). We see it in a common Turopolje nobility privilege; the ban could choose the tax only if it was required in the whole kingdom. *MHNC* 1, p. 31.

[7] Ibidem, pp. 10 and 12.

[8] Cfr. Kostelník, Martin: *Inštitút spišských kopijníkov do konca 14. storočia*. Master thesis. Trnava: Trnavská Univerzita, 2008, p. 15.

[9] *MHNC* 1, p. 51.

[10] We can consider the social formation of the nobility as finished around the second half of the fourteenth century, from the year 1352, when all privileges were united in the *Golden Bull* confirmed by Louis I. From that time on the position of the nobility is founded on the possession of land.



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them personally, but their status was rather guaranteed by common privileges containing their liberties and duties.[11]

In order to better understand the emergence of the lesser nobility in Turopolje, we should take a closer look at the development of the naming of the Turopolje community. Its members were called *iobagiones* or *nobiles iobagiones*. A very interesting example is contained in a charter dated to 1390, in which we can read: *iobagiones qui sunt nobiles de Campo Zagrabiensis*.[12] This title clearly shows that the origin of the Turpolje lesser nobility has to be traced down to the oldest social strata of *iobagiones* of the royal castle. Following this conclusion, we might also suggest a solution of the issue of the origin of the Spiš nobility. From the development of the naming of the Spiš nobles itself, we can conclude nothing. The lancers were described as *nobiles de Scepus* already from 1249. The presumption that the Spiš lesser nobility can also be seen as deriving from the *iobagiones* of the royal castle is confirmed by two royal donations of 1229 and 1256. In the first one, *dux* Coloman donates to Don and Matthew, the sons of Rugas, four acres of land, pointing out, at the end of the document, that this was done with the consent of Coloman's *iobagiones*.[13] In 1280 the descendants of Matthew – Nicholas and Mark – were already titled *nobiles de Scepus*.[14] In the document from 1256, Bela IV donates to File three acres of land in exchange for military service to the king, according to the kind of service usually provided by other *iobagiones* of Spiš, in the way it had been described in their common privileges.[15]

We might conclude, therefore, that both the Spiš and Turopolje lesser nobility originated from the *iobagiones* of royal castles who, in the time of the collapse of the system of royal *castra*, succeeded in preserving their liberties based on the possession of land.[16] In the area which in the past had belonged to the royal castle, communities gradually developed, formed on territorial and family links. In Turopolje this community was known as *općina* and in Spiš as *stolica*. They both had their *župan* (*comes* or *iudex*) and privileges written down in the presence of the king or the ban. The difference between them is that the Turpolje community developed its noble status a little later and that its members had later on to struggle more to preserve their liberties. The reason for this might lie in the longer existence of the castle to which the Turpolje nobility pertained, contrary to the one in Spiš.

[11] Some of the Turopolje *iobagiones* were promoted *servientes* in 1225, but these families were not outside of Turopolje community. Conversely, the lancers of Spiš got a royal privilege which guaranteed their freedoms and provided responsibilities, but there is no formulation about the change of their social status.

[12] *MHNC* 1, p. 127.

[13] *CDSl* 1. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1971, pp. 257: "…*consensu et consilio omnium iobagionum nostrorum*."

[14] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 1–9. Ed.: György Fejér. Budae: Regiae Universitatis Hungariae, 1829–1844, (CD version, Arcanum Adatabázis 2004), 5/3, p. 40.

[15] *CDSl* 2, pp. 360–362: "…*quod alij jobagiones de Scepus facere consueverunt, sicut in ipsorum communi priuilegio super libertate sua habita, plenius continetur…*"

[16] Martin Homza reached the same conclusion. See: Martin Homza – A. Stanisław Sroka. *Historia Scepusii* : *Dejiny Spiša*, vol. 1. Bratislava – Kraków : Etc., 2009, p. 190; Homza, Martin: Ku genéze spišských kopijníkov. In: *Historický zborník*, a. 16, 2006, p. 16–17.



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# The Čupor of Monoszló – an Example of Noble Kindreds in the Area between the Sava and Drava Rivers

## Čupor z Moslaviny – príklad šľachtických príbuzenstiev v oblasti medzi riekami Sáva a Dráva / Čupori Moslavački – primjer plemićkog roda na području između rijeka Save i Drave

*Taking the example of the medieval kindred of Čupor from the area between the Sava and Drava rivers, several issues such as family structure, property acquisitions, public functions, relations with the ruler, clientage, and relations with church institutions are addressed. The general idea is to consider the mobility – social and spatial – of a typical clan of middling nobility within the Kingdom of Hungary. Special attention is given to the connection of the Čupor with the territory of present Slovakia as well as to a notorious story concerning one of the family members which offers some information about the use of word "Tot" as a term for Slav in the area south of the Drava river.*

Keywords: Čupor, Moslavački (Monoszló), noble kindred, Middle Ages, Moslavina

A noble kindred Čupor of Monoszló – in Croatian historiography known also as Moslavački or Moslavinski – could be considered as belonging to the middle strata of the nobility in the area between rivers Sava and Drava – which for the most part belonged to medieval Slavonia.[1] The Čupor are actually a surviving branch of the noble kindred Monoszló who appear in the sources in the second half of the twelfth century.[2] Čupor is a nickname of one of the members who lived at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, probably coming from a Hungarian word for mug or pot (*csupor*).

Although they could not compare with the magnates as the Babonići, the Gorjanski (Garai) or Iločki (Újlaki), the Čupor played significant part in the history of the area. On their example I will try to show several issues, discussed in more detail by Marija Karbić in this volume, and in addition also try to show the mobility – social and spatial – of a noble kindred within the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

Count (*comes*) Makarias who appears in the times of King Bela III (1172–1196) is usually considered as the founder of the family.[3] However, already his father is mentioned as the one who first

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[1] The main literature about the kindred can be found in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* (deinde *HBL*), vol. 3. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod „Miroslav Krleža", 1993, pp. 133–136, s.v. Čupor; Čupor, Demetrije; Čupor, Pavao; Bedić, Marko: Čupori Moslavački. In: *Kaj*, a. 28, 1995, nr. 3, pp. 53–67. The genealogy is presented in: Karácsony, János: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV század közepéig*, vol. 2. Budapest: Budapest Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1901, pp. 377–383, s.v. Monoszló; Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia/Magyrország világi archontológiája*, 1301–1457, PC CD-ROM. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2001, s.v. Monoszló nem Csupor; Mačeк, Pavao: Rod biskupa Demetrija Čupora: Prilog rodoslovlju Čupora Moslavačkih. In: *Tkalčić*, a. 12, 2008, pp. 277–313. Karácsony's genealogy only goes until the first half of the fourteenth century, and Engel's starts from the end of the thirteenth century. Maček's begins with the first family member who had a nickname Čupor. The most recent and complete genealogy starting from the first apparition of the members of the kindred in the sources until the extinction of the kindred (with some corrections of the opinions of the previous authors) is in: Nikolić Jakus, Zrinka: Obitelj Čupor Moslavački. In: *Radovi Zavoda za znanstvenoistraživački i umjetnički rad u Bjelovaru*, a. 4, 2011, pp. 269–300.

[2] Ferdo Šišić was of opinion that the Čupor had descended from the Hungarian kindred of Csupor which had lived in the county of Csongrád near Szeged close to the kindred of Doroszma. According to him, some offspring of Csupor and Doroszma moved later to the area between the Sava and the Drava rivers and formed the noble kindreds of Čupor and Garai (Croat. *Gorjanski*): Rukovet spomenika o hercegu Ivanišu Korvinu i o borbama Hrvata s Turcima. In: *Starine JAZU*, a. 37, 1934, doc. 4, 201, nr. 3. However, this opinion about the origin of Čupor has remained isolated.

[3] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 2. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1904, p. 172.



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drew royal attention with his warrior skills. For his merits he got the noble estate of Moslavina, which was at that time exempted from the royal counties as a special area along with a privilege to collect from this area the royal tax typical for Slavonia.[4] It might have happened already at the time of King Bela II the Blind (1131–1141). The name of the family and the estate Moslavina – Monoszló is considered to come from a Slavic name Mojslav or Manislav,[5] which would imply that their origin was Slavic and not Hungarian.[6] Still, this particular name is never mentioned in the preserved sources nor does it appear in the genealogy of the kindred. It is possible that the family got this name after the estate, since they started using it as a family name only at the end of the thirteenth century as it was usual among the noble kindreds. Monoszló or Moslavina was also the name of one of their castles which controlled the area of river Lonja, southern Moslavina. In Veszprém (Slovinian – *Belomost*, Ger. – *Weissbrunn*) county there is also a place Monoszló which gave the name to a noble family from which two Esztergom (Cro. – *Ostrogon*, Slov. – *Ostrihom*, Ger. – *Gran*) archbishops and the commander of the Hungarian army in the war in Italy in 1356 and 1357/58 derived in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries.[7] However, neither the exact relation between two places with the same name in medieval Slavonia and Veszprém county nor the relation with the eponymous noble family have been established, although perhaps their connection cannot be excluded. The name Monoszló was very distinctive and sometimes spread with the expansion of the family.

Count Makarias was a representative of King Bela III in Dalmatia after it was recovered from the Byzantine rule at the time of Manuel Komnenos, and appeared also later in the company of Bela's son, Prince Andrew. He served as a royal judge (1189), count of Szolnok in central Hungary, viceban (vicar of Croatian ban, the first known by name). One later charter even mentions him as the ban.[8]

The family of Count Makarias, besides Moslavina and nearby areas, also possessed the estates in the county of Bač (Slov. – *Báč*, Hun. – *Bács*, Ger. – *Batsch*), near Sonta, close to the mouth of the river Drava in the Danube. In some later divisions the estate of Makarias' cousin, Count Gregory, and his tower are mentioned. Beside some other estates in the county of Bač – *Hoyloc* (Újlak) and *Senpaul* south of the town of Bač, Makarias, and after him his sons, also possessed estates in Srijem (Serb. – *Srem*, Hun. – *Szerém*, Ger. – *Syrmien*, Lat. – *Syrmia*), in the county of Baranja (Hun. – *Baranya*, Ger. – *Branau*) – Szilvas, and several more estates in the county of Somogy. These estates were worked by free and unfree people (*serui et libertini*) and gave considerable income. The family also had income from the marketplace on their estate in Sonta as well as from the Danube port. They were the patrons, possibly even the founders, of the Benedictine monastery of Holy Cross (originally Premonstratensian). These patronage rights were preserved until the death of Makarias' great-grandson Giles (*Egidius*) II. It seems that the family also had some patronage rights over the Benedictine monastery of Holy Spirit in Nuštar.[9] Judging by all these data, it is therefore possible that the family of Count Makarias was originally from the county of Bač.

Most of these estates as well as the ones in Moslavina came into the hands of the most

[4] *CDCr* 3. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1905, nr. 349.

[5] Skok, Petar: *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, vol. 2. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1972, p. 459, s.v. moslavka; Kiss, Lajos: *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótara*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980, p. 431; Bedić, Marko: *Čupori Moslavački*, p. 54; Andrić, Stanko: Podgorje Papuka i Krndije u srednjem vijeku: prilozi za lokalnu povijest (prvi dio). In: *Scrinia Slavonica*, a. 8, 2008, pp. 60–61.

[6] Andrić, Stanko: Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Manđelosu). In: *Istorijski časopis*, a. 52, 2005, p. 54. For this reason Andrić refers to them also as the Mojslav: Voćin u srednjem vijeku. In: *Povijesna i kulturna baština Voćina*. Ed.: Dragica Šuvak. Slatina: Matica hrvatska; Pučko otvoreno učilište; Zavičajni muzej Slatina, 2000, p. 97; *Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Manđelosu)*, p. 50; Idem: *Podgorje Papuka i Krndije u srednjem vijeku: prilozi za lokalnu povijest (prvi dio)*, pp. 60, 65–66.

[7] *HBL*, pp. 134–135; Gruber, Dane: Borba Ludovika I. s Mlečanima za Dalmaciju (1348–1358). In: *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i* umjetnost, a. 152, 1903, pp. 106, 109, 111, 129; Thuróczy, János: *Chronica Hungarorum*. Ed.: Elisabetz Galántai – Julius Kristó. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985, pp. 176–177.

[8] *CDCr* 2, pp. 172, 234, 263, 294, 309; Ibidem 3, pp. 9–10, 159; Ibidem 5. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1907, p. 526; Wertner, Mavro: Prinosi k poznavanju hrvatskih banova od godine 1105. do godine 1225. In: *Vjesnik Kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva*, a. 3, 1901, pp. 22–23; Wertner, Mór: Az Árpadkori bánok. In: *Szazadok*, a. 13, 1909, p. 383; Andrić, Stanko: *Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Manđelosu)*, p. 54.

[9] *Árpádkori új okmánytár/Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (deinde *CDAC*), vol. 11. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia, 1873, pp. 221–227; Andrić, Stanko: *Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Manđelosu)*, pp. 52–56; Andrić, Stanko: Benediktinski samostan Svetog Duha u Nuštru. In: *Godišnjak Ogranka Matice hrvatske Vinkovci*, a. 15, 1997, pp. 67–69.



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distinguished of Makarias' sons, Ban Thomas, who was one of the favourites of King Andrew II since he supported Andrew against his brother, King Emeric, in their youth. For this loyalty to Prince Andrew, Thomas suffered imprisonment and wounds, but was later rewarded. For his merits Thomas, who was the first known count of Vukovo county and in 1229 mentioned as ban, got the confirmation of his old family estates as well as the ones he bought, along with the donation of new estates in the county of Bač near the Danube, and an estate near Nagylak in Csanád county, where he had a right to privileged transport of salt on the Maros (Croat. *Moriš*, Rum. *Mureş*, Lat. *Marisus*) river. After he was wounded in the campaign in Galicia, King Andrew gave him also the fish-ponds north of Borovo in the county of Vukovo and an estate in the county of Zagreb between the Odra and Sava rivers. Thomas separated his estates from those of his brothers, nephews and cousins, from whom he also bought some parts in Sonta and Somogy county. In addition, he also inherited or bought the estates of his mother's family in the area of Podravina near the Drava river. This last estate was also later called Moslavina (Monoszló) – nowadays Podravska Moslavina, even when it was no longer possessed by any members of the kindred. It is significant that in the second half of the thirteenth century Thomas' descendants were referred to as *de genere Thome Bani*, which was replaced with the placename Monoszló only at the end of the century.[10]

Thomas left two sons who divided between themselves his estates in Bačka (the county of Bač), Baranja and Srijem. One of his four daughters married a son of the founder of Heder clan. However, the western possessions, particularly Moslavina, became the subject of a dispute between the descendants of Ban Thomas and those of his brothers, especially of Nicholas.[11] It is possible that the politics of Thomas, in which afterwards his sons continued, of systematic buying out the land of their cousins, upset the latter. The second half of the thirteenth century is marked by the severe struggle among the members of the clan with several unsuccessful attempts of reconciliation and peaceful settlement. The division of the inheritance in Moslavina after the death of Makarias II, the son of Stephen, caused another dispute between the descendants of Ban Thomas and Nicholas. The descendants of Nicholas complained that they did not get enough. Finally, the dispute was settled by King Bela IV although it had to be reaffirmed by threat of excommunication by the bishop of Zagreb. According to the settlement – Gregory, son of Ban Thomas, who was *iudex Cumanorum* at the time, left all the estates in medieval Slavonia to Nicholas' descendants. These estates were later regarded as Moslavina. Gregory kept the estates in Hungary (proper), and those at the river Drava.[12]

The descendants of Ban Thomas, especially of his son Gregory II, can be regarded as the magnate branch of the kindred: Gregory's sons Giles II, Gregory III, and Peter III all had successful careers but their interest lay north of the Drava – Giles was *magister dapiferorum* of young king Stephen, then his *magister tavernicorum*. When Stephen became king, Giles served as the count of Bratislava (Hun. – *Pozsony*), and afterwards in 1273 as ban of Machva/Mačva (Lat. – *Machua*, Hun. – *Macsó*) and Bosnia, and *magister tavernicorum*. His brother Gregory was the queen's *magister tavernicorum* and the count of Eisenstadt (Cro. – *Željezno*, Slov. – *Železno*, Hun. – *Kismarton*), while Peter was the bishop of Transylvania. However, the branch of the older son of Ban Thomas, Gregory II, died out. In an attempt to leave heirs, Giles II adopted two cousins from his

[10] *CDAC*, pp. 219–230; *CDCr* 3, pp. 203–204, 347–351; *Hazai okmánytár*. *Codex diplomaticus patrius* (deinde *CDP*), vol. 7. Ed.: Arnold Ipolyi – Imre Nagy – Dezsö Véghely. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1880, pp. 2–4, 15; *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*), vol. 4/2. Ed.: György Fejér, Budae: Typis typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1829; Karácsony, Janos: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV század közepéig*, pp. 377, 383; Andrić, Stanko: *Samostan Svetog Križa u Frankavili (Manđelosu)*, p. 53; Klaić, Nada: *Povijest Zagreba*. *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: SNL, 1982, p. 67; Pavičić, Stjepan: *Vukovska župa u razvitku svoga naselja od XIII. do XVIII. stoljeća. I. dio*. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1940, p. 80; Andrić, Stanko*: Podgorje Papuka i Krndije u srednjem vijeku: prilozi za lokalnu povijest (prvi dio)*, pp. 60–61; Idem: *Benediktinski samostan Svetog Duha u Nuštru,* pp. 67–69; Wertner, Mór: *Áz Árpadkori bánok*, p. 561; *CDCr* 7. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1909, pp. 192–194.

[11] *CDP* 6. Ed.: Arnold Ipolyi – Imre Nagy – Dezsö Véghely. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1876, pp. 233–234; *CDP* 7, pp. 23–25.

[12] Ibidem, pp. 36–37; *CDCr* 4. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1906, pp. 311–312; *Alsó-Szlavóniai okmánytár (Dubicza, Orbász és Szana vármegyék) 1244–1710*, *Codex diplomaticus partium regno Hungariae adnexarum (comitatum: Dubicza, Orbász et Szana)*. Ed.: Lajos Thallóczy – Sándor Horváth. Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar tud. Akadémia, 1912, pp. 3–4; *CDCr* 5. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1907, pp. 78, 324, 495–496, 526–527; *CDCr* 6. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1908, pp. 440–442; Klaić, Nada: *Povijest Zagreba*, p. 68.



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mother's side but they died before him. According to his will, written in Trnava (Hun. – *Nagyszombat*) in 1313, he left his estates to his daughters who were married into Kórógy (Cro. – *Koroď*), Aba (Nyéky) and Barsa clans. He left the inheritance in Csanád county to the Church of Esztergom.[13] As a consequence Moslavina, which was in the previous division assigned to the lesser branch of the kindred, became the core land of the kindred. Finally, it came back to the descendants of Ban Thomas – one of his grandsons, son of Thomas, got the nickname of Čupor. It is interesting that this Stephen (II) is only referred to as Čupor after his death, and the nickname is mentioned also along his namesake son – Stephen III. It seems that the descendants of Stephen II Čupor got Moslavina after their cousin Peter II, who held it according to the agreement of 1269, took the wrong side in war for the crown at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Moslavina was then taken by King Charles Robert and given to Count Babonić who had the descendants of Stephen II (Čupor) in his service. Never again did they choose the wrong side in fights over the throne.[14]

The Čupor of the fourteenth century were certainly not that grand as the Monoszló of the thirteenth century had been. In the first half of the fourteenth century, they did not hold high titles, and their estates, although not small, could not compare with the estates of their ancestors Makarias, Ban Thomas, and Giles. However, they became concentrated in one place, contrary to the previous centuries, and this was felt in their social connections as well: as far as it could be concluded, they mostly intermarried with their neighbours. Still, they seem to have prospered economically – for example, they owned a mill in Zagreb, the only one that was private, that is, did not belong to a church institution or the town community. They acquired more lands by lending money on mortgage to their neighbours and also took advantage of the fact that some of their neighbours were proclaimed rebels by the crown. The most successful was John who was one of two representatives of Slavonian nobility when King Sigismund confirmed the special judicial status of Slavonian and Croatian nobility. The Čupor have chosen the winning side in the struggles between the court (Queens Elisabeth and Mary, and later King Sigismund) and the rebellious Slavonian nobles. However, John's illegal actions regarding the estates of his neighbours finally led to the confiscation of his estates.[15]

The most famous member of the following generation was Paul, who succeeded in recovering the estates which were confiscated from his uncle John. The culmination of his career was his appointment as the ban of Slavonia in 1412, in which status he led the army against the Venetians in Friuli. Since he was the ban, he is the member of the Čupor kindred who issued the biggest number of documents and was most frequently mentioned in these.[16] However, today he is mostly remembered and mentioned because of circumstances and stories regarding his death. In the summer of

[13] *CDH* 4/3. Ed.: György Fejér. Buda: typis typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1829, pp. 294, 525; *CDAC* 4. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia, 1862, pp. 38, 41, 52; Ibidem 9. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia, 1871, pp. 75, 77; Ibidem 12. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia, 1874, pp. 50, 53, 76, 116; *CDP* 2. Ed.: Imre Nagy – Iván Páur – Károly Ráth – Dezsö Véghely. Györ: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1865, pp. 11–12, 14; Wertner, Mór: *Az Árpadkori bánok*, p. 473; Andrić, Stanko: *Podgorje Papuka i Krndije u srednjem vijeku: prilozi za lokalnu povijest (prvi dio)*, pp. 61–62, 65–66, 75–76; Diós, István: *Magyar katolikus lexikon*. Budapest: Szent István Kiadó, 2005, pp. 894–895; *CDCr* 7. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1909, pp. 192–194; Ćuk, Juraj: Podravina od Bednje do Voćinke i susjedna područja do polovice četrnaestoga vijeka (Plemstvo – posjedi – uprava). In: *Vjesnik Kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog arkiva*, a. 18, 1916, pp. 221–222; *CDH* 8/1. Ed.: György Fejér. Buda: Typis typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1832, pp. 524–525; Andrić, Stanko: *Voćin u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 97–99.

[14] Karácsony, Janos: *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV század közepéig*, p. 378; Engel, Pál: *Közepkori magyar genealógia*, p. 2001; Maček, Pavao: *Rod biskupa Demetrija Čupora: Prilog rodoslovlju Čupora Moslavačkih*, pp. 277, 285; *CDCr* 8. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1910, pp. 439–442.

[15] *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba prijestolnice Kraljevine dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonske/Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae metropolis regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 11. Ed.: Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić. Zagreb: s. l., 1905, p. 247; *CDCr* 17. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas – Stjepan Gunjača – Jakov Stipišić. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1981, p. 347; Ibidem 18. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas – Duje Rendić-Miočević et al., Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1990, pp. 37, 510; *Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis/Povijesni spomenici zagrebačke biskupije* (deinde *MHEZ*), vol. 6. Ed.: Andrija Lukinović. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1994, pp. 39–40; Kaptolski arhiv u Zagrebu, Acta capitula antiqua, 125/1.

[16] Paul appears in numerous documents which are listed in: *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, vols. 2/1, 2/2. Ed.: Elemér Mályusz. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956, 1958, vols. 3, 4, 5. Ed.: Elemér Mályusz – Ivan Borsa. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993, 1994, 1997. For his career and career of his brothers, see also Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*. Budapest: MTA történet tudományi intézete, 1996, p. 179.



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1415 he was killed in or after the so-called Battle of Lašva or Doboj in northern Bosnia against the army of Bosnian duke Hrvoje, who was backed by the Ottoman forces. The chronicler John Thuróczy, writing around 60 years after these events, mentions that Duke Hrvoje bore a grudge against Ban Paul, caused by Paul's public mocking of Hrvoje's deep voice in court. Namely, whenever he saw Hrvoje in court, he laughed at him and imitated ox-mooing. Other details of this story are given in the sixteenth-century history of Observant Franciscans in Bosnia and Hungary (*Cronica seu origo fratrum minorum de Observantia in provinciis Bozne et Hungarie Christo Iesu militantium*). According to the anonymous author of this chronicle, his sources were the now lost writing of Bosnian vicar *Blaise de Zalko* (1420–1425) as well as the narration of some Friar Gregory of Ilok who lived in the middle and second half of the fifteenth century, closer to the events of the Battle of Lašva. According to the chronicle, Ban Paul was mocking Hrvoje with the saying– *Tot nem ember, pogácsa nem kenyer* ("*Slav is not a man, pagáč is not bread*"). This story is used as a proof that at this time the mocking name *Tot* was used for Slavs in Slavonia, south of the river Drava, although it could actually indicate the use for Bosnian Slavs as well. Since Paul Čupor was actually Slavonian himself, the saying was probably a later addition. However, personal hostility between Bosnian duke and Paul Čupor cannot be rejected with certainty as later invention. Hrvoje's letter to Queen Barbara is preserved in which he complains about Paul's treatment towards him after Hrvoje was proclaimed a rebel. The Battle of Lašva was a tragedy for many Slavonian and Hungarian noblemen who were either killed or captured and ransomed. Paul certainly did not survive it but whether, as Thuróczy and Humanist historian Bonfini narrate, Hrvoje ordered him to be sewn into an ox-skin and thrown into the river with the words "*You who in the human form used a voice of an ox, take now with the voice also a shape of an ox*," cannot be confirmed by contemporary sources. Still, it is certain that he did not return after the battle and King Sigismund took under his protection his three underage sons – Akoš (Hun. – *Akos*, Lat. – *Acacius*), Demetrius and George.[17]

Paul's sons along with their uncles, Stephen V and George II, maintained very good relations with the Hunyadi family – George II spent his life fighting the Ottomans along with John Hunyadi and is referred to in the sources as George the knight (*miles*). Demetrius, son of Ban Paul, was a cleric patronized by John Vitez, later archbishop of Esztergom, who was also by origin from Moslavina. King Matthias and John Vitez supported Demetrius' desire to become the bishop of Zagreb, but he was heavily rejected by the local chapter. The struggle for the see of Zagreb lasted for almost 25 years, but at the end King Matthias himself grew tired of "old" Demetrius and called him incompetent, insisting that the pope transfer him to a less demanding post at Győr, much to Demetrius' dissatisfaction. The roots of the conflict between Demetrius and the chapter of Zagreb were probably in the long dispute that the family had with the chapter over the estates that they recovered from the property confiscated from their great-uncle John, and of which a part was claimed by the chapter as John's previous donation. In any case, the sons of Ban Paul and their cousins were a much more violent generation than the previous ones, and entered many conflicts against their neighbours, against the chapter of Zagreb and the Pauline monastery of Garić Mountain, whose records vividly describe many of their crimes. It can be concluded that they managed to escape some prosecutions thanks to their connections with the Hunyadi. Still, they appeared as the donators of the Paulines of Garić Mountain, although they patronized also the Franciscan monastery at Varalja, founded by George the knight as his attempt to redeem himself from the war-crimes.[18]

[17] Thuróczy, János: *Chronica Hungarorum*, p. 224; Franciscan chronicle cited according to Andrić, Stanko: *Potonuli svijet: Rasprave o slavonskom i srijemskom srednjovjekovlju*. Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2001, pp. 196, 202, 205–206; *MHEZ* 5. Ed.: Andrija Lukinović. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1992, p. 590. About the Battle of Lašva, see among most recent works: Lovrenović, Dubravko: Bitka u Lašvi 1415. godine. In: *Raukarov zbornik*. Ed.: Neven Budak. Zagreb: FF press, 2005, pp. 275–296.

[18] Šišić, Ferdo: Nekoliko isprava iz početka XV. stoljeća. In: *Starine*, a. 39, 1938, pp. 237–238; Buturac, Josip: Inventar i regesti za starije dokumente zagrebačkog kaptolskog arhiva g. 1401–1700. In: *Arhivski vjesnik*, a. 11–12, 1968–69, pp. 278, 281, 284, 288; *MHEZ* 6, pp. 38–40, 211–214, 220–221, 306, 331–332; Ibidem 7. Ed.: Andrija Lukinović. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2004, pp. 109–110, 147–148, 399–400, 478–479; Stipišić, Jakov – Šamšalović Miljen: Isprave u Arhivu Jugoslavenske akademije. In: *Zbornik Historijskog instituta JAZU*, a. 3, 1960, pp. 575–576. About Demetrius' career: Lukinović, Andrija: Demetrije Čupor. In: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*. Ed.: Franko Mirošević. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995, pp. 204–205, 208–209; *MHEZ* 7, pp. 10–18. For the monastery on Garić, see: Pisk, Silvija: Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije na Gariću (Moslavačka gora) i njegova uloga u regionalnoj povijesti, Ph.D. Dissertation. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2011.



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The last generation could be considered as the magnate one again. Nicholas V, the only son of Akoš who reached adulthood, was among the young favourites of young King Matthias, who made him in 1469 the duke of Transylvania and hereditary count of Virovitica (Hun. – *Verőce*) county. The king also gave him the great estates of Korogy family in Vukovo and Požega (Hun. – *Pozsega*) county as well as north of the Drava after their extinction. It comprised castles, market-places, and others, among them Osijek, nowadays the greatest city of Slavonia. The inheritance of Korogy was the reward for Nicholas' being one of Matthias' main army leaders in his struggle against George of Poděbrady (1468–1471). He did not enjoy his estates for long for he was killed in the Battle of Michalovce on 29 January 1474 against the Polish forces, leaving no descendants. His cousin Stephen, *magister ianitorum*, died at the end of 1492, also without descendants. Their estates got by royal decision into the possession of the noble family of Erdődy.[19]

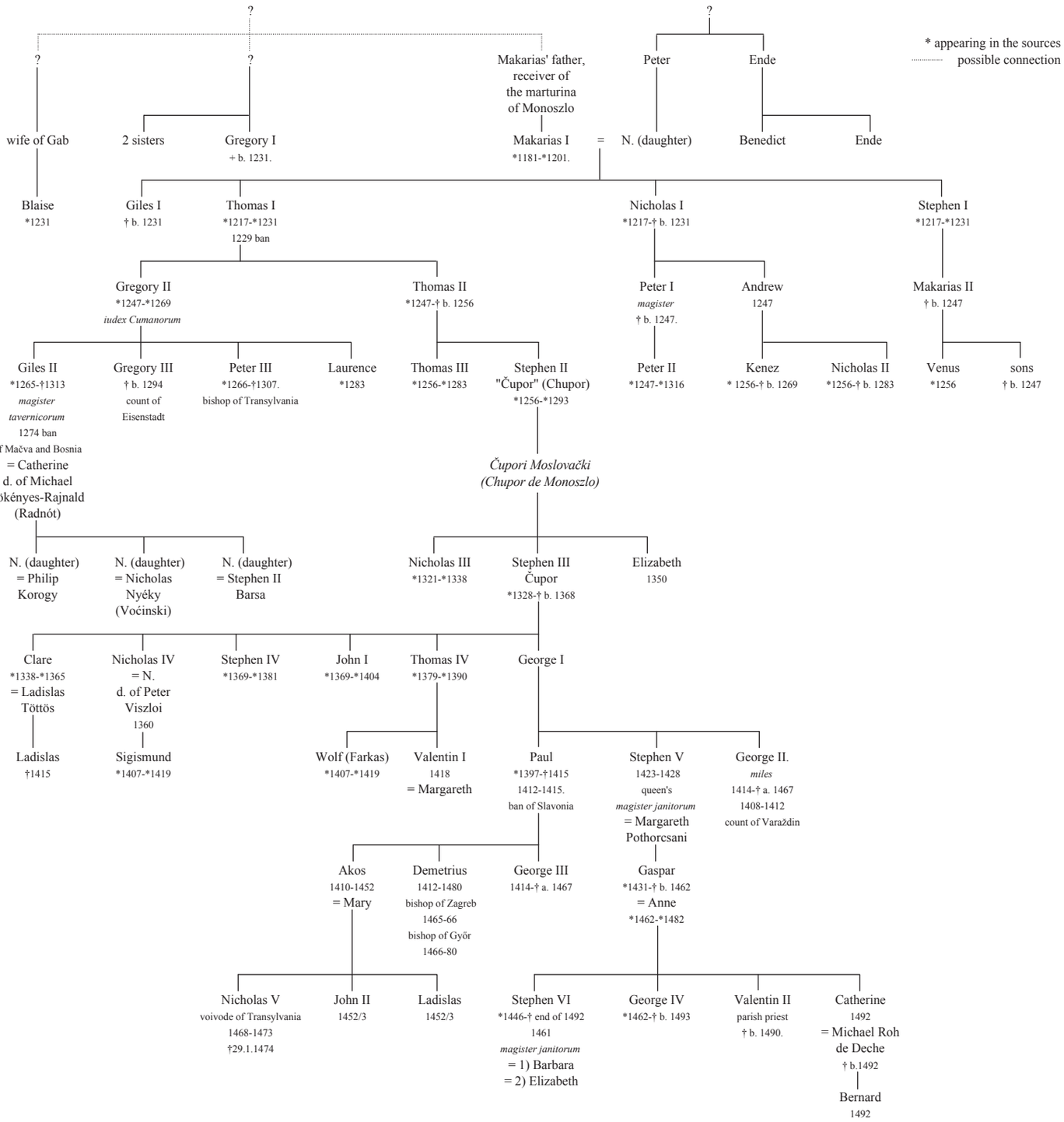
On the eve of the Ottoman conquests, this was the end of the history of this noble kindred that ruled Moslavina and influenced the history in the broader area of medieval and present-day Slavonia, sometimes also in other areas of medieval Kingdom of Hungary, for more than three centuries. Perhaps the archaeological excavations of the Pauline monastery on the Garić Mountain, which have already started, as well as the ones of the Franciscan monastery in Varalja, still intact, would bring more data on the activity of the Čupor as patrons of these monasteries, perhaps even their graves. It would also be interesting to investigate their possible connections with the namesake family in the Veszprém county.

[19] Csánki, Dezsö: *Mágyarország történelmi földrajza. A Hunyadiak korában*, vol. 2. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1894, pp. 270–271, 285–286, 287, 369, 378, 397–398, 454, 458, 460–461; Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London – New York: Tauris, 2001, pp. 312, 314 Stipišić, Jakov – Šamšalović Miljen: *Isprave u Arhivu Jugoslavenske akademije*, p. 594; Mályusz, Elemér: A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban. In: *Levéltári közlemények*, a. 13, 1935, pp. 253–257.



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## *The Genealogy of the Čupor of Monoszló*






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MARIJA KARBIĆ*

# Property Relations and Family Structure of the Nobility in the Sava and Drava *interamnium* in the Middle Ages

## Majetkové vzťahy a štruktúra šľachty v oblasti medzi riekami Sáva a Dráva v stredoveku / Imovinski odnosi i struktura plemićkih obitelji na području između rijeka Save i Drave u srednjem vijeku

*The study of questions connected with property and family structure and their mutual relationship has great importance for a better understanding of the general problem of the economic, social and cultural position of the nobility in medieval society. In the paper this issue will be discussed taking the examples of the noble kindreds (generationes or genera) living in the area between the Sava and Drava rivers, that is, the area comprising medieval Slavonia and the counties of Požega, Vukovo and Srijem. In social respect, some of these kindreds belong to the lesser nobility (such were the members of the nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis), and others to the middling nobility and aristocracy (such as the members of the generatio Borich bani of the Požega county). The paper analyses different forms of property holding concerning the owner and the way of acquisition, the issues of how the property relations influenced inheritance patterns, marriage strategies and the kindred's cohesion. These issues are analysed over time in order to determine in which way the changes of property relations influenced changes of kinship structure and vice versa.*

Keywords: Middle Ages, nobility, family structure, property relations, Slavonia

The nobility was the leading social group in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia. Its members held important administrative offices (both on national and on local level), as well as the highest positions within the Church. The nobility was the backbone of the military strength of the realm, and played an important role also in the cultural life of the country. In all that, the great role was played also by the landed estates, which were at its disposal and which represented material base of its power and agency, as well as family ties existing among its members. In this study, I shall try to demonstrate how the study of issues connected with property and family structure and their mutual intertwining may forward better understanding of the position and functioning of the nobility in medieval society.

This issue will be discussed on the examples of the noble kindreds living in the area between the Sava and Drava rivers, that is, in the area comprising medieval Slavonia and the counties of Požega, Vukovo and Srijem. Under the term "noble kindreds" I understand the kind of family structure which is in Latin sources called *generationes* or *genera* and in which different families were connected by their common descent from a real or supposed ancestor on the agnatic patrilineal basis. An essential characteristic of these noble kindreds is the fact that their members had common property or at least common rights in property. In social respect, these kindreds belonged to all strata of the nobility (from the lesser nobility to the middling nobility and aristocracy).[1] The nobility in the region under study was mainly organised on this principle, on which was, after all, organised the nobility in the wider area stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea, the western border of which represented the border of the Holy Roman Empire, and

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[1] For more details, see: Heers, Jacques: *Family Clans in the Middle Ages.* Amsterdam-New York: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1977, pp. 22–31; Fügedi, Erik: *The Elefánthy. The Hungarian Nobleman and His Kindred.* Budapest: CEU Press, 1998, pp. 4–6; Karbić, Damir: Hrvatski plemićki rod i običajno pravo. Pokušaj analize. In: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene* znanosti, a. 16, 1998, pp. 73–74; Idem: *The Šubići of Bribir. A Case Study of a Croatian Medieval Kindred*, unpublished PhD Thesis. Budapest: CEU, 2000, pp. 3–4; Rady, Martyn: *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*. London: Palgrave, 2000, pp. 28–30, and the literature listed there.



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its eastern border was the dividing line between the Eastern and the Western Christianity.[2]

As the problematics connected with property and family structure and their mutual intertwining is very complex, and taking into account that my research is still going on, on this occasion I shall just touch on some questions and on two examples I shall present some reflections regarding the aforementioned topic.

The first example is the noble kindred of Ban Borić, on which I would like to demonstrate the way how the importance of the estates in defining particular kindreds, their branches and families originating from them changed over time.

My research of the history of the Ban Borić's kindred has confirmed that the basis for the mutual connections of the kin members at the moment when noble kindreds appeared in the sources, as was already demonstrated by the research of Erik Fügedi, was kinship by blood.[3] It was also the case of the members of the Ban Borić's kindred at that time. They emphasised their mutual origin from Borić, the ban of Bosnia, who is mentioned in historical sources in the 1150s and 1160s,[4] and because of that, they were listed as such and such *de genere Borich bani*.[5] The same may be seen also from the fact that, as a collective, they were defined by the outsiders as *fratres generationis Borich bani* in 1244 in the document describing the borders of the estate of the bishopric of Bosnia in the counties of Vukovo and Požega.[6]

However, starting from the first half of the fourteenth century, changes occurred in the structure of Ban Borić's noble kindred, which were connected also to the division of the kindred's estates among its branches and to their increasingly independent activities. The foundation of the connection among the individuals then, instead of kinship by blood, gradually became the common ownership of the estates, which corresponds with the development in the other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, as was demonstrated by the research of other historians, such as Erik Fügedi and Damir Karbić.[7] The members of the kindred started to style themselves as *fratres condivisionales* (insisting that they share common property) instead of *fratres generationales* (insisting on the common origin).[8] Individuals were no longer defined with the expression *de genere Borich bani*, but with the expression consisting of the preposition *de* and the name of the main estate (seat) of the kindred's branch to which they belonged.[9] Thus, for example, we can find in the sources that certain James was defined as *filius Desew filii Berizlai nobilis de Grabaria* (1326) and Kormus as *filius Egydii, nobilis de Chernuk* (1363).[10] Abandoning the kindred's name and replacing it with the name of the branch or even the family testify that the dissolution of the noble kindred on particular families already started.

The phenomenon that a particular branch got its name from the estate it held, and not from the individual from whom it traced its origin, may be connected to the fact that from the second half of the thirteenth century the opinion that the ownership of land was closely connected also to the noble status of a family or an individual became increasingly predominant. Thus, King Ladislas IV stated in a charter, that *nobiles in Hungaria existentes tenere seu possedere possessiones suas proprias consueverunt*, and such an attitude received more and more weight in the period of the Angevin rule, and so the term *homo possessionatus* became a synonym for nobleman.[11]

Still, it should be noted that even in the later period the individuals were from time to time

[2] Cfr. Karbić, Damir: *Hrvatski plemićki*, pp. 73–74; Idem: *The Šubići*, pp. 191–192. Differences within the noble kindreds in the area were small and conditioned by specific social development of particular areas and influences of different legal traditions existing there.

[3] Fügedi, Erik: *The Elefánthy*, p. 5; Karbić, Damir: *The Šubići*, p. 196.

[4] For more details regarding Ban Borić, see: Karbić, Marija: *Rod Borića bana. Primjer plemićkog roda u srednjovjekovnoj Požeškoj županiji*, unpublished PhD Thesis. Zagreb: University of Zagreb, 2005, pp. 36–46, and the literature listed there.

[5] Such way of defining an individual in the sources appeared for the first time in 1248, when Odola, Čelk and Borić were mentioned as the *filii Borich de genere Borich bani*. Cfr. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske,Dalmacije i Slavonije* (deinde *CDCr*), 18 vols. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: JAZU, 1904–1990, hic vol. 4, nr. 328, pp. 369–370.

[6] *CDCr* 4, nr. 208, pp. 236–240.

[7] Fügedi, Erik: *The Elefánthy*, p. 5; Karbić, Damir: *The Šubići*, pp. 195–196.

[8] Cfr. Karbić, Marija: *Rod Borića bana*, pp. 92–93.

[9] The fact that the term *genus* went out of use as early as the first half of the fourteenth century has also been pointed out on the examples of other noble kindreds by Pál Engel. Cfr. Engel, Pál: Erbteilung und Familienbildung. In: *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways* (…) *Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*. Ed.: Balázs Nagy – Marcell Sebők. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999, p. 419.

[10] *CDCr* 9, nr. 252, pp. 306–307; *CDCr* 13, nr. 232, p. 310.

[11] Cfr. Rady, Martyn: *Nobility, Land*, pp. 58–59.



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defined also by the kindred's name, which demonstrates that they also kept the consciousness of belonging to the kindred, even though it became less important than belonging to a particular branch. Thus, in 1422 certain Ladislas was styled as *unus ex dictis nepotibus dicti Borych bani*.[12]

However, it should be noted that there was also another change in the structure of the noble kindred of Ban Borić, which happened when its branches were divided into individual families at the end of the fifteenth and in the first half of the sixteenth century. At that time, there appeared several families named after their founders, either on the basis of their names or of the offices they held. Thus, there were the Berislavići named after Berislav, the Dessewffy after Dezső, the Lökös after Leukus, son of Jules of Cernik, the Ispanffy after the office of the *vicecomes* of the Požega county held by their ancestor Andrew, son of Desislav of Cernik, in 1421.[13] Thus, in these cases the emphasis was again placed on the kinship by blood. The reasons for such change may be various. It is possible that they were linked with the more and more increasing pressure of the Ottomans and the insecurity which evolved from it. The loss of estates became more and more predictable, and thus, it is possible that support and security started to be again primarily searched for within the kinship relations.

At any rate, everything mentioned above shows that the changes of property relations influenced also the family structure, which is particularly visible in the names which the kindred or its particular parts took.

The second example in this study comes from a socially different layer of nobility, the members of the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis*.[14] The kindreds in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis* were *iobagiones castri*, castle-warriors, by origin. *Iobagiones castri* were tax-exempted freemen and they were one of the groups from which the lesser nobility emerged.[15] The members of the noble community of Turopolje based their rights on the privileges given by *rex iunior* (Bela IV) in 1225[16] and confirmed several times by his successors.[17]

Here, I would like to draw your attention to the complexity of the proprietary relations and to stress mutual dependence of the marriage strategies, inheritance patterns and forms of property holding.

In the noble community of Turopolje there were different forms of property holding concerning owner: a) property belonging to the whole community; b) property belonging to one of the kindreds; c) property belonging to one family within a kindred; and d) individual property.

The charters concerning property belonging to the whole community are very rare. This is understandable because this is the most stable form of property. The owner cannot die, there is no division among the heirs and the possibility of purchase is very small. Also, it is more difficult to alienate this property by force, although it has sometimes happened. The property belonging to the whole community were mainly forests. In a document from 1249 Ban Stephen of all Slavonia returns to the *iobagiones castri Zagrabiensis* a forest which was alienated by John, son of Jaroslav, and marks its borders.[18] The right of the *iobagiones castri* to this forest was confirmed in 1255 (by above mentioned Ban Stephen and King Bela IV) and in 1436 (by King Sigismund).[19] The forests in collective property were also mentioned in a document from 1403. In this document Peter, son of John of

[12] Mesić, Matija: Građa mojih razprava u Radu. In: *Starine*, a. 5, 1873, pp. 110–115.

[13] Cfr. Karbić, Marija: *Rod Borića bana*, Prilog 1. Rodoslovlje, p. 197. For Andrew, see: Éble, Gábor: *A cserneki és tarkeői Dessewffy család genealogiai tanulmány*. Budapest: no pub., 1903, p. 12.

[14] *Campus Zagrabiensis* is the medieval name for Turopolje, a region near Zagreb. During the medieval period Turopolje was part (special district) of the County of Zagreb in the Kingdom of Slavonia. The most important sources for the research of history of this noble community were published by Emilij Laszowski in the source collection *Monumenta historica nobilis communitatis Turopolje olim "Campus Zagrabiensis" dictae*, 4 vols. Zagreb: Plemenita općina Turopolje, 1904–1908 (deince *MHNC*). They are mostly private charters. Unfortunately, the customary law code of the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis* was compiled only later (at the end of the sixteenth century) and because of that, I did not take it into account for the time being.

[15] For *iobagiones castri* in general, see: Fügedi, Erik: *The Elefánthy*, pp. 37–38; Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526*. London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001, pp. 70–73, 104, 149.

[16] *MHNC* 1, nr. 1, p. 1–3. The discussion regarding the authenticity of this charter, see in: Laszowski, Emilij: *Povijest plem. općine Turopolja nekoč Zagrebačko polje zvane*, vol. 1. Zagreb: Plemenita općina Turopolje, 1910, pp. 237–239 and *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, vol. 1. Ed.: Imre Szentpétery. Budapest: MTA, 1927, nr. 577, pp. 177–178.

[17] E. g. Ladislas IV in 1279 (*MHNC* 1, nr. 32, pp. 36–37), Charles I Robert in 1333 (*MHNC* 1, nr. 49, p. 50); Louis I in 1352 (*MHNC* 1, nr. 66, pp. 67–68), and so on.

[18] Ibidem, nr. 5, p. 8.

[19] See: Stephen in 1255 (*MHNC* 1, nr. 7, p. 10); Bela IV in 1255 (*MHNC* 1, nr. 8, p. 11); Sigismund in 1436 (*MHNC* 1, nr. 234, pp. 242–245).



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Mlaka, and Fabian of Lomnica, *comites terrestres Campi Zagrabiensis*, and Michael of Lomnica in the name of the noble community protested in front of the chapter of Zagreb against King Ladislas' donation of some estates belonging to the whole community, in the first place of the forests of Rakitovec, Bok and Vratovo which were *intra metas veras et antiquas eorundem nobilium castri*.[20] They also prohibited Stephen, son of Farkas of Obrež, George, son of the aforementioned Stephen, and his relatives to accept this donation. Stephen and George were also members of the noble community but the community did not permit that they privatised these estates. It seems that *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis* had besides forests some other estates in collective property too. The document mentions, besides the forests, some *possessiones et porciones possessionarie* belonging to the whole of the noble community. They are mentioned without any more precise distinction. Most probably they were pastures.

Other form of property holding which I have found in sources concerning the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis* is that in which property belonged to one of the kindreds. In a document from 1249 aforementioned *banus tocius Sclauonie* Stephen returned a land by the name of Odra to one of the kindreds of the noble community (the kindred of Kurilovec).[21] Another document from 1242 also speaks about property belonging to one of the kindreds of the noble community. In this document the chapter of Zagreb testifies that Andrew and his kindred left a land called Mosoča to Junoša and his kindred.[22] In a very similar case in 1377, the kindred of Kurilovec made the agreement about some lands with Martin and Peter, grandsons of Urban *de Vrbanch*, and their kindred.[23]

Several documents speak about division of possessions and marking of the boundaries between the estates of different kindreds. In 1256, Ban Stephen made the division of some lands between Vukota and his *generatio* on one side and Miroslav and *generatio de Endre* on the other.[24] In 1373, the chapter of Zagreb determined the borders between the estate of the kindred of Lomnica and that of the kindred of Vukota.[25] By these arrangements, land was not actually redistributed but rather its boundaries were more clearly distinguished.

The third type of property we can found in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis* is the property belonging to one of the families within kindred. As an example of the third type of property may be used the case of 1388, when Joan, widow of Ladislas, son of Thomas, sold in her and her son's name their common possession. Although her son was still a minor and she was also acting as his guardian, there is no doubt that the estate was also her property, since it is explicitly stated. The description of borders of this possession also mentions the estate of Domk, son of Junk, and his brothers. Joan and her son George held a possession in common, and that is also stated for the sons of Junk.[26] Another example is that of Elisabeth, widow of Mathew *de Werbanecz*, and her son Mathew called Hreba, who held also some lands together. They mortgaged their lands to George, son of Giles of Kurilovec, in 1439. In this case the property is also referred to as common and it does not seem that the son was still a minor.[27]

The fourth type of property mentioned in a lot of documents is the individual property. Existence of the individual property is confirmed by cases in which deals were made within a single family. Although we can find cases, as we have seen before, in which brothers hold an estate together, we can also find cases in which brothers made business one with another. For example, Stephen, son of Nicholas called Lapas from Kurilovec, sold some land to his brothers Matthias and Giles in 1389.[28] In 1428 Ursula, daughter of Agnes, sold to her brother George Mikšić her *quarta puellaris*.[29] Existance of individual property within a family is also confirmed by the case of 1444 when Helen, daughter of Miren, son of Rodik of Rakitovec, and widow of Giles of Kurilovec, gave her filial quarter to her son George.[30] The fact that an individual had right to dispose of his/her

[20] *MHNC* 1, nr. 165, p. 155.
[21] Ibidem, nr. 6, p. 9. This decision of Ban Stephen was confirmed by King Bela in 1264 (Ibidem, nr. 14, p. 17).
[22] Ibidem, nr. 4, pp. 6–7.
[23] Ibidem, nr. 94, pp. 100–101.
[24] Ibidem, nr. 9, pp. 11–13.
[25] Ibidem, nr. 89, pp. 91–93.
[26] Ibidem, nr. 112, pp. 115–116.
[27] Ibidem, nr. 242, pp. 255–256.
[28] Ibidem, nr. 120, pp. 124–125.
[29] Ibidem, nr. 217, p. 219.
[30] Ibidem, nr. 248, pp. 262–263.



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own property confirms the existence of individual property (disregarding at this point whether the right of disposition was limited or unlimited, about which I will speak a bit later).

It is important to say that we can find all four forms of property holding throughout the whole period which was taken into consideration and that there are no visible changes in the frequency in which each of these forms of property are mentioned in the sources over time. In contrast to the possessions about which the sources speak as belonging to the whole noble community or to a single family – which were undivided (the documents speak about forests which were in common use and there is no mention about any division of them, and it is possible to find many examples of common property of brothers or parents and children) – on the level of kindred's property I could not prove the existence of undivided property until now (although it is possible that it existed). In any case it seems that the largest part of kindred's property was divided between the members of kindred and that the kindred only controlled transactions concerning this land.

A particular piece of property had in fact more owners on different levels of property holding at the same time. In this way, individual rights did not weaken the rights of family, the rights of families did not weaken the rights of kindred, and the rights of kindreds did not reduce the rights of the noble community. In the cases when somebody intended to sell some land outside the community, he had to ask for the approval of his relatives and other members of the community. That this approval was not a formality may be seen on a case of 1363. In front of Gregory and Stephen, sons of Boromen, *comites Zagrabienses*, and Peter, son of Stephen, *comes terrestris de Campo*, Stojko, son of Devan, and Mikec, son of Mikša, in the name of the kindred of Lukavec prohibited Peter, brother of Jakša, to sell some land in Lukavec on the basis of the rights they had as his relatives and neighbours.[31]

The acceptance of the limitation of individual rights and common rights in property becomes more understandable if we have in mind that the members of the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis* belonged to the lesser nobility and as individuals never hold bigger estates. Because of that, the members of the noble community of Turopolje were interested in support and protection the community provided for them and for their possessions. The support which the noble community gave to its members and which was connected to common rights in property is illustrated by the aforementioned case of 1249. In this case the demand for the restitution of some land by the name of Odra to the kindred of Kurilovec was supported by the noble community as a whole.[32]

It is important to say that common property or at least common rights in property kept the noble community together. Landed property was an important element of cohesion of the lesser nobility of Turopolje and it has made the sentiment of belonging to the community stronger. Because of that, in the interest of the preservation of the estates in the hands of a kindred or the community, as well as for the maintenance of their cohesion, it was desirable that all transactions connected to the landed property occur within this circle. However, even though business affairs were very often made inside a single kindred (like, for example, in a case of 1387, when John, son of Stephen of Lomnica, sold some land to Nicholas, son of Novak, from the same kindred,[33] or in a case of 1447, when Helen, daughter of Matthew of Kurilovec, sold her filial quarter to George, son of Giles of Kurilovec),[34] there were some cases in which possessions were sold to somebody outside the kindred or even outside the noble community. For example, Margaret, daughter of Andrew Jelk of Rakarje, mortgaged one arable land to Blaise, son of Matthew of Mlaka in 1450.[35] In a case of 1278 members of the noble community, Andrew and John, sons of Zloyna, and John, son of Voyha, sold some lands to John, son of Minislav, who was not a member of the noble community.[36]

In relation to the question of preservation of estates within the hands of the noble community, we may also discuss the question of marriage strategies. Here, it should be taken into consideration that in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis* property was inherited both by male and female offsprings. Sons, or, if there were no sons, the closest male relative inherited three quarters of the whole property and daughters one.[37] The only recorded exception to this rule is the case of

[31] Ibidem, nr. 76, pp. 76–77.
[32] Ibidem, nr. 6, p. 9.
[33] Ibidem, nr. 102, p. 107.
[34] Ibidem, nr. 259, pp. 283–284.
[35] Ibidem, nr. 269, pp. 299–300.
[36] Ibidem, nr. 29, p. 32.
[37] Cfr. Margetić, Lujo: *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko i nasljedno pravo.* Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1996, pp. 306.



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Ursula, daughter of George, who, after her brothers were taken into captivity by the Ottomans, asked *causa feminitatis linee* that all their estates (including hereditary lands) should be given to her, and it was granted.[38]

Part of inheritance belonging to daughters called filial quarter (*quarta puellaris*) was a common legal institution in Hungary and Slavonia,[39] but customs connected with it in the *nobilis comunitas Campi Zagrabiensis* show some differences in regard to the features of the filial quarter according to the Hungarian customary law, as it was later codified in the *Tripartitum* (1514).[40] Thus, as it has already been mentioned, the quarter in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis* was given from the entire father's property and not only from the hereditary lands.[41] A good example for that is the case of 1435 when Agatha, daughter of Mark *de Mlaka*, received one quarter of hereditary and purchased lands (*tam nobilium seu hereditarium quam eciam empticiarum*) of her father.[42] Also, the filial quarter of the aforementioned Helen, daughter of Miren *de Rakitovec*, consisted of hereditary, purchased and mortgaged lands (*tam nobilium quam empticiarum, quam eciam inpignoraticiarum*).[43] In the case of the filial quarter of Agnes and Jelka Novković of 1441, it consisted of all estates of their father (*de universis possessionibus*).[44]

At this occasion, it is important that the filial quarter in Turopolje, even though it was to be paid out in money according to the norms of the *Tripartitum*, was usually given in land.[45] It may be seen from the fact that there were a considerable number of documents concerning the seisin of filial quarter. At the seisin, the borders of the estates were marked. For example, in 1481 a seisin was done to Ursula, daughter of George of Kurilovec, for her filial quarter in Rakitovec.[46] A seisin was also done to Michael, grandson of Flora, and Andrew, son of Florisa, for the filial quarter of their grandmother and mother in 1455.[47] It seems that payment in money was highly unusual. The only

[38] *MHNC* 2, nr. 32, pp. 38–39. Historian Emilij Laszowski concluded on the basis of this document that in Turopolje daughters inherited all the estates of their fathers in the case that there was no brother, cfr. Laszowski, Emilij: *Povijest*, vol. 2, p. 87). On the other hand Magdalena Apostolova Maršavelski (Quarta puellaris po običajnom pravu Turopolja. In: *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu*, a. 42, 1992, nr. 2, pp. 142–144) and Lujo Margetić (*Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko*, pp. 310–316) state that this case cannot be understood in that way because the legal system of Turopolje accepted right of inheritance of the closest male relative in cases when an owner did not have sons, although he had daughters. In such cases, daughters were entitled only to their usual *quarta*. The authors give several possible explanations to Ursula's case: "moral" argument (her brothers disappeared during a campaign against the Ottomans); attempt of the community to overrun royal right of escheat; influence of legal norms from Zagreb; Ursula's social standing within the community (Ursula's father and grandfather were *comites terrestres*). Although all these factors played certain role, the authors overlooked an important fact. They did not know the document which explains Ursula's request and the decision of the community, since it contains legal ground for this act. This is a charter of 1412 by which King Sigismund confirmed to Ursula's ancestor George Mikšić and two other noblemen from Turopolje all their estates with a clause that they should be inherited by their descendants of both sexes (*MHNC* 1, nr. 176, pp. 166–168).

[39] For *quarta puellaris* in general, see also: Fügedi, Erik: *The Elephánthy*, pp. 28–29; Banyó, Péter: *The Filial Quarter: Inheritance of Noblewomen in Medieval Hungary*, unpublished MA thesis. Budapest: CEU, 1999, passim; Rady, Martyn: The Filial Quarter and Female Inheritance in Medieval Hungarian Law. In: *The Man of Many Devices*, pp. 422–431; Idem: *Nobility, Land*, pp. 103–107; Karbić, Marija: Položaj plemkinja u Slavoniji tijekom srednjeg vijeka. In: *Historijski zbornik*, a. 59, 2006, pp. 20–24.

[40] The *Tripartitum,* a collection of legal norms which was compiled by Stephen (István) Verbőczy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is the main source for Hungarian medieval law in general. It should be emphasised that the value of the *Tripartitum* for the research of Hungarian law lies also in the fact that it contains norms of Hungarian customary law, thus predating the period when it was compiled. However, some caution should be kept when used in research. It should be particularly taken into account that the *Tripartitum* is not only a reflection of existing customary law, but also of the ideas of its author/editor Stephen Verbőczy. For the newest critical edition of the *Tripartitum*, see: *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts Rendere by Stephen Werbőczy (The "Tripartitum")* (deinde *Tripartitum*). Ed.: János M. Bak – Péter Banyó – Martyn Rady. Idyllwild CA – Budapest: Charles Schlacks, Jr. – Central European University, 2005. It has been published as volume 5 of the series *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, and it contains, besides the Latin original, also an English translation. On the *Tripartitum*, see also: Lanović, Mihajlo: *Privatno pravo Tripartita.* Zagreb: no pub., 1929; Bak, Janos M.: *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14. –16. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973, pp. 74–79, 121–123; *Custom and Law in Central Europe*. Ed.: Martyn Rady. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2003.

[41] According *Tripartitum* the bought estates were heritable by male and female offspring alike. Crf. Karbić, Marija: *Položaj plemkinja*, p.19.

[42] *MHNC* 1, nr. 232, pp. 239–242.

[43] Ibidem, nr. 248, pp. 262–263.

[44] Ibidem, nr. 245, pp. 258–260.

[45] Declension of this rule may be found also elsewhere in the Hungarian kingdom. For more details, see: Banyó, Péter: *The Filial Quarter*, pp. 43–51. According to his results, in more than 50% of analysed cases, the quarter was given in land.

[46] *MHNC* 2, nr. 18, pp. 19–20.

[47] Ibidem 1, nr. 300, pp. 346–348.



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case of payment in money which I know is connected with the filial quarter of Helen, daughter of Fabian *de Lomnica Inferiori*. In 1453 Helen's nephew Valentin, son of Stephen, paid out Helen's quarter to her daughter Ursula and Ursula's daughters.[48] It is interesting that there was no payment in money even in some cases when the female heirs wanted to convert the quarter into cash. In 1415 Peter and George, sons of Peter *de Lomnica Inferiori*, gave to their sisters Anna, Kate, Margaret and Helen the filial quarter in land and refused to pay it out in money.[49]

The reasons for giving of the filial quarter in land and not in money are not clear, but it is possible that it was directed towards keeping contact between the woman and her descent and the kindred of her origin. Such sentiment of belonging to the kindred of origin really existed and did not disappear by the fact of marrying. In the case of the noble women, members of the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis*, it may be seen from the fact that, even after the wedding, documents often mention them with the names of their father and the kindred of their origin, even in the cases when they did business affairs independently and when the estate in question was not connected with their family of origin. A good example is a case of 1422 when Helen, daughter of Paul called Župan *de Superiori Lomnica* and wife of Paul *Magnus*, the count of the noble community of Turopolje, took in mortgage some lands. Even though this transaction was completely her own business and not of her father, she identified herself in the first place as his daughter, and only in the second as the wife of Paul *Magnus*, the count of the community. It is noteworthy that even though her husband held higher position within the society than her father, the order of precedence was not disputed.[50] Since strong sense of community, in general, was founded on common property or rights to property, the giving of the *quarta* in land could at any rate contribute to preservation of such connections between a woman and her descendants and her kindred of origin and the noble community as a whole.

On the other hand, the way in which the filial quarter in Turopolje has been given out might have influenced also the marriage strategies of the members of the noble community. In order to keep landed estates inside the *nobilis communitas*, they might have preferred contracting of the marriages inside the community.[51] And, indeed, most of the marriages I examined (31 of 43) were concluded between the members of the *nobilis communitas* themselves. For example, Skolastika, daughter of George *de Mlaka*, was wife of Benedict *de Kurilovec* (1439).[52] A document dated in 1444 mentions Helen, daughter of Miren *de Rakitovec* and widow of Giles of the Kurilovec kindred.[53] Kate, daughter of Peter *de Superiori Lomnica* was the wife of Mark, son of John *de Mlaka* (1417).[54] Moreover, it may be argued that the fact that members of the community chose marriage partners inside the community even encouraged giving of the filial quarter in land.

By contracting marriages inside the community, land given as *quarta puellaris* stayed also inside the community, and property of the noble community as a whole did not change at all. Although giving of the *quarta* in land diminished the estate of a particular family, it did not diminish the strength of the community. Sense of belonging to the community, influenced by a common ownership of land, facilitated the redistribution of land inside the community connected with giving of filial quarter in land.

It is noteworthy that there is a considerable number (10) of cases in which female members of the noble community concluded marriages with non-noble men.[55] In cases of such marriages, giving of the filial quater in land had, besides the aforementioned role of keeping connection between a woman and the noble community and her kindred of origin, also the role of preserving the noble status of children born from such a marriage. Although, according to the customary law of the Kingdom of Hungary, the children born from

[48] Ibidem, nr. 274, pp. 304–305.
[49] Ibidem, nr. 181, pp. 172–173.
[50] Ibidem, nr. 189, pp. 182–183.
[51] Even though, of course, other reasons might have influenced the choice of marriage partners from within the community.
[52] *MHNC* 1, nr. 240, pp. 252–254.
[53] Ibidem, nr. 248, pp. 262–263.
[54] Ibidem, nr. 181, pp. 172–173.
[55] A considerable number of marriages between noble women and commoners in our sources could be explained by the exceptional character of such a marriage and the need of official regulation of different questions concerning property and status. Therefore, the proportion of such marriages in the sources probably does not adequately reflect the real proportions. For more details on such marriages of female members of the noble community of Turopolje, see in: Karbić, Marija: Heiratsstrategien des Kleinadels von Turopolje (Slawonien) im späten Mittelalter. In: *East Central Europe/L'Europe du Centre-Est: Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*, a. 29, 2002, nr. 1–2, pp. 172–174.



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a noble father and a non-noble mother were real nobles, it was not so in the opposite case, when the mother was noble and the father non-noble. However, the land which was given to their mothers as filial quarter allowed the children to be counted among nobles.[56] Since the estate, as has been demonstrated before, is not only the financial basis of the nobility but also an essential precondition for nobility, their children could acquire noble status in that way. Some documents from the *nobilis comunitas* testify that it worked in practice. For this problem a document from 1417 is particularly important: the relatives of the noble women Jelka and Magda, daughters of Urban *de Mraclin*, who were married to commoners, gave to Križan, son of Magda and a non-noble man Ivčec, and Blaise, son of Jelka and a non-noble man Nicholas Musić, filial quarter of their mothers and accepted them as nobles and real members of the noble community.[57] As this case shows, the filial quarter given in land preserved the nobility of the descendants born in marriage of a noble girl and a commoner. That shows the importance of the fact that the filial quarter in the noble community of Turopolje was given in land. However, the charter of 1417 shows that the approval of the relatives and the nobility of the county was also essential.

Discussing the problematic connected with property and family structure and their mutual intertwining, it is important to take one more fact into account. Namely, there was no restriction on right of sons to marry in the *nobilis communitas Campi Zagrabiensis*.[58] Such marriage practice made the extinction of family less possible. However, with practice that all sons inherit land and the daughters obtain their filial quarter in land (as we have seen earlier), this practice led to continuous division of possessions and pauperisation of the individual members of the noble community. If we take a look at that practice within the context of proprietary relations existing in the noble community of Turopolje and the strong sense of belonging to the community, this marriage practice seems more understandable. To closely knitted community it was in the first place important to preserve its own strength (its members were, anyway, weak as individuals). Impoverishment of single members of the community by division of estates among inheritors, which was connected with marriage practice according to which all sons have the right to marry, did not influence extent of the property of the whole community – it stayed the same as before. Non-existence of restrictions of right to marriage in some way even strengthened the community as a whole through the increase of the number of its members. Strengthening of the community was useful, on the other hand, to individuals, since the stronger community could provide better protection.

To sum up, both aforementioned examples, the one of the Ban Borić's kindred and the one of the noble community of Turopolje, show that, regardless of the social layer to which the concerned noblemen belonged, the landed estate played an important role in shaping and changing family structure. The examples from the present-day Slovakia provided by the research of Erik Fügedi show that more or less similar patterns can be found there, too. This short essay naturally cannot explore the totality of interactions between various types of property holding and family structure. The questions discussed here are only few of the possible questions which should be explored to get more comprehensive picture. In that respect, it is particularly important to research these topics in comparative perspective by Slovak, Croatian, Hungarian and Romanian historians, contributing in that way to a better knowledge of our common past.

[56] Cfr. *Tripartitum*, tom. 7, pp. 54–55; tom. 22, pp. 78–81; Fügedi, Erik: *The Elephánthy*, pp. 45–46. For the status of the children coming from "mixed" marriages, as well as of the marital partners themselves, see also: Karbić, Marija: *Položaj plemkinja*, pp. 16–17.

[57] *MHNC* 1, nr. 182, pp. 174–175.

[58] For more details, see: Karbić, Marija: *Heiratsstrategien des Kleinadels*, pp. 169–171.



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PETER LABANC*

# Die Ahnen und Verwandten des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes von der Zips (1394–1397)

## Predkovia a príbuzní záhrebského biskupa Jána zo Spiša (1394–1397) / Preci i rođaci zagrebačkog biskupa Ivana Šipuškog (1394–1397)

*Bishop John was the son of Jacob, who was iudex curie of the Kingdom of Hungary. Jacob was born around the beginning of the fourteenth century in Spiš. His father Derek was nephew of Jacob, bishop of Spiš at the end of the thirteenth century. Jacob had two brothers (John, father of Derek, and Stanley) and two sisters (anonymous). One of the sisters was mother of Francis and Ladislas, the second was wife of Henry from Spišské Podhradie. Some descendants of John, great-grandfather of Bishop John, and his two anonymous sisters made a career in the Hungarian admninistrative and ecclesiastical structures (bishop of Vác, Oradea and Knin, abbot of Spišský Štiavnik, canon of Esztergom and Spiš, parish priest of Košice). We can see an example of advancement from the middle-nobility of Spiš to the circle of the high nobility of the Hungarian Kingdom in the case of this family.*

Keywords: Middle Ages, the fourteenth century, high nobility and clegry, genealogy, Spiš, Zagreb

Im Jahre 1394 wurde Johannes von der Zips[1] zum Zagreber (dt. *Agram*) Bischof und in dieser Würde ist er bis zum Jahre 1397 verblieben. Sein Wirken während dieser Zeitspanne hat Andrija Lukinović zusammengefasst, der außerdem eine Forschungsübersicht über die Person des Bischofs geboten hat.[2] In diesem Beitrag wird unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Verwandten, Ahnen sowie Nebenlinien der Familie des Johannes von der Zips gerichtet sein, deren konkrete genealogische Zusammenhänge ab Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts verfolgt werden können. Insgesamt ist es gelungen, mehr als fünfzig seiner Verwandten, die besonders mit der Zips verbunden sind, zu identifizieren.

Der vorgelegte Text sollte vornehmlich als eine genealogische Studie begriffen werden. Durch die Beobachtung der Familienverhältnisse sind wir imstande, die interessanten, im Familienkreis ablaufenden Prozesse zu erkennen. Beachtenswert sind außerdem die Kontakte mit anderen Familien. Sie können uns die Frage nach der gesellschaftlichen Stellung der Familie des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes beantworten.

* * *

Johannes, Proband dieser genealogischen Studie, ist in den Quellen erst nach dem Tode seines Vaters, Jakob von der Zips († 1380) aufgetaucht, der zu dieser Zeit königlicher Hofrichter (*iudex curie*)[3] wurde. Jakob allein hatte zwei Kinder, neben dem späteren Bischof Johannes auch eine Tochter, Margarete, die zweimal heiratete. Zu ihrem ersten Ehemann wurde Ladislaus, der Sohn von *Isyp*/*Ysyp* aus Göncruszka (*de Ruska*) und diese Heirat fand noch vor dem Jahre 1393 statt. Margarete wurde jedoch Witwe und später heiratete sie Simon von Solivar (dt. *Salzburg*). Diese Begebenheiten (der Tod von Ladislaus und Margaretes zweite Heirat) haben sich zwischen den Jahren 1393–1398 abgespielt.[4]

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[1] Lat. *Iohannes de Scepus*, kroat. *Ivan Šipuški*, ung. *János Szepesi*, slow. *Ján zo Spiša*.

[2] Lukinović, Andrija: Ivan Šipuški 1394–1397. In: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*. Ed.: Juraj Batelja. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1995, pp. *155–161.*

[3] BerténYi, Iván: Krajinský sudca Jakub zo Spiša. In: *Slovenská archivistika*, a. 5, nr. 2, 1970, pp. 272–273. Jakob hat die Funktion des königlichen Hofrichters dreimal ausgeübt: 1373–1374, 1375–1378, 1379–1380.

[4] Im Jahre 1393 tritt Margaretes erster Ehemann Ladislaus noch in den Quellen auf, Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (deinde MOL DL) 83447. Im Jahre 1398 ist es zu einem Ausgleich bezüglich der Mitgift zwischen Margarete und ihrem Schwager Peter, dem Bruder des verstorbenen Ladislaus gekommen, cfr. MOL DL 50357. Es scheint wahrscheinlich, dass Ladislaus und Margarete keine Nachkommen hatten. Ladislaus, hinsichtlich des Stammbaums der Herren von Göncruszka unbekannt, so auch für Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*. Budapest: Arcanum Adatabázis, 2001, (CD-ROM), Ruszkai (Abaúj m.). Zur Lokalisation von Göncruszka siehe Györffy, György: *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történelmi földrajza I.* Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1963, pp. 136–138; Varsik, Branislav: *Osídlenie Košickej kotliny*, vol. 1. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1964, pp. 425–430. Peter sollte Margarete einen ziemlich



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Der Vater von Johannes und Margarete, der königliche Hofrichter Jakob, tritt seit dem Jahre 1346 in den Quellen auf, [5] kurz vor dem Tode seines Vaters Detrik, der irgendwann im Jahre 1349 gestorben ist.[6] Die erste Erwähnung des Großvaters von Johannes stammt aus dem Jahre 1301, als er zusammen mit anderen Brüdern das Zipser Kapitel gebeten hat, ihnen die Urkunde des Ladislaus IV. bezüglich des Verkaufs von Ordzovany (dt. *Radiolz*) abzuschreiben.[7] Bei dieser Gelegenheit begegnen wir dem ältesten dem Namen nach bekannten Vorfahren des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes. Er hatte denselben Namen wie sein berühmter Enkel – Johannes, in manchen Quellen *Hannus*.[8] Er gehört zur ersten Generation der Familie, die man über den Namen identifizieren kann (siehe TAB Nr. 1).

Erste Angaben über die älteste bekannte Generation dieser Familie sind in der erwähnten Urkunde des Ladislaus IV. aus dem Jahre 1278 erhalten geblieben. Damals kam es zu einem Geschäft zwischen Anton, dem Sohn von Ižip (*Ysyp*) und den Brüdern Jakob, Johannes und Stanislaus.[9] Dieser Handel wurde den Brüdern seitens des Königs für ihre Verdienste beim Wiedererlangen der Zipser Burg unter die königliche Macht in der Zeit des Aufstands eines Gegenkönigs in der Zips im Jahre 1277 bestätigt.[10] Jakob ist in Gefangenschaft geraten, aus der er erst entlassen wurde, nachdem die Brüder ein Lösegeld zahlten.[11] Im Jahre 1283 entlohnte Ladislaus IV. seine Anhänger wieder für ihre treuen Dienste und bestätigte den Brüdern die Nutzung der ungarischen Adelsprivilegien.[12]

Der bekannteste der Brüder, Jakob, hatte keine Nachkommen. Im Jahre 1284 erlangte er das Amt des Zipser Propstes, im Jahre 1293 wurde er zum Bischof *ad personam* geweiht und im Jahre 1301 ist er in diesem Amt auch gestorben.[13] Berichte über den anderen Bruder, Stanislaus, aus den Jahren 1278 und 1283 sind die einzigen, die unmittelbar aus der Zeit seines Lebens erhalten geblieben sind. Angaben über seine Nachkommen erhalten wir erst mit gewissem zeitlichen Abstand aus einer vereinzelten Nachricht (siehe TAB Nr. 3). Auf Grund dieser kann man feststellen, dass Stanislaus nur eine Tochter, Margarete, hinterlassen hat, die selbst nur eine Tochter, Elisabeth, hatte.[14] Wie schon früher erwähnt wurde, hatte Johannes, der Bruder von Jakob und Stanislaus, mehrere Erben hinterlassen und auch ihre zwei Schwestern, deren Namen wir aber nicht kennen, haben Nachkommen gehabt. Eine von ihnen hat Henrich von Spišské Podhradie (dt. *Kirchdrauf*), die zweite Jakob von Vlková (dt. *Farksdorf*) geheiratet.

* * *

In der Einleitung wurde kurz die direkte Abstammungslinie des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes bis zu seinem Urgroßvater Johannes vorgestellt. Dieser Verwandtschaftszweig der Familie war jedoch noch ausgeprägter und die Angaben, die schon Pál Engel angeboten hat, sind zu ergänzen und zu präzisieren (siehe TAB Nr. 2).[15]

Der wahrscheinlich älteste Sohn von Johannes hieß Jakob. Er hat, ähnlich wie sein älterer Verwandter, der Propst Jakob, die Kirchenlaufbahn gewählt. Dank seinem Onkel wurde er im Jahre

hohen Betrag für die Mitgift auszahlen – einhundert Florine, zwei Fässer Wein und zwanzig Pferde aus seiner Herde. Pál Engel datiert die Vermählung von Simon und Margarete in das Jahr 1400. Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Baksa rokonsága, 6. tábla: Sós (sóvári). Dort auch ihre weitere Nachkommenschaft.

[5] Zum Datum der ersten Erwähnung cfr. Bertényi, Iván: *Krajinský sudca Jakub zo Spiša*, pp. 262 et 272.

[6] Die letzte Nachricht über ihn stammt vom Ende des Jahres 1348 (MOL DL 60255).

[7] *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae* (deinde *RDSl*), vol. 1–2. Ed.: Vincent Sedlák. Bratislavae: VEDA, 1980–1987, hier vol. 1, p. 55, nr. 66.

[8] MOL DL 83623: „*…Iohannis alio nomine Hannus…*“

[9] Die Urkunde von Ladislaus IV.: Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, Diplomatikai (deinde MOL DF) 272353; *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* (deinde *CDAC*), vol. 1–12. Ed.: Gusztáv Wenzel. Pest 1860–1874, hier vol. 9, pp. 367–368, nr. 269; *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, vol. 1–2. Ed.: Iván Borsa – Emericus Szentpétery. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1923–1987, hier vol.. 2/2–3, p. 218, nr. 2897 (eine ungarische Regeste). Donation von Belo IV.: *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, vol. 2. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislavae: Obzor, 1987, pp. 462–463, nr. 664*. Zur Lokalisation des Vermögens siehe Šmilauer, Vladimír: *Vodopis starého Slovenska*. Praha – Bratislava: Učená společnost Šafaříkova v Bratislavě, 1932, p. 203, nr. *725. Landkarte auf p. 197, fig. nr. 46.

[10] Zum Aufstand siehe Labanc, Peter: Spoločenská situácia na Spiši za vlády posledných Arpádovcov. In: *Spiš v 12. a 13. storočí*. Ed.: Miroslav Števík. Stará Ľubovňa: Ľubovnianske múzeum 2011, pp. 163–167.

[11] *CDAC* 9, pp. 377–378, nr. 269: „*…inhumaniter captus extiterit et miserabiliter cruciatus….*“

[12] MOL DL 83140; *Codex diplomaticus patrius* (deinde *CDP*), vol. 1–8. Ed.: Emericus Nagy. Győr: Typis Victoris Sauervein, 1865–1873, Budapest: Typis Alexandri Kocsi, 1876–1891, hier vol. 5, pp. 66–68, nr. 54.

[13] Zu Jakob cfr. Labanc, Peter: *Spišskí prepošti do roku 1405.* Trnava – Kraków: FF TU – Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, 2011, pp. 85–105.

[14] MOL DL 83623.

[15] für Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Szepesi (Stefkfalvi).



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1285 zum Kanoniker des Zipser Kapitels, was den Unwillen der übrigen Mitglieder des Kapitels erregte.[16] Zwei Jahrzehnte später übte Jakob zugleich das Amt des Pfarrers in Košice (dt. *Kaschau*) aus, wo er noch im Jahre 1339 wirkte und mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit war er zudem im Jahre 1345 Pfarrer in Kaschau.[17] Unter den Söhnen von Johannes, die im Jahre 1301 angeführt wurden, findet sich auch Nikolaus.[18] Er lebte mit Sicherheit noch am Ende des Jahres 1329[19] und seitdem verlieren sich seine Spuren in den schriftlichen Quellen. Von seinen Nachkommen ist nur die Tochter Margarete (*Magych*) bekannt, die mit Stephan, dem Sohn von *Bodow*, einem Mitglied der Familie der Herren von Liptovský Ján (dt. *Sankt Johann in der Liptau*), verheiratet war.[20] Im Jahre 1369 hat Margarete zusammen mit ihren Kindern Lambert und Anna ihre Anteile in den Dörfern Tomášovce (dt. *Tamsdorf*) und *Gahanovce (*Gahanfolua*) für 60 Florine verkauft.[21]

Der dritte Sohn von Johannes war Detrik, Vater des königlichen Hofrichters Jakob und von Ursula.[22] Den Nachkommen von Detrik wurde oben bereits mehr Raum gewidmet. Ein weiterer Sohn von Johannes war Matthäus, der in den Quellen meistens unter dem Spitznamen Szőrös (*Zeurusch, Sceurus*) auftritt.[23] Ähnlich wie sein Bruder Detrik ist er irgendwann im Jahre 1349 gestorben, da er zum letzten Mal im Dezember 1348 erwähnt wird. Im Juni 1350 tritt schon sein Sohn Matthäus in den Vermögensstreitigkeiten mit den Einwohnern von Bijacovce (dt. *Betendorf*) auf.[24] Insgesamt begegnen wir Matthäus in den Quellen in einem Zeitraum von ungefähr 50 Jahren, weshalb anzunehmen ist, dass sie (Detrik und auch Matthäus) zur Zeit ihres Todes siebzig oder älter waren. Matthäus, der Sohn von Matthäus, taucht nur in wenigen Urkunden aus den Jahren 1350–1353 auf. Im späteren Zeitabschnitt gibt es keine Nachricht mehr – weder über ihn, noch über seine Nachkommen.[25] Er hatte einen Bruder, Martin, der in den Quellen beinahe zwanzig Jahre nach dem vermutlichen Tode seines Vaters, im Jahre 1369, bzw. 1370, auftaucht.[26] Das sind die einzigen unmittelbaren Nachrichten über ihn, in den späteren Urkunden treten nur seine zwei Töchter – Elisabeth und Gertrude (*Gerus*) – auf.[27] Es gibt nur eine einzige Nachricht über die Erstgenannte, aus dem Jahre 1384. Über Gertrude weißt man mehr. Die Namen ihres Ehemannes und ihrer zwei Söhne sind bekannt. Ihr Ehemann Stephan stammte aus dem Dorf Petrovce (dt. *Petersdorf*),[28] das sich unweit von der Zipser Burg befindet. Neben zwei Söhnen hatte Matthäus, genannt Szőrös, noch eine Tochter, Margarete.[29]

Es ist üblich, dass die Söhne ihre Spitznamen vom Vater erhalten, oder, falls der Name des Vater sehr spezifisch ist, dieser Name als Spitzname für den Sohn übernommen wird. Das ist auch der Fall bei Martin, dem Sohn von Matthäus, dem von seinem Umfeld der Spitzname des Vaters (*dictus Seres*) gegeben wurde.[30] Die Einzigartigkeit des Spitznamens von Matthäus im Zipser Umfeld allein unterstreicht die Tatsache, dass ihn als seinen Spitznamen ebenso Stephan, Martins Schwiegersohn und Ehemann von Gertruda (*Zeres*), der Enkelin von Matthäus, erbte.[31]

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[16] MOL DF 264579; Hradszky, Josephus: *Initia progressus ac praesens status Capituli ad sanctum Martinum E.C. de Monte Scepusio*. Szepesváralja: Typis. Dionysii Buzás, 1901, pp. 310–318; *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1–4. Ed.: Ferdinandus Knauz et al. Strigonii – Budapestini, 1882–1999, hier vol. 2, pp. 208–213, nr. 188.

[17] *RDSl* 2, pp. 193–194, nr. 404; ŠA Levoča, fond Spišské prepoštstvo (Staatsarchiv Levoča, Fond „Zipser Probstei", deinde SpP), nr. 59; MOL DL 85265.

[18] *RDSl* 1, p. 55, nr. 66.

[19] MOL DL 83202; für Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Szepesi (Stefkfalvi).

[20] *A Szent-Iványi család levéltára 1230–1525*. Ed.: Iván Borsa. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988, nr. 36–37, 39, 42–43, 45, 47, pp. 26–29. Stephans Gemahlin ist unbekannt für Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Bogomér rokonsága 1. tábla: Szentiványi, Szmrecsányi, Nádasdi.

[21] MOL DL 83317. *Gahanovce wurden zwischen Studenec und Ordzovany lokalisiert von Fekete-Nagy, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása.* Budapest: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1934, p. 155. Wie er auch Marek, Miloš: *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2006, p. 430.

[22] MOL DL 60663.

[23] Ibidem. Zur Form des Spitznamens siehe Kázmér, Miklós: *Régi magyar családnevek szótára*. Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 1993, pp. 1027–1028.

[24] Die letzte Erwähnung aus dem Jahre 1348 MOL DL 60255; Die erste Nachricht über Matthäus MOL DL 60262.

[25] Die letzte Nachricht über Matthias stammt vom 8. Juli 1353. MOL DL 83270.

[26] ŠA Levoča, fond Súkromný archív Spišskej Kapituly (Staatsarchiv Levoča, Fond „Privatarchiv des Zipser Kapitels", deinde SASK) 3/2/12.

[27] SASK 3/2/13.

[28] MOL DF 263730.

[29] MOL DL 83623.

[30] MOL DF 258916.

[31] MOL DL 39699; MOL DF 263819.



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Der letzte bekannte Sohn von Johannes war Zonk. Im Jahre 1301 war er noch nicht an der Seite seiner Brüder erschienen, das ist erst im Jahre 1305 geschehen.[32] Man kann das so erklären, dass Zonk erst zu dieser Zeit die Volljährigkeit erreicht hatte. Ähnlich wie seine älteren Brüder (Detrik und Matthäus) verschwindet Zonk aus den Quellen irgendwann in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Noch am 15. August 1350 beantragte er beim Zipser Kapitel zusammen mit den Söhnen seiner wahrscheinlich unlängst gestorbenen Brüder eine Kopie der Urkunde des Bans Stephan.[33] Bereits zehn Monate später, im Juni 1351, verkaufte seine Tochter Anna (*Auchow*) ihre von ihm ererbten Vermögensanteile.[34] Das ist die einzige Nachricht über sie und erst mehr als zwanzig Jahre später tritt in den Urkunden auch sein Bruder Jordan auf.[35] Hinsichtlich dessen, dass dieser Jordan noch im Jahre 1404 lebte,[36] ist zu vermuten, dass er seinem Vater Zonk im höheren Lebensalter geboren wurde und dass Jordan am Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts mindestens sechzig Jahre alt war.

Bislang wurde die Aufmerksamkeit ausschließlich den männlichen Nachkommen von Johannes sowie deren Kindern gewidmet. Aus weiteren Quellen weiß man, dass Johannes außer fünf Söhnen auch vier Töchter hatte – Margarete, *Trewtel*, Elisabeth und Katharina.[37] Im Allgemeinen ist über sie nicht viel bekannt. Im Jahre 1348 bekam eine von ihnen das von ihrem Vater Johannes geerbte *quarta puellaris* von seinen Brüdern.[38] Bei dieser Gelegenheit erfährt man, dass ihr Ehemann Nikolaus Apród von Šarišské Sokolovce, Vater des Chronisten Johannes, geworden war. Die erste Gemahlin von Nikolaus Apród, die ihm den Sohn Johannes gebar, war die Tochter von Pankratius und Schwester von Bartholomäus.[39] Anhand des Ausgleichs aus dem Jahre 1348 ist anzunehmen, dass sich Nikolaus nach dem Tode seiner ersten Ehefrau mit einer der Töchter von Johannes aus **Štefkovce* vermählte, die auf diese Weise zur Stiefmutter von Johannes von Šarišské Sokolovce wurde.

Es ist gelungen, bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts insgesamt sechsundzwanzig Nachkommen von besagtem Johannes zu identifizieren, darunter neun in der direkten männlichen Linie. In der dritten Generation blieb sein einziger direkter männlicher Nachkomme der Zagreber Bischof Johannes, der, vom Alter her nahe dem Jordans, Cousin seines Vaters Jakob gewesen zu sein scheint. Da weder Jordan noch Johannes männliche Erben hatten und ihr gemeinsamer Vorfahre der einzige unter den Brüdern war, der männliche Nachkommen hinterlassen hatte, kann man feststellen, dass diese Hauptlinie der Herren von *Štefkovce Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts ausgestorben ist.

* * *

Gemäß den Quellen von der Wende des 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert weiß man, dass die Brüder Jakob, Johannes und Stanislaus, aus der ersten uns bekannten Generation, mindestens zwei Schwestern hatten, deren Namen jedoch nicht bekannt sind. Schon vor dem Jahre 1286 hatte eine von ihnen einen erwachsenen Sohn, der einen der damals auf der Zipser Burg lagernden Neugern in Notwehr erschlug.[40] Sein Name ist leider auch nicht bekannt und man kann nur vermuten, welches der Mitglieder der Nebenlinie das eigentlich sein könnte. Am Ende der neunziger Jahre des 13. Jahrhunderts sind einige Mitglieder einer der Familiennebenlinien in den Quellen schon namentlich angeführt (siehe TAB Nr. 4). Laut einer Urkunde des Zipser Kapitels aus dem Jahre 1298 kaufte Henrich, Schwager des Bischofs Jakob, ein Grundstück in Trsťany (dt. *Röhrbach*).[41] Ein Dorf, das sich auf diesem Besitz befand, wurde nach dem neuen Besitzer benannt – Hincovce

[32] *RDSl* 1, p. 182, nr. 289*.
[33] MOL DL 60262.
[34] MOL DL 60266; MOL DL 83273.
[35] MOL DL 74834.
[36] SASK 3/1/17.
[37] MOL DL 60663; MOL DL 83623. Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Szepesi (Stefkfalvi).
[38] MOL DL 60255.
[39] MOL DL 64061; Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Tótselymesi (Apród, Tárcai).
[40] MOL DF 264579; Hradszky, Josephus: *Initia progressus ac praesens status Capituli ad sanctum Martinum E.C. de Monte Scepusio*, pp. 310–318; *MES* 2, pp. 208–213, nr. 188. Darüber auch Marek, Miloš: Neugeri na Spiši (Vyplienenie Spišskej kapituly Kumánmi kráľa Ladislava IV.). In: *Studia Archeologica Slovaca Mediaevalia*, a. 5, 2006, p. 62. Zur Bedeutung des Termins *sororius* siehe Koczerska, Maria: Uwagi o terminologii pokrewieństwa i powinowactwa w polskich źródłach średniowiecznych. In: *Genealogia – Problemy metodyczne w badaniach nad polskim społeczeństwem średniowiecznym na tle porównawczym*. Ed.: Jacek Hertel. Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1982, p. 41.
[41] MOL DL 1502; *CDAC* 10, pp. 320–321, nr. 206: „*…gener venerabilis patris domini nostri I. miseracione divina episcopi Scepusiensis…*." Zur Bedeutung des Terminus' *gener* in Bezug zur Familie siehe Koczerska, Maria: *Uwagi o terminologii pokrewieństwa i powinowactwa w polskich źródłach średniowiecznych*, p. 35.



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(dt. *Hinsdorf/Hinzdorf*). Aus den nur spärlich erhaltenen Quellen zu diesem Zweig der Familie ist zu erkennen, dass Henrich vier Söhne hatte – Goblin, Johannes, Jakob und Alexander. Zusammen mit diesen erwarb er im Jahre 1309 den Grundbesitz Poľanovce (*Babarethe*) von Stephan, dem Sohn von Polan.[42] Neben den Besitztümern in Hincovce und Poľanovce verfügte die Familie Henrichs zudem über Anteile in Nemešany (dt. *Nemeschan*). Im Jahre 1312 wurden diese höchstwahrscheinlich vom ältesten Sohn Goblin und den Söhnen seines Schwagers, Goblin des Jungen, verkauft.[43] Aus dem schriftlichen Zeugnis zu dieser Transaktion erfährt man, dass Henrichs Sohn Goblin Einwohner von Spišské Podhradie war. Dies ist jedoch nicht der erste Beleg dafür, dass Goblin aus dieser sächsischen Gemeinde stammte. Anhand einer Urkunde der Abtei in Spišský Štiavnik (dt. *Schawnik*) aus dem Jahre 1283 bezüglich der Lösung eines Rechtsstreits um den Grundbesitz eines gewissen Demeter ist sogar bekannt, dass Goblin zum Schultheiß in Spišské Podhradie geworden war.[44] Zusammen mit ihm wurde auch sein Bruder Alexander (*Alarch*) erwähnt. Auch über einen nächsten Sohn Henrichs, Johannes, weiß man, dass er aus Spišské Podhradie stammte. Im Jahre 1317 kaufte er das Dorf Oľšavka (dt. *Olschanka/Olschawka*) von den Herren von Žehra (dt. *Schigra*).[45]

Aufgrund dieser Tatsachen kann man sagen, dass Henrich, Schwager der Brüder Johannes, Stanislaus und des Bischofs Jakob, aus der Kommunität der Sachsen aus Spišské Podhradie stammte. Diese Behauptung unterstützt auch der Fakt, dass sich die Besitztümer, über die Henrich und seine Nachkommen verfügten oder die sie schrittweise erwarben, in der Nähe dieser Siedlung (Hincovce, Oľšavka, Poľanovce, Nemešany) befanden.

An dieser Stelle kann man zu dem Inzident des Jahres 1286 zurückkehren, als einer von Jakobs Neffen einen der Neuger tötete. Hinsichtlich der Struktur der Familienbeziehungen ist anzunehmen, dass eben dieser Mann einer der Söhne Henrichs gewesen sein könnte. Dies scheint umso wahrscheinlicher, wenn man weiß, dass Henrichs Söhne zu den Einwohnern von Spišské Podhradie sowie zu den Vertretern der Gemeinde gehörten und als solche mit diesen häufig in gegenseitigen Kontakt kamen. In diesem Zusammenhang kommen vornehmlich Goblin oder Alexander in Betracht.

Bleiben wir jetzt kurz bei Goblins Gattin und ihrer Familie. Auf Basis der Genealogie ihres Bruders sind ihr Vater sowie weitere Verwandte identifizierbar. Der Vater von Goblins Ehefrau und zugleich Goblin dem Jungen war Goblin aus Levoča (dt. Leutschau), der als Händler (*mercator*) tätig war.[46] Angesichts des häufigen Vorkommens des Personennamens Goblin in dieser Familie, bzw. in der Umgebung von Spišské Podhradie, ist die genaue Identifikation einzelner Familienbeziehungen komplizierter. Die Situation kann durch die Begrenzung eines Grundbesitzes in Klčov (dt. Koltsch) aus dem Jahre 1284 veranschaulicht werden, in der drei Goblins (Goblin, der Sohn von Goblin; Goblin der Blonde und Goblin der Kleriker) angeführt werden.[47]

Unter den Nachkommen der vier Söhne von Henrich und der Tochter von Goblin dem Händler, begegnet man zuerst den Nachkommen von Goblin. Am Ende der dreißiger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts ist es zu erneuten Vermögensstreitigkeiten zwischen den Einwohnern von Spišské Podhradie und dem Zipser Propst gekommen. Während der Verhandlung sind die Vorsteher der Stadtkommunität vor Wilhelm Druget getreten, die von dem Schultheiß Tylo angeführt wurden. Neben den anderen wurde er auch von seinen Brüdern Peter und Nikolaus begleitet.[48] Die mit diesem Streit verbundenen Nachrichten liefern zugleich die einzigen Erkenntnisse über Peter und Nikolaus. Im Jahre 1345 wird noch ihr Bruder Tylo als ein Pächter in **Zlatník* erwähnt. Im nachfolgenden Zeitabschnitt begegnet man ihnen schon nicht mehr und erst aus dem Jahre 1361 blieb uns die Nachricht über Tylos Schwiegersohn, Renerdus, erhalten.[49]

Ein weiterer der Söhne Henrichs, dessen Nachkommen zu identifizieren sind, ist Alexander. In

[42] *RDSl* 1, p. 276, nr. 617*. Zur Lokalisation des Grundbesitzes *Babarethe* siehe Fekete Nagy, Antal: *A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása*, p. 149.
[43] *RDSl* 1, nr. 1056, pp. 450–451; Ibidem, nr. 1086, p. 463; Ibidem, nr. 1089 , pp. 464–465. Den Terminus *sororius*, der die gegenseitige Verwandtschaft zwischen Goblin dem Jungen und Goblin, dem Sohn von Henrich, anzeigt, ist ausschließlich im Sinne der Schwägerschaft zu interpretieren. Das heißt, dass die Gemahlin von Henrichs Sohn die Schwester von Goblin dem Jungen geworden war.
[44] MOL DF 272434.
[45] *RDSl* 2, p. 112, nr. 220*.
[46] Ibidem 1, p. 193–194, nr. 417.
[47] *CDP*, nr. 97, pp. 101–103.
[48] SpP, nr. 53.
[49] SASK 9/1/20:„*…Renerd, gener Petri, filii Goblini, civis de Suburbio*….“



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den Quellen tritt er seit dem Jahre 1283 auf und zum letzten Mal wird er im Jahre 1348 erwähnt.[50] Seine zwei Söhne, Konrad und Leonhard, sind in den achtziger Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts als Zeugen in den Streiten Johannes' von Šarišské Sokolovce um die in der Zips liegenden Besitztümer[51] oder im Fall der Schenkung des Grundbesitzes an das Zipser Kapitel seitens seines Propstes[52] aufgetreten. Die Söhne von Alexander erscheinen in den Quellen ziemlich spät – mehr als dreißig, bzw. vierzig Jahre nach der letzten Erwähnung ihres Vaters. Ihre Nachkommen kann man vorläufig nicht zuverlässig identifizieren.

Im Falle der Nachkommenschaft von Henrich und seiner Ehefrau aus **Štefkovce* ist es gelungen, zehn Personen, darunter eine Frau, zu identifizieren.

Die Größe und die Möglichkeit der Rekonstruktion der Genealogie dieser Familie sind durch Henrichs Abstammung aus Spišské Podhradie determiniert. Sein Sohn sowie sein Enkel waren dort in einem gewissen Zeitabschnitt Schultheißen. Im Allgemeinen verhindert jedoch die Anzahl der erhaltenen Nachrichten über die Einwohner der Stadtgemeinschaften eine genauere Rekonstruktion dieser Familie. Die Berichte über ihre Mitglieder hängen ausschließlich mit den Besitztümern außerhalb der Stadtgrenzen, bzw. ausnahmsweise auch mit den Rechtsstreiten um einen Grundbesitz mit dem Zipser Propst zusammen.

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Der Name der zweiten Schwester der Brüder Johannes, Stanislaus und des Propstes Jakob ist ebenso nicht bekannt. Anhand der Quellen ist allerdings der Name ihres Gatten festzustellen, der bislang der Aufmerksamkeit der Wissenschaft entgangen ist (siehe TAB Nr. 5 und 6).[53] Sein Taufname war Jakob – der beliebte Name der Familie aus **Štefkovce*.[54] Die zeitgemäßen Quellen künden, dass dieser Jakob mit seiner Ehefrau zwei Söhne hatte – Ladislaus und Franz (*Franko*).[55] Der Erstgenannte ist wahrscheinlich irgendwann vor dem Jahre 1327 gestorben, da in den Vermögensangelegenheiten hinsichtlich ihres Dorfs Rakúsy (dt. *Roks*) damals nur seine Söhne Jakob, Paul, Nikolaus und Johannes auftraten.[56] Jakob, der den Namen seines Großvaters trug, ist im Jahre 1357 aus den Quellen verschwunden[57] und die nächsten Erwähnungen aus den Jahren 1394 und 1396 geben ihn schon als Verstorbenen an.[58] Angesichts seines wahrscheinlichen Geburtsdatums (spätestens in der ersten Dekade des 14. Jahrhunderts) war dies auch zu erwarten. Wie man jedoch aufgrund anderer Urkunden weiß, hatte Jakob zwei Ehefrauen. Seine erste Gemahlin war Katarina von Štítnik (dt. *Schittnich*), die ihm den Sohn Nikolaus gebar. In den Jahren 1377–1378 hat dieser Anspruch auf die *quarta puellaris* seiner Mutter erhoben.[59]

Jakobs zweite Ehefrau war offensichtlich jünger, da sie noch im Jahre 1394 (mindestens dreißig Jahre nach Jakobs Tode) als seine Witwe und zugleich Gattin von Johannes, Sohn des Thomas von Liptov (dt. *Liptau*), die Auszahlung aus dem Vermögensanteil ihres vormaligen Ehemannes Jakob beantragt hat. Ihre Ansprüche wurden von den Söhnen ihres Stiefsohns Nikolaus befriedigt.[60] Nikolaus scheint der einzige Sohn Jakobs zu sein und laut einer Urkunde des Zipser Kapitels aus dem Jahre 1384 hatte er vier Kinder – die Söhne Gregor und Egidius sowie die Töchter Dorothea und Klara.[61] Nikolaus selbst ist wahrscheinlich kurz vor Herausgabe dieser Urkunde gestorben, da im Jahre 1387 Gregor sowie Egidius noch von zartem Alter waren.[62] Der zitierte niedergeschriebene Erbausgleich aus dem Jahre 1384 erfolgte sicher kurz nach dem Tode von Nikolaus.

Paul, ein weiterer Sohn von Ladislaus, ist irgendwann nach dem Jahre 1347 gestorben.[63] Er hatte einen Sohn hinterlassen, der nach seinem

[50] MOL DL 83255.
[51] Archív Spišského biskupstva, fond Hodnoverné miesto Spišská kapitula (Archiv des Zipser Bistums, Fond „Glaubwürdige Stelle", deinde HMSK) 3/1/6.
[52] MOL DF 264592.
[53] Engel, Pál: *Középkori magyar genealógia*, Farkasfalvi (Szepes m.).
[54] MOL DL 63664.
[55] Für 1295: MOL DL 63620; MOL DF 281694; *CDP*, vol. 7, pp. 244–245, nr. 199; Für 1296: MOL DL 63622; *CDP*, vol. 7, pp. 251–252, nr. 206.
[56] MOL DL 10514; MOL DF 281474; MOL DF 281706; MOL DF 281712; MOL DF 281714.
[57] MOL DL 4679.
[58] 1394: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*), vol. 1–11. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: Typis typogr. regiae universitatis ungaricae, 1829–1844, hier vol. 10/2, 1835, pp. 244–245, nr. 133; Für 1396: MOL DL 281777.
[59] MOL DL 6499.
[60] *CDH*, vol. 10/2, pp. 244–245, nr. 133.
[61] MOL DL 68940.
[62] *CDH*, vol. 10/1, pp. 386–387, nr. 216.
[63] MOL DL 68868.



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Großvater Ladislaus benannt wurde. Die letzte erhaltene Nachricht über ihn stammt aus dem Jahre 1396.[64] Mit seiner Ehefrau Fenena hatte er vier Kinder – die Töchter Dorothea und Goldus sowie die Söhne Albert und Gregor.[65] Die Älteste unter ihnen war wahrscheinlich Goldus, die im Jahre 1378 schon einen erwachsenen Sohn Georg hatte, dessen Vater Hank aus einem der Zweige der Familie Hrhovský (Görgey) stammte.[66]

Der dritte Sohn von Ladislaus war Nikolaus, der in den Quellen während der Zeitspanne von 1327 bis 1340 auftritt.[67] Er ist nach dem Jahre 1340 gestorben, da seine Gemahlin Goldus 1347 mit ihren Schwägern Jakob und Paul, den Brüdern von Nikolaus, in einen Streit um ihre Mitgift geraten ist.[68] Nachkommen von Nikolaus werden gar nicht erwähnt und man kann vermuten, dass er auch keine hatte.

Johannes war der letzte Sohn von Ladislaus und er taucht nur in der Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1327 auf.[69] Um diesen mit einem gewissen Johannes, der im Jahre 1368 als Mann des Königs (*homo regius*) aufgetreten ist, identifizieren zu können, gibt es keine genügenden Beweise.[70]

Es ist gelungen, bis zum Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts insgesamt fünfzehn unmittelbare Nachkommen des Ladislaus von Vlková zu entdecken, von denen zwei Drittel Männer waren. In der dritten Familiengeneration (die Zeitgenossen des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes) kann man vier direkte männliche Nachkommen identifizieren.

* * *

Dieselbe Anzahl an männlichen Nachkommen wie im Teil der Familie von Ladislaus gelang es auch im Familienzweig von seinem Bruder Franz zu bestimmen. Seine zwei Söhne – Michael und Jakob – tauchen in den Quellen in der gleichen Zeitspanne wie die Söhne von Ladislaus auf. Die beiden treten zusammen in mehreren Urkunden auf (im Jahre 1327, 1340, 1346 sowie 1356).[71] Jakob muss irgendwann zwischen den Jahren 1356 und 1366 gestorben sein, da im Jahre 1366 sein Bruder Michael ein Grundstück in Arnutovce (dt. *Höfchen*) den Kartäusern vom Zufluchtsstein (*Lapis Refugii*) für die Erlösung seiner Seele schenkte.[72] Kurz nach dieser frommen Fundation sollte auch Michael sterben. Das wissen wir, weil am Anfang des Jahres 1369 sein Sohn, Stephan der Literat, späterer Pfarrer in Turňa nad Bodvou (dt. *Tornau*)[73] und Lektor des Esztergomer (dt. *Gran*) Kapitels, um die Einführung in den Grundanteil in Arnutovce gebeten hatte.[74] Neben Stephan hatte Michael noch weitere sieben Söhne, unter denen zwei auch ein geweihtes Leben gewählt haben. Im Jahre 1387 wird zum ersten Mal Ladislaus als Abt des Zisterzienserklosters in Spišský Štiavnik erwähnt.[75] An der Spitze des Klosters ist er bis zum Jahre 1412 geblieben[76] und im Jahre 1396 wurde er zudem Titularbischof von Knin.[77] Sein Bruder Paul wurde im Jahre 1396 zum Bischof von Oradea (dt. *Großwardein*) gewählt,[78] aber noch vorher war er als Notar von Valentin, Bischof von Pécs (dt. *Fünfkirchen*) tätig.[79]

[64] MOL DL 281777.
[65] *CDH* 9/5, nr. 153, pp. 298–299; MOL DF 243897; MOL DF 281777.
[66] Ibidem, nr. 153, pp. 298–299.
[67] MOL DL 10514; MOL DF 281474; MOL DF 281706; MOL DF 281712; MOL DF 281714; MOL DL 31090.
[68] MOL DL 60248. Goldus war die Tochter von Stephan von Markušovce.
[69] MOL DL 10514; MOL DF 281474; MOL DF 281706; MOL DF 281712; MOL DF 281714.
[70] MOL DL 5712.
[71] 1327: MOL DL 10514; MOL DF 281474; MOL DF 281706; MOL DF 281712; MOL DF 281714; 1340: MOL DL 3319; MOL DL 31090; 1346: MOL DL 3875; 1356: MOL DL 64677.
[72] MOL DF 272144.
[73] MOL DL 37268.
[74] Zum ersten Mal ist er in diesem Amt schon am 8. August 1382 und nicht erst im Jahre 1383 aufgetreten. Er ist im Jahre 1417 gestorben. MOL DF 244108; Kollányi, Ferencz: *Esztergomi kanonok 1100–1900*. Esztergom: Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Káptalan, 1900, p. 69.
[75] *CDH* 10/1, pp. 386–387, nr. 216.
[76] Vida, Beáta: Zoznam opátov Kláštora Panny Márie v Spišskom Štiavniku. In: *Historia Scepusii. Dejiny Spiša po roku 1526*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin Homza – Stanisław A. Sroka. Bratislava – Kraków: Etc., 2009, p. 566 führt in dem Zeitabschnitt der Jahre 1387–1412 zwei Personen mit dem Namen Ladislaus an, dabei erwähnt sie auch die These, die beiden seien ein und dieselbe Person, was sich bestätigte. Auf diese Weise sollte man das Wirken von Ladislaus, dem Sohn von Michael, als Abt, bzw. Gouverneur der Abtei in Spišský Štiavnik in die Jahre 1387–1412 datieren. Ein endgültiger Beweis der Identität beider Personen, bzw. ein Beweis für das Wirken von Ladislaus von Vlková in Spišský Štiavnik in den Jahren 1387–1412, findet sich in der Urkunde des Zipser Kapitels vom November 1387. MOL DF 263037.
[77] MOL DF 281777; Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*. Budapest: Arcanum Adatabázis, 2001 (CD-ROM), Knini püspök setzt den Beginn seines Wirkens für das Jahr 1397 an.
[78] MOL DF 281777; Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457*, Váradi püspök.
[79] MOL DF 263175.



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Ein Weiterer der Brüder war Thomas, der in den Quellen lediglich in den Jahren 1385 und 1387 aufgetreten ist.[80] Aus derselben Periode sind auch vereinzelte Nachrichten über seine Geschwister Peter, Franz und Nikolaus erhalten geblieben.[81] Keine genaueren Angaben sind vorhanden und es ist zu vermuten, dass keiner von ihnen irgendeinen männlichen Nachkommen hinterlassen hat. Im Jahre 1396 haben jedoch die Brüder gemeinsam das Kartäuserkloster auf dem Zufluchtsstein beschenkt und zu dieser Zeit waren schon drei von ihnen (Thomas, Franz, Nikolaus) nicht mehr am Leben. Zugleich ist es die letzte Auskunft über die weiteren drei Brüder (Paul, Peter und Johannes).

Angesichts des wahrscheinlichen Geburtsdatums ihres Vaters (Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts) ist es vorauszusetzen, dass die Quellen dessen zahlreiche Nachkommenschaft erst in einem höheren Alter Michaels erwähnen. Mehrere Argumente bieten sich zur Stützung dieser Hypothese an. Obwohl der erste von den Söhnen Michaels schon im Jahre 1369 als Verstorbener erwähnt wurde, geht es hier lediglich um eine vereinzelte Erwähnung, weil die anderen Brüder erst fünfzehn Jahre später in den Quellen auftauchen. Da Stephan im Jahre 1369 schon geschäftsfähig war und unter dem Zunamen *Literatus* aufgetreten ist sowie hinsichtlich seines Todesdatums (im Jahre 1417), kann man annehmen, dass er spätestens am Anfang der vierziger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts geboren wurde. Die übrigen Brüder sollten für jünger gehalten werden. Das ergibt sich aus der Tatsache, dass ihre wahrscheinliche Mutter Anna (es gibt keine Informationen über irgendeine andere Gemahlin von Michael) noch im Jahre 1383 am Leben war,[82] das heißt mehr als fünfzehn Jahre nach dem Tode ihres Ehemannes. Alle diese Fakten zusammen mit dem Auftauchen der Brüder in den Quellen erlauben es, etliche Hypothesen auszusprechen. Als Geburtszeit der Söhne von Michael konnten die fünfziger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts ermittelt werden. Daraus geht auch ein bedeutender Altersunterschied zwischen Michael und seiner (zweiten?) Gattin Anna hervor.

Bei der Analyse des Ladislaus-Familienzweiges der Herren von Vlková wurde festgestellt, dass die fünfte Generation des Geschlechtes von acht Personen gebildet wurde – vier Männern sowie vier Frauen. Im Falle der Familienlinie von Franz, hatte diese, trotz einer zahlreichen männlichen Nachkommenschaft Michaels, keine Fortsetzer und in der fünften Generation ist dieser Zweig ausgestorben.

* * *

Im vorangehenden Text wurde eine ausführliche Rekonstruktion der Nachkommenschaft der unbekannten Eltern vorgelegt, unter deren Nachkommen auch der Zagreber Bischof Johannes (1394–1397) zu finden ist. Dabei ist es gelungen, insgesamt 69 unmittelbare Nachkommen zu entdecken, sowie einige Personen, die sich in die Familie mittels einer Vermählung eingegliedert haben, Mitglieder bedeutender Zipser, aber auch im gesamten Land anzutreffender Geschlechter – die Herren von Markušovce (Máriássy), Solivar (Sós, Sóvari), Liptovský Ján (Szentiványi), Hrhov (Görgey), Štítnik (Csetneki) oder von Veľká Lomnica und Brezovica (Berzeviczy). In der Zeit als Johannes zum Zagreber Bischof wurde, waren nachweisbar mindestens fünfzehn seiner Verwandten am Leben (siehe TAB Nr. 7).

Anhand der fünf Generationen der Familie von **Štefkovce* kann man mehrere Entwicklungsmodelle der gesellschaftlichen Stellung einzelner Zweige dieser Familie veranschaulichen. Das größte Interesse wird hier der Hauptlinie gewidmet, es ist aber erforderlich, auch die Nebenlinien wahrzunehmen.

Eine knappe Charakteristik der Stellung der Hauptlinie der Familie (der Herren von **Štefkovce*) wurde schon von Ivan Bertényi angedeutet.[83] Vom Zipser Lokaladel haben sich die Mitglieder dieses Geschlechtes über ein paar Generationen bis zu hohen Landeswürdenträgern aufgeschwungen. Dieser gesellschaftliche Aufstieg war aber nicht geradlinig und schnell, er dauerte mehrere Jahrzehnte. Man sollte jedoch nicht nur die Vermögensbasis der Familie beachten. Ihrer Analyse sollte in der Zukunft angemessenen Raum gewidmet werden, da es der Umfang der vorgelegten Studie nicht gestattet, sie an dieser Stelle darzulegen.

Im Jahre 1284 wurde Jakob, der bis dahin die Würde des Kanonikers – des Lektors im Zipser Kapitel, bekleidete, zum Zipser Propst gewählt.[84] Inhalt seiner Dignität war die Leitung des *locus credibilis* und zudem die Leitung der

[80] MOL DL 45853; MOL DF 263037.
[81] MOL DF 263037.
[82] MOL DL 63700.
[83] Bertényi, Iván: *Krajinský sudca Jakub zo Spiša*, pp. 272–273.
[84] Labanc, Peter: *Spišskí prepošti do roku 1405*, p. 85.



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Kapitelschule.[85] Diese Fakten weisen zweifellos auf Jakobs Bildungsniveau hin. Ob Jakob an irgendeiner der damaligen Universitäten studiert hat, ist nicht eindeutig zu sagen. Trotz der Anziehungskraft dieser Hypothese ist eher vorauszusetzen, dass er an einer *studia generalia* tatsächlich nicht graduiert wurde.

Wenn man darüber nachdenkt, dass die Bildung aus dem Umfeld der Kapitel über die Kanoniker in die bedeutenderen Kirchengemeinden gelangte,[86] geschah dies umso mehr im Falle des engen Familienkreises. Schon im Jahre 1286 wurde vom Zipser Propst Jakob sein Neffe Jakob zum Kanoniker ernannt. Dieser hatte das Zipser Benefizium bis in die vierziger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts inne und wurde dabei zudem zum Kaschauer Pfarrer ernannt. Er ist in der Zeit gestorben, als sein Neffe Jakob, der spätere königliche Hofrichter, in den Quellen aufzutauchen beginnt. Aus diesem Blickwinkel scheint die Annahme von Ivan Bertényi, dass Jakob die Kontakte seiner Familie ausgenutzt hat, um eine bessere Ausbildung zu erhalten, richtig zu sein. Mit einem gewissen Maß an Vorsicht ist anzunehmen, dass er diese eben in der Zipser Kapitelschule erhalten hat.[87] Die Hilfe seines Onkels ist in diesem Falle offensichtlich. Später hat Jakob als Zipser Kanoniker und Pfarrer in Košice die Position des höchstgebildeten Menschen in der Familie eingenommen. Ihm kann man die Verdienste um die Ausbildung seines gleichnamigen Neffen Jakob, des späteren königlichen Hofrichters, zuschreiben. Ähnlich kann auch der Fall eines weiteren Familienmitgliedes, Johannes von Šarišské Sokolovce, angesehen werden, obwohl auch er kein Blutsverwandter war.

Von der bestehenden Geschlechtsfolge haben nach unseren Erkenntnissen diejenigen Familienmitglieder eine umfassende Bildung bekommen, die zugleich Kleriker waren. Der königliche Hofrichter Jakob war eine Ausnahme. Sein Sohn Johannes hat jedoch nach Absolvierung der Universität in Italien wiederum hohe Funktionen in der Kirchenhierarchie ausgeübt.

Die Position einzelner Mitglieder von diesem Teil der Familie (der Nachkommen von Johannes von **Štefkovce*) hat zudem ihre Verwandten, deren Stammeswohnsitz Vlková in der Zips war, unzweifelhaft beeinflusst. In ungefähr derselben Zeitspanne, als Johannes von **Štefkovce*, später sogar Zagreber Bischof, in der Hierarchie emporgestiegen war, haben auch seine Verwandten mehrere bedeutende Würden in der Kirchenstruktur erworben (Lektor des Graner Kapitels, Bischof von Vác (dt. *Waitzen*), Abt von Spišský Štiavnik oder Titularbischof von Knin).

Die umrissene Situation kann man auf solche Weise auswerten, dass das Bildungs – und Gesellschaftsniveau jeder einzelner Generation von der älteren Generation beeinflusst wurde. Diese Erscheinung ist auch der heutigen Gesellschaft nicht unbekannt, anhand dieser genealogisch-prosopographischen Studie zur Familie von **Štefkovce* und Vlková ist dieser Prozess jedoch im Laufe mehr als eines Jahrhunderts zu beobachten. Das Geschlecht, dessen Angehöriger im letzten Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts zum Dignitar des Zipser Kapitels wurde, ist einige Jahrzehnte später zu einem der bedeutendsten im ganzen Königreich Ungarn aufgestiegen.

[85] Kőfalvi, Tamás: Places of Authentication (loca credibilia). In: *Chronica*, a. 2, 2002, p. 36; Gulin, Ante: *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli* : *loca credibilia sjeverne i središnje Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2001, p. 156; Hlavačková, Miriam: *Kapitula pri Dóme sv. Martina – intelektuálne centrum Bratislavy v 15. storočí*. Bratislava: VEDA, 2008, pp. 27–28.

[86] Šedivý, Juraj: Stredoveká písomná kultúra na Spiši. In: *Historia Scepusii* 1, p. 487.

[87] Bertényi, Iván*: Krajinský sudca Jakub zo Spiša*, p. 262.

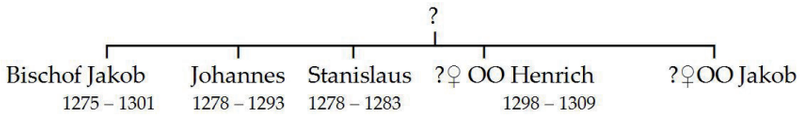


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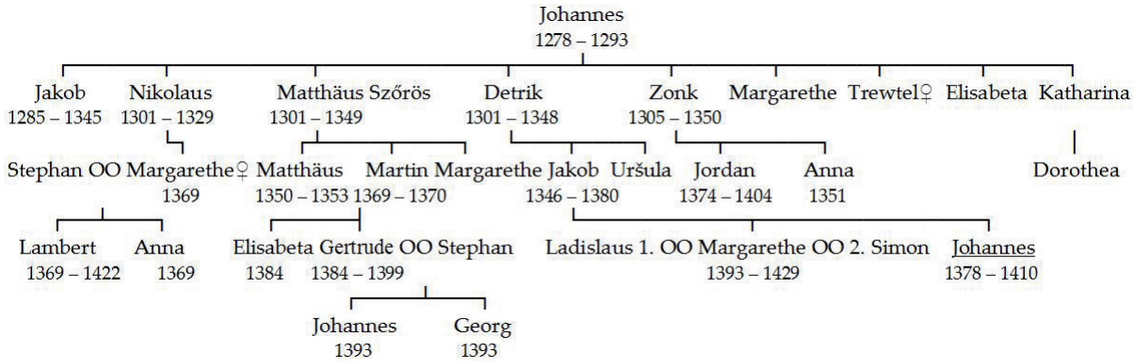
# Anlagen:

TAB Nr. 1–6: Genealogische Tabellen der Ahnen und Verwandten von Johannes aus der Zips, des Zagreber Bischofs (1394–1397).
TAB Nr. 7: Tabelle mit Lebensdaten der Verwandten von Johannes.

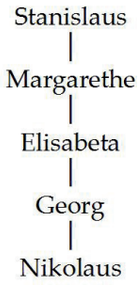
*TAB Nr. 1: Die erste bekannte Generation der Ahnen des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes.*



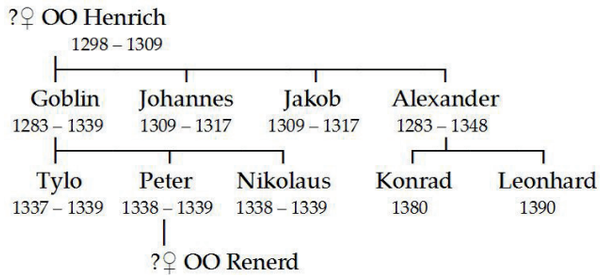

*TAB Nr. 2: Die Nachkommen von Johannes mit Kennzeichnung des Probanden – des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes.*




*TAB Nr. 3: Die Nachkommenschaft von Stanislaus.*



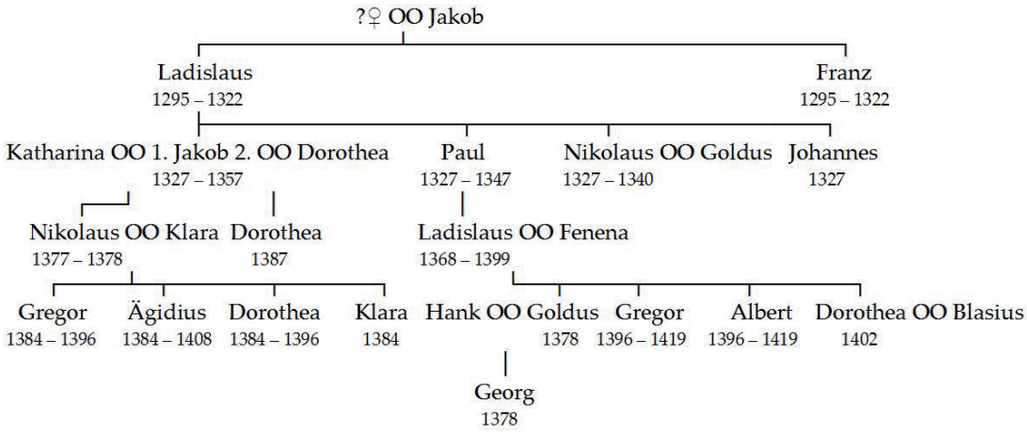

*TAB Nr. 4: Die Nachkommen von Henrich und der namentlich unbekannten Schwester von Johannes, dem Urgroßvater von Johannes, dem Zagreber Bischof.*



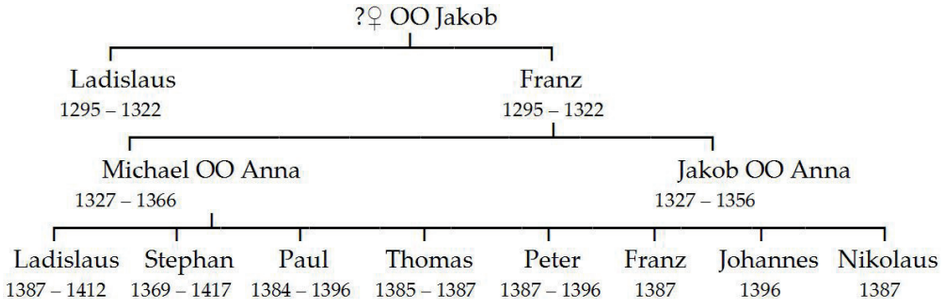



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*TAB Nr. 5: Die Nachkommen des Ladislaus-Familienzweiges der Herren von Vlková.*




*TAB Nr. 6: Die Nachkommen des Franz-Familienzweiges der Herren von Vlková.*



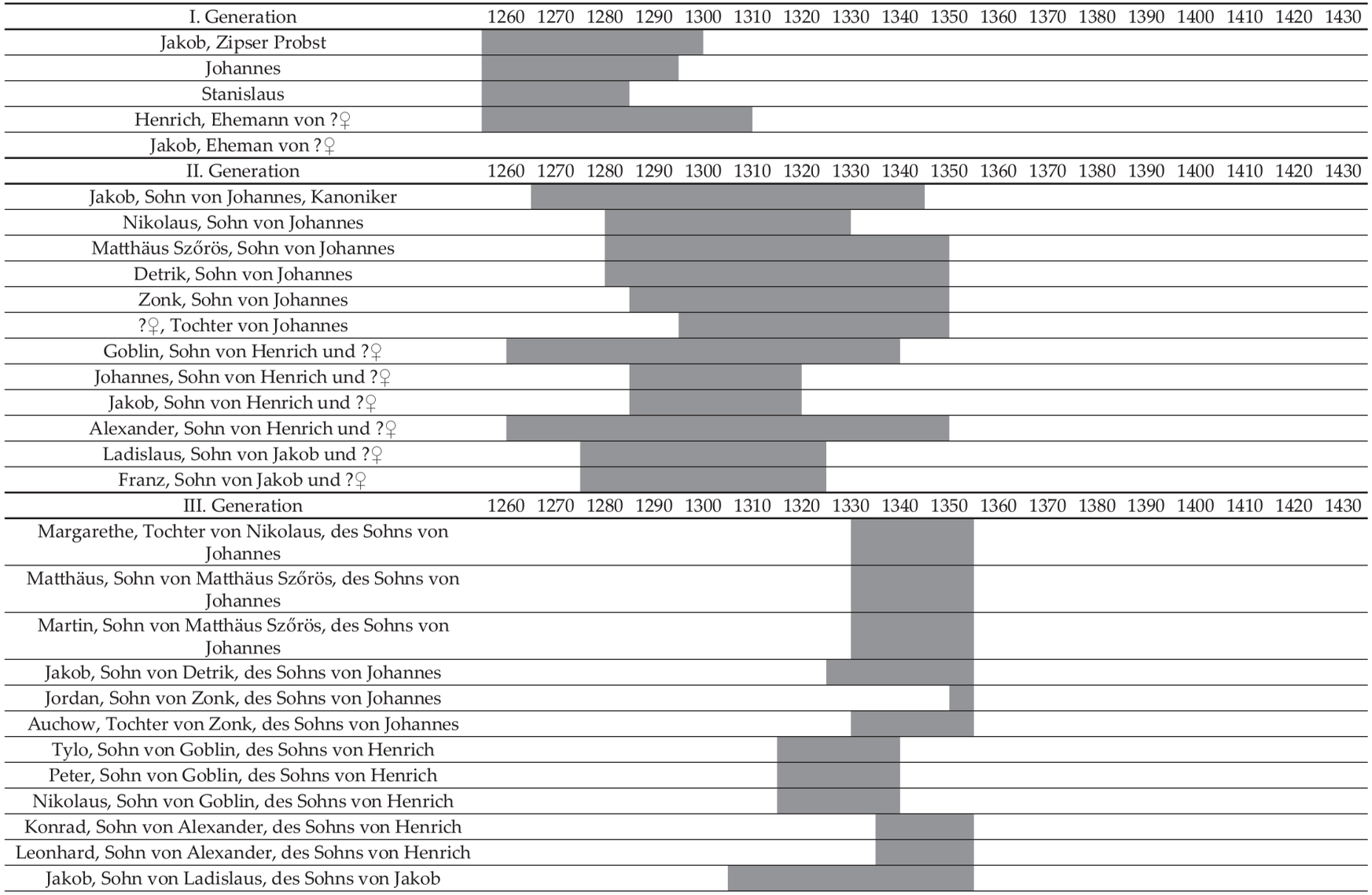



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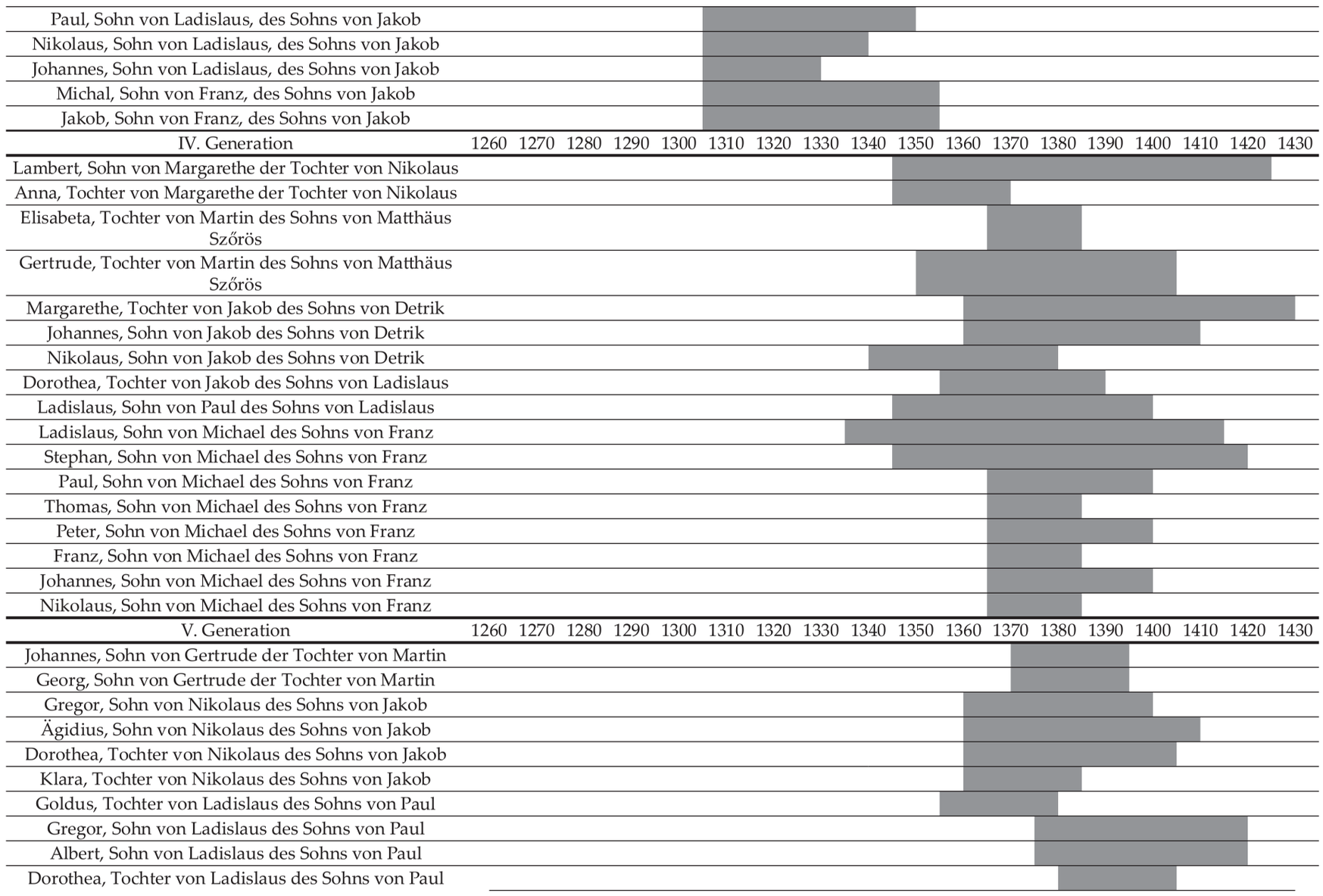


*TAB Nr. 7: Lebensdaten der Ahnen und Verwandten des Zagreber Bischofs Johannes.*






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# HISTORY OF ART

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VLADIMIR PETER GOSS*

# Slovak and Croatian Art in the Thirteenth Century. Some Striking Analogies and Their Background

## Umenie v Slavónsku a na Spiši v 13. storočí – niekoľko pozoruhodných analógií a ich pozadie / Umjetnost u Slavoniji i na Spišu u 13. stoljeću – neke upečatljive analogije i njihove pozadine

*Following up on the latest Croatian research in art history (Goss, Jukić, Dujmović, Cepetić) and history (Budak, Basić), we shall single out some striking analogies in the art of Spiš and Continental Croatia in the thirteenth century. We envisage a double approach: in terms of theory of cultural exchange, and in terms of precise comparisons of significant monuments. The central role of Duke Coloman will be underlined for the developments of the first half of the century, but we shall also touch upon some less expected analogies from its second half, which might shed additional light on the mechanisms of cultural exchange within the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen.*

Keywords: thirteenth century, Spiš, Slavonia, History of Medieval Art, Duke Coloman

During a break in the wonderful conference „*Borders of Art History in Central Europe*" organized by Ivan Gerát in Bratislava in 2007, a Slovak colleague, Dr. Bibiana Pomfyová, handed over a volume of the *Ars* to me.[1] I was truly struck. What I saw on the front cover was so much alike some things "back home." Looking over my shoulder, Professor Milan Pelc, also from Zagreb, exclaimed when he saw the key stone from Hrabušice: "*Lord, this is the Cathedral of Zagreb!*" Indeed, the similarity with the key stones of the cathedral sacristy (ca. 1270) is striking! Here is the story of the research that followed (fig. 1, 2).

However, a brief theoretical introduction is needed. Visual art forms do not travel. The people who carry them do. So any transfer of forms must be linked to the human factor. The rounded tower of St. Bartol in Novi Mikanovci in Eastern Slavonia, unique within the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen is due to the presence of a so-called "Saxon" or "Saxon-related" community, as such form, originating in the Lower German territory, spread throughout the Northern, Central and East Central Europe with the colonization of the "Saxons," a mixed group of Saxons, Lower Saxons, Frisians, Flemings, Thuringians, etc. They appeared in the Pannonian Basin as early as the end of the eleventh century and the heyday of the immigration was the beginning of the thirteenth century, the reign of Andrew II. The immigrants to what is today Mikanovci may have included a builder or a knowledgeable member of the community who asked a local builder to build him a rounded tower, or the form may be due to the collective memory of a group who wanted a church "*like the one we had at home.*"[2]

Memory could be a powerful factor. It could be successfully argued that the frequent appearance of polyconchal structures in the Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia is due to the immigrant Slavs' memory of centralized polyconchal sanctuaries of the old country. If the new country already possessed similar structures, as in the case of the Roman Dalmatia, the better.[3]

The people who transfer forms need not be artists. They could be just about anyone: pilgrims, soldiers, merchants, monks, bums. A princess marrying a prince in a distant land may bring within her

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[1] *Ars*, nr. 3, 2000.

[2] Goss, Vladimir Peter: Crkva Sv. Bartola u Novim Mikanovcima – romanika između Save i Drave i Europska Kultura. In: *Peristil*, a. 46, 2003, pp. 5–12; Idem Renesansa 12. stoljeća i Hrvatska. In: *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske.* Ed.: Predrag Marković – Jasenka Gudelj. Zagreb: IPU, 2008, pp. 417–426.

[3] Goss, Vladimir Peter: Memories, Sources, Models. In: *Medioevo: Immagine e memoria*. Ed.: Arturo Carlo Quintavalle. Parma: Electa, 2009, pp. 169–174; Idem Landscape as History, Myth, and Art. An Art Historian's View. In: *Studia Ethnologica Croatica*, a. 21, 2009, pp. 133–166.



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Fig. 1. *Zagreb, Cathedral, key stone from the sacristy, ca. 1270.*



Fig. 2. *Hrabušice, key stone, second half of the thirteenth century.*

entourage artists, models, works of art. A new governor of the province may bring along his favorite workshop. Well-known artists may be engaged far from home, a ruler may send models and designs to a friendly ally, and so on. The point is that in order to understand analogies we should be able to understand the human factor that lies behind them.

Up until about a decade ago, analogies in the medieval art between Croatia and Slovakia went unnoticed. If by some strange circumstance some analogy had been noticed, it would have been written off as, for example, a "general similarity in the lands of similar cultural level" or "occupying a similar place within the realm." It was necessary to find the human link for the thread to start to unravel. Although one may still need to add a lot to what has been emerging it is quite clear that at least some of the similarities were due to the activity of one leader, who stood at the top of the pyramid of power in some parts of both Slovakia and Croatia, and his entourage. Only the realization of the key role of Duke Coloman, both in Spiš and in Slavonia, did provide a solid ground for a comparative study, going beyond the time of his rule.

The credit for defining the significance of Coloman (1208–1241, Duke of Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia (1226–1241) goes to Professor Budak and young scholar Ivan Basić.[4] The portrait that has emerged is one of an energetic leader, capable administrator and brave soldier. The research has also recognized the key role of the duke's closest ally in political, religious, and cultural spheres, Stephen (Stjepan), Bishop of Zagreb (1225–1247), former chancellor to Coloman's father, King Andrew II (1204–1235). Coloman was also nominal King of Galicia, crowned in 1217, but Hungarian control over the country was limited to the periods of 1215–1216 and 1219–1221. In his attempts to gain a foothold in Galicia, Coloman relied on Spiš as his base.

In Croatia, the policy of both the duke and the bishop was to create a powerful unit including Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia, *regna* within the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen, under the rule of a single monarch; in Church matters to transfer the archbishop's seat from Split to Zagreb; in economy to rely on the king's free boroughs against the arrogance of the nobility. In that effort, culture and the arts were not the least among the tools of Coloman's policy. The invasion of the Tartars (in 1241–1242) and Coloman's death put an end to the project which was at the brink of succeeding.[5]

Now let us return to our initial lines, the *Ars*, and the strange similarity between the keystone from Hrabušice and the sacristy of Zagreb Cathedral (fig. 1, 2).[6] One may freely ask: what does this late thirteenth-century example have to do with Duke Coloman, dead and buried for decades? But

[4] Budak, Neven: Zagrebački biskup Stjepan II, savremenik Tome Arhiđakona. In: *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo doba.* Ed.: Mirjana Matijević Sokol. Split: Splitski književni krug, 2004, pp. 153–158; Basić, Ivan: O pokušaju ujedinjenja zagrebačke i splitske crkve u XIII. st. In: *Pro tempore*, a. 3, 2006, pp. 25–44. This study's worthy predecessors are: Procházková, Nataša, Koloman Haličský na Spiši pred rokom 1241. In: *Terra Scepuscensis*: *Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša.* Ed.: Martin Homza – Ryszard Gładkiewicz. Levoča – Wrocław: Kláštorisko, 2003, pp. 243-279; later Homza, Martin, Polticke dejiny Spiša do začiatku 14. storočia. In: *Historia Scepusii*: *Dejiny Spiša,* vol. 1. Ed.: Martin Homza – Stanisław A. Sroka, Bratislava – Kraków: Etc, 2009, pp. 126-327.

[5] Ibidem, passim.

[6] On Hrabušice cfr. Pomfyová, Bibiana: *Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia*. PhD. Thesis. Bratislava: Katedra dejín výtvarného umenia, 2001, pp. 163–165.



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Fig. 3. *Topusko, Cistercian Abbey, capital, ca. 1220–1230.*

to start serious research at all, it was necessary to identify a human link. Working backwards once the analogies were noticed, with the help from the historians, we became convinced that Coloman was that key and trend-setting link.

The period of late twelfth century and the first four decades of the thirteenth century in terms of art in the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen means a full, late flowering of the Romanesque and the introduction of the Gothic forms. Like in the Central Mediterranean, i.e. the Imperial Italy, and in Central Europe, i.e. the Imperial Germany, the Romanesque, the "third Romanesque art," as it was recently called most appropriately by Xavier Barral i Altet, persisted along the French High Gothic imports, resulting in an extremely appealing and truly local art idiom, not any more Romanesque, never indeed Gothic, yet fully and truly linked with the physical and cultural landscape of the lands where it sprang forth. Of course, within this artistic language which was initially elaborated at the site of the new Esztergom Cathedral of King Bela III (1173–1196) and Archbishop Hiob, one can discern "words" from the French Gothic vocabulary, which are usually seen as the markers of the appearance of the Gothic forms within the local milieu. In that sense the appearance of the Gothic in Continental Croatia is rightly tied to the Cistercian monastery in Topusko (first quarter of the thirteenth century, fig. 3) and the *domus* of the Templars at Gora, where the order had its seat already by 1196 and where a new early Gothic building was constructed over an earlier Romanesque one in the first decades of the thirteenth century (fig. 4). In Topusko Gothic motifs in the nature of the Reims Cathedral arrive via the workshop of Pannonhalma; in Gora the beautiful capitals "à crochet" may be due directly to a traveling French workshop. One should add a capital from



Fig. 4. *Gora, Templar Church, capital, early thirteenth century.*



Fig. 5. *Zagreb, Museum of Croatian History, capital from Zagreb Cathedral (?), ca. 1200.*



Fig. 6. *Esztergom, Royal Palace, capital, ca. 1200.*



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Fig. 7. *Čazma, St. Mary Magdalene, ca. 1230 and later.*



Fig. 8. *Čazma, St. Mary Magdalene, rose, ca. 1242–1250.*



Fig. 9. *Čazma, St. Mary Magdalene, ca. 1230 and later, side view.*

Zagreb (possibly from the cathedral), absolutely analogous to one in the royal palace at Esztergom (ca. 1200), proving that, indeed, the royal workshops were present in the *Pannonia Savia* around 1200 (fig. 5, 6). This important process occurred in Croatia between ca. 1195 and 1230, thus partly under Duke Coloman's watch. The results of my team's extensive research have been published elsewhere, and here we will very briefly review the key complexes: Čazma, a new town founded by Duke Coloman and Bishop Stephen, built around 1230, and the castle of Medvedgrad above Zagreb, the phase of 1230–1240.

From the earliest phase of Čazma we have the Church of St. Mary Magdalene albeit in a much rebuilt form (fig. 7–9). The same phase involved at least one more church, the Holy Spirit of the Canons, the palaces of the duke, the bishop and the canons, and the first phase of the fortifications. None of these buildings has been systematically explored, but the Museum in Čazma contains numerous early thirteenth-century fragments consistent with the production of the royal workshops of the time. St. Mary Magdalene itself looks very much like a reduced version of the Esztergom Cathedral.[7] At the sides of its protruding western annex there are two towers and two more were most likely planned for the areas between the nave and the sanctuary, forming a sort of transept today. The rather damaged capitals of those areas confirm the dating to ca. 1230–1240. The same is true of numerous decorative elements preserved in the Museum in Čazma and at the church

[7] Based on a profound research of the site, Magdaléna Janovská has offered a reconstruction of the Romanesque phases of the church of St. Martin at Spišská Kapitula having a two-tower façade, a short nave and a transept the vicissitudes of which strangely recall Čazma, a choir square and a rounded apse. In Čazma there is the added element of the western annex, and a straight chevet – a concession to "the Dominican taste" (?). The eastern end of the church at Čazma has not been thoroughly explored. I am greatly indebted to Ms. Janovská for sharing her fine research with me.



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Fig. 10. *Čazma, Museum, capital, ca. 1230–1240.*

itself, including the single fragment, a small but fine head of a warrior, possibly a fragment from a tomb, having numerous analogies in the central part of the Pannonian Basin (fig. 10, 11).

Medvedgrad is a more tricky issue, as its research has been marred by a wrong interpretation of a document to the period after the Tartar invasion, and because it was explained as a bishop's castle (fig. 12, 13). To make things right we had to first correct the documentary evidence (1), then conduct a careful stylistic analysis (2), and finally apply the lessons of the historical vicissitudes of both Medvedgrad and the Spiš Castle (3). By a careful reading of the relevant document of Pope Innocent IV of 1252 with the help of the best Latinists in Croatia, we have (1) managed to show that Medvedgrad was documented as a royal castle existing before 1242, to which the bishops were allowed to add a fortified tower, a refuge, after the Tartar invasion. This cleared the field for (2) a thorough stylistic analysis. Following the lead of Ms. Pomfyová, we concentrated on the Premonstratensian abbey of Ócsa and established



Fig. 12. *Medvedgrad, Castle, ca. 1230–1240 and later, view.*



Fig. 11. *Čazma, Museum, head of a warrior, ca. 1230–1240.*



Fig. 13. *Medvedgrad, Castle, Chapel, ca. 1230–1240.*



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Fig. 14. *Medvedgrad, Castle, Chapel, ca. 1230–1240, portal.*



Fig. 15. *Ócsa, Premonstratensian church, portal, ca. 1206–1234.*



Fig. 16. *Ócsa, Premonstratensian church, portal, ca. 1206–1234, detail.*

that the portal of the Medvedgrad chapel (fig. 14) is close to the monuments of the first quarter of the thirteenth century both in Central and Upper Hungary; at Ócsa (ca. 1206–1234, fig. 15, 16), Halič (ca. 1213–1221), Bény (ca. 1198–1217), Alba Iulia (ca. 1196–ca. 1238, southern portal), Karcsa (ca. 1196–ca. 1208), and the southern portal at Ják (ca. 1220–1256); Ócsa being the closest analogy. Bibiana Pomfyová has in several studies drawn attention to analogies between the capital zone of the southern portal at Ócsa and a similar architectural member from the Church of St. John the Baptist at Spišské Vlachy, today at the Archeological Institute at Spišská Nová Ves (fig. 17).

Next we examined the analogies between the capitals of the palace at Medvegrad, explored, restored, but never published, and those of Spišská Kapitula, i.e. the Church of St. Martin (fig. 18), and Spiš castle, in particular its hall dated by Ms. Pomfyová to the period of Coloman's activity in Spiš, 1214–1241, with emphasis on the years 1221–1234. The fragments of the original capitals of the Medvedgrad palace are being kept at the



Fig. 17. *Spišská Nová Ves, the Archeological Institute, fragment from St. John the Baptist at Spišské Vlachy.*



Fig. 18. *Spišská Kapitula, St. Martin, capitals, possibly ca. 1221–1234.*



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Fig. 19. *Zagreb, Monuments Restoration Office of Croatia, fragment of a capital from the Medvedgrad palace, ca. 1230–1240.*



Fig. 20. *Zagreb, Monuments Restoration Office of Croatia, fragment of a capital from the Medvedgrad palace, ca. 1230–1240.*

Monuments Restoration Office of Croatia in Zagreb and were for the first time brought to public attention in an exhibition which we organized in 2007 (fig. 19–20). The analogies between these fragments and those of Spiš area, Spiš castle in particular, are quite obvious, as we have amply demonstrated elsewhere (fig. 21).

Medvedgrad and, of course, Zagreb and Čazma, clearly confirm the presence of royal workshops in *Pannonia Savia*. As well as to Spiš, they were brought in by Duke Coloman and his court. They need not have been the same group of people, but they were all linked to the core of the Esztergom workshop.

The story of the Spiš castle (3) after the Tartar invasion closely recalls the Medvedgrad experience. Bela IV in 1249 allowed the *praepositus* of Spišská Kapitula to attach his own rectangular tower west of the original walls and somewhat to the north of the original entrance. The choice of the site was exclusively determined by the space available, and had no strategic importance. The script is strikingly similar to what happened in Zagreb, where the bishop was allowed to build a powerful keep at the southern tip of the Medvedgrad ridge, at the point where there is no need for such fortification as the castle is totally unreachable from that direction (fig. 24). Another, real keep had already been built at the northern side, overlooking a moat which separates the castle from the bulk of the mountain. The new keep was to serve as the bishop's refuge should the Tartars ever return.[8]



Fig. 21. *Spišský Hrad, capital, possibly ca. 1221–1234.*

[8] Goss, Vladimir Peter – Jukić, Vjekoslav: *Medvedgrad – Ócsa– Spiš,* p. 303.



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Fig. 22. *Vinica. St. Mark, capital, early thirteenth century.*



Fig. 23. *Brodski Drenovac, St. Dimitri, capital, late thirteenth century.*



Fig. 24. *Medvedgrad, southern keep, after 1242.*

Thus, we have three specific links: the patronage of Duke Coloman, stylistic evidence, and the historical vicissitudes of Medvedgrad and Spiš castles following the Tartar invasion. It is a good example of the "principle of quantity," which says that the more links one could establish between two phenomena, the more likelihood there is that they are related.[9]

The tradition of the presence of the high-class royal artists in Slavonia extended after 1242. St. Mary Magdalene in Čazma became Coloman's burial church and contained a large red marble tomb plaque, which disappeared in the nineteenth century. The façade of the church was embellished by the large rose in the style of Bamberg Cathedral (fig. 8). It does not take too much imagination to ascribe those additions to the wish of Béla IV to enhance the burial place of his beloved brother. The dissemination of the "Colomanian Renaissance" in *Pannonia Savia* is also documented by fine carvings in such relatively small rural buildings as St. Marko in Vinica (fig. 22), St. Petar in Novo Mesto Zelinsko, and Sv. Ivan in Sv. Ivan Zelina, all datable to the first half of the thirteenth century.[10]

The tradition seems to have continued throughout the second half of the century, which is demonstrated by such monuments as the fragments from St. Stephen Chapel at Zagreb Cathedral, St. Dimitri in Brodski Drenovac (fig. 23), or those from Ilok. This material still needs careful sifting out and precise dating, but analogies with Slovak examples are again visually striking. Thus, we come back to our first example, the sacristy of the Zagreb Cathedral of ca. 1270 and the related sections of the cathedral.[11]

We believe that there is an important lesson to learn here. As opposed to continental Croatia, Spiš was less devastated by the Tartars, and it was spared the Turks, and the building excesses of the Baroque and modern periods. Its medieval cultural landscape is very well preserved, whereas that of Slavonia must be reconstructed from the few and scattered *membra disiecta*. We believe that the few select cases presented in this paper amply testify that Spiš can play an important role in the process of reconstructing and better understanding of the Slavonian situation. Croatia, obviously, owes a lot to Duke Coloman. Finding the lost

[9] Belaj, Vitomir: *Hod kroz godinu.* Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2007, p. 209.
[10] Goss, Vladimir Peter – Jukić, Vjekoslav: *Rural Romanesque,* pp. 137–140.
[11] Horvat, Anđela: O domaćoj flori na ranogotičkoj arhitektonskoj plastici sjeverne Hrvatske. In: *Gunjačin Zbornik.* Ed.: Ivan Herceg et al. Zagreb: Veselin Masleša, 1980, pp. 181–188.



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tombstone of the duke, which was too big to draw far away or to cut to pieces overnight, should be one of the priorities of Croatian art research and the proper repayment of the debt of gratitude to one of the best administrators the country has ever had.



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MAGDALÉNA JANOVSKÁ*

# Building Activities in Spiš in the Thirteenth Century in the Context of the Hungarian Kingdom

## Stavebné aktivity na Spiši v 13. storočí v kontexte Uhorska / aktivnost u Spiškoj regiji u 13. stoljeću u kontekstu Ugarske

*Recent results of research into historical monuments carried out in Saint Martin's Cathedral at Spišská Kapitula, the Spiš Castle and Levoča (namely Saint James´ Church, town fortification, burghers´ houses) have contributed to the broadening of our knowledge regarding both the architectonical and art-historical development. They have also recognised new historical connections, confirming the importance of Spiš and its position within the Kingdom of Hungary, the presence of the royal court, and the development of Spišská Kapitula provostry as a royal chapter. The results, based on placing the compared constructions into the broader context of the Kingdom of Hungary, will surely contribute to a re-evaluation of our understanding of the development of Spiš in the thirteenth century, even within the wider European context. All these circumstances have strikingly updated our knowledge regarding the construction of ecclesiastical buildings as well as fortifications which were built as a reaction to the Mongol invasion in the region of Spiš. They have also shown the need to perceive them within the context of the policy of both the Arpadians and the Angevins. The unique preservation of these structures in Spiš with regard to their authenticity and integrity can be helpful when researching similar constructions in other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary. The results of the abovementioned research point to the necessity of further systematic interdisciplinary exploration, which can bring different views on previous findings. The results are to be synthetically processed within the whole area of the former Kingdom of Hungary as well, so that the historical, social, political and military conditions in the period when these constructions were established can be better traced. Contacts between the various parts of the Kingdom of Hungary were very strong despite their distance (staff of the provostries, regional administrative, craftsmen mobility, etc.) and the conditions concerning construction there were often similar (Mongol invasion, German colonisation, etc.).*

Keywords: the thirteenth century, building activities, Spiš, Coloman

Several common features which connect Spiš – Slovakia and Slavonia – Croatia can be identified on the basis of the results of latest architectural-historical research of two significant monuments in Spiš : the Spiš Castle,[1] as the Hungarian royal castle dated to the twelfth century, and St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula[2], a building commenced in connection with the origin of the provostry of Spiš at the end of the twelfth century and with the establishment of a royal chapter (*prepositura regalis*).

## Historical preconditions – common rulers

In the period at the turn of the thirteenth century Andrew II was the duke of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia (1196–1204). However, from 1188 (after his expulsion from Galicia) he was active in Spiš, where the construction of the provostry church in Spišská Kapitula, spectacular by the standards of Spiš, was continuing also after his marriage with Gertrude from Andechs-Meran family and after

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[1] Janovská, Magdaléna: *Architektonicko-historický výskum Spišského hradu,* (deinde *AHV*). Levoča: Štúdio J+J, 2008. Manuscript in the Archive of the Slovak National Museum – Spiš Museum in Levoča, evidence nr. D 128; Eadem: Spišský hrad. In: *Acta Musaei Scepusiensis*. Ed.: Mária Novotná. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2008, pp. 55–81.

[2] Janovská, Magdaléna — Novotná, Mária: Architektonicko-historický a umelecko-historický výskum Katedrály sv. Martina na Spišskej Kapitule. Co-authors: Adriana Klingová, Peter Glos, Ľubor Suchý. Cooperation: Ivan Chalupecký, František Žifčák, Vladimír Olejník, Tomáš Kyncl. Levoča, 2007. Manuscript in the Archive of the Monument Institute of the Slovak Republic, Collection of Research Reports, sign. T 6163; Janovská, Magdaléna – Novotná Mária: Najnovšie výskumy v Spišskej Kapitule. In: *Pamiatky a múzeá*, a. 3, 2008, pp. 21–27; Janovská, Magdaléna: Katedrálny kostol sv. Martina v Spišskej Kapitule vo svetle nových výskumov. In: *Acta Musaei Scepusiensis*. Ed.: Mária Novotná. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2008, pp. 37–70; Eadem: Výsledky architektonicko-historického výskumu Katedrály sv. Martina v Spišskej Kapitule. In: *Monumentorum Tutela*, a. 22, 2010, pp. 199–211.



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Fig. 25. *View of the panaroma of Spišská Kapitula with St. Martin's Cathedral and Spiš Castle in the background.*

his ascension to the Hungarian throne (1205–1235). Already in 1219 Andrew II endowed St. Martin's Church with royal relics, like he did in case of the bishopric of Zagreb.[3] We assume that the church was already operational at that time. The same destiny waited for their offspring, Galician king Coloman, and his wife Salomea, when they returned from Galicia to Hungary after 1221.[4] Besides the completion of the provostry church of St. Martin with a royal chapel upstairs in the western part of the double nave, in Spiš he is connected also with the construction of the Romanesque palace at Spiš Castle in the first third of the thirteenth century. Coloman also became the duke of Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia (1226–1241).



Fig. 26. *St. Mark's Church in Vinica (old), a capital.*



Fig. 27. *St. Mark's Church in Vinica (old church), a base.*

## Impact on the building activities in the first half of the thirteenth century

The comparison between Medvedgrad and Spiš has already been subject to attention several times in the past.[5] We will also attempt to supplement analogies of other sacral buildings, which are closer connected in terms of time period and form.

The building of the old church of St. Mark in Vinica-Marčan at Croatian-Slovenian border is dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century.[6]

[3] Homza, Martin: Spišský hrad a Spišské prepoštstvo. Dve centrá včasnostredovekého Spiša. In: Acta Musaei Scepusiensis. Ed.: Mária Novotná. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2009, pp. 9–27.

[4] Idem: Politické dejiny Spiša do začiatku 14. storočia. In: *Historia Scepusii* : *Dejiny Spiša*, vol. 1, Ed.: Martin Homza – Stanisław A. Sroka. Bratislava – Kraków: Katedra slovenských dejín UK – Instytut Historii UJ, 2009, p. 148.

[5] Especially the research by Prof. Vladimir Peter Goss, to whom I am grateful also for providing me with the literature. Goss, Vladimir Peter – Jukić, Vjekoslav: Medvedgrad – Ócsa – Spiš. Some stylistic considerations. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, a. 34, 2007, pp. 295–326.

[6] For the comparative analysis, I used the study: Goss, Vladimir Peter – Jukić, Vjekoslav: Rural Romanesque and a Europe without Borders. The Case of St. Mark's Church in Vinica. In: *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, a. 14, 2008, pp. 133–140.



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Fig. 28. *a) The capital of a pier with a floral motif, St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula, b) the capital of a pier, St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula.*




Fig. 29. *Profiling of the base of a pier and a pillar, St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula.*

Besides the time of its origin it is necessary to focus on other common features with St. Martin's Church: Saxon colonization in both areas which were cultural landscapes already in the twelfth century, border regions within the Hungarian Kingdom (north-western and north-eastern frontiers), castles in their immediate vicinity. Both sacral buildings represented top royal works of the period. Although St. Mark's Church is rebuilt nowadays, some stone elements of its original construction have been preserved and could be used for comparison. The artistic detail of a capital with a floral motif,[7] and identical profiling of the base are significant on both buildings.

In the case of the stonework in the first half of the thirteenth century (St. Martin's Cathedral, the Romanesque palace at Spiš Castle, and the parish church in Spišské Vlachy) we encounter the same stonemasonry workshop, the Italian masters,[8] who settled around Spišské Vlachy, the municipality with a royal privilege in the immediate vicinity of the castle and the chapter. Their arrival can probably be connected also with the wife of Andrew II – Gertrude[9] from the lineage of Andechs-Meran, with whom also the name of the



Fig. 30. *Bamberg, St. James' Church.*



Fig. 31. *Capital from the church of St. John the Baptist, Spišské Vlachy, presently in Archeologický ústav Nitra (Archeological Institute, Nitra).*

[7] *A Hundred Stones from a lost Paradise, Romanesque Sculpture in Museum and Collections between the Sava and the Drava Rivers*. Ed.: Vladimir Peter Goss. Zagreb: Arheološki muzej, 2007, p. 91, cat. nr. 74.

[8] Fiala, Anton.: Taliani medzi hosťami pri Kráľovskom potoku na Spiši. In: *Monumentorum Tutela*, a. 16, 2005, p. 151–160.

[9] For the genealogy of Gertrude, see: Schütz, Alois: Das Geschlecht der Andechs-Meranier im europäischen Hochmittelalter. In: *Herzöge und Heilige*. Ed.: Josef Kirmeier. Regensburg: Pustet, 1993.



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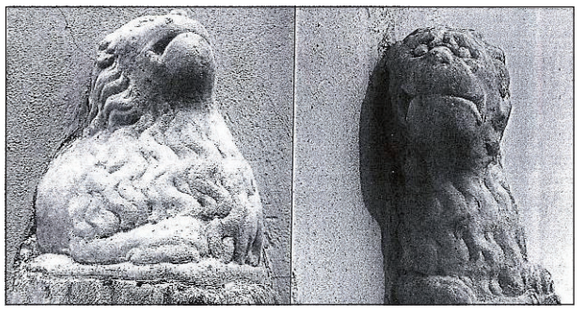


Fig. 32. *St. Mark's Church, Vinica, built-in statues of lions.*

Spiš provost Adolf, a member of her entourage. According to the written record of 1209,[10] the donations of property probably related to the construction of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula were realized precisely during the period of their activity. Simultaneously, the construction of other episcopal cathedrals were going on in Kalocsa (Hungary) and Bamberg (Germany), the places of the scope of the activity of the brothers of Hungarian queen Gertrude – Berthold, Archbishop of Kalocsa (1207–1219), later also the ban of Dalmatia and Croatia and the duke of Transylvania, (Sibiň/Sibiu/Hermannstadt), and Eckbert, Bishop of Bamberg (1203–1237)[11], after whom Bamberg Cathedral held also the name Eckbertdom.

Despite the fact that the authors[12] date the sculptures of four lions, presently inbuilt in the façade at the entrance of St. Mark's Church in Vinica, provisionally to the second building phase (the fourteenth century), here it is also possible to observe a parallel with the extant travertine sculpture of a lion from Spiš. *Leo albus*[13] is the single preserved element of the sculpture decoration of the original Romanesque building of St. Martin's Cathedral (nowadays it is located in the church interior), coming most probably from the decoration of the representative western façade.[14]

The construction of St. Martin's Church was probably already completed at the time of Coloman's departure for Croatia in 1226 (according to the dendrochronological analysis of the wood form the church,[15] only the construction of the northern tower was going on). Therefore, we can assume that it exerted some influence on





Fig. 33. *Leo Albus, St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula, full view and detail.*



Fig. 34. *Bamberg Dom, sculpture of lion at the entrance, full view.*

[10] Magyar Országos Levéltár (deinde MOL), Archive of Berzeviczy Family, DL 68752; Labanc, Peter: *Spišskí prepošti do roku 1405*. PhD thesis. Trnava: Katedra histórie FF UCM, 2011, pp. 66–70.

[11] Schütz, Alois: Das Geschlecht der Andechs-Meranier.

[12] Goss, Vladimir Peter – Jukić, Vjekoslav: *Rural Romanesque and a Europe without Borders*, pp. 133–140.

[13] Lion statute – *Leo albus* (1220–1240). In: *Acta Musaei Scepusiensis.* Ed.: Mária Novotná. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2008, p. 138.

[14] Janovská, Magdaléna — Novotná, Mária: *Architektonicko-historický a umelecko-historický výskum Katedrály sv. Martina na Spišskej Kapitule*.

[15] Kyncl, Tomáš: *Dendrochronologický výskum dreva Katedrálneho kostola sv. Martina v Spišskej Kapitule*. Research Report nr. 070–06, Brno : Dendrolab, 2006.



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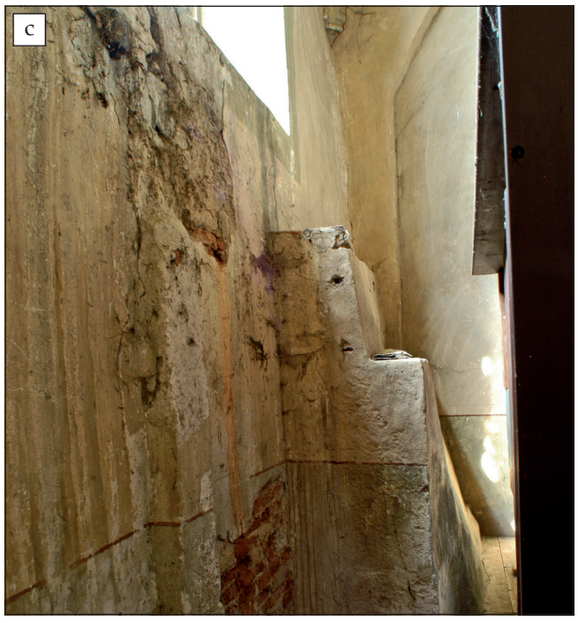
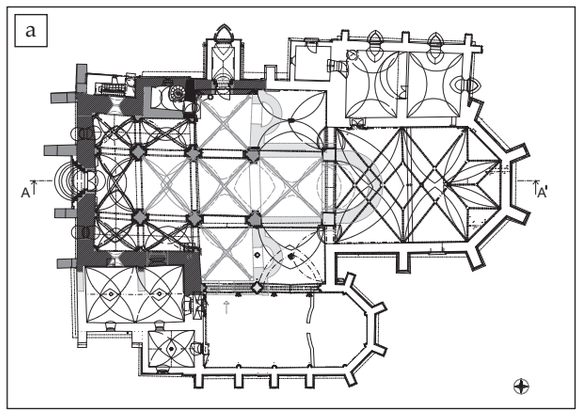
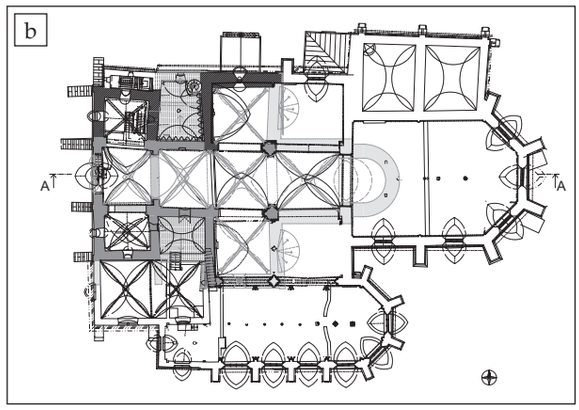
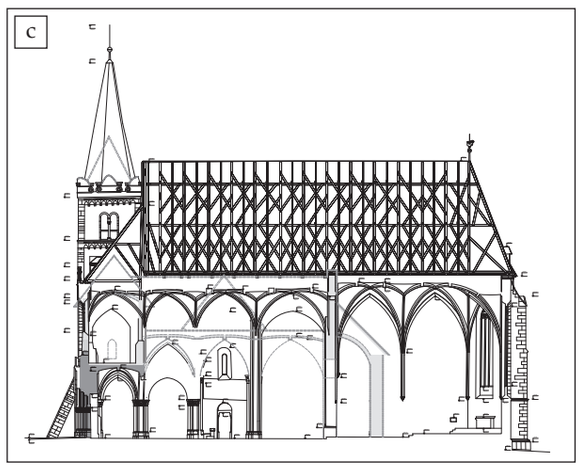



Fig. 35. *Architectonical details of the "westwerk" in Spišská Kapitula: a) roman facade – southern wall of the tower, second floor above the ground ("westwerk" after restoration, today built in the library extension, b) original Roman vault in the "westwerk" area with wooden timbering, under the northern tower, c) the oufall of a Roman between-wall staircase into "westwerk" on the second floor above the ground of the west frontage.*




**Legend:**

- Romanesque phase I (before thirteenth century)
- Romanesque phase II (1./3 of the thirteenth century)
- Romanesque phase III (end of the thirteenth century)
- Hypothetical reconstruction (wall)
- Hypothetical reconstruction (roof)

Fig. 36. *Plane of the Saint Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula: a) analysis – building development (ground floor), b) analysis – building development (the second floor), c) building development until the end of the thirteenth century.*



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the construction of Mary Magdalen's Church in Čazma (Croatia, after 1232, before 1242), which is related to the privilege and donation of Bishop Stephen and Duke Coloman.[16] It can be observed mainly with respect to the layout which stands out from the usual scheme. This fact was noted already by Tibor Rostás,[17] who compared the ground plan of the three-nave structure with a transept to the Franciscan church in Jihlava. The identical layout and a much larger form can be observed in comparison with the original St. Martin's Church in Spišská Kapitula though (the thirteenth century).

The common features are: the two-tower structure, which at the ground floor formed a part of the inner space of the interior (as wide as the side naves), three naves with the main nave in the middle, wider than the side naves, the presence of a cross nave (transept), slit windows letting the light in the interior, the roof ridge above the main nave and above the transept are equally high. In both cases we can assume German influence of the Bamberg Cathedral[18] regarding the layout with a cross nave, but also related morphology and construction system.







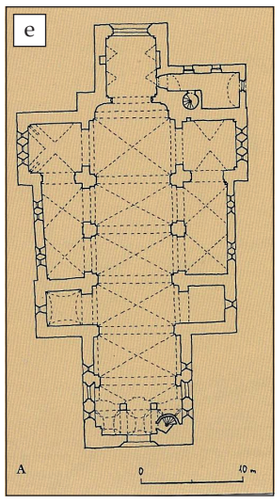



Fig. 37. *View of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen in Čazma: a) view from southeast, b) northern façade with the original transept, c) western façade, d) model – reproduced from the exposition, e) the ground plan.*

[16] Goss, Peter Vladimir: *Four Centuries of European Art 800–1200. A View from Southeast*. Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnicka knjiga, 2010, pp. 210–216.

[17] Rostás, Tibor: Három drávántúli emlék a 13. századból. In: *Építésztet a középkori Dél – Magyarországon*. Ed.: Tibor Kollár. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010, pp. 213–293.

[18] Goss, Peter Vladimir: *Four Centuries of European Art 800–1200. A View from Southeast*, passim; Janovská, Magdaléna — Novotná, Mária: *Architektonicko-historický a umelecko-historický výskum Katedrály sv. Martina na Spišskej Kapitule*.



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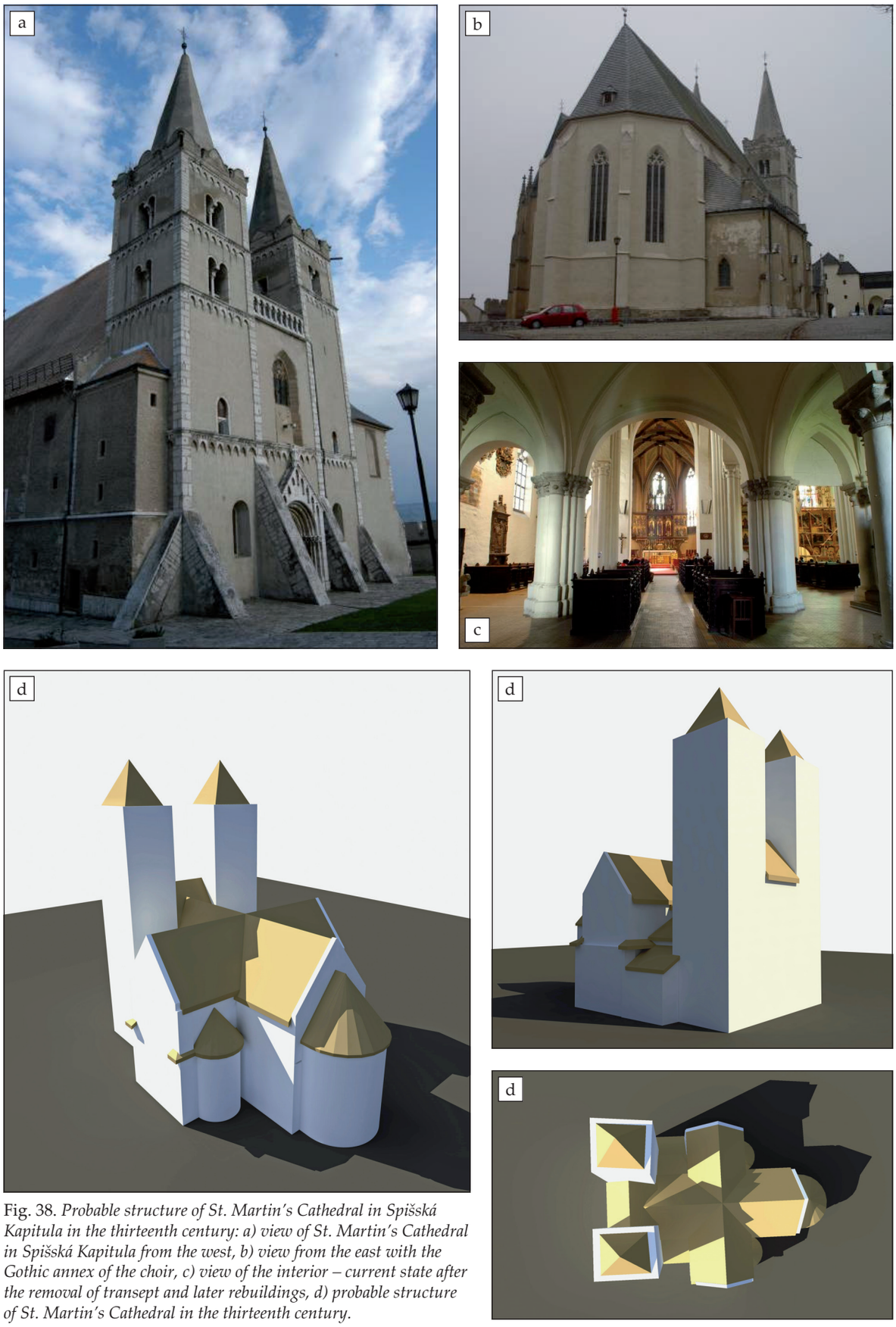



Fig. 38. *Probable structure of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula in the thirteenth century: a) view of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula from the west, b) view from the east with the Gothic annex of the choir, c) view of the interior – current state after the removal of transept and later rebuildings, d) probable structure of St. Martin's Cathedral in the thirteenth century.*



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Fig. 39. *a) Čazma – interior, present state, b) Kapitula View of the original transept with capitals after the removal of the Romanesque vaulting, with a slit window on the northern wall, interior – current state after the removal of the eastern wall of the transept and general increase of the height of the naves, c) Čazma – Remains of the vaulting row in the walled– up under– tower space, originally probably an open under– tower space as a part of the church interior, d) Čazma, view of the original transept with uncovered Romanesque piers in the corners, with the onset of the vault rib and a pair of slit windows, e) Spišská Kapitula – View of the north– eastern corner of the transept with a corner pier and an imprint of the Romanesque vaulting, f) Čazma – Detail of the capital of a pier, g) Spišská Kapitula – Capital of a pier – a detail.*



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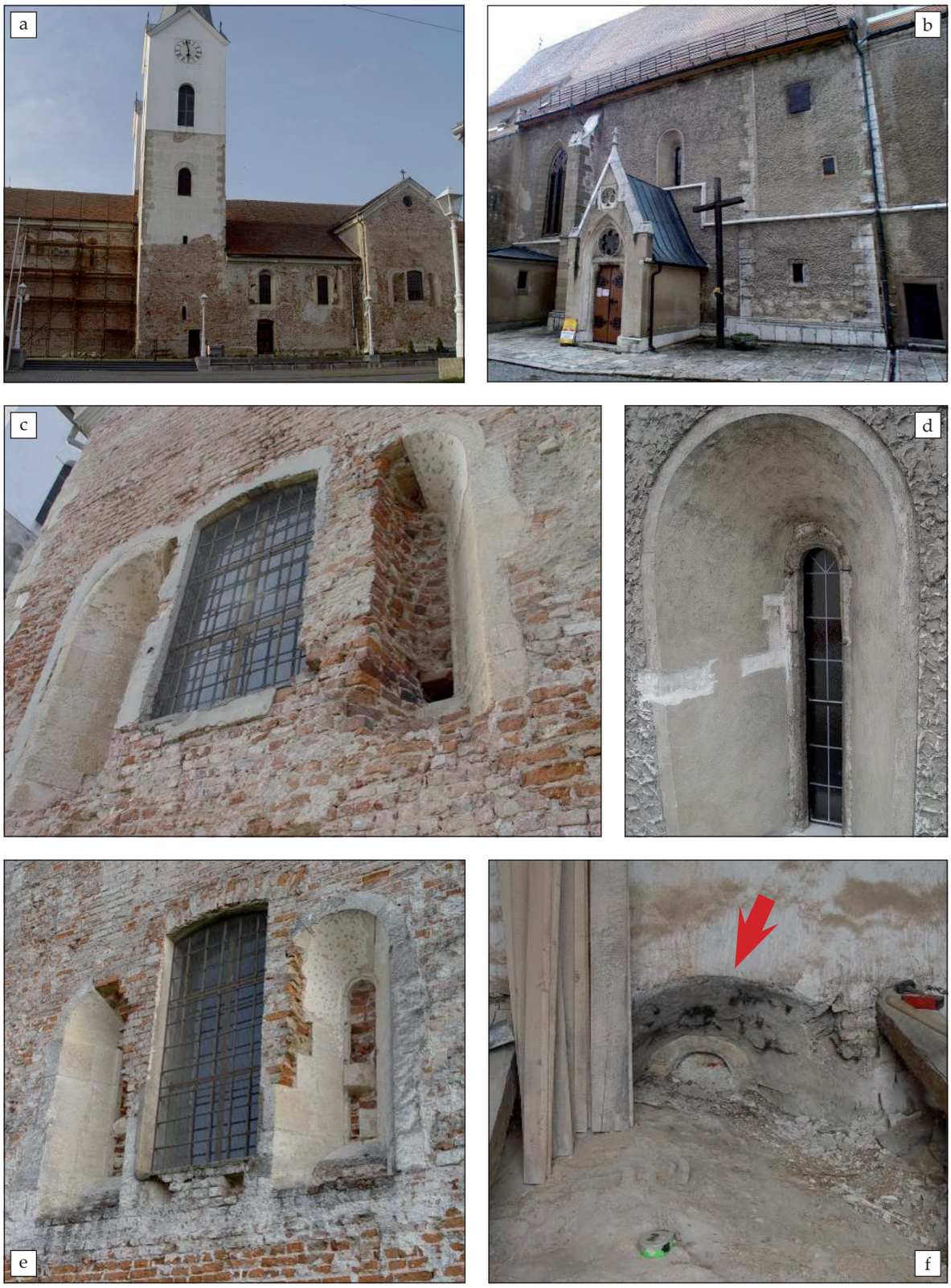



Fig. 40. *a) Čazma – Southern façade with a pair of slit windows in a side nave and transept, b) Spišská Kapitula – slit window in the northern wall of the older, currently not extant transept above a later entrance hall, c) and e) Čazma – uncovered walled– in pair of slit windows of the transept, replaced by a later opening, d) Spišská Kapitula – Slit window in the northern wall of the transept – a detail, f) walled– in slit window in the southern nave under the top of the vaulting (under towers) at the time of the later annex of sacristy in the first half of the fourteenth century.*



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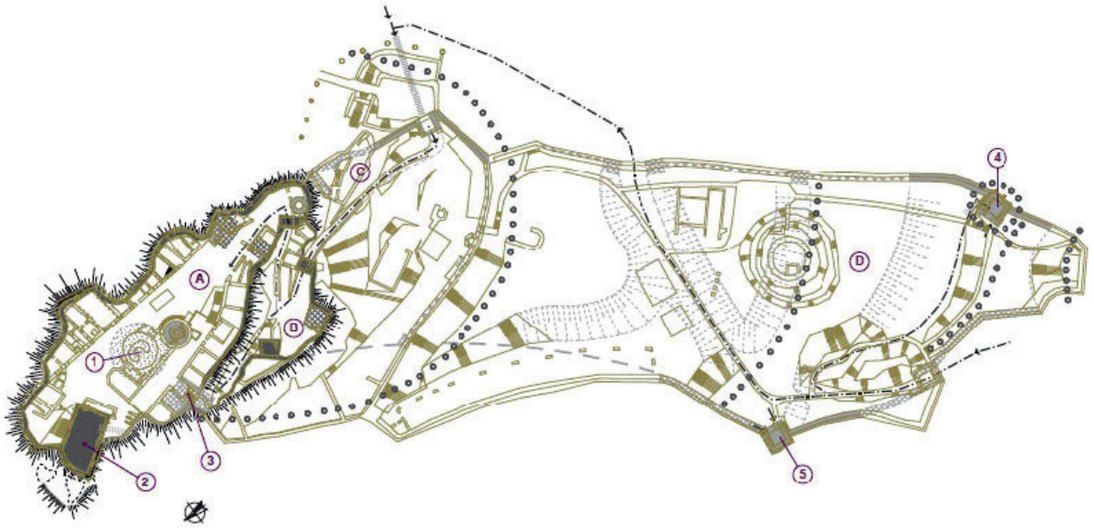



Fig. 41. *a) Knin Castle – full view of the upper castle, b) Spiš Castle – Romanesque palace. Full view, c) Knin Castle – detail of the gate and its vaulting. Upper castle, d) Knin Castle – detail of the entrance gate vaulting, e) Spiš Castle – upper castle entrance gate, f) Spiš Castle – Detail of the entrance to the Coloman's palace and its vaulting, g) Spiš Castle – romanesque window of the Coloman's palace.*

As for the castle architecture, there is also an analogy between Slovakia and Croatia: in the case of the building of the Romanesque palace and the gate to the core of Spiš Castle (the first third of the thirteenth century) as compared to the entrance openings and gates at Knin Castle in Croatia, which also served as a royal castle. The analogy can be observed in the construction system of the segmental discharging arches of the openings with wedges in the place of their onset at the opening's vertical lateral reinforcement with a stone (see the arrow).



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*Legend: A the core of the castle (upper courtyard)*
*B Romanesque foreground*
*C middle courtyard (foreground)*
*D lower courtyard (lower foreground)*
*1 ruins of the residential circular tower form the twelfth century*
*2 Romanesque palace (called also Coloman's palace)*
*3 probable location of the provost's tower with preserved northern wall*
*4 so-called Fioch's tower*
*5 defense tower*

*Buldings realized in the first third of the thirteenth century*

*Buildings realized in the thirteenth century after the Mongol invasion (1241)*

Fig. 42. *Spiš Castle in the thirteenth century.*

## Building activities after the Mongol invasion (1241–1242)

The latest research of Spiš Castle has altered the view of the origin and the function of the towers in the lower forecourt of Spiš Castle, which were originally built as individually standing towers already in the mid-thirteenth century and later became parts of the fortified courtyard (perhaps a refuge). First of all, we have managed to demonstrate accurately that the two towers (marked as fig. 42, nr. 4–5), originally dated to the period before the mid-fifteenth century, were built already after the Mongol invasion in 1241.[19]

The comparative analysis with the help of archival sources has helped to identify the south-eastern tower (nr. 4) as the tower built by a certain Fioch of Poľanovce.[20] The chapter of Spiš gives a transumpt of the charter issued by Stephen V in 1270 to Peter of Poľanovce. Stephen confirmed the charter of his father, Bela IV, by which he had taken over from Fioch, son of Ura from Spiš, a certain tower, which he had built at his own expense at Spiš Castle for 50 marks, in return for the villages of Ordzoviany.

We have described Fioch's tower as still residential-defensive, which was incorporated into the fortification only after the exchange of owners in order to strengthen the defense of the royal Spiš castle against the Mongol threat. The function of the other tower (nr. 5) was already exclusively defensive, since it has arrow loops in strategically important points. The tower was built with a sophisticated defense system.

[19] Dendrochronological Dating of the Wood from the Prevet of the Tower – marked as nr. 4, from years 1245–1250) . Kyncl, Tomáš: Research Report nr. 043–09, DendroLAB Brno, 2009. The panel from the tower prevet (nr. 5) was produced from a fir tree which was cut down after 1245. Kyncl, Tomáš: Research Report nr. 113a–08, DendroLAB Brno, 2009.

[20] 1270, 1 October (transcription 1529, 25 May, Spišská Kapitula), Štátny archív v Levoči – State Archive in Levoča (deinde *SA LE*), Súkromný archív Spišskej Kapituly (deinde SASK), Scr. V, f. 1, nr. 1: "*... cum olim domin(us) Rex, carissimus pater n(oste)r Bela, illustris Rex hungar(rie) felicissime recordationis, quanda(m) turrim Phijoch filij Ura de Scepes, per eunde(m) in Castro de Scepes, cum sum(m)a Quinq(ua)ginta Marcar(um) (con)structa(m) ab ipso pro vtilit(a)te castri eiusd(em) abstulisset et in ip(s)ius Turris concambiu(m), quasdam terras Rogolch et Polank, vo(ca)tas, existen(tes) in Scepes, predicto Phijoch, contulisset suo priuilegio roborando ...*"



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Fig. 43. *Aerial view of the fortified area of the St. Martin´s Cathedral, the Spiš Chapter, with marked results of georadar measurements of terrestrial objects, marked shape of the church fortification, built after Mongolian invasion.*




Fig. 44. *Spiš castle: a) overall view of the Spiš Castle from Spišské Podhradie with two towers in the fortification of the lower courtyard on the right side, built after Mongolian invasion, b) overall eastern view of the lower castle with the Romanesc Coloman's palace on the north rock.*



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Fig. 45. *Spiš Castle – a) situation of the lower courtyard, b) tower (nr. 4) prevailing residential function, so– called Fioch's tower, c) Western tower (nr. 5) defensive function.*



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Another charter of Bela IV from 1249 documented the building activity at Spiš Castle in the mid– thirteenth century:

"*Further to the same provost Matthew, we leave a place suitable for building a tower and a palace at the castle of Spiš; which he himself undertook to construct, fortify, and sustain for the defense of the castle and for the benefit of the aforementioned church. We institute that both the place and the buildings which he builds therein belong by perpetual right to him and his successors in the provostship*."[21]

Exactly on the basis of this document, we assume that Matthew, the provost of Spiš, built a tower at the castle (fig. 42, nr. 3) in the place of the projecting western rock in the core of the castle; only its northern wall has been preserved until today. It is the evidence of the originally rectangular tower, connected to the section of the adjacent battlemented walls. The tower was related to the discovered foundations of a building, which were identified as a chapel and a chaplain's house until now.[22] The building realized by the provost of Spiš (a tower, the parish priest's house and adjacent fortification; the presence of a chapel is problematic though) can be localized right here. The tower was to serve for protection of the documents and seals pertaining to the place of authentication, and of the parts of valuables – the mobiliary of the chapter church of St. Martin in Spišská Kapitula.[23] The character of the extant northern wall of the tower at the tip of the rock (nr. 3) is similar to the two towers in the castle's lower foreground (nr. 4–5). Its later form of a circular tower, rebuilt during the reign of King Sigismund, is also called as the provost's tower.[24] Bela IV issued similar charters for Bishop Philip in Zagreb.[25] In 1247 Belo IV gives to the chapter of Zagreb a place at the periphery of the royal town of Gradec for the building of a tower, where the chapter and the bishop could take shelter in times of unrest. The tower, known under the name *Popov toranj* is clearly identifiable in the historical part of Zagreb to date.[26]

We have dealt with the research of tower constructions built after the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century in a broader context in the framework of the Hungarian Kingdom.[27] The study has outlined the reasons, the significance, and the frequency of tower constructions in the course of the thirteenth century. The results document the necessity to modify the research methods and examine the objects – their origin (original materials) and building modifications per partes, in comparison with other towers, irrespective of their current ties, in an interdisciplinary way within the disciplines of historical science, using the exact research of other disciplines. This method will allow us to elaborate not only on the problems of the dating of individual towers and related objects, on the function they could fulfill, but also on the problems of possible common commissioners and builders in broad historical, political, social, and cultural contexts.

We have managed to gather varied evidence in favour of the justified classification of the tower constructions at Spiš Castle (nr. 4–5) as defensive and residential structures built after the Mongol invasion in 1241, in the period of the middle and the second half of the thirteenth century. They were gradually supplemented with fortification into the form of a certain refuge, through which also the access road passed towards the castle from the direction of Spišské Podhradie. We have searched for their parallels in the Hungarian Kingdom.

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[21] 1249, 19 September, ŠA LE, Spišské prepoštstvo (deinde SpP), I., man. I., nr.1, č. 2: "*Insuper concedim(us) eidem Mathie p(re) p(osi)to in castro n(ost)ro Scyp(us) locum p(ro) t(ur)ri edificanda et palatio competente(m) quem et ip(s)e assumpsit edificand(um) muniendu(m) et cons(er)uandum ad tutelam castri et utilitate(m) eccl(esi)e memorate. adicie(n)tes q(uod) et loc(us) et edificia que ibi extruxerit s(ibi), et in ip(s)a p(re)posi(tu)ra succedentib(us) iure p(er)petuo debeat remanere.*"

[22] Fiala, Anton – Vallašek, Adrian: *Nálezová správa terénnych výskumov západnej časti horného hradu*. Located in the Archive of the Monument Institute of the Slovak Republic, Collection of Research Reports, 1972, sign. T 867.

[23] Olejník, Vladimír: Výskum archívnych prameňov k stavebnému vývoju Spišského hradu, so špeciálnym zreteľom na rané obdobia výstavby a románsky palác. In: *Architektonicko-historický výskum Spišského hradu*, chapter 11. and 2.

[24] ŠA LE, Archív Biskupského úradu v Spišskej Kapitule (deinde ABU SK), Spišské biskupstvo (deinde SpB), Department of Canonical Visitations, nr. 1 and others; The Canonical Visitation of Peter Pázmány from 1629. Janovská, Magdaléna: Dve stredoveké podoby Spišského hradu. In: *Acta Musaei Scepusiensis*. Ed.: Mária Novotná. Levoča: Spišské múzemu, 2008, pp. 201–212.

[25] Sigismund of Luxemburg confirmed the ownership of the tower to the chapter of Zagreb in 1426. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vols. 1–11. Ed.: György Fejér. Budae, Typis Typographiae Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1829–1844, vol. 10/6., p. 818, (deinde *CDH*).

[26] I thank for calling my attention to Pop's Tower and for its inspection to Prof. Neven Budak.

[27] Janovská, Magdaléna – Homza, Martin – Novotná, Mária – Olejník, Vladimír – Stejskal, Martin: Obytno-obranné veže a opevnenie spodného nádvoria Spišského hradu ako súčasť budovania fortifikácií po mongolskom vpáde v 2. polovici 13. a začiatkom 14. storočia v kontexte pôvodných území Uhorska (Slovensko, Slavónsko/Chorvátsko, Sedmohradsko/Rumunsko, Maďarsko). Levoča: Štúdio J+J, 2010. Manuscript in the Archive of the Monument Institute of the Slovak Republic, Collection of Research Reports, sign. T 6293, Archive of the Slovak National Museum – Spiš Museum in Levoča, evidence nr. D 130.



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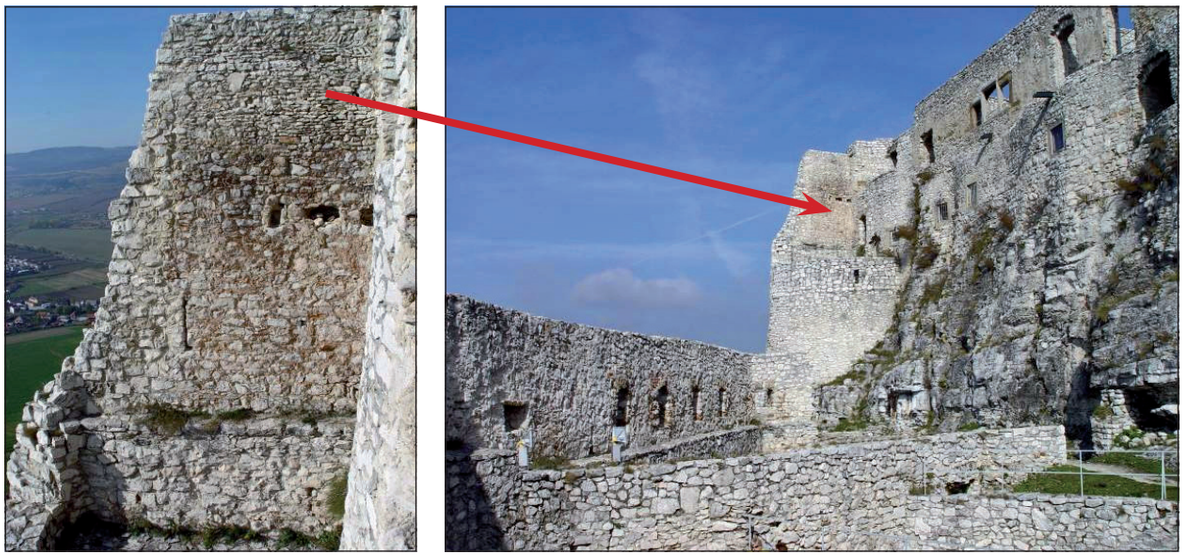


Fig. 46. *Spiš Castle – provost's tower, western rock, later rebuilt as circular and the detail of the northern wall from the earlier stage of the rectangular tower.*



Fig. 47. *Zagreb, Croatia – Pop's (Priest's) Tower (current state). View from the museum courtyard and from exterior, the tower has undergone extensions and modifications of window openings.*

The comparison of the construction of towers and fortification of county (*comitatus*) castles (Spiš Castle, Tisovec, Pustý hrad) is based on their common administration in the relevant period by the same count (*comes*). All these facts have considerably advanced our knowledge of fortification constructions provoked by the Mongol invasion (1241) in Spiš territory. They are to be perceived as universal Hungarian policy of the Arpadians as response to the unexpected ravage which the Mongols left behind throughout the country on the ill– prepared population.

The exceptional preservation of these structures at Spiš Castle, in terms of both their authenticity and integrity, can be helpful when examining analogical buildings not only in Spiš, but also in its broader surroundings and in entire territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. Furthermore, the situation of Spiš Castle is unique: while other refuges in the surroundings ceased to exist (Pustý hrad/Deserted Castle – Zvolen, Kláštorisko), or were not completed (Marcel's Castle – Hrabušice) because their meaning soon vanished (the danger of the Mongols was averted), or their function was substituted by town fortifications, newly–built castles as aristocratic residences, fortified churches – the refuge at Spiš Castle, which we have researched, merged with the castle in form



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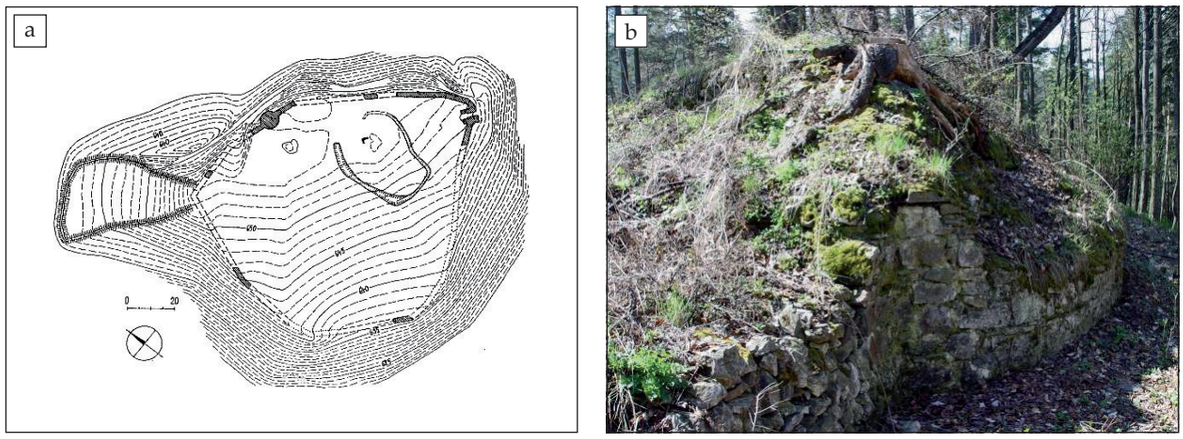
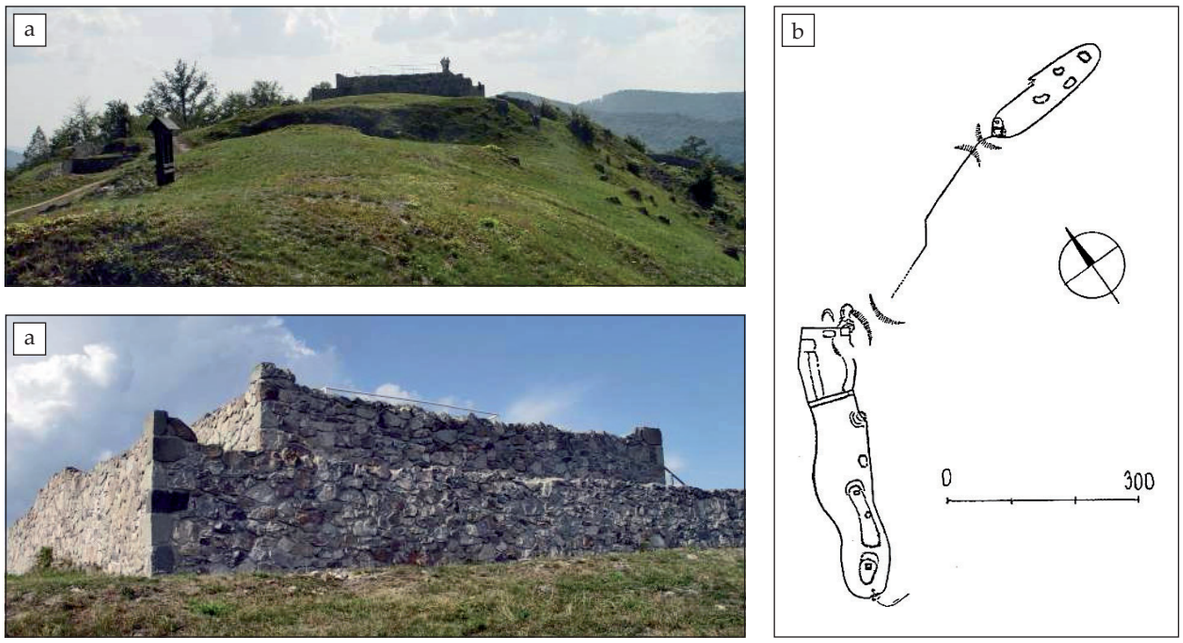



Fig. 48. *Marcel's Castle – Hrabušice (Slovakia). The building from the first and second half of the thirteenth century (unfinished) with an open entrance gate in the fortification – a) graund plane, b) circular tower.*



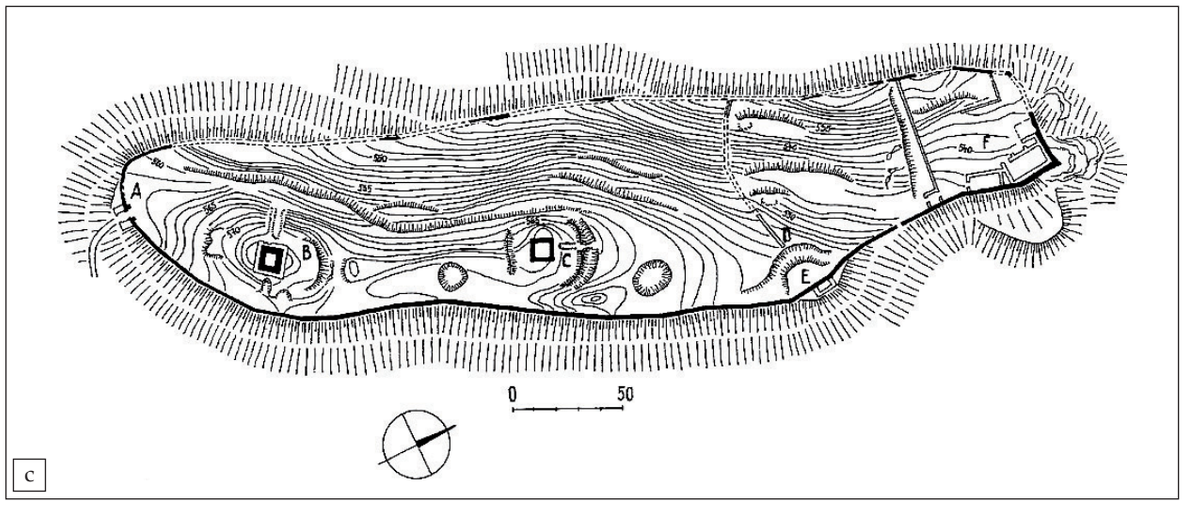




Fig. 49. *Pustý hrad ("Deserted Castle"), Zvolen (Slovakia) – a) a tower with a walled revetment (Upper castle), b) situation of the upper and lower castles, c) graund plane (situation of the upper castle with a pair of towers).*



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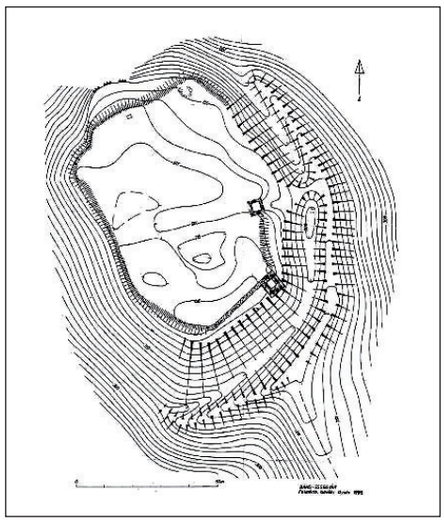


Fig. 50. *Bánd – Essegvár (Hungary), ca. 12 km from Veszprém – seat of bishopric. Originally also with two towers.*

of its lower foreground. For the same reason, the evidence of the structures of this type is weakly preserved in the case of the southern areas of the Hungarian Kingdom (Slavonia/Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Transylvania). In addition, their destruction was accomplished by the Turkish campaign, and by subsequent rebuilding and urbanization of the area (Hungary, Bratislava Castle).

The complex treatment of the topic was not our aim here; therefore, the examples chosen for comparison are to be understood as a selection, not as the enumeration of all cases. We have managed to demonstrate that the contacts between particular areas of the Hungarian Kingdom were vivid despite their distance. The conditions of the origin of the buildings were often identical. In that manner we can explain, for example, the influence of the invited "guests" – Italian and Istrian stonemasons – on the technology of stone constructions realized in Spiš in the thirteenth century, or rather the use of the same technologies in considerably distanced areas, with the help of the following factors:

— the settlement of the Italians in Spiš – Spišské Vlachy
— the influence of Getrude of Andechs-Merania, the wife of Andrew II, and her relatives on the buildings realized at the beginning of the thirteenth century – Spiš Castle and St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula
— crusades with the participation of Andrew II
— Coloman's simultaneous activity in Slavonia/Croatia/Dalmatia and in Spiš
— the origin of the provosts, who came from "foreign areas" (e.g. Spiš provost Mutimir[28])
— the escape of Bela IV from the Mongols (his possible stay in Hainburg, in Dalmatia – Trogir in Croatia)
— The charters of the sovereign (Bela IV) encouraging the construction of the towers and defense fortifications (after the Mongol plundering 1241–1242) are addressed to the executors of the buildings, among whom are the following:

a) provosts/bishops in the areas where a provostry/bishopric was located (the case of the charters from 1247–1249 cited above for the buildings at Spiš Castle and Marcel's Castle in Hrabušice,[29] Gradec in Zagreb)
b) the members of the royal retinue, the sons of iobagiones, from whom nobility starts to form thanks to the reward from the ruler in form of properties (Fioch's tower at Spiš Castle, Berthold's tower at Pustý hrad[30]). In 1245 Belo IV confirms (to Lek and his brothers, sons of Moch, and Peter and his brothers, sons of Chuegh, iobagiones of Bratislava Castle), the donation of the land of Nyék in return for a tower, which they had built and sustained at their own expense at the castle "*for the strengthening of the kingdom at that time.*" They, and then equally their descendants, the owners of the donated land, have perpetual duty to guard the tower and take care of it at their

[28] Homza, Martin: Počiatky kresťanstva na Spiši. In: *Historia Scepusii* 1, pp. 244, 323.
[29] Rábik, Vladimír: Marcelov hrad na Spiši a okolnosti jeho držby v stredoveku. In: *Terra Scepusiensis* : *Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša*. Ed.: Martin Homza – Ryszard Gładkiewicz. Levoča: Kláštorisko – Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych UW, 2003, pp. 307–324.
[30] *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae,* vol. 2. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislava: Obzor, 1987, p. 333, nr. 480.



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Fig. 51. *Other examples of towers built after the Mongol campaign in the thirteenth century in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom – a) Medvedgrad, near Zagreb (Croatia), b) polygonal tower in Cheresig (Romania), c) Korogvar, near Osijek (Croatia), d) Bánd – Essegvár (Hungary).*



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Fig. 52. *The character of the tower walling – a) Blagoj (Croatia), b) Bánd-Esseg (Hungary), c) Korogvar (Croatia), Spiš Castle – Fioch's Tower (Slovakia), d) Spiš Castle – tower (nr. 5), e) Spiš Castle – northern wall of Provost's Tower.*



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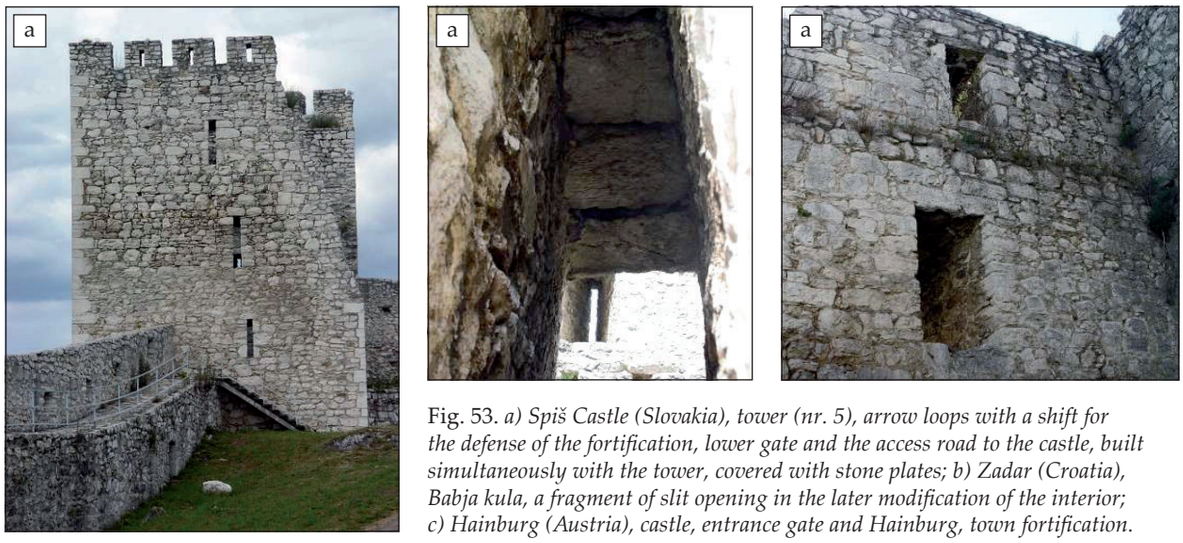



Fig. 53. *a) Spiš Castle (Slovakia), tower (nr. 5), arrow loops with a shift for the defense of the fortification, lower gate and the access road to the castle, built simultaneously with the tower, covered with stone plates; b) Zadar (Croatia), Babja kula, a fragment of slit opening in the later modification of the interior; c) Hainburg (Austria), castle, entrance gate and Hainburg, town fortification.*






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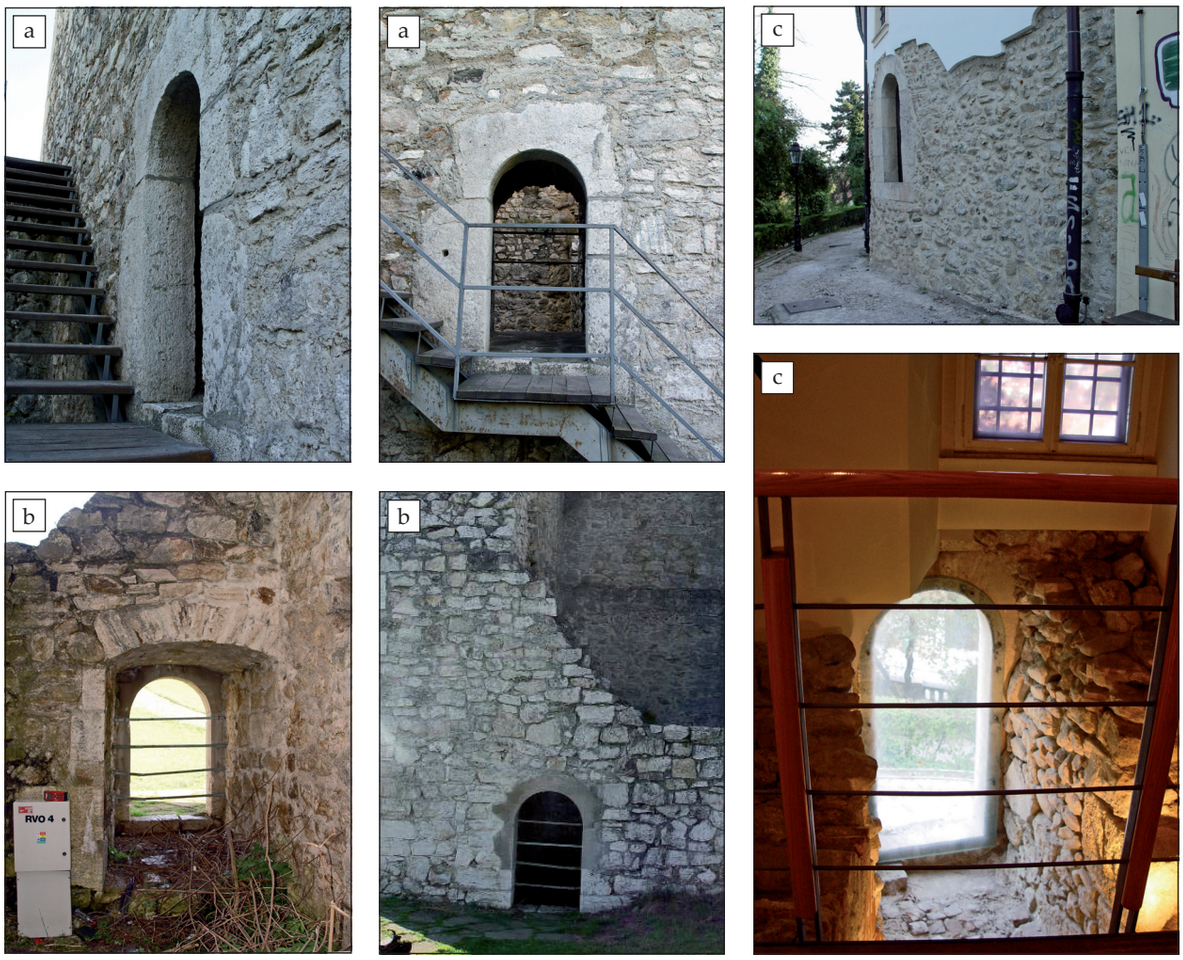



Fig. 54. *The character of tower entrances – a) Eastern tower (nr. 4), entrance to the second floor, Spiš castle (Slovakia); b) western tower (nr. 5), entrance to the first floor, Spiš castle (Slovakia); c) Pop's Tower, view from exterior and interior, Zagreb (Croatia).*

own expense, whenever its reconstruction is necessary.[31]

In 1263 Belo IV gives to counts Mauritius and John and their brother Deta, brothers of Omodej, the bishop of Győr (Ráb), entire castle of Kőszég into administration and further two pieces of land, bought from Iron Castle, which they were to divide among themselves. The brothers had already earlier "*built a tower and other buildings suitable for defense against the attack of Germans or other enemies at their own expense at that castle.*"[32] Interestingly, the charter directly expresses the intention of Bela IV "*to organize the defense of castles and borderland confinia and to occupy them with loyal men*". The shape of the castle of Kőszég, which is divided into an upper and a lower castle already in this charter, is equally interesting. However, the two parts were two forts situated next to each other, divided only by a ditch, which is nowadays bridged over by an elevated corridor. The advanced fortress of the castle could,

[31] *CDH* 4/1., p. 380: *"... fideles nostri Lekv, filius Moch, cum fratribus suis, et Petrus, filius Chuegh, cum suis fratribus Iobbagiones Castri Pozonien. nobis semper fideliter seruiuissent et deuote, maxime quia hoc tempore ad tuitionem regni nostri in castro Pozonien. propriis sumtibus turrim aedificauerunt, promittentes eam per se et per suos cognatos tam in tranquillitate, quam in aduersitatibus propriis sumptibus perpetuo custodire ... possessores terrae praenominatae gradatim turrim illam in perpetuum debeant propriis sumtibus custodire et reparare eam, quandocunque fuerit in ea aliquid reparandum."*

[32] *CDH* 4/3., p. 114: *"... placuit nobis ipsum Mauritium et Ioanem Comitem populorum Belae, Ducis totius Sclauoniae, charissimi filii nostri, ac Detam, fratres venerabilis patris Omodei Iauriensis Episcopi, in Castro eodem collocare; in quo iidem consuetae, et adprobatae fidelitatis feruore rutilantes, turrim in castro superiori et alia aedificia ibidem suis expensis et sumtibus propriis construxerunt, vt in illis opportuno tempore residentes in conseruatione dictae turris, contra insultus Theutonicorum, vel aliorum venientium contra regnum, seruitium valeant exhibere."*



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in its original design, also fulfill the function of a refuge for the surrounding population.

c) the representatives of orders (supported monasteries)

In 1250 Belo IV confirms the donation of a tower at Sopron Castle by the inhabitants of the castle to the Johannites through Chak, the count of Sopron. There is an interesting detail that the castle inhabitants, on the basis of common agreement, handed over a tower with a curia and appertaining houses to the hospital, on condition that other towers would belong to the inhabitants of the castle.[33] Belo IV approved the contract, having acknowledged the "*multiple utility which could result from the guarding of the tower* [by the military order – translator's comment] *for him, the kingdom, and the castle.*"

d) The contribution of the German colonists, who settled in Spiš (Spišské Podhradie, Levoča) and similarly in German areas in Transylvania (the region of Sibiu) and Croatia, is also significant.

[33] *CDH* 4/2, p. 62: *"Nos Chak magister Tauarnicorum, et Comes Supruniensis, significamus vniuersis, praesentes litteras inspecturis, quemadmodum, cum Dominus noster Bela, Rex Hungariae, nobis praecepisset, vt super curia et domibus, quas fratres Hospitales in Castro Supruniensi dicebant se habere, iustitiam eisdem faceremus. Tandem inter ipsos fratres et Burgenses dicti loci de voluntate vtriusque partis, nobis mediantibus, talis compositio est facta, quod in castro praememorato Burgenses praedicti Turrim quamdam cum curia et domibus attinentibus, domui Hospitalis ex communi consensu et consilio concesserunt sub eadem conditione, et cum tot reditibus, quibus aliae turres ciuibus in saepedicto castro commorantibus, sunt collatae."*



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DANKO DUJMOVIĆ*

# Medieval Churches with Rectangular Sanctuary in Croatia and in Spiš Region in Slovakia

## Stredoveké kostoly s pravouhlým sanktuáriom v Chorvátsku a spišskom regióne na Slovensku / Srednjovjekovne crkve s pravokutnim svetištem u Hrvatskoj i slovačkoj Spiškoj regiji

*The author explores possible similarities of the architecture of medieval churches with a rectangular sanctuary in Croatia and the region of Spiš (Scepus/Szepes/Zips) in Slovakia. While this architectural type appears in the Spiš region almost as a rule, in Croatia there are examples of both types – with a rectangular sanctuary and with a semicircular apse. Since the Spiš region was situated beyond the Roman limes, the influence on the form of the sanctuary might be connected with pagan wooden architecture. That theory opens up new possibilities for the interpretation of medieval architecture.*

Keywords: Church architecture, Middle Ages, continental Croatia, Spiš region, similarities

In 1920s Josef Strzygowski proposed a theory which claimed that the early medieval Croatian architecture could provide evidence of derivation of architecture in permanent materials from architecture in wood.[1] He found the forms of the Pre-Romanesque churches in Croatian Dalmatia a direct offshoot of the building tradition transferred by Croatians from their old homeland in Northern Europe. His thesis was disproved and rejected due to the lack of any trace or source of original Pre-Romanesque wooden architecture, thus relating the early Croatian masonry forms to the Mediterranean culture and the Antiquity.

Many words have been written on Croatian Pre-Romanesque art and Strzygowski was almost forgotten. However, a question of possible influences and tradition of wooden architecture in the building in stone or brick has remained. The great explorer of the wooden architecture of Central and Eastern Europe, David Buxton, has credited Strzygowski with providing initiative for most of the good research in the field.[2] Vladimir Goss has recently shown in two articles how some of the forms of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia have been inspired by the forms typical of architecture in wood.[3] This trend is in general reflected by Charles B. McClendon and his book *The Origins of Medieval Architecture* published in 2005, where he discusses (among others) the forms and influences in Anglo-Saxon architecture of the British Isles. McClendon singles out a group of three churches built by the Northumbrian nobleman and abbot Benedict Biscop in Wearmouth, Jarrow, and Escomb in the seventh century.[4] The churches are modest in scale, rectilinear in plan, and built of stone. According to McClendon, the form comes directly from the wood-building tradition as a direct translation of an indigenous building type into stone. He finds the confirmation in the excavated wood-framed church in Yeavering (45 miles north of Jarrow) which is identical in size and plan with the other three.

In northern Croatia, in Lobor, the archeologist Krešimir Filipec recently discovered the foundations of a single-aisle wooden church with rectangular sanctuary dated to the early ninth century.[5] It is the only trace of the early medieval religious architecture made in wood in Croatia, but we can

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[1] Strzygowski, Josef: *Starohrvatska umjetnost*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1925.

[2] Buxton, David: *The Wooden Churches of Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 1.

[3] Goss, Vladimir P. – Šepić, Nina: A Note on Some Churches with Rectangular Sanctuary in Medieval Slavonia. In: *Peristil*, a. 50, 2007, pp. 21–40; Goss, Vladimir P.: A Reemerging World. Prolegomena to an Intorduction to Earlier Medieval Art Between the Sava and the Drava Rivers. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, a. 3, 2005, nr. 32, pp. 91–112.

[4] McClendon, Charles B.: *The Origins of Medieval Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 88.

[5] Filipec, Krešimir: *Arheološko-povijesni vodič po svetištu Majke Božje Gorske u Loboru*. Zagreb: Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, 2008.



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certainly presume that it was not unique at the time. In fact, there is a record that a church with a rectangular apse at Mali Raven near Križevci replaced an old wooden structure in the fifteenth century.[6]

Moreover, there is a number of wooden chapels in the rural areas of continental Croatia dated to the periods from the seventeenth to early twentieth century. All of them witness traditional techniques of construction (so-called German binding, Croatian binding, Swallow's tale etc.). Most of them have polygonal apses, but some also rectangular sanctuaries (chapels at Dvoranci and Lijevi Štefanki).

These forms could be linked with the construction in wood simply because it is quite impossible to construct a semicircular apse in wood. However, while the polygonal apse could be related to the Gothic (when we talk about Central Europe; although it may also be an attempt to copy in wood the omnipresent rounded apse) and later periods, the rectangular sanctuary is not a matter of style – it is not a stylistic characteristic, but rather a matter of either master mason's or patron's preference or of some tradition.

In her dissertation in 2001 Bibiana Pomfyová presented a catalogue of the thirteenth-century church architecture in Slovakia's Spiš region where the majority of examples have the rectangular sanctuary.[7] Hence we can talk about the regional type. Vladimir P. Goss has suggested that the explanation for the type might lie in the fact that the region of Spiš was outside the historical Roman *limes*, which resulted in the absence of models for semicircular apse which Strzygowski rightly considered a hallmark of the Mediterranean.[8] So, the religious architecture of the baptized Slavs in the area would have been influenced by the local tradition of wooden architecture, securing a dominant role for a model with rectangular sanctuary.

In continental Croatia, there are also churches with rectangular sanctuaries, but these are not concentrated in one particular region, nor are all of them come from the same period. However, one wonders if the "Spiš model" would not also apply, i.e., whether the use of a building type with rectangular sanctuary was influenced by the architecture in wood. In Croatia, which had been part of the Roman Pannonia, this tendency would have been, of course, less prominent. The form was otherwise also linked to Templar and Cistercian models, but these sources of the form could not explain all the examples. Or, briefly, the Lobor case indicates that the form had existed centuries before the foundation of both the Templars and the Cistercians. Still, the churches at Koška and Novo Mesto Zelinsko from the thirteenth century belonged to the military orders; and the latter one is also associated with the patronage of Duke Coloman and Zagreb's bishop Stephen/Stjepan II in one of the phases of its rather complex construction history.[9]

There are other examples mostly dating from between the end of the thirteenth and the fifteenth century – Dišnik, Veliki Grđevac, Glogovica, Brodski Zdenci, Martinščina, Gotalovec, Beletinec, Miholec, Bartolovec, Sv. Helena – reinforcing the suggestion that the rectangular sanctuary is not strictly linked with any period or style.

To conclude, we cannot claim that all the rectangular sanctuaries were influenced by the wood-building tradition, but rather we might consider that option as a source of that particular form. With respect to that Spiš examples have provided an important incentive to research, another example showing how the knowledge of Slovak materials may help Croatian scholarship. The analogies and similarities between various regions and cultures are a useful instrument to make further steps in research and bring about new conclusions.

[6] Goss, Vladimir P.: A Reemerging World, p. 99.

[7] Pomfyová, Bibiana: *Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia. K problémom počiatkov gotiky na Slovensku*. PhD thesis. Bratislava: Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences, 2001.

[8] Goss, Vladimir P. – Šepić, Nina: A Note on Some Churches with Rectangular Sanctuary in Medieval Slavonia. In: *Peristil*, a. 50, 2007, pp. 34–35.

[9] Goss, Vladimir P.: *Četiri stoljeća europske umjetnosti: 800.–1200.; Pogled s jugoistoka*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2010, p. 195; Dujmović, Danko – Jukić, Vjekoslav: The "Koloman Renaissance" in North Western Croatia – an Unfinished Project. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, a. 3, 2010, nr. 37, pp. 178–179.



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IVAN GERÁT*

# Pictorial Cycles of St. Ladislas – Some Problems of Interpretation

## Obrazové cykly so sv. Ladislavom – niekoľko problémov interpretácie / Slikovni ciklusi sv. Ladislava – neki interpretativni problemi

*Pictorial cycles with Saint Ladislas belong to the most important themes of visual arts in the mediaeval Hungarian kingdom. Many of them were preserved on the territory of contemporary Slovakia, some fragments were recently found in Croatia, too. As the interpretation of this precious visual material in the twentieth century was closely linked with ideological problems, caused by emerging nationalism, the unifying message of this part of our cultural heritage has not always been seen clearly. The main problem of my paper will be provoked by the challenge of finding a way out of the ideologically based interpretations but at the same time preserving a close relation with historical reality of the images and their social functions. Two main areas of research with this motivation will be briefly presented: 1) the relationship of the images to their contemporary audience, including the nobility and simple peasants; 2) the problems of visual prototypes of the pictorial cycles in the broader European context.*

Keywords: art history, saintly warrior-king, Veľká Lomnica, Červenica

An extensive literature is devoted to the pictorial cycles on the life of St. Ladislas.[1] What do we know about the contexts that influenced the meanings and emotional effect of the pictures?

## The Ladislas cycle at Veľká Lomnica and the political situation in early fourteenth century Kingdom of Hungary

The wall paintings in the sacristy of the church at Veľká Lomnica are a good starting point for considering this problem. They are narrative pictures from the life of St. Ladislas dated to the second decade of the fourteenth century.[2] All the attempts to reconstruct the older iconographic tradition of this theme remain purely hypothetical because of the inadequacy of the surviving evidence.[3] Therefore, there is nothing to stop us supposing that the Lomnica paintings are one of the oldest surviving cycles depicting the life of St. Ladislas, if not actually the oldest.[4] Apart from this, it seems that the Ladislas theme appeared at the beginning of the fourteenth century because

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[1] Stejskal, Karel: K obsahovej a formovej interpretácii stredovekých nástenných malieb na Slovensku. In: *Zo starších výtvarných dejín Slovenska*. Ed.: Marian Váross. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1965, pp. 175–223.; Dvořáková, Vlasta: La légende de saint Ladislas decouverte dans l´eglise de Veľká Lomnica. In: *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice*, a. 41, 1972, nr. 4, pp. 25–42.; Lukács, Zsuzsa: A szent L legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben. In: *Athleta patriae. Tanulmányok szent László történetéhez*. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980, pp. 163–204.; Von Bogyay, Thomas: Der gesellschaftliche Hintergrund der Ladislauslegende von Turnišče. In: *Louis the Great – King of Hungary and Poland*. Ed.: Steven Bela Vardy – Geza Grosschmid – Leslie S. Domonkos. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, pp. 237–260; Marosi, Ernő: Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14–15. Jh. In: *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae*, a. 33, 1987, pp. 211–255.; László, Gyula: *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei*. Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1993; Kerny, Terézia: Historia Sancti Ladislai. A kerlési csata ütközet ábrázolásairól. In: *Történelem – kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon. Kiállítási katalógus*. Budapest: A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Kiadványai, 2000, pp. 188–196.

[2] Vlasta Dvořáková dated the paintings to about 1317. Dvořáková, Vlasta – Krása, Josef – Stejskal, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku*. Praha: Odeon – Bratislava: Tatran, 1978, pp. 160–167 and similarly also Togner, Milan: Monumentálna nástenná maľba na Spiši 1300–1350. In: *ARS*, 1992, pp. 100–149. However, Togner slightly adjusts the dating to 1310–1320. Idem: Cyklus ladislavskej legendy. In: *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*. Ed.: Dušan Búran. Bratislava: Slovart, 2003, pp. 673–674.

[3] Following in the footsteps of Rómer, numerous researchers, e.g. Divald and Karácsonyi supposed the existence of older prototypes, probably in the centre of the cult of St. Ladislav at Oradea Cathedral. Lukács, Zsuzsa: A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben, p. 172. Marosi, Ernő: Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger, 1987, p. 212 pointed to the lack of evidence for their views from the surviving monuments.

[4] Togner, Milan: Monumentálna nástenná maľba na Spiši 1300–1350, p. 114 already expressed a similar view.



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Fig. 55. *Ladislas cycle. Church of St. Catharine at Veľká Lomnica, 1310–1320.*

the historical circumstances of the time demanded the production of such images. The oldest Ladislas cycles in Transylvania also date from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[5]

The high quality of the Lomnica paintings, shown by a large number of stylistic parallels, points to the fact that the patron must have been of very high social status.[6] Not only the style, but also the theme of the painting, reflected the interests of the patron, who was one of the lords of Lomnica, probably Magister Kokoš.[7] The lords of Lomnica were already close to the royal court long before. Rudiger, founder of the family, probably participated in Andrew II's crusade, and this could have motivated the choice of St. Catharine as patron of the church in Lomnica.[8] In the course of the thirteenth century, the lords of Lomnica gained a place among the socially and economically strongest families in Spiš.[9] The family kept this position until the reign of Andew III, although its position weakened to some extent at this time, so that the change on the Hungarian throne was a welcome opportunity to renew their leading position in the region. The victory of Charles Robert over Venceslas (Václav) III and over the influential domestic opponents of the new dynasty, was also a triumph for the family of the lords of Lomnica. It was precisely at this time that Kokoš became the head of the family.[10] Therefore, it is not surprising that paintings, which originated in such an environment expressed in various ways the closeness to the new dynasty. This connection has various dimensions. One of them is the historical tradition of a similar theme in the House of Anjou.

The French and Neapolitan Anjous/Angevins cultivated the cult of saintly kings. Charlemagne was also seen as a warrior saint. The Anjous sometimes tried to identify with him, as their names show.[11] Artistic expressions with a similar orientation also include large wall paintings celebrating the military achievements of the dynasty. The paintings in the Tour Ferrande at Pernes les Fontaines near

[5] In the villages of Mugeni (Hun.: *Bögöz*, Ger.: *Begesen*) and Ghelinta (Hun.: *Gelence*, Ger.: *Gälänz*) in Lukács, Zsuzsa: A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben, p. 174; László, Gyula: A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei, pp. 57–68.; Drăguţ, Vasile: La légende du »héros de frontiére« dans la peinture médiévale de la Transylvanie. In: *Revue roumaine d´histoire de l´art*, a. 12, 1975, pp. 11–40.

[6] Dvořáková, Vlasta – Krása, Josef – Stejskal, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku*, p. 165.

[7] Prokopp, Mária: Falfestészet. In: *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*. Ed.: Ernő Marosi. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987, pp. 346–354.

[8] Homza, Martin: Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša. In: *Historia Scepusii* : *Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin Homza – Stanisław Sroka. Kraków – Bratislava: Etc, 2009, p. 276.

[9] Labanc, Peter: Páni z Veľkej Lomnice – počiatky rodu. In: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia*, vol. 8, 2009, pp.14–30.

[10] Homza, Martin: Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša, p. 203. On the development of his position under Charles Robert also Ruciński, Henryk: Neskorostredoveké dejiny Spiša. In: *Historia Scepusii* 1, especially p. 340 and 366.

[11] Folz, Robert: *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l´empire germanique médiéval*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951, especially p. 445 and 449.



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Avignon, depicting the victory (1266) of Charles I has already been mentioned in connection with the Lomnica cycle.[12] The Angevins also supported the chivalrous culture of French origin in their Neapolitan dominion.[13] Charles Robert himself, but also the noblemen and churchmen, who came to the Kingdom of Hungary with him, undoubtedly recognized the possibilities provided by the iconographic promotion of the saintliness of a warrior king. The Veľká Lomnica paintings can also be understood as an attempt to use these possibilities in new conditions. At the same time, the Angevin traditions had to adapt to the actual cultural political situation in the Kingdom of Hungary. The tradition of venerating Charlemagne associated with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, could hardly be applied here because it would encounter opposition from the Hungarian nobility. Therefore, it was necessary to find a personality with whom Hungarian aristocrats could also identify. The native nobility had long accepted Ladislas I as a King of Hungary and saint.[14] The King of Hungary from the Arpad dynasty was also acceptable for the Anjou, because they were related to the old dynasty. Charles Robert's grand mother was a daughter of King Stephen V from the Arpad dynasty.[15] The origin of Charles Robert from the dynasty of native saintly kings was understood as an argument in favour of his right to the throne of Hungary.[16] The Anjous and the people close to them had really serious reasons to promote St. Ladislas, but how is this connected with the Lomnica pictures?

In contrast to some other saints venerated in the Middle Ages, the historical existence of King Ladislas can scarcely be doubted, but the actual theme of the Lomnica paintings – the king's struggle with the Cumans, who had kidnapped a Hungarian girl – raises some questions. These events are mainly mentioned in medieval chronicles of much later date.[17] Recent historians think that in 1068 on Kerleš (Hun. *Cserhalom*) hill, Ladislas fought against the Pechenegs, who had invaded Hungary together with the Uz. The Cumans came to Hungary only in the next decade.[18] It was only later that chroniclers sometimes failed to distinguish or confused these pagan tribes. It is certainly questionable whether Ladislas really liberated a kidnapped girl during the battle. Gábor Klaniczay thinks that this event found its way into the chroniclers only by interpolation in the thirtieth century.[19]

The inadequacy of the original sources about the battle connects with consideration of the later appearance of the iconographic theme. Medieval patrons and viewers naturally could not deal with doubts, which have arisen only thanks to the work of modern historians and philologists. However, when looking at the Lomnica paintings, it is interesting to consider why their theme is an event which is not described in any of the known legends about Ladislas? Although many authors describe the Lomnica paintings with the term *Ladislas legend*, can the pictures of an armed man on a horse, mercilessly thrusting his lance into the chest of an enemy cantering before him, fighting him after

[12] Dvořáková, Vlasta: La légende de saint Ladislas decouverte dans l´eglise de Veľká Lomnica, pp. 25–42 ; comp. also Togner, Milan: Cyklus ladislavskej legendy, pp. 252–255 and Curzi, Gaetano: Le pitture della Tour Ferrande a Pernes-les-Fontaines: la legittimazione del potere. In: *Medioevo*: *la chiesa e il palazzo*. Ed.: Arturo Carlo Quintavalle. Milano: Electa – Mondadori, 2007, pp. 432–447.

[13] De Castris, Pierluigi Leone: *Arte di corte nella Napoli Angioina, da Carlo I a Roberto il Saggio (1266–1343)*. Firenze: Cantini, 1986, pp. 86–88.

[14] The Legenda sancti Ladislai regis in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, vol. 2. Ed.: Emericus Szentpétery. Budapest: Akadémiai K., 1938, pp. 507–527 offers a hagiographic interpretation of his life. More accessible: Život uhorského kráľa svätého Ladislava. In: Legendy stredovekého Slovenska. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Budmerice: Rak, 1997, pp. 125–135, with introduction and commentary pp. 373–377. See also Homza, Martin – Rácová, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia. Kapitoly k základom slovenskej historiografie*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2010, pp. 85–91.

[15] *Dejiny Slovenska (do roku 1526)*, vol. 1. Ed.: Richard Marsina et al. Bratislava: Veda, 1986, p. 309.

[16] Klaniczay, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*. Budapest: Balassi, 2000, p. 261.

[17] It is possible that the so-called *Gesta Ladislai regis* already mentioned these events in the second half of the twelfth century, but this oldest biography of Ladislav does not survive and must be worked out from later chronicles – Gerics, József: Krónikáink és a Szent László-legenda szövegkapcsolatai. In: *Középkori kútfőink kritikus kérdései*. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977, pp. 113–126. On the actual questionable event and its depiction see also Kerny, Terézia: Historia Sancti Ladislai. A kerlési csata ütközet ábrázolásairól. In: *Történelem-kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon*. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000, pp. 188–196.

[18] Marek, Miloš: Neugeri na Spiši. Vyplienenie Spišskej Kapituly Kumánmi kráľa Ladislava IV. In: *Studia Archaelogica Slovaca Medieaevalia*, a. 5, 2006, pp. 49–74; Marek, Miloš: *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2006, pp. 329–343. On this theme see also: Lukács, Zsuzsa: A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben, p. 176.

[19] Klaniczay, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, p. 166. Cfr. also Szovák, Kornél: Szent László alakja a korai elbeszélő forrásokban. In: *Századok*, a. 134, 2000, pp. 117–145.



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Fig. 56. *Struggle between Ladislas and the Cuman. Church of St. Catharine at Veľká Lomnica, 1310-1320.*

dismounting and finally assisting with the brutal execution of a defeated opponent with the help of a determined girl, really be regarded as a legend? Legends celebrated the holiness of their heroes and their similarity to Christ! Did Christ wage war on horseback? Did he assist with the execution of a helpless enemy? If the patron or patrons of this pictorial cycle were only concerned with Ladislas' holiness, they could have chosen a miracle from his legend! They could have avoided unpleasant questions about the moral justification or theological appropriateness of the depicted actions. The choice of a theme with no support in the texts of the then existing legends, and its moral ambiguity, were obviously motivated by considerations other than an innocent interest in celebrating the universal Christian ideal of holiness.[20] This process was certainly influenced by ideal of the warrior saint, the origin and development of which I presented elsewhere.[21] We know that in European culture and art, this ideal developed long before the pictures at Veľká Lomnica were painted. Why was its influence expressed only with such substantial historical delay? Were there specific historical reasons for the emergence of a variant of this type in the Kingdom of Hungary at the beginning of the fourteenth century?

Like later court manuscripts, the paintings at Veľká Lomnica were probably the result of a new culture forming group connected with the environment of Hungary's new dynasty, the Anjous from Western and Southern Europe.[22] Apart from their artistic qualities and religious meanings, our paintings are clearly also examples of political propaganda. The new dynasty needed to put down roots in its new and hard-won kingdom. It needed to find a symbol with which both the dynasty and its supporters from the ranks of the Hungarian nobility could identify. The support of the Hungarian nobility could not be taken for granted. The Ladislas cycle offered the desired synthesis. It offered the image of a warrior king, which connected with the older tradition of the Anjou court. At the same time, he was also a King of Hungary from the Arpad dynasty, already venerated for a long time by the native aristocracy and army.[23]

[20] For a brief introduction to the problem: Vauchez, André: Světec. In: *Středověký člověk a jeho svět*. Ed.: Jacquez Le Goff. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1999, pp. 263–290. On the situation in the Kingdom of Hungary cfr. *A szenttisztelet történeti rétegei és formái Magyarországon és Közép-Európában. A magyar szentek tisztelete*. Ed.: Gábor Barna. Szeged: Néprajzi Tanzék, 2001.

[21] Gerát, Ivan: *Svätí bojovníci v stredoveku. Úvahy o obrazových legendách sv. Juraja a sv. Ladislava na Slovensku*. Bratislava: VEDA, 2011, pp. 15–34.

[22] Vlasta Dvořáková (Dvořáková, Vlasta – Krása, Josef – Stejskal, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku*, p. 166) already pointed to Philip Drugeth in this context. Prokopp supposed the influence of the lord of Lomnica Magister Kokoš in Prokopp, Mária: Falfestészet, p. 349.

[23] Ladislas already became the patron of expansion into Galicia in the time of Bela IV. See also Homza, Martin – Ráczová, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*, pp. 85–91.



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## Painting, space and ritual

The function of the Lomnica frescoes must also be understood with regard to their position in the relatively small building of the present sacristy on the north wall. The original function of this confined space, which could contain only a limited number of visitors, is still not sufficiently explained. According to one of the discussed hypotheses, this space did not have a sacred character and the paintings were models produced by a foreign artist for the needs of local artists.[24] However, is it possible to regard preservation of an artistic model as the primary function of a medieval stone building? Such a function for a building would probably be unique. Moreover, it is improbable that the Church would allow the image of a saint without sufficient respect, and that it would not attempt to use the liturgical texts in honour of St. Ladislas. The intimate space of the present sacristy was too small for a large assembly, but it could have been used for meetings of a small group of noblemen.[25] The new paintings probably served as a background for rituals by which the new elite confirmed their group identity and faith in communally revered values. Apart from the lords of Lomnica, this group apparently included other important noblemen of the time. One of them could have been Philip Drugeth, a member of a French noble family settled at Salerno in Italy. He came from Italy with Charles Robert, and gained property in Spiš confiscated from local noblemen. He held the office of count (*comes*) of Spiš from 1317 to 1327.[26] Although this influential aristocrat apparently was not the direct patron of the painting, he would have been able to appreciate its ideological intention and probably also its artistic quality.

Since we lack direct evidence of the existence of such meetings at Veľká Lomnica, we must be satisfied with indirect indications, for example, a report on a conspiracy by Hungarian noblemen against the Emperor Sigismund over the relics of St. Ladislas at Oradea.[27] The clique of aristocratic conspirators symbolically confirmed their faith, self-understanding and political plans, with their joint veneration of St. Ladislas. The meetings of pro-Angevin noblemen in front of the pictures of St. Ladislas' struggle at Lomnica lacked the aspect of opposition to the king, so they were not of interest to chroniclers. At a time of sharp military conflicts accompanying the accession of Charles Robert to the throne, they certainly could not complain of a lack of more interesting materials. Therefore, it is understandable that the surviving sources do that mention the supposed meetings of aristocrats at Veľká Lomnica.

The aristocrats of Spiš had known and venerated Ladislas for a long time. He was the patron saint of the lancers, who had received important privileges from the king for their military service.[28] Some noble families in Špiš including the lords of Veľká Lomnica, were close to the king and traditionally identified with St. Ladislas.[29] At Spišský Štvrtok, a place called *Villa Sancti Ladislai* in Latin, the nobles met in a church dedicated to him. Earlier evidence includes efforts to obtain an alternative place for assemblies. Already in 1280, the lancers from Levkovce turned to the Archbishop of Esztergom with a request for their own church.[30]

What values did the pro-Angevin nobility celebrate in front of the Lomnica pictures? The Papal legate Gentile (Gentilis) da Montefiore, who urged the Hungarian Estates to elect Charles Robert as King of Hungary in 1309, projected into the time of King Ladislas his wish for the *sweetness of peace (pacis dulcitudo)* and *unity of souls (unitas animarum)*.[31] Precisely such factors supported the cult of the saint at the royal court still during the reign of Louis the Great. We saw that the *Legend of Ladislas* in the so-called *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* represents Ladislas as a peace maker.[32] There was a clear

[24] Togner, Milan: Recepcia a transformácia. Slovensko a Taliansko v stredoveku. K percepcii trecentných italizmov v stredovekej nástennej maľbe na Slovensku. In: *Problémy dejín výtvarného umenia Slovenska*. Ed.: Ján Bakoš et al. Bratislava: VEDA, 2002, pp. 62–63.

[25] In this sense, it is really possible to state that the nobility of the Hungarian Kingdom had already adopted the late medieval practice of private piety at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Cfr. Klaniczay, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, p. 300.

[26] Dvořáková, Vlasta – Krása, Josef – Stejskal, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku*, p. 166.

[27] Klaniczay, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, p. 302.

[28] Homza, Martin: Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša, pp. 139, 187.

[29] Ibidem, p. 188.

[30] Labanc, Peter: Páni z Veľkej Lomnice – počiatky rodu, p. 73.

[31] An extensive extract from his text is given in Klaniczay, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, p. 11. On the activity of Gentilis in the territory of present day Slovakia see also *Dejiny Slovenska* 1, pp. 310–311.

[32] Codex vat. lat. 8541 fol. 83v; cfr. *Magyar Anjou Legendárium*. Ed.: Ferenc Levárdy. Budapest: Helikon, 1973, pp. 11–53 and Szakács, Béla Zsolt: *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei*. Budapest: Balassi, 2006.



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contradiction between the ideal of peace and the image of merciless struggle. Cardinal Gentilis obviously valued peace more. Several years after his return to Italy in the second decade of the fourteenth century, and so practically at the time of the origin of the Lomnica paintings, Gentilis had pictures of the life of St. Martin painted in the Lower Church of St. Francis at Assisi.[33] The famous frescoes by Simon Martini were ordered personally by the ideologue, who defended the cult of St. Ladislas at the court of King Charles Robert of Hungary. In connection with our theme, the substantially different content of the two sets of paintings is surprising. In Assisi, St. Martin rejects armed confrontation and proceeds against the enemy helped only by the cross.[34] At Lomnica, Ladislas fights and even co-operates in killing the already defeated enemy. Such a cruel thematic accent may connect with the stronger presence of a pagan tradition in the territory of Hungary. Indeed, in 1285, only a few decades before the origin of the Lomnica paintings, King Ladislas IV the Cuman invited Tartars to come to Hungary to support him in his struggle with the native nobility. In 1287, the Tartars invited by the king plundered eastern Slovakia, including Spiš. The people of Spiš defended themselves against the king and his representatives.[35] Ladislas IV himself lived almost like a pagan among the Cumans, his close relations, until they finally killed him. His life provoked indignation in Church circles. Pope Honorius IV wanted to organize a crusade against the "pagan king".[36] The picture of the struggle of St. Ladislas against the Cumans reacted to the external threat to Hungary from the pagan peoples to the east, and to the pagan reminiscences in the highest circles of the Hungarian nobility. These connections also conditioned the political significance of the demonization of the Cuman in the Lomnica painting. Vlasta Dvořáková already correctly noticed that the coarse face of the Cuman with smoke coming out of his mouth, is the direct opposite of the aristocratic face of Ladislas. The Cuman looks like a charicature, but inspiration by Byzantine art conditioned the Christ-like face of the saint.[37] Such a sharpened contrast may give a rather schematic impression, but achievement of the propagandist aim required a simple statement. Understanding of this problem also presupposed knowledge of the basic co-ordinates of political theory, which influenced the significance of the image of King Ladislas as a warrior.

## The image and theology of power

Comparison of the content of the Veľká Lomnica painting with another work that is close in style, date and location may be a good starting point. There is a painting of the coronation of Charles Robert at Spišská Kapitula.[38] The Anjou regime in the Kingdom of Hungary did rely only on force, but also on the idea of the divine origin of its royal power. The Spišská Kapitula fresco expressed this idea in an explicit way: The crown as the symbol of government in the country is placed on the head of the kneeling Charles Robert by the Madonna, with a serious Baby Jesus blessing the whole act of heavenly coronation. As Mária Prokopp already noticed, it is the same crown decorated with lillies and precious stones, as we find on the head of St. Ladislas at Veľká Lomnica.[39] Apart from creative presentation of the invisible Divine intervention, the Spišská Kapitula painting also contains a realistic equivalent of a theocratic act. The same crown is placed in the hands of the Archbishop of Esztergom, who really had the right to crown the King of Hungary.

Apart from the political-theological and legal aspects of coronation, the picture also recalls the real military and symbolic means of building power. The Divine Child also blesses the large sword in the hands of the Sheriff of Spiš Philip Drugeth, who is kneeling behind the king. According to the picture, the Divine blessing also applies to the instrument of the bloody battles

[33] Contini, Gianfranco – Gozzoli, Maria Cristina: *L´opera completa di Simone Martini. Presentazione di Gianfranco Contini. Apparati critici e filogici maria Christina Gozzoli*. Milano: Rizzoli, 1970, p. 90.

[34] Contini, Gianfranco – Gozzoli, Maria Cristina: *L´opera completa di Simone Martini*, p. 93; cfr. Sulpicius, Severus: *Život svatého Martina*. Trans ed. et: Pavel Ryneš, Praha: Herrmann a synové, 2003, p. 121; De Voragine, Jakub: *Legenda aurea*. Trans.: Václav Bahník – Anežka Vidmanová – Irena Zachová. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1998, p. 320.

[35] Cfr. the entries in the Spišská Sobota Chronicle – Sopko, Július (ed. et trans): *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska*. Budmerice: RAK, 1995, pp. 104–111, 107.

[36] Lukács, Zsuzsa: A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben, p. 176.

[37] Dvořáková, Vlasta: La légende de saint Ladislas decouverte dans l´eglise de Veľká Lomnica, p. 36.

[38] Cfr. Togner, Milan: Recepcia a transformácia. Slovensko a Taliansko v stredoveku, pp. 56–57.

[39] Prokopp, Mária: Falfestészet, p. 348. Cfr also *Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. Ed.: János M. Bak. Berkley – Los Angeles – Oxford: University of California press, 1990. Description in Fodor, Pavol – Dvořáková, Vlasta: K novým objavom nástenných malieb na Slovensku. In: *Výtvarný život*, a. 3, 1958, nr. 7, p. 258: "*low three-leaved crown with two rows of pearls on the edge, as is typical of diadems of Byzantine type.*"



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Fig. 57. *The dead Cuman. Vítkovce, c. 1320–1350.*



Fig. 58. *Angels carry the crown to the resting Ladislas. Vítkovce, c. 1320–1350.*

accompanying the power vacuum after the Arpad dynasty died out. The painting only shows members of the higher nobility, who especially honoured the story of the chivalrous King Ladislas. In medieval culture, the sword also symbolized the social position of an individual or family. Not everybody could own this symbol of knightly rank. It was passed down from generation to generation in noble families. The clergy of Spišská Kapitula had enough motivation to support anti-Cuman artistic propaganda. Apart from the general doctrinal reasons, they undoubtedly remembered that in 1289 the Cumans had devastated the Church of St. Martin.[40] Moreover, the struggle against the Cuman non-believers was one of the arguments presented to the Holy See by the supporters of Charles Robert.[41] The Spišská Kapitula fresco is an important support for the interpretation of the Lomnica cycle. In immediate temporal and geographical proximity, we find Anjou influence on the iconography of wall paintings, which gives us a more specific idea of their theological and political background. Contemporary liturgical texts also shed light on this background. The spiritual elite adapted the cult of St. Ladislas into a form that reacted to the needs of the aristocratic warriors, while also suppressing expressions of the primitive military mentality. The surviving liturgical texts offer a well-thought out summary of the conceptual motives in good-quality Latin verses.[42] The face of Ladislas in the Lomnica pictures shows similar cultivation. He resembles the Norman King of Sicily Roger II, known from a mosaic in one of the Palermo churches, namely the Martorana, Santa Maria dell'Ammiraglio from the twelfth century.[43] Therefore, the painters could have learnt from this or a similar southern Italian cycle inspired by the Byzantine tradition. Apart from style, the appearance of Ladislas' face also has theological significance. The facial expression of the holy warrior does not express anything of the effort and tension of earthly conflict. The saint looks as if he does not notice the world, in which he is engaged in a life and death struggle. His face gives the impression of a solemnly rigid ceremonial mask.[44] Such a face could undoubtedly fulfill

[40] Marek, Miloš: Neugeri na Spiši, pp. 49–74.
[41] Drăguț, Vasile: La légende du »héros de frontiére« dans la peinture médiévale de la Transylvanie, p. 20.
[42] Cfr. Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok szent László történetéhez. Ed.: László Mezey. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980.; Török, József: Szent László liturgikus tisztelete. In: Ibidem, pp. 137–159 published the Latin sources in a supplement (pp. 148–159): Historio rithmica de sancto Ladislao, Sequentia de Sancto Ladislao rege and prayers from the Pray Codex. Some liturgical texts, especially from the fifteenth century, preserved in Slovak collections are mentioned by Mokrý, Ladislav: Kult kráľa Ladislava. In: *Historická revue*, a. 7, nr. 2, 1996, pp. 3–4.
[43] Dvořáková, Vlasta: La légende de saint Ladislas decouverte dans l´eglise de Veľká Lomnica, p. 36.
[44] Fodor, Pavol – Dvořáková, Vlasta: K novým objavom nástenných malieb na Slovensku, p. 258.



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Fig. 59. *Struggle between Ladislas and the Cuman. Church of St. Catharine at Veľká Lomnica, 1310-1320.*



Fig. 60. *Struggle between Ladislas and the Cuman. Church of of All Saints, Bijacovce, c. 1380-1400.*

a similar function to a liturgical text: to elevate the thoughts of the viewer.[45] A skilled and well trained painter had to create an image, if it was going to serve this aim. The simplified oval face of the saint at Vítkovce could not achieve the same degree of visual ritualization of the saint's body, because it is stylistically closer to folk mentality. Other means were used to emphasize the contrast between the two warriors. In the scene of the beheading, they depicted a devil representing the Cuman's soul leaving his body. The scene of resting after the battle, not found at Veľká Lomnica, is represented at Vítkovce by two original pictures, directed towards creating a stronger contrast between Ladislas and the Cuman. Their bodies are depicted in similar positions. The saint rests with his head on the lap of the rescued girl, and angels bring him a crown. The beheaded body of the pagan has become food for a wild beast.

We already mentioned above, the convincing finding of Vlasta Dvořáková that the artistic form of the saint's figure is a parallel to the form of Christ.[46] Such an artistic solution expresses the basis of sanctity – effort to come closer to Christ. At the same time, sacralisation of the monarch was also motivated by effort to strengthen the worldly authority of his position: "*The sacral elevates the monarch to such a height that only absolute respect and obedience remain to the subjects*".[47]

Ladislas' appearance at Veľká Lomnica testifies to the aesthetic motivations or taste of the patron to see in his intimate sacred space something similar to that found in the more culturally developed Anjou dominions. Above all, however, it documents the theological sensitivity of the cultural environment in which the pictures originated. Considerations of the late medieval theologians about how pictures may help believers to overcome inertia of feelings (*tarditas affectus*) can be found more easily in texts, than assessments of artistic style.[48] We do not know, who was responsible for the final form of the image. Certainly also the painter, who learnt (or perhaps recorded in a later lost sketchbook) an artistic form filled with more or less conscious theological content, in one of the Anjou dominions, penetrated with an age-old tradition could then apply it in Spiš. It is also possible that already far

[45] For the theoretical starting points of such an interpretation comp. Sokol, Jan: *Filosofická antropologie. Člověk jako osoba*. Praha: Portál, 2002, pp. 172–176; Belting, Hans: *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2001, especially pp. 34–38.

[46] Dvořáková, Vlasta – Krása, Josef – Stejskal, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku*, p. 165.

[47] Iwańczak, Wojciech: *Po stopách rytířských příběhů. Rytířský ideál v českém písemnictví 14. století*. Praha: Argo, 2001, p. 70.

[48] Cfr. Krause, Katharina: Sehet, welch ein Mensch! Geschichte oder geistliche Auslegung des Lebens Jesu in der deutschen Malerei und Graphik um 1500. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, a. 64, 2001, p. 62. Eberlein, Konrad Johann – Jakobi-Mirwald, Christine: *Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Kunst. Eine Quellenkunde*. Berlin: Reimer, 1996, pp. 104–112.



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beyond the frontiers of the Kingdom of Hungary, a scholar with a clear understanding of the spiritual potential of images, decided on their application in the Central European cultural mission.

## Ways of struggling against demons

The Christ-like saint does not appear alone in the Lomnica frescoes. The argumentation of the picture story probably also used the contrast of his physiognomy with the demonized Cuman to throw unfavourable light on the above mentioned Ladislas IV the Cuman. Demonization of the opponent was not simply a result of artistic imagination. It was a theological argument justifying the violent actions of the saint. It also served a specific political aim as military propaganda.[49] From the psychological point of view, it may also recall an important aspect of medieval warfare, namely frightening the opponent with cries, gestures or threatening appearance.[50] Worsening the appearance of the enemy enhanced the courage and heroism of the saint.

Precisely these politically and militarily realistic features distinguish the Lomnica paintings from the more traditional pictures of the struggles of holy men against demons, for example, from the St. Anthony cycle on the north wall of the presbytery of the church at nearby Dravce. The spiritual struggle of the saintly hermit with demons did not lack direct physical confrontation, for example, with zoomorphic monsters, personifying destructive forces in the human psyche. However, hermits did not kill anybody, their struggle maintained a spiritual character. None of these holy men undertook the struggle with demons as military actions combined with the exercise of secular power. A similar layer of meaning is not lacking even from St. Ladislas iconography of the fourteenth century. In the *Anjou Legendary*, the picture of physical struggle comes only after a solitary spiritual struggle with a demon, in which Ladislas, like the already mentioned St. Martin, used only the cross. However, at Veľká Lomnica, such a motif does not received attention. They needed a concise and meaningful pictorial formulation with the problem of demonicness represented in the form of physiognomic indications.

The surviving liturgical texts provide more than one supporting point for understanding the complexly structured message of the Ladislas cycles. One of the antiphons describes Ladislas as a "*pillar of the Christian army*" (*columna militiae Christianae*), but also emphasizes his mercy (*O misericors misericordiam consecutus*). It also raises the hope that Ladislas will reply to the hopes of pious people, who flee to him for protection (*O firmissima spes tuae gentis / Intuere devotionem populi te querentis / et sub tuum praesidium (con)fugientis*).[51] This hope had many forms. It appears probable that noble landlords and simple members of peasant communities connected different hopes with the saint. The fighting nobleman could understand Ladislas' earthly struggle both as a prefiguration of the legendary ability of the saint to help achieve a good fate for the soul after death, and to secure victory in earthly struggles. *The Chronicle of the Anonymous Franciscan* from the second half of the fourteenth century tells of Ladislas' help in the anti-Tartar struggle of 1345. During these battles, they allegedly could not find St. Ladislas' head at Oradea, but later they found it again, covered in sweat, exhausted, as if after hard work. One of the captured Tartars allegedly spoke of a huge warrior on an enormous horse, with an axe in his hand and a crown on his head, obviously meaning Ladislas. The Tartar witness attributed the defeat of his own army to this mysterious horseman.[52] Such stories could arouse in the warrior aristocrats a wish to see and venerate pictures of the saint and king.

An alternative reading of the spiritual meaning of the image as a statement on the liberation of the soul could also have existed among the more educated clergy. Karel Stejskal already compared the image of the liberation of the girl with an example depicted in the contemporary Prague manuscript, the *Passionale Cunegundis*.[53] In a Neo-Platonic spirit, the ability to liberate the human soul, imprisoned in the material world is attributed to the heroic knight, who resembles Christ.

[49] Ohler, Norbert: *Válka a mír ve středověku*. Jinočany: H&H, 2004, pp. 262–272.
[50] Iwańczak, Wojciech: *Po stopách rytířských příběhů. Rytířský ideál v českém písemnictví 14. století*, p. 111.
[51] *Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok szent László történetéhez*, p. 43.
[52] *Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici*. Ed.: Mathias Florianus. Quinqueecclesiis-Lipsiae-Budapestini, Tipis Michaelis Theisz, 1881, p. 152; Klaniczay, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, pp. 165–166.
[53] Urbánková, Ema – Stejskal, Karel: *Pasionál Přemyslovny Kunhuty. Passionale abbatissae Cunegundis*. Praha: Odeon, 1975, pp. 29–36. A detailed study in: Toussaint, Gia: *Das Passional der Kunigunde von Böhmen: Bildrhetorik und Spiritualität*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003., pp. 71–104.



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## Execution of the defeated enemy

The scene of beheading, especially its content, namely the execution of a defeated opponent, raises other problems. The legal rules of medieval battle gave the winner the possibility to decide on the life or death of the defeated opponent. The victor could behead the defeated with his own hand, or he could show mercy and grant him his life.[54] According to the principles of chivalry, a knight had to fight an enemy only as long as he resisted. If he stopped defending himself, he had to be shown mercy and lovingly forgiven.[55]



Fig. 61. *Beheading of the Cuman. Church of St. Catharine at Veľká Lomnica, 1310–1320.*

How can we explain that the saint did not choose one of these possibilities and assisted with the execution?

The answer to this question requires study of the differences between the male and female roles in connection with the problem of sanctity and its media presentation. In the paintings, the Cuman is beheaded by the girl, who is named Ladiva by an inscription on the Lomnica painting and only there. In contrast, the majority of written texts say that Ladislas beheaded the Cuman. The only exception is the *Chronicle of Henrich of Mügeln*, which is later than most of the pictures, so it could have drawn on the visual materials. It includes the sentence: "*St. Ladislas held him by the hair, while the girl severed his neck.*"[56] This looks like a natural result of the conflict. If the saint killed the defeated and defenceless opponent, it would be a theological problem. However, the anger and revenge of the kidnapped girl cast no shadow on the image of the saint and king. On the contrary, a similar heroine, although the texts mostly present her in a negative light, can be compared with the noble heroines from the *Old Testament*, such as Judith, who beheaded





Fig. 62. *Beheading of the Cuman. Vítkovce, c. 1320–1350.*

[54] Iwańczak, Wojciech: *Po stopách rytířských příběhů. Rytířský ideál v českém písemnictví 14. století*, p. 122.

[55] Ibidem, p. 116.

[56] "*Da hielt sant Lasla yn pey dem hore; do slug im die mayt den hals ab.*" According to the Russian chronicles, Ladislas inflicted the death penalty not only on the kidnapper, but also on his kidnapped sister, who helped him. On both sources see Lukács, Zsuzsa: A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben, pp. 165–167.



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Holofernes.[57] Therefore, I think that the exchange of roles between the sexes in this scene occurred precisely at the time that the story of Ladislas began to be painted on the walls of churches. Visual media could contribute to the transformation of historical and legendary material at least as much as the stories and songs of wandering histrions.

horses and shoot arrows from their bows in a backward direction. The function of the unusual motif of dialogue between the first of the Cumans and a girl is questionable. The next scene, depicting fighting on foot, shows a similar contrast of physiognomy between Ladislas and the Cuman to that found in the cycle at Veľká Lomnica. The



Fig. 63. *Ladislas cycle. Church of st. Philip, Vítkovce, c. 1320–1350.*

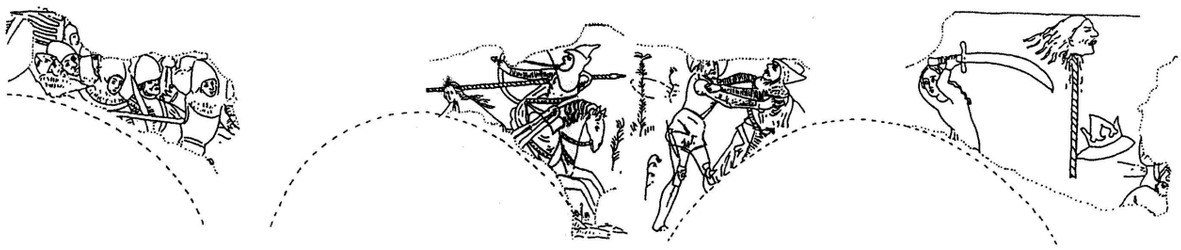


Fig. 64. *Ladislas cycle. Church of of All Saints, Bijacovce, c. 1380–1400.*

## Other paintings and their aristocratic patrons

The oldest fragments include the almost unknown paintings in the roof space of the parish church of St. Nicholas at Červenica.[58] Only outlines of figures and objects are available for their interpretation. They are indicated by brisk brownish lines, because the top layer of the painting, containing the details, which required more time, has not survived. Therefore, we know only the general design, rough outline or basic concept of the paintings, sketched with quick brush strokes on the still wet plaster. Such a state of preservation brings problems with classifying the style of the master and evaluating the details of the iconography of the work.

The cycle begins with the scene of parting from departing soldiers, continues with the scene of battle with the usual confrontation of two groups of horsemen. As usual, the Cumans turn on their

outline of the physiognomy of the Cuman shows a clear effort to visually demonize the kidnapper, by caricaturing the appearance of his face. At the end, a small fragment survives from the scene of the beheading of the defeated opponent. As well as stylistic and iconographic parallels pointing to a close connection between the paintings at Červenica and their models at Veľká Lomnica, there are also historical facts, which support a possible connection between the two groups of paintings. In 1296, the village already partly belonged to the sons of Rikolf, an important descendant of the Kokoš family of Lomnica, which also included the patron of the paintings at Lomnica. Rikolf junior, last of the sons, owned the village from 1306.[59] He could have ordered the paintings at Červenica.

Aristocratic patrons were undoubtedly also responsible for the Ladislas cycles at Kraskovo and Rimavská Baňa. The origin of these cycles could have been influenced by the family of the lords

[57] Stejskal, Karel: K obsahovej a formovej interpretácii stredovekých nástenných malieb na Slovensku, pp. 198–199 mentions Judith as the opposite of Ladiva, together with the goddesses of ancient mythology and the Slavonic Zora.

[58] I thank Michal Slivka for the first observation of this work.

[59] In 1296, Kokoš and John sons of Rikolf acquired it from the sons of Detrik in exchange for the property Gibart in the County of Abov. At the end of winter in 1306, the sons of the already deceased Rikolf of Spiš divided the properties. Rikolf, the youngest son received the village of Červenica among other properties as his share of the inherited properties in Šariš. Data from http://www.saris.eu.sk/cervenica_pri_sabinove/sk/historia.html



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Fig. 65. *Ladislas cycle. Church of of All Saints, Kraskovo, c. 1380–1400.*

of Sečany (Szécsényi), which acquired both villages in 1334 in an exchange with the Archbishop of Kalocsa. The Duke of Transylvania and state judge Frank of Sečany, one of the magnates close to Sigismund of Luxembourg, had the church at Kraskovo painted. Mária Prokopp, who pointed to this connection, thinks that the picture of Ladislas may be a portrait of this aristocratic donor.[60] If we can accept this idea, it would mean not only a shift of form but also of meaning compared to the Christ-like face of the saintly king, known from the Lomnica cycle. The social-psychological function would shift from sacralization of the dynasty towards aristocratic self-presentation. This function of the paintings must be considered in connection with the Kraskovo paintings, even if the speculation about the portrait features of Ladislas appear to us to be unfounded. The picture immediately provides two reasons for such consideration. The first is that apart from the familiar bearded physiognomy of the saint, the introductory synthetic scene of the cycles includes another entirely different physiognomic type: the figure of a young aristocrat cantering on a horse and carrying a mace on his shoulders. His playful hair and smooth beardless face do not allow an identification with the saintly king. The second reason lies in the actual battle scene, where an armoured knight carrying a flag with a double armed cross canters in close proximity to the saintly king. This man gives no attention to the fighting, but looks admiringly at Ladislas. These two figures could be appropriate objects of aristocratic self-identification, and in the second case actually a pictorial model of veneration of the saint, integrated into the narrative scene.

The lord of Spiš Castle is thought to have been the patron of the Ladislas cycle from which fragments have survived in the roof space of the Church of All Saints at Bijacovce. This interpretation is historically based on the fact that from 1258 the village belonged directly to Spiš Castle. The style of these paintings testifies to a date around 1400, and they were probably provided by one of the younger members of this family.[61]

The sequence begins here with a group of nobel horsemen without a clear narrative context, but with enough free space, where further parts of the painting could have been located.[62]

[60] Prokopp, Mária: *Középköri freskók Gömörben*. Šamorín: Méry Ratio, 2002, p. 55.

[61] The connections with the Czech painters of the circle of Master Theodore see in Prokopp, Mária: Falfestészet, p. 599 and decorativism in combination with naturalism, close to some works of International Gothic (*Bible of Konrad of Vechta*, frescoes in Runkelstein Castle in Dvořáková, Vlasta – Krása, Josef – Stejskal, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku*, p. 75) indicate that the Bijacovce cycle has a date no earlier than the end of the fourteenth century.

[62] The surviving fragments are too small to enable us to unambiguously work out their meaning. The scene could be related to the beginning of the pictorial narrative at Ghelinta in Transylvania, but comparison clearly shows the higher quality of the Bijacovce painter – an anonymous, but artistically cultivated representative of the International Gothic style.



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Fig. 66. *Beheading of the Cuman and St. Ladislas resting. Kraskovo, last third of the fourteenth century.*

The following scene of fighting horsemen is dominated by the cruelty of military action, with a Cuman's body pierced by a long lance and a bleeding wound. The contrast between the figure of the kidnapped girl and her kidnapper also attracted the painter's imagination. Her hands, joined in prayer express a spiritual orientation, which contrasts with the kidnapper firing arrows from his bow. Although both sit on one horse, each inclines in a different direction. The simple dress of the girl also contrasts with the kidnapper's impressive costume with weapons.

The painter also used a deliberate strategy of contrasting pictures in the following scene of the struggle between the two heroes on the ground after dismounting from their horses.[63] The change of appearance of the two warriors compared to older cycles is interesting. Careful observation of the knightly fashion of the time enabled the painter to create an elegant image of the knightly saint, corresponding to the refined aesthetic ideal of the International Gothic style. Ladislas' Western oriented appearance sharply contrasts with that of the Cuman in his heavy, orientalising costume.

The pagan's face is deformed not by the usual reference to his demonic nature, but by the natural results of suffocation, because the saint is squeezing his throat. The metaphysical contrast, known from Veľká Lomnica, is replaced by an artistic vision closer to the physical reality of the earthly world.

The brutal expressions of physical reality culminate in the final scene with the familiar motif of the Cuman's head impaled on a stake. The elements of naturalism are strengthened so much in this motif that we can already speak of expressionism. Curls of untidy hair are blown about by the wind. The physiognomy is deformed by the expressively depicted expression of suffering into a form that is distant from reality. The head was put on the stake after the beheading depicted in the previous scene. The figure of the girl in this scene forms a further contrast to the appearance of the two men. Her slim body in a simple white dress and light hair give a fragile impression. She has to hold in both hands the heavy curved sword, with which she is going to take final revenge on the kidnapper.

[63] The surviving fragment does not include the girl, who should help the saint, as in the usual iconographic scheme, but an analogy from Dirjin in Transylvania shows that this figure could have been painted in the destroyed lower right part of the fresco.



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The fashionable features of the work may be explained by the fact that the patron came from the higher ranks of society, or at least tried to imitate them.

## The question of the function of the paintings in relation to the general public

During the fourteenth century, wall paintings of Ladislas' struggle could be found in places frequented not only by nobles and clergy, but also by the wider community of the simple faithful. Monumental cycles sometimes dominated a space on the optically dominant north wall of a church. This context opens the question of the meaning of the pictorial cycle for simple village people. Answering this question is hindered by a shortage of direct written sources.[64] Therefore, the creation of interpretative hypotheses requires a greater degree of application of creative fantasy.

The pictures certainly had to show the leading groups in society in a favourable light. The simple visitor to the church could also spontaneously feel close to the defenceless kidnapped girl. Like the liturgical text, the pictorial cycle showed the knight in armour as the defender of the defenceless and of the Christian community against any violent attack.[65] The hopes formulated in liturgical texts could find their way to the simpler public through preaching in the language of the people. The attention of the community was inconspicuously diverted from the internal conflicts of the country and concentrated on the geographically and socially external enemy. In the struggle with this enemy, the people could expect help not only from miracle working saints, but also from armoured knights, who resembled them.

Maintenance of the socio-economic order sometimes required the use of force against rebellious or lazy peasants. In such a situation, it was especially important that the armed horseman did not mean only the threat of the violent defence of particular economic interests. The simple faithful looking at these pictures might forget the ever-present threat of social discipline and think



Fig. 67. *Beheading of the Cuman and his head impaled on a stake. Church of All Saints, Bijacovce, c. 1380–1400.*

more of military protection against the external enemy, which the nobility provided or, at least, were supposed to provide, while also hoping for the supernatural assistance of the depicted saint.

And so we come to the complicated question of perception of knightly self-presentation. At the beginning of the cycle, we usually find a group of several armed knights leaving a castle or fortified town with the saint. How did the people of the time perceive these knights? In Spiš, we do not find any evidence of unambiguous church approval of the knights, such as the bishop blessing them at the beginning of the narrative cycle at Ghelinţa in Transylvania.[66]

The scene of the saint's rest after the battle offered the faithful the possibility to directly see human acceptance and human closeness. The peaceful scene was extraordinarily appropriate for evoking an atmosphere of closeness, which also corresponds to the much freer treatment of such symbols as the crown and armour of the saint. In the *Anjou Legendary*, the saint did not lose his usual appearance even when resting, but the creators of pictures on the walls of country churches often allowed him more comfort. In this way, they also removed some of the psychological barrier, which could be caused by more straitlaced behaviour. In spite of the tenderness of the girl towards Ladislas, I see no reason to see this scene as a picture of searching in his hair as some Hungarian researchers do.[67] In my view, this

[64] This methodological problem is also known from other research on the popular culture of the Middle Ages. Cfr. Gurevič, Aron: *Nebe, peklo, svět: cesty k lidové kultuře středověku*. Ed. et trans.: Jaroslav Kolár. Jinočany: H&H, 1996.

[65] Gerát, Ivan: Naratívny cyklus zo života sv. Ladislava v ikonografickom programe gemerských kostolov. In: *ARS*, 1996, nr. 1–3, pp. 11–56.

[66] László, Gyula: *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei*, p. 65.

[67] Ibidem, pp. 189–191, cfr. also the chapter on the meaning of the pagan tradition.



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theme may be depicted only in the well-known scene at Turnišče in Slovenia, where the girl searches the hair of the Cuman before the battle.[68] I think that only this case may show some connection to the Hungarian ballad *Molnár Anna*. In the other scenes, it may be simple caressing, which does not look like blasphemy even to present-day people and our hygienic habits are distant from those of the Middle Ages.

The Cuman's head impaled on a stake in the Bijacovce fragments is the sort of detail that could enhance the emotional impact of a picture that also contains less significant signs of naturalism in other places. Enrichment of the basic narrative scheme with emotionally charged details corresponded to the ideas of medieval theologians, who expected the pictures in churches to influence the feelings of the faithful.[69] It appears that painters made an effort to find appropriate ways of achieving this aim.

We can only understand the functions of Ladislas cycles in the fourteenth century, if we examine the complexities of the historical contexts. Apart from old conceptual, narrative and pictorial traditions, they also included the current problems of politics in the Kingdom of Hungary after the accession of the Anjou dynasty. The form and function of the cycles also depended on the media used. The wall paintings depicted a simpler story than the top-quality illuminated manuscripts, but also in this case, it is necessary, at least, to consider their effect on the religious-educational, social-psychological and political levels. Various groups of viewers gave various meanings to pictures in accordance with their own experience of life.*

[68] Von Bogyay, Thomas: Der gesellschaftliche Hintergrund der Ladislauslegende von Turnišče, p. 250; Balažic, Janez: Stenske slikarije v stari turniški cerkvi. In: Zadnikar, Marijan – Balažic, Janez: *Turnišče. Zgodovinska in umetnostna podoba farne cerkve*. Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1994, p. 86.

[69] Krause, Katharina: Sehet, welch ein Mensch! Geschichte oder geistliche Auslegung des Lebens Jesu in der deutschen Malerei und Graphik um 1500, p. 475. Baxandall, Michael: *Die Kunst der Bildschnitzer. Tilman Riemenschneider, Veit Stoß und ihre Zeitgenossen*. München: Beck Verlag, 1984, p. 62. Eberlein, Konrad Johann – Jakobi-Mirwald, Christine: *Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Kunst. Eine Quellenkunde*, pp. 104–112.

* The text was slightly changed and translated into English by Martin Styan.



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MAJA CEPETIĆ*

# The Cult of St. Ladislas in Continental Croatia – Its Political and Cultural Context

## Kult sv. Ladislava v pevninskom Chorvátsku – politický a kultúrny rámec / Kult sv. Ladislava u kontinentalnoj hrvatskoj – politički i kulturni kontekst

*The author analyzes the cult of St. Ladislas that started to flourish in the late thirteenth century under the last Arpadian rulers. It was especially intense at the time of the new Angevin kings in the fourteenth century. The new dynasty adopted it and expanded this tradition in order to emphasize its legitimacy. The figure of Ladislas successfully represented the ideal knight and it was also an important propaganda tool for the legitimacy of the Angevin dynasty. The topic is presented through the cycle of wall-paintings of the legend of St. Ladislas in the church of St. Peter in Novo Mesto Zelinsko. The legend can be found across all the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen. In this context the presence of churches dedicated to St. Ladislas in Croatia (also of St. Stephen the King and St. Emeric) as well as an interesting late medieval appearance of St. Ladislas on the Dalmatian coast are also explored.*

Keywords: the *Legend of St. Ladislas*, Middle Ages, Novo Mesto Zelinsko, Continental Croatia[1], Slavonia, Trogir Cathedral.

## Introduction – Politics, Culture and Propaganda

"*To understand the real message of the St. Ladislas fresco cycle*", and I would also add the cult, "*we need to understand the age*".[2] The fourteenth century brought some significant changes into the Realm of St. Stephen. In 1301 the Arpadian dynasty was superceded by the House of Anjou. After the last Arpadian king, Andrew III, died there appeared several candidates for St. Stephen's crown, which caused a lack of the strong centralised political power of the king and consequently enabled strengthening of the nobility across the realm – this led to civil war and anarchy lasting for more than a decade.[3] That was also the time when the first Angevin king on the Hungarian throne, Charles Robert, needed to seize the rule and to subdue the rebellious feudal nobility.

The most powerful noble families situated in Slavonia, the Babonić and Kisecki (Kőszegi) families, at the very end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century gave their support to the representative of the Angevin dynasty.[4] The Croatian aristocracy led by Pavao Šubić also invited Prince Charles Robert of Anjou from Naples, whose grandmother was from the Arpadian dynasty, to ascend the Hungarian throne.[5] Of course, in the end, the noble families in Slavonia and in Croatia made decisions in accordance with their desire for prosperity and power under the new ruler.

Prince Charles was also supported by Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303), who believed that this was the right way of spreading the papal influence, and he also relied on the Church prelates and powerful military orders in the land.[6] From the beginning the Angevin dynasty emphasized the legality of succession and affirmed their legitimacy by using the Arpadian symbols in the coat

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[1] It is the area of today Continental Croatia i.e. Slavonia observed through the time of the Middle Ages.

[2] Klaniczay, Gábor: *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 194.

[3] Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, Trans.: Tamás Palosfalvi. London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001, pp. 128–132.

[4] Ibidem, pp. 107–111; Klaić, Nada: *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976, pp. 340–342.

[5] Kontler, László: *Povijest Mađarske: Tisuću godina u srednjoj Europi*. Zagreb: Srednja europa, 2007, p. 90.

[6] Ibidem, p. 95; Luttrell, Anthony: The Hospitallers in Hungary before 1418: Problems and Sources. In: *Crusades and Military Orders: Expanding the frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. Ed.: Zsólt Hunyadi – József Laszlovsky. Budapest: CEV Press, 2001, p. 271.



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of arms, and relying on the legend of St. Ladislas claiming him as the protector of the new dynasty.[7]

The cult of King Ladislas, who was canonized as St. Ladislas in 1192 during the reign of Bela III, started to flourish in the realm in the late thirteenth century under the last Arpadian rulers. It was especially intense at the time of the new Angevin kings in the fourteenth century.[8] The new dynasty adopted and expanded this tradition in order to emphasize their legitimacy as descendants of the Arpadians in the female line. Because of that they frequently referred to their saintly ancestors, first of all, St. Stephen and St. Ladislas. The figure of Ladislas successfully represented the ideal knight, which was so important in the courtly culture of the Hungarian Angevins. It was also an important propaganda tool and perfect ideological framework for the legitimacy of the Hungarian Angevin dynasty.[9]

*The life of St. Ladislas* was described in two basic sources. The legend, known from two versions – *Legenda Aurea* and local legends – was created during the rule of Bela III. The other source is the *Hungarian Chronicle*, a text written and re-written from the eleventh century onwards, which survives in versions compiled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[10] As a tool of Angevin promotion of the saintly ancestors and their rights to the throne we can find the cycle representing the life and miracles of St. Ladislas in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (ca. 1330), showing the core of the Legend, the fight with the Cumans, representing Ladislas as a victorious military leader and a knight; and in the *Illuminated Chronicle* (*Chronicon Pictum*, ca. 1360), containing seventeen interrelated images of the story of Ladislas and his fight against the Cuman, and the invitation to lead the First Crusade.[11]

It is possible to interpret the fight between Ladislas and the Cuman leader as the fight between Christians and pagans, with the victory of Christianity. Also, it can be seen as the last fight against the eastern pagan roots of the Hungarians, relevant to the time of King Ladislas IV "the Cuman".[12] In any case, this legend fits really so much with the context itself. It was easy to use it for the purposes of legitimacy and propaganda of the new Angevin dynasty and the promotion of the victorious story of Christianity.

The cult of St. Ladislas created an extremely powerful ideal which was important to the Hungarian Angevin dynasty and their courtly culture because of their intention to show and promote their legitimate rights to the Hungarian throne. That is the reason why we can find the legend of St. Ladislas presented as a narrative cycle of wall paintings in the medieval cultural space across the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen (e.g. in Transylvania: Mugeni (Bögöz) – from the fourteenth century, Ghelinta (Gelence) – 1300–1330, Remetea (Magyarremete) – fourteenth century, Biborţeni (Bibarcfalva) – fifteenth century; in East Slovakia, i.e. Upper Hungary: Žehra – 1380, Veľká Lomnica – 1317, Rimavská Baňa, Kraskovo and Vítkovce – all from the fourteenth century; in Hungary: Ócsa, Türje – both from the fourteenth century, and Tereske – ca. 1400. The wall paintings depicting the legend date mostly from the early fourteenth through the fifteenth century,[13] which corresponds, at the beginning, to the time of the new dynasty on the Hungarian throne.

## Novo Mesto Zelinsko

A Croatian example of the legend of St. Ladislas can be found in the small church of St. Peter in Novo Mesto Zelinsko, an aisleless building with a rectangular sanctuary. The church was built in two phases – the first one in the early thirteenth century and the second one after the Mongol invasion (1241/1242), when it might have been repaired and refurbished with the new rib-vault in the sanctuary and the sculpted consoles and capitals made in the workshop of Bishop Stjepan II.[14]

[7] Kontler, László: *Povijest Mađarske*, p. 96.
[8] Klaniczay, Gábor: *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 322–326, pp. 356–366.
[9] Szakács, Bela Zsolt: Between Chronicle and Legend: Image Cycles od St. Ladislas in Fourteenth-Century Hungarian Manuscripts. In: *The Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 4. Ed.: Erik Kooper. Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2006, p. 153.
[10] Ibidem, p. 148.
[11] Klaniczay, Gábor: *Holy Rulers*, pp. 191, 356–366; Szakács, Bela Zsolt: Between Chronicle and Legend, pp. 148–152.
[12] Klaniczay, Gábor: *Holy Rulers*, pp. 389–390.
[13] Madas, Edit; Horváth, György Zoltán: *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról/San Ladislao d'Ungheria nella predicazione e nei dipinti murali.* Budapest: Romanika Kiadó, 2008, pp. 81, 90, 91, 122, 124, 136, 142–143, 154, 188–189, 238–241, 308–309.
[14] Goss, Vladimir P.: Templari i kulturni pejsaž zelinskog Prigorja. In: *Templari i njihovo nasljeđe; 800 godina od dolaska templara na Zemlju sv. Martina.* Ed.: Mladen Houška. Sv. Ivan Zelina: Muzej Sv. Ivan Zelina, 2009, p. 35; Jukić, Vjekoslav – Dujmović, Danko: The "Koloman Renaissance" in North Western Croatia – an Unfinished Project. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 2010, pp. 178–179.



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We proposed that the church had belonged to the great Templar estate of St. Martin at the east rim of the Medvednica mountain, which Templars got from King Andrew II in 1209. After the abolition of the Templar order by Pope Clement V in 1312, the Hospitallers took over most of Templar properties, including St. Peter in Novo Mesto Zelinsko.[15] The church of St. Peter was first mentioned in 1409 as a parish church.[16]



Fig. 68. *Interior of St. Peter, Novo Mesto Zelinsko.*

In the fourteenth century, under the new beneficiaries of the church, most of the scenes in the nave came into being, including the legend of St. Ladislas on the north nave wall (fig. 68). The Hospitallers were on the Anjou side, as in 1303 Pope Boniface VIII invited all military orders in Croatia and Hungary to support Charles Robert as the new king.[17] If we take St. Ladislas as a victorious military leader and a knight, we can understand the second reason to put the legend of St. Ladislas on the wall of the church in Novo Mesto Zelinsko. The wall paintings in the nave are dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century,[18] which corresponds to the time of the Hospitallers' takeover of Templar property. It is also the time of the new dynasty on the Hungarian throne, the Angevins, who obviously used the legend as their political propaganda, especially through the Church. The Church, on the other hand, supported the programme because St. Ladislas, along with St. Stephen, was generally regarded as one of the two great rulers who consolidated the institution of Christian kingship in medieval the Kingdom of Hungary. The ideologies of the Church, the Hospitallers, and the Angevin kings have thus found a nice common medium.



Fig. 69. *The abducted Hungarian girl on the back of a horse, north nave wall.*



Fig. 70. *Fragments of the scene of fight of the two armies, north nave wall.*

The scenes of the legend in St. Peter's church are linked together. They start at the empora railing, wherefrom they proceed toward the triumphal arch. In the preserved fragments of the fresco cycle we can see the scene of St. Ladislas pursuing the Cuman leader who carried the abducted

[15] A paper on that theme was presented by me and my colleague D. Dujmović at the international conference „Spolia in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Ideology, Aesthetics and Artistic Practice" at Motovun International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages in June 2010.

[16] Dorbonić, Lelja: *Po starom Moravču.* Zagreb: Povijesni muzej Hrvatske, 1979, p. 59–60; Azinović, Ana: Novo Mjesto – kapela Sv. Petra. In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, a. 34, 2002, p. 130.

[17] Dobronić, Lelja: *Posjedi i sjedišta templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj.* Zagreb: Jazu, 1984, p. 141.

[18] Srša, Ivan: Zidni oslici u lađi crkve Sv. Petra u Novom Mjestu. In: *Templari i njihovo nasljeđe; 800 godina od dolaska templara na Zemlju sv. Martina.* Ed.: Malden Houška. Sv. Ivan Zelina: Muzej Sv. Ivan Zelina, 2009, p. 43.



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Fig. 71. *St. Ladislas represented as a beardless young saint, north side of the triumphal arch.*



Fig. 72. *The Virgin Protectress with three crowned figures, who stand out from the others under her mantle – possibly St. Stephen, St. Emerik, and St. Ladislas, south side of the triumphal arch.*

Hungarian girl on the back of his horse (the third register of the north wall, fig. 69), which is followed by the scene in which only severed Cuman heads are visible (the fourth register) – probably the scene of fight of the two armies (fig. 70). It must be noted that these fragments emphasize St. Ladislas's chivalrous manners. This thrust in the legend was possibly influenced by the Crusades, as the holders of this church were military orders.

In a comparative analysis with other fresco cycles depicting the legend of St. Ladislas, it must be noted that in register one there should be an introduction scene presenting St. Ladislas and his army setting out from the city. The scene with St. Ladislas resting in a girl's lap should be the closing image of the cycle. In some examples across the Realm of St. Stephen it is also possible to see the scene of the fight between St. Ladislas and the Cuman leader without weapons on the earth; which followed right after the pursuit of the Cuman leader.[19] Looking at the north wall in St. Peter's, which is a large surface without windows, there was enough space to put all those scenes, but because of the today fragmentary state of the cycle we cannot be sure to what extent the individual scenes of the whole cycle were realized.

On the north side of the triumphal arch in the middle register St. Ladislas is represented as a beardless young saint with the crown on his head, standing in the painted central niche under a trefoil arch (fig. 71).[20] Behind his head there is a green circle that represents the saint's halo. The scene is partially preserved, so it is not possible to see his main attribute – the battle-axe. On the south wall of the triumphal arch there is a representation of the Virgin Protectress with three crowned figures who stand out from the others under her mantle – possibly St. Stephen, St. Emeric, and St. Ladislas – three saintly kings of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary (fig. 72). It is important to be careful with this conclusion because only three crowned figures are visible in the scene, and the iconographical reading cannot be complete due to the lack of other attributes of the saints. St. Ladislas, who is the embodiment of the medieval ideals of chivalry, is usually represented as a knight dressed in armour and caped with a mantle, with a crown on his head. In his hand he usually holds a battle-axe, which can be replaced with a sword or a spear sometimes. St. Stephen the King is represented as an old knight

[19] For example, in the places mentioned above in the text: Veľká Lomnica, Rimavská Baňa, Kraskovo, Vítkovce etc.
[20] Srša, Ivan: Zidni oslici u lađi crkve Sv. Petra, pp. 40, 42.
[21] *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*. Ed.: Anđelko Badurina. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2000, pp. 247, 401, 578.



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with a beard, caped with a mantle, with a crown on his head and a royal apple and a scepter in his hands. St. Emeric is represented as a young beardless knight, crowned with a royal or, more often, with an apple-shaped duke crown. In his hands he usually holds an apple and a scepter.[21] However, it is also known that the iconographic scheme representing three holy kings of medieval Hungary had been formed by the middle of the fourteenth century.[22] It is also interesting that Cardinal Gentile di Particino da Montefiore, the legate of Pope Clement V in Hungary, determined the heritage rights of Charles Robert not just as a descendant of the Arpadians (in the female line) but also as the inheritor of the virtues of three holy kings of the Realm of St. Stephen.[23]

Another important finding in connection with St. Ladislas is the golden forint from the time of the reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437), which was found during archeological excavations in the church of St. Peter in Novo Mesto Zelinsko (fig. 73). This is clearly showing that the popularity of St. Ladislas as a dynastic saint and a propaganda tool of the medieval Hungarian courtly culture did not end with the Angevin dynasty but it continued longer than that, under the new Luxemburg dynasty.

## Churches dedicated to St. Ladislas, St. Stephen the King, and St. Emeric

In this context one should explore the presence of the churches dedicated to St. Ladislas, and also to St. Stephen the King and St. Emeric, in today Croatia (map. 1). The fact that in the last years of his rule King Ladislas (1077–1095) founded the ninth Hungarian bishopric in Zagreb makes him one of the favourite saints within the Croatian borders and beyond, as it is shown below. The bishop of Zagreb in the times of the greatest struggles for the Hungarian throne was Augustin Kažotić (Gazottus) (1303–1322). He supported Charles Robert against the other candidates for the throne, Wenceslas of Bohemia and Otto of Bavaria, which is visible in his *Oratio*, the speech for the Hungarian nobility assembled on the Rákos Field in order to



Fig. 73. *Ladislas on the golden florin from the time of the regin of the king Sigismund, found in Novo Mesto Zelinsko.*

decide among rival pretenders in 1310. The text is preserved only in the seventeenth-century *Vita* of Gazottus written by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (Joannes Tomcus Marnavitius), the bishop of Bosnia from 1635.[24]

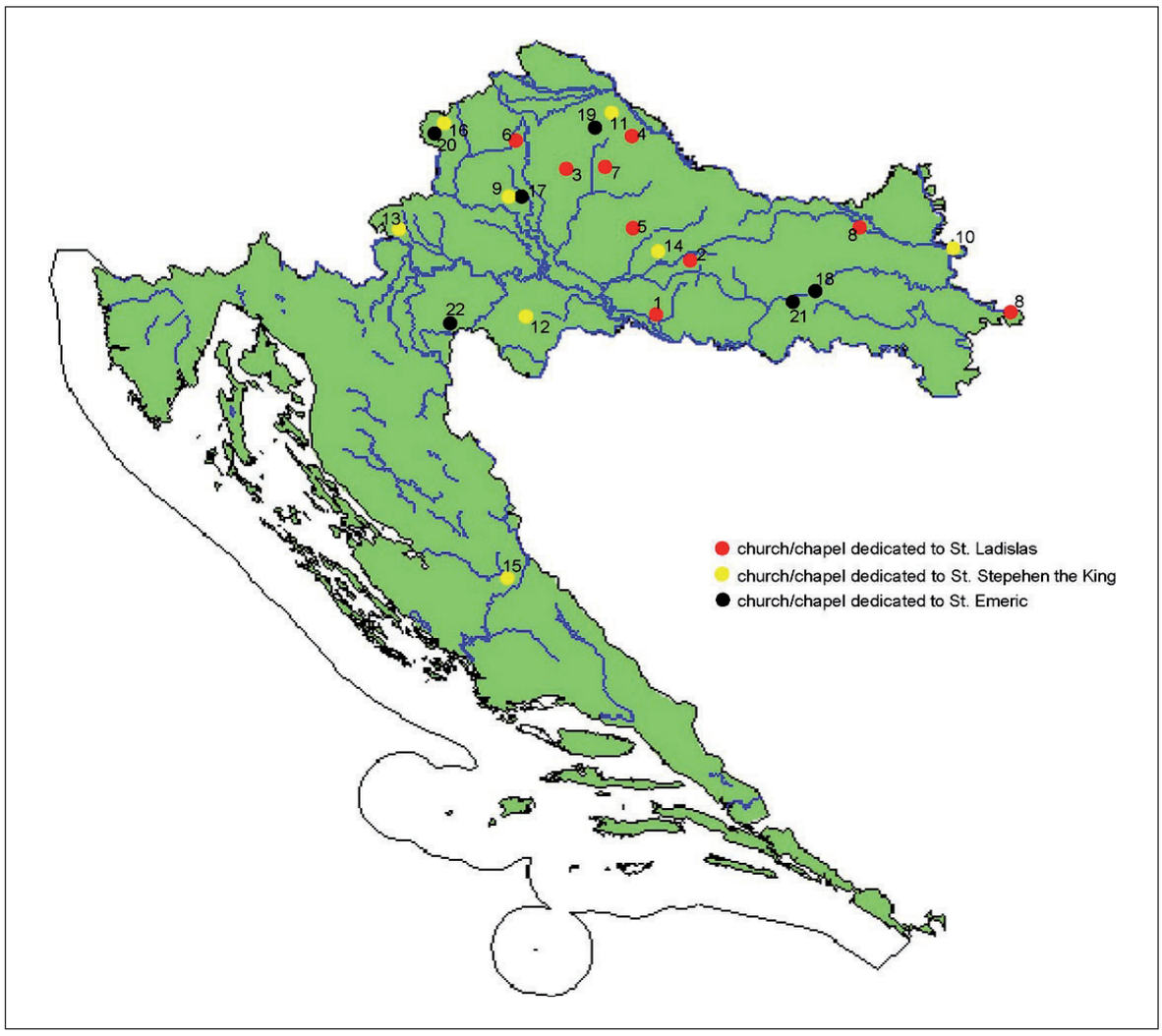
If we take the support of Bishop Kažotić as the official support of the bishopric, and add the popularity of Ladislas as the founder of the bishopric, it should not be surprising that the largest number of churches with dedication to St. Ladislas, according to the known documents, is on the territory of the medieval bishopric of Zagreb. Out of the fourteen mentioned churches and chapels with dedication to St. Ladislas we can locate eight of them, albeit not with certainty:[25]

— The church of St. Ladislas in Gornji Rajić (?), near Novska, first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia noua sancti Ladislai prope ibidem*; destroyed by the Turks in the sixteenth century (nr. 1),
— The church of St. Ladislas in Daruvar, archaeological site Gradina-Podborje (also the place of the medieval Benedictine monastery), first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti LadisIai de Podbor* (nr. 2),
— The church of St. Ladislas in Mali Raven, 1501: *Jacobus plebanus sancti Ladislai in Rauen*, a feudal estate first mentioned in 1238, the parish church was rebuilt in the eighteenth century (nr. 3),

[22] For more details and literature please see Klaniczay, Gábor: *Holy Rulers*, p. 339, footnote 151.
[23] Ibidem, pp. 323–326.
[24] For the text please see *Oration S. Augustini Gazotti. Dicta in Campo Rakos pro Carolo.* In: Krčelić, Baltazar Adam: *Historiarum cathedralis Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis I*, pp. 111–14, expecialy p. 114 or Klaniczay, Gábor: *Holy Rulers*, pp. 324–325, footnote 95. Some authors claim that Mrnavić's preserved text of *Oratio* is forgery. Please see ibidem, p. 325, footnote 96.
[25] The list is made according to: Buturac, Josip: Popis župa Zagrebačke biskupije 1334. i 1501. In: *Starine*, a. 59, 1984, pp. 43–107; Mezö, András: *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon.* Budapest: Metem, 2003, pp. 211–221; Badurina, Anđelko: *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske.* Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2006, published like database on CD.



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Map 1. *Presence of the churches dedicated to St. Ladislas, St. Stephen the King and St. Emeric in today's Croatia.*

— The church of St. Ladislas in Vlaislav, near present-day Novigrad Podravski, first mentioned in 1334: *Primo ecclesia beatissimi regis Ladizlai, predicta* (i. e. *de Kamarcha) que tamen est plebania*, ruined (nr. 4),
— The church of St. Ladislas in Ladislav, near Hercegovac, first mentioned in 1501: *ecclesia sancti Ladislai de Drauffeld*, ruined (nr. 5),
— The church of St. Ladislas in Ladislavec (?), near Zlatar, first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia … sancti Ladislai … ibidem*, no traces (nr. 6),
— The church of St. Ladislas in Ladislav Sokolovački, near Sokolovac, first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia beati Ladisiai de eadem Bradna*, ruined (nr. 7),
— The chapel of St. Ladislas in Valpovo, first mentioned in 1479 (nr. 8).

The first king of medieval Hungary, Stephen I (1000–1038), was canonized as St. Stephen the King in 1083, during the reign of King Ladislas. He is generally considered to be the founder of the Kingdom of Hungary and the ruler who is most responsible for the consolidation of Christianity. He founded several dioceses and established the archdiocese of Esztergom. In that way he set up an ecclesiastical organization independent of the German archbishops.[26] While St. Ladislas lived in collective memory like a brave young knight, St. Stephen was remembered like a pious person who established law and order in the country. The largest number of churches with dedication to St. Stephen the King is on the territory of medieval bishopric of Zagreb. Out of ten mentioned churches and chapels dedicated

[26] Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, pp. 27–29.



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to St. Stephen the King we can locate eight, albeit not with certainty:[27]

— The church of St. Stephen the King, cathedral in Zagreb, first mentioned in 1254: *ecclesia zagrabiensis in honore beati Stephani regis Hungariae*; the monastery with dedication to St. Stephen the King was mentioned in 1217: *monasterium Zagrabiense …in honorem S. Stephani regis constuxit*, today St. Stephen is co-patron and the cathedral is dedicated to the Assumption of Mary (nr. 9),
— The church of St. Stephen the King in Erdut (?), first mentioned in 1192: *sub ecclesia Sancti Regis de Herdeud ~ Erdeud* (nr. 10),
— The church of St. Stephen the King in Torčec (Drnje), 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti Stephani regis circa Drauam* (nr. 11),
— The church of St. Stephen the King in old Petrinja (Jabukovac) (?), first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti regis Stephani de Petrina* (nr. 12),
— The church of St. Stephen the King in Radina Vas (?), first mentioned in 1334: *sancti Stephani regis de Rodobna* (nr. 13),
— The church of St. Stephen the King in Hercegovac (?), the church was first mentioned in 1306 between Crna Rijeka and Zdenci, which corresponds to the area around Hercegovac, in 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti regis Stephani in Cherna reka* (nr. 14),
— The church of St. Stephen the King in Knin, eleventh-twelfth century, *Templum perantiquum erat in suburbano, nomine s. Stephani regis extra muros…* (nr. 15),[28]
— The chapel of St. Stephen the King in Bregi Kostelski, from the fifteenth century (?); first mentioned in the seventeenth century as a chapel of the parish church of St. Emeric in Kostel; the chapel has a gothic portal which was used as a secondary building material during the construction in the eighteenth century (nr. 16).[29]

St. Emeric of medieval Hungarian kingdom (1007–1031), the third saintly king, who was the son of King Stephen I, was canonized in 1083 for his pious life and purity along with his father and Bishop Gerhard. The churches with dedication to St. Emeric are all situated in the continental part of today Croatia, mostly on the territory of the medieval bishopric of Zagreb (three out of five). Out of eight mentioned churches and chapels dedicated to St. Emeric we can identify six, albeit not with certainty:[30]

— The church of St. Emeric in Zagreb, in front of the cathedral, ruined in 1510 because of the construction of the fortifications of the cathedral, first mentioned in 1328: *ecclesia beati Emerici de Zagabria*, 1334: *Primo videlicet ecclesia beati Emerici Zagarabie ante ecclesiam maiorem.* (nr. 17),
— The church of St. Emeric in Imbrijevci, first mentioned in 1333–5: *Georgius sacerdos de Sancto Hemrico*, *Georgius de Sancto Emerico* (nr. 18),
— The church of St. Emeric in Starigrad near Koprivnica, first mentioned in 1441: *Kuwar, ecclesia Sancti Emerici* (nr. 19),
— The chapel of St. Emeric in Kostel near Pregrada, beneath the ruins of an old fort, first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti Emerici de Kostel* (nr. 20),
— The church of St. Emeric in Ruševo (Imrevci) (?), first mentioned in 1332–1335: *Georgius sacerdos de Sancto Hemrico, Sancto Emerico* (nr. 21),
— The church of St. Emeric near old Cetingrad (site Crkvište?), 1334: *Item sancti Emerici de sub Cetin* (nr. 22).

The churches dedicated to St. Ladislas are much more numerous than those dedicated to St. Stephen the King or St. Emeric. It could be easily explained because King Ladislas founded the bishopric in Zagreb and he was a very popular saint in that part of Slavonia. Besides, he was also the apostle of Slavonia.[31] This is why the largest number of churches dedicated to St. Ladislas are in Slavonia (today continental Croatia), including the medieval territory of Zagreb bishopric. If we look closer at the map of the churches dedicated to St. Stephen the King we can see that those churches are strategically placed on the main medieval roads, which also gives another type of prominence to the cult of the first Hungarian

[27] The list is made according to Buturac, Josip: Popis župa Zagrebačke biskupije, p. 43–107; Mezö, András: *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon*, pp. 189–200.
[28] Gunjača, Stjepan: Tiniensia Archaeologica – Historica – Topographica, vol. 2. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III/7, 2006, pp. 58–59; Jakšić, Nikola: Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi. In: *Scintillae Stephano Gunjaca dicatae*, vol. 4. Split: Muzej Hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2000, p. 23. They take these data from Daniele Farlati.
[29] Botica, Dubravka: Izvori za povijest sakralne arhitekture na području Vrbovečkog arhiđakonata (17.–19. st.). In: *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, a. 54, 2004, pp. 58–59. Botica argues that chapel was built before 1676 and rebuilt in eighteenth ct. when the gothic portal was installed while Badurina in his hagiotopography states that the chapel is from fifteenth century and that it was rebuilt in baroque style.
[30] The list is made according to Buturac, Josip: Popis župa Zagrebačke biskupije, pp. 43–107; Mezö, András: *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon*, pp. 119–123.
[31] *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, p. 401.



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Christian king.[32] On the other hand, we can find two saintly kings of medieval Hungary in the center of Zagreb bishopric at the same place, St. Stephen the King as the co-patron of the cathedral and St. Emeric as the patron of the church which stood in front of the cathedral. Churches and chapels with dedication to three saintly kings were built mostly between the twelfth and the fifteenth century, when the impact of the Arpadian, and after that Angevin, dynasty and their propaganda through the cult of saints was really strong. This fact also clearly shows that the territory of the continental Croatia, i.e. Slavonia, was in the same cultural circle as the other lands in the Realm of St. Stephen in the Middle Ages.

## The appearance of St. Ladislas and the Hungarian propaganda in the late Middle Ages in Dalmatia

As was shown with the golden florin from the time of the reign of Sigismund, King of Hungary (and Croatia) from 1387 to 1437, found in Novo Mesto Zelinsko, the popularity of St. Ladislas as a dynastic saint and a propaganda tool of the Hungarian courtly culture did not come to an end with the Angevin dynasty. On the Dalmatian coast, more precisely in the cathedral of Trogir, we have an interesting late medieval representation of St. Ladislas on a stone triptych. Most likely it was a part of the altar of Our Lady situated underneath the pulpit, leaning on the altar fence and the choir stalls until 1731, when it was removed. After that the triptych was built into the wall of the cathedral, beneath the choir.[33] The composition of the triptych is simple: a figure of the Virgin with the Child is in the centre, while St. Jerome and St. Ladislas are on the sides. Figures of the saints are in shallow niches bounded with fluted pilasters.

It is necessary to take a closer look at the political situation in Trogir in the middle of the fifteenth century, i.e. the time when the triptych was probably made. It was the time when Venice was consolidating its rule, which started in 1420. Until then, since the year 1107, Trogir had the autonomy guaranteed by the king of the Hungarian-Croatian state. In this case it should not be strange that the figure of St. Ladislas was again used as a Hungarian propaganda tool, this time against the rule of Venice. The joint appearance of St. Jerome, the patron of Dalmatia, and St. Ladislas, the patron of the Hungarian kingdom, on the triptych of the altar of Our Virgin in Trogir cathedral sends a clear message in accordance with the political situation at the time of its production.

In the Middle Ages the cult of royal and dynastic saints was a dominant way how to prove and promote legitimacy of dynasties across Europe. The Hungarian Angevin dynasty, as demonstrated above, was a fine example of this practice. The cult of dynastic saints was really popular in contemporary Europe. St. Ladislas as a dynastic saint was successfully used to support the Angevin candidate for the Hungarian crown, Charles Robert. The propaganda which was exercised through the fresco cycles of St. Ladislas in churches throughout the Realm of St. Stephen was a successful medium for the dynasty and for the Church. Also, it is worth noticing that most of the fresco cycles with the legend of St. Ladislas are situated in the places in the outskirts of the Realm of St. Stephen, where propaganda should probably be stronger because the places and people were far away from the Hungarian center of power around Buda.[34]

The popularity of the cult and the figure of St. Ladislas did not come to an end with the Arpadian dynasty, as shown by the presence of St. Ladislas on the golden florin from the time of King Sigismund of Luxemburg, and by the interesting late medieval appearance of the St. Ladislas in Dalmatia. Strong influence of dynastic saints, especially of St. Ladislas, is still visible in the names of the church patrons and in the name of today's villages (Vlaislav, Ladislavec, Ladislav, Imbrijevci, Imrevo, etc.). All of that clearly represents a rich tradition of popularity of three saintly kings of medieval Hungary in today's continental Croatia, i.e. Slavonia.*

[32] Sekelj Ivančan, Tajana: Župna crkva … *sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam* – prilog tumačenju širenja ugarskoga političkog utjecaja južno od Drave. In: *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 25, 2008, p. 109.

[33] Bužančić, Radoslav: Gospin oltar Nikole Firentinca u trogirskoj katedrali. In: *Klesarstvo i graditeljstvo,* a. 20, nr. 3–4, 2009, pp. 35–48.

[34] For the map please see the first page of the book: Madas, Edit – György Horváth, Zoltán: *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról*, passim.

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ANA MARIA GRUIA*

# Fashionable Stove Tiles in Slovakia and Slavonia during the Fifteenth Century

## Umelecké kachlice na Slovensku a v Slavónsku v 15. storočí / Umjetnički pečnjaci u Slovačkoj i Slavoniji u 15. stoljeću

*The paper discusses the most important stove tile workshops in the two regions and the most significant sites with tile discoveries dated to the fifteenth century, stressing the origin of fashionable motifs. In some cases, such motifs were copies or imitations of tiles from distant places, mostly associated with the royal palace of Buda, but also other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary and even beyond. Patterns in tile production and use are identified and compared, and issues such as workshop market areas and the reception and functions of tile iconography are taken into consideration.*

Keywords: iconography, fifteenth century, stove tiles, regions of present-day Croatia and Slovakia.

Decorated stove tiles were much in use in Central and Eastern Europe throughout the fifteenth century. Images decorating such mass-produced functional objects reveal a complex mechanism of production, copying, and imitation. In this article I will focus on the most popular religious representations on stove tiles used in Slovakia (Northern Hungary) and Slavonia, trying to identify their iconographical analogies, possible origin and clarify why some motifs were so appreciated.[1] I will thus discuss the most important tile workshops in the Kingdom of Hungary and the most significant sites with tile discoveries in the two areas of the kingdom dated to the fifteenth century, stressing the origin of fashionable motifs. In some cases, such motifs were copies or imitations of tiles in distant places, mostly the royal palace of Buda, but also others from Vienna, Styria and Transylvania. The comparison is meant to reveal why, in each province, certain motifs traveled longer or shorter distances, due to reasons such as product availability on the market, financial power of stove owners, and the items' added, symbolic value.

The royal palace in Buda is the site with the most numerous and varied stove tile discoveries in the Kingdom of Hungary. These items were studied over the years and a long series of articles, mainly by Imre Holl, are dedicated to them.[2] They were grouped according to types, analyzed and re-analyzed, sometimes with corrections and addition of new data. Still, a monograph on the topic would greatly clarify the matter and create a more encompassing and accurate picture. Based on the types and quantity of discovered tiles, Holl presumed the existence of tile workshops working for the royal palace, but there is no written evidence of such workshops. One has been named, according to the iconography of its products, "*the workshop of the knightly stoves*," producing tiles depicting the knight in tournament, an angel holding coats of arms, pairs of saints, the griffin, the lion guarding the tree of life, and a type of rosette. These tiles are of very high quality, with open-work and tracery elements, with perfect details and glazing, and were produced around 1475. Some entire stoves have been reconstructed inside the Budapest

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[1] The article is based on my doctoral dissertation entitled *Religious Representations on Medieval Stove Tiles in the Kingdom of Hungary,* defended in 2009 at the Central European University, Budapest (under print with the CEU Press).

[2] Holl, Imre: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon, vol. 1. In: *Budapest Régiségei*, a. 18, 1958, pp. 211–278; Idem: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon II. In: *Budapest Régiségei,* a. 22, 1971, pp. 161–192; Idem: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon III. In: *Archeológiai Értesíto,* a. 110, 1983, nr. 1, pp. 201–228; Idem: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon IV. In: *Archeologiai Értesítő,* a. 117, 1990, nr. 1, pp. 58–95; Idem: Neutronenaktivierungsanalyse mittelalterlicher Ofenkacheln II. In: *Acta Archaeologia Hungarica,* 47, 1995, pp. 257–294; Idem: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon VII. In: *Budapest Régiségei*, a. 33, 1999, pp. 313–323; Idem: Spätgotische Öfen aus Östereich. Mittelalterliche Ofenkacheln in Ungarn IX. In: *Acta Archaeologia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* a. 52, 2001, pp. 353–414; Idem: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon VIII. A Zsigmond-kori I. csoport mintakincsének és kronológiájának kérdéséhez. In: *Budapest Régiségei*, a. 35, 2002, pp. 357–380; Holl, Imre – Voit, Pál: Hunyadi Mátyás budavári majolikagyártó műhelye. In: *Budapest Régiségei*, a. 17, 1956, pp. 73–150.



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Fig. 74. *Reconstruction of a "knightly stove" in the royal palace of Buda.*

History Museum (Fig. 74). Several of the products of the workshop of the knightly stoves have indirect analogies in southern Germany, dated to around the same time, but a dispute goes on as to which might have been created first. One can only conclude that the influence and relations of tiles from the Hungarian and the German areas remains unknown, but that neither region copied the other's tiles nor did they use common molds.[3]

What is clear is that the Buda stove tiles became very popular throughout the kingdom and even beyond its borders (in Poland, Bohemia, Styria, and Moldavia). It was the first time that tile motifs circulated over long distances and enjoyed such a large-scale diffusion. Similar molds were used by other workshops and the tiles were copied and imitated until the sixteenth century. The most popular were those decorated with knight in tournament that gave the name to the entire group.[4] In the Kingdom of Hungary there are, to the best of my knowledge, 38 tiles decorated with this motif (57 individual items),[5] making this one of the most popular motifs (only surpassed by others such as the two-tailed siren – on 80 tiles[6] and St. George slaying the dragon – on 68 tiles[7]). Tiles with the knight in tournament directly related to the originals in Buda (either produced in the same molds or copied after those tiles) were discovered in both today Slovakia and Slavonia. In the first province, only one such item was found so far, in the royal castle of Bratislava.[8] In Slavonia, such tiles were used in two castles – Ružica[9] and Čakovec[10] – two fortifications – Susedgrad[11] and Moslavina[12]

[3] Tamási, Judit: Stücke des Ritterfigurenofens zu Ofen (Buda) aus dem Burgschloss von Ozora – im Kontext der Werkstattbeziehungen. In: *Quasi liber et pictura. Studies in the Honor of András Kubinyi on his Seventieth Birthday*. Ed.: Gyöngyi Kovács. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University and the Institute of Archaeological Sciences, 2004, pp. 519–532; Idem: *Verwandte Typen im schweizerischen und ungarischen Kachelfundmaterial in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1995.

[4] Gruia, Ana-Maria: Tiles Decorated with the Knight in Tournament in the Kingdom of Hungary. In: *Acta Musei Brukenthal*, a. 4, 2009, pp. 203–221.

[5] The unit of my analysis consists of any number of identical individual tiles or fragments discovered on the same site. This reduction was necessary for comparison, since existing publications (excavation reports in particular) often do not mention the exact number of such items found on archaeological sites.

[6] Gruia, Ana-Maria: Sirena bicaudată pe cahle medievale. Iconografie şi posibile funcţii. In: *Arheologia medievală,* a. 6, 2007, pp. 205–241.

[7] Gruia, Ana-Maria: *Religious Representations;* Eadem: Saint George on Medieval Stove Tiles from Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. An Iconographical Approach. In: *Acta Musei Napocensis,* a. 41–44, 2004–2007, pp. 231–254.

[8] Holl, Imre: Spätgotische Ofenkachel. In: *Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* a. 50, 1998, pp. 139–214, 178; Polla, Belo: *Bratislava, západné suburbium*. Bratislava: Slovenské Národné Múzeum, 1979, p. 149, fig. 80.5.

[9] Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*. Osijek: Muzej Slavonije, 2004, p. 255, cat. 536.

[10] Holl, Imre: Spätgotische Ofenkachel, p. 178, fig. 38.1; Vidović, Josip: *Katalog: Stoleća utvrde rezultati zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja fortifikacije starog grada Čakovec*. Čakovec: Muzej Međimurja, 1994.

[11] Stahuljak, Tihomil – Klobučar, Olga: Pećnjaci starih gradova Samobora i Susedgrada. In: *Tkalčićev zbornik,* a. 2, 1958, pp. 205–242, 209, 210, fig. 2.

[12] Bobovec, Ana: Pećnjaci s prednjom dekorativnom pločom u Moslavačkim srednkovjevonim gradovima. In: *Arheološka istraživanja u Bjelovarsko-Bilogorskoj županiji i pogrebni ritusi na teritoriju Hrvatske. Conference proceedings.* Zagreb: Hrvatsko Arheološko Društvo, 2003, pp. 163–176, 165, 173, fig. T.3.5.



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– the noble residence in Svetina[13] and another item is presumably preserved in Bjelovar.[14] The original products, preserving the high-quality of the original molds, the openwork and tracery elements, were thus used in upper social contexts (castles in Bratislava, Ružica, and Čakovec). The items in Susedgrad are copies of the originals, transferring the motif on flat, panel tiles, lacking the openwork. Another group of tiles with the knight in tournament, imitations of their Buda prototypes, with variants, modifications, and distortions, thus showing a decrease in quality, were produced in the workshops of Nova Ves and used in the residence of the bishop of Zagreb in the city[15] (Fig. 75).

| *Find Place* | *Status of the Site* | *Owner* | *Archaeological Dating* | *Number of Tiles and Glazing* | *Observations* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bratislava | royal castle | King of Hungary | | | openwork |
| Nova Ves | bishop's residence | Bishop of Zagreb | 1466–1500 | 2 tiles, green glaze | panel tile; local workshop |
| Nova Ves | bishop's residence | Bishop of Zagreb | 1466–1500 | 5 tiles; green glaze/ brown glaze | openwork; local workshop |
| Susedgrad | fortification | | end 15th c. | green glaze | panel tile |
| Ružica | castle | Nikola and Lovro of Ilok | second half 15th c. | green glaze | openwork, tracery |
| Moslavina | fortification | Čupor fam. until 1493 | | white paint | openwork (?) |
| Svetina | noble residence | Cilli family | | | |
| Čakovec | castle | Cilli family | | | openwork, tracery |
| ? (kept in Bjelovar) | ? | | | | |

*Table 1. Data available on tiles decorated with the knight in tournament discovered in Slovakia and Slavonia.*

It seems that in present-day Slovakia, the knight in tournament tiles did not enjoy favor, the only known context of use being the royal castle in Bratislava, which is in fact northwestern part of the Kingdom of Hungary close to Vienna. In Slavonia copies were certainly made in local workshops,

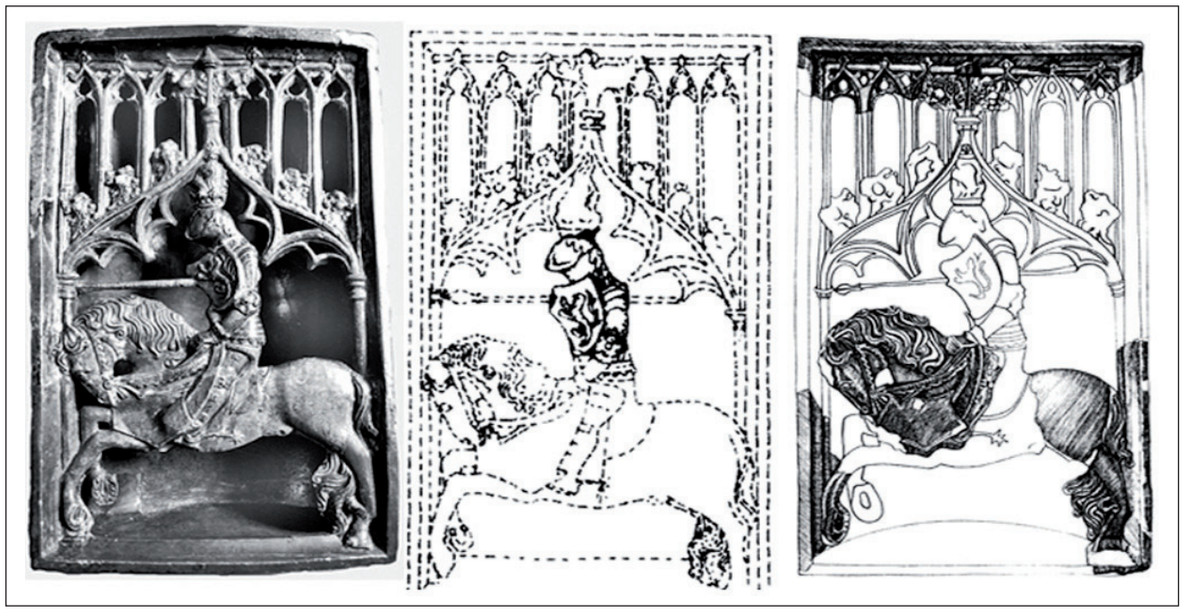


Fig. 75. *Tiles with the knight in tournament from Buda, Bratislava, and Ružica.*

[13] Holl, Imre: Spätgotische Ofenkachel, p. 178.
[14] Stahuljak, Tiholil – Klobučar, Olga: Pećnjaci Samobora i Susedgrada.
[15] Mašic, Boris: *Kasnogoticki pecnjaci s Nove Vesi*. Zagreb: Muzej Grada Zagreba, 2002, cat. 21, 22, cat. 4, 29, 30, 31, 32.



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Fig. 76. *Tiles with saints on corbels: a) Buda – st. Adrian and David, st. George, holy bishop, b) Ružica – st. George, David, holy bishop, c) Varaždin – holy bishop.*

such as the one in Nova Ves. If the first directly related tiles, original products or first-hand copies of the tiles in Buda were donated by the king to his magnates, the later and less luxurious examples were certainly produced locally. In the absence of written records, one does not know the exact mechanisms of transmission in the case of the first tiles. Did the royal workshops produce more originals with the same mold? Did masters move and receive permission to work for other projects? Were tiles and molds transported or just drawings? The issue remains unsettled, since the mere archaeological evidence of directly related tiles in different locations cannot clarify that. Chronologically, a pattern of vertical social transmission seems to be supported by dating. The first copies have all been dated close to the time when the originals were produced (ca. 1475). In some places, more variants of the knight-in-tournament tiles have been discovered and were probably used together. This is the case of Buda (the knight to the right, to the left, and the related motif of the pair of knights in tournament) and Nova Ves (where the knight turned to the left is done both in open-work and on relief panel tiles). There are also differences in glaze or paint color. The reasons why this motif enjoyed such popularity probably relate to their prestige value (produced for and used in the royal castle in Buda) and their illustration of the latest knightly culture. They might have been chosen also for self-representation, since war and tournament were a nobleman's calling.

Other motifs created by the knightly stoves workshops in Buda also found their way into Slavonia. One such motif illustrates the allegorical icon of the Pelican in Her Piety, referring to Christ's sacrifice on the cross, in a central medallion surrounded by vegetal decoration. Remains of at least 6 green glazed panel tiles of the sort have been recovered from the ruins of the royal palace in Buda.[16] Besides the directly-related tiles of this type found in nowadays Hungary, one was also discovered in the castle in Ružica.[17]

Another large group of popular tiles created for the royal castle in Buda depicts pairs of saints, prophets, and *Old Testament* characters on corbels flanking the central box of niche tiles surmounted by Gothic open-work tracery (Fig. 76). These are among the best quality tiles ever made

[16] Holl, Imre: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon II, p. 177, 180, fig. 155; Idem: Neutronenaktivierungsanalyse, p. 265, 266, 267, fig. 8; Idem: Spätgotische Ofenkachel, p. 153, 154, fig. 19.
[17] Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 248, cat. 522.



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in medieval Hungary. Fourteen different figures feature on these tiles (saints: Catherine, Adrian, George, Anthony the Hermit, Peter, John the Baptist, Jacob the Elder, Christopher, Agnes, Michael, a holy bishop, prophets: David and Isaiah, and *Old Testament* characters such as Judith). Some preserved fragments show what some of the pairs were: Adrian and David, Christopher and Peter, Agnes and Jacob, and Anthony and Peter. The unequal occurrence of each character and these combinations suggest that separate molds of these figures where used randomly, or at least according to a yet-undiscovered logic. The saints were used in the composition of tiles with different formats, most time niches tiles, but also on panels.

Fragments depicting St. George on foot slaying the dragon,[18] prophet David, shown in bust, holding a text band inscribed "*in sole po*[suit]" in Gothic minuscule,[19] a holy bishop, probably Stephen,[20] St. Agnes,[21] Archangel Michael slaying the dragon,[22] St. Peter,[23] and St. Christopher[24] were found in Ružica, following Buda prototypes.[25] Other small fragments in Ružica probably follow the same pattern: a wheel probably as attribute of St. Catherine of Alexandria[26] and another female saint, probably Catherine again.[27] Some of the characters in Ružica are not among those recorded so far in Buda, thus offering a good comparison for the reconstruction of the original group: a man holding a book and an axe (?), probably John the Evangelist,[28] a hand holding a small

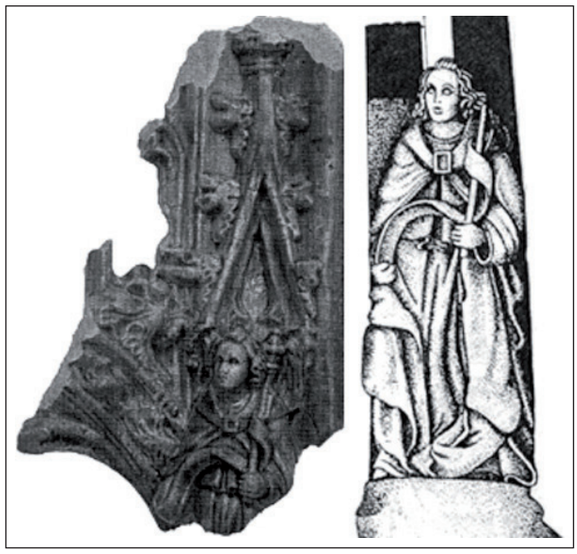


Fig. 77. *Archangel Gabriel on tiles from Ružica and Visegrád.*

tower, most likely the attribute of St. Barbara,[29] a woman dressed in her own long hair – Mary Magdalene or Agnes,[30] and St. Bartholomew holding a knife.[31] One tile fragment decorated with the representation of the above mentioned bishop was also found in the castle in Varaždin[32] while a mold was reportedly found somewhere in the old town there,[33] indicating that copies were locally made.

The above mentioned enumeration shows that the niche tiles with saints on corbels created by the workshops in Buda were popular on two sites

[18] Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 258, cat. 540, p. 281, cat. 593, p. 290, cat. 611.
[19] Ibidem, p. 257, cat. 539.
[20] Ibidem, p. 269, cat. 561; the reconstruction shows the motif decorating a panel tile, but the small preserved fragments might have been part of a niche tile as well.
[21] Ibidem, p. 269, cat. 562.
[22] Ibidem, p. 269, cat. 560.
[23] Ibidem, p. 271, cat. 565.
[24] Ibidem, p. 272, cat. 569.
[25] St. George: Holl, Imre: Spätgotische Ofenkachel, p. 190, p. 194, fig. 49.1; Balogh, Jolán: *Az Erdélyi renaissance*. Kolozsvár: Tudományos Intézet, 1943, p. 462, fig. 653; David: Holl, Imre: Ungarisch-Polnische beziehungen aufgrund der Ofenkacheln (zweite hälfte 15.-erste hälfte 16. Jahrhundert). In: *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* a. 55, 2004, pp. 333–375, p. 334, fig. 1; Idem: Spätgotische Ofenkachel, p. 141, p. 144, fig. 5, p. 189, fig. 44.3, p. 190, p. 201, fig. 56.2–3; Holl, Imre – Voit, Pál: *Alte ungarische Ofenkacheln*. Budapest: Corvina Verlag, 1963, p. 65, cat. 16, fig. 16; Holl, Imre: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon I, p. 252, p. 255, fig. 76; holy bishop: Idem: Spätgotische Ofenkachel, p. 191, p. 196, fig. 51. Others mentioned in the existing literature, mostly Holl, Imre: Spätgotische Ofenkachel.
[26] Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 271, cat. 567.
[27] Ibidem, p. 272, cat. 568.
[28] Ibidem, p. 271, cat. 564.
[29] Ibidem, p. 271, cat. 566.
[30] Ibidem, p. 273, cat. 570.
[31] Ibidem, p. 270, cat. 563.
[32] Ilijanić, Mira: *Urbanizam Graditeljstvo Kultura. Zbornik radeva*. Varaždin: Gradski Muzej Varaždin, 1999, p. 264, p. 263, fig. 3; Eadem: *Županija varaždinska u srednjem vijeku/Die Gespanschaft Varaždin im Mittelalter*. Varaždin: Tiva Tiskara, 1999, p. 54, cat. 110; Eadem: *Iz srednjega u novi vijek. Varaždinski stari grad i project bastion*. Zagreb: Gradski Muzej Varaždin, 2008, p. 49, fig. 116.
[33] *Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, p. 49.



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Fig. 78. *Tiles with Samson discovered in Varaždin and Vienna.*



Fig. 79. *Tiles with Samson and Christopher discovered in Vienna and Ružica.*

fact that unlike the original in Buda, where the bishop holds his staff in his left hand, both tiles in Slavonia show him holding the staff in his right (Fig. 76c). Unfortunately, the mold in Varaždin has not been published in order to confirm the hypothesis, but it seems probable that in this case models from Buda were being reproduced by an urban workshop for the well-to-do of Slavonia.

Three tile fragments from Ružica, showing Archangel Gabriel,[34] are related to others once used in the composition of stoves in the ceremonial hall of the royal castle in Visegrád[35] (Fig. 82). Again, the archangel was impressed in an independent mold, since in Ružica his representation decorates the frame of a niche tile, while in Visegrád he appears as central element on corner tiles with angels holding coats of arms. The items are dated to the end of the fifteenth century, in Visegrád confined more precisely to the interval between 1458 and 1490. Due to the fragmentary state of the fragments in Ružica and the small pointed arch with fleurons above the archangel's head, I believe that they are also part of the above discussed series of saints on corbels and in this case the tile in Visegrád, also created by royal workshops, were used in another type of composition. The case also illustrates the connections between workshops creating tiles for sites of equal status, i.e. the royal castles in Buda and Visegrád.

Other late fifteenth-century tiles in Slavonia were influenced by prototypes in Vienna. Several fragments showing Samson with turban opening with both hands the mouth of a lion, surrounded by a decorated frame, have been discovered in Varaždin, both in the castle[36] and near the wall of the old town.[37] Samson, wearing a turban and with a moustache, is fighting a lion in an identical pose on a tile created for St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna[38] (Fig. 78). The same headdress, facial characteristics, and

in Slavonia, mainly in the castle of Ružica that, as will be shown later, includes an impressive collection of tiles with prototypes elsewhere, and also in Varaždin where such copies were made locally, as a discovered mold testifies. One might also hypothesize that the tiles in Ružica were also produced in the second location. A good argument, at least for the production in Varaždin of the tile in Ružica depicting a holy bishop is the

[34] Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 268, cat. 559.

[35] Kocsis, Edit – Sabján, Tibor: *A visegrádi királyi palota kályhai és kályhacsempe leletei.* Visegrád: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Mátyás Király Múzeum, 1998, p. 35, p. 140, fig. LXVI–LXIX/140–143; *Medieval Visegrád. Royal Castle, Palace, Town and Franciscan Friary.* Ed.: József Laszlovszky. Dissertationes Pannonicae III. 4. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 1995, p. 40, p. 141, fig. 167.

[36] Ilijanić, Mira: *Urbanizam Graditeljstvo Kultura. Zbornik radeva*, p. 263, fig. 1, p. 264; Eadem: *Županija varaždinska u srednjem vijeku*, p. 54, cat. 112; *Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, p. 49, fig. 115.

[37] *Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, p. 49.



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Fig. 80. *Kneeling angel, tiles from Nova Ves, Varaždin, and Planina pri Sevnici.*

costume are found on tiles decorated with the image of St. Christopher on tiles in Vienna and Ružica[39] – thus making them indirectly connected – and others were reportedly found in Buda (but not included here because no further data is available on them), showing the connections between the Kingdom of Hungary and Austrian lands by the time of King Matthias Corvinus' death[40] (Fig. 78). All these tiles share common stylistic and decorative features, constituting a group of related tiles from Vienna, Slavonia, and, reportedly Buda. We might add the fact that the same style and identical borders are used in the composition of other tiles from Ružica, decorated with scenes such as the Judgment of Solomon[41] and Adam and Eve banished from Eden.[42] This is another indication of the use of several molds in the creation of tiles, in this case the decorated border being impressed independently from the main motif.

Two related items are niche crown tiles ending in Gothic fleurons, having on the concavity the representation of an angel holding a censer. They come from the castles of Buda[43] and Ilok[44] and are dated to the end of the fifteenth century. The tile from Ilok, dated 1487–1490, is polychrome glazed, but its dimensions are not published so it is impossible to say if it is indeed a copy of the item from Buda. The tiles also have analogies on similar objects from Regensburg that inspired the potter masters from Buda.[45]

Another group of related tiles are panel-type items decorated with the depiction of a kneeling angel that might have been part of Annunciation scenes, with Mary represented on a neighboring tile. Such paired tiles were discovered in Buda, with analogies in the Swiss area.[46] But the group under discussion comes from Slavonia, probably produced in the urban workshops of Nova Ves around 1500. At least three identical tiles of this type have been found in the workshop there.[47] Green glazed and unglazed items with half-kneeling angels have been discovered in Čazma[48]

[38] Franz, Rosemarie: *Die Kachelofen – Entstehung und kunstgeschichtliche Entwicklung bis zum Ausgang des Klassizismus*. Graz: Akademische Druck – u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969, fig. 108; Hackenbroch, Yvonne: Stove Tiles from Austria. In: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* a. 9, 1964, pp. 309–316, pp. 310–312, fig. 4.
[39] Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 296, cat. 622.
[40] Holl, Imre – Voit, Pál: *Alte ungarische Ofenkacheln*, 39.
[41] Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 299, cat. 625.
[42] Ibidem, p. 298, cat. 624.
[43] Holl, Imre: Regensburgi későközépkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon. In: *Archaeologiai Értesítő,* a. 107, 1980, pp. 30–43, p. 35, fig. 12.
[44] Tomičić, Željko: Regensburg – Budim – Ilok. Kasnosrednjovjekovni pećnjaci iz dvora knezova Iločkih dokaz sveza Iloka i Europe. In: *Prilozi,* a. 21, 2004, pp. 143–176, p. 156, cat. 2, p. 160, fig. 19, p. 161, fig. 20, p. 167.
[45] Holl, Imre: Regensburgi kályhacsempék.
[46] Tamási, Judit: *Verwandte Typen im schweizerischen und ungarischen Kachelfundmaterial in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1995, p. 135, fig. 94, p. 104.
[47] Mašic, Boris: *Kasnogoticki pecnjaci s Nove Vesi*, p. 34, p. 35, fig. 22, cat. 12, p. 39, p. 40.
[48] Ibidem, p. 32; Prosen, Nevenka: *Arheološko iskapanje tvrđave u Čazmi.* In: *Ljetopis JAZU*, a. 64, 1960.



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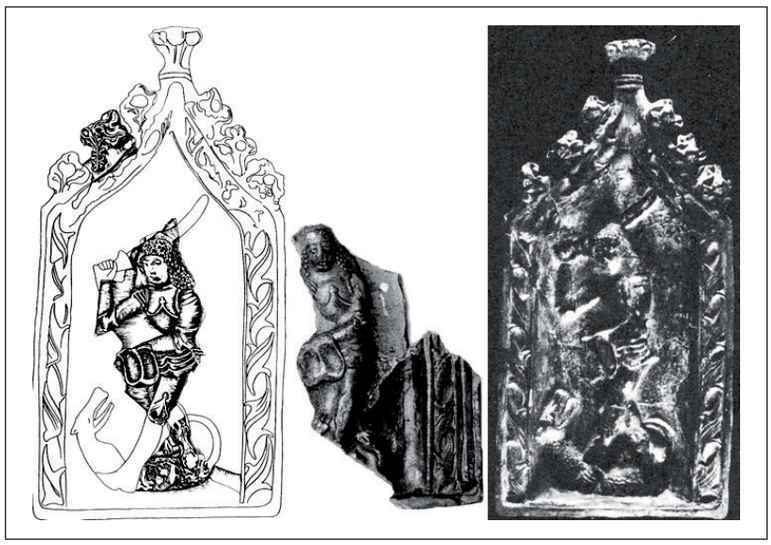


Fig. 81. *Niche crown tiles decorated with the image of St. George slaying the dragon, discovered in Ružica, Susedgrad, and Celje.*

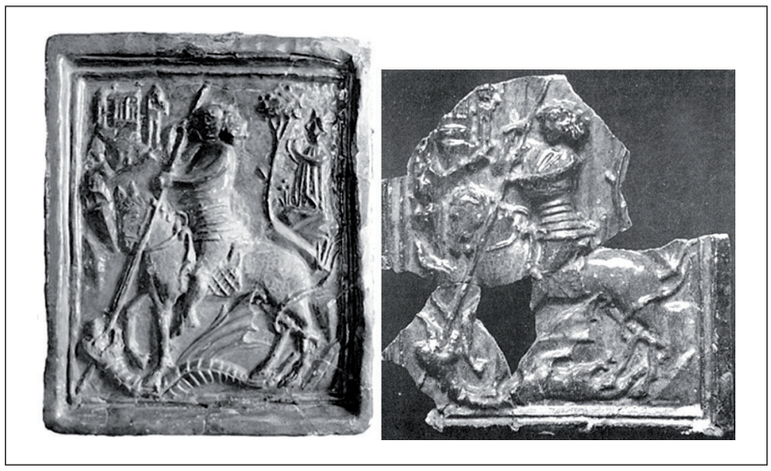


Fig. 82. *Panel tiles with St. George on horseback slaying the dragon found in Buda and Banská Bystrica.*

and somewhere on the estate of the castle of Varaždin.[49] A fragment from a similar tile was recovered from the castle of Planina pri Sevnici, in present-day Slovenia, being dated to the second half of the fifteenth century[50] (Fig. 80). The area over which motif traveled, though not very large, comprises sites in different provinces that were parts of different states, in this case Slavonia (Hungary) and Lower Styria (Duchy of Austria, Holy Roman Empire).

A similar situation can be encountered in the case of a group of related niche crown tiles depicting Saint George fighting the dragon that have been discovered in castles in Slavonia, Carinthia, and Styria. These tiles, with vegetal borders ending in Gothic fleurons, show the fully armed saint in the center. The group is composed of five directly related tiles from castles in the area: Ružica[51] and Susedgrad,[52] both in Slavonia (the Kingdom of Hungary), Podsreda[53] in Carinthia, Celje[54] in Styria (the Holy Roman Empire), and another unknown location (Fig. 81). The latter is a tile once part of the Walcher Moltheim collection, now in the Art Institute of Chicago.[55] Until all the tiles in the group are analyzed and measured, it is impossible to decide on the copying relations among them. What can be affirmed for the time being is that high-quality fifteenth-century niche tiles decorated with the motif circulated in Central Europe, being used in a number of castles. Considering the fact that these sites are all castles and the fact that the knightly saint's arms and armor are depicted in detail, the transmission of this motif is probably explained by travels of the nobility who wanted to have in their interiors fashionable knightly, yet saintly images.

Stove tiles produced in Banská Bystrica spread throughout Slovakia.[56] Two workshops were archaeologically researched in the town, and the existence of a third is suggested by another large number of technically and stylistically related

[49] *Županija varaždinska*, p. 58, cat. 141.
[50] Stopar, Ivan: Poznogotske pecnice s celjskega obmocja. In: *Varstvo spomenikov,* a. 20, 1976, pp. 275–292, p. 199, fig. 5.
[51] Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 289, cat. 610.
[52] Prister, Lada: *Susedgrad ili nedovršena priča o jednom gradu. Katalog izložbe.* Zagreb: Hrvatski Povijesni Muzej, 1998, p. 39, fig. 20, p. 61, cat. 20–21; Klobučar, Stahuljak: Pećnjaci Samobora i Susedgrada, p. 209, fig. 1.
[53] Exhibited in Podsreda Castle Museum.
[54] Bregant, Tatjana: *Pecnice s Starega Gradu Celje.* Ljubljana – Celje: Filozofska Fakulteta v Ljubljani, 1984, cat. 17.
[55] Strauss, Konrad: *Die Kachelkunst des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts in europäischen Ländern*, vol. 3. Munich: Mitterbadischer Zeitungsverlag, 1983, p. 20, p. 112, table 31, fig. 4.
[56] Cserey, Éva: Adatok a besztercebányai (Banská Bystrica) kályhacsempékhez. In: *Folia archaeologica,* a. 25, 1974, pp. 205–217.



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tiles. One panel tile from Buda[57] represents Saint George slaying the dragon, accompanied in the background by the princess kneeling under a tree and the depiction of the castle (Fig. 82). The representation is also very detailed in its depiction of armor, horse tack, the princess's costume, and architectural and natural elements. Similar tiles were found in Banská Bystrica, in the barbican[58] and other areas of the urban castle.[59] The dimensions of the tiles are known: 25.5 x 21.5 cm (the reconstructed item from Buda) and ca. 20.5 x 20.5 cm (the fragmentary tiles from Banská Bystrica). Although approximate, these dimensions indicate that although the latter town was one of the main centers of tile production in the Realm of St. Stephen, these particular items decorated with the representation of St. George the dragon-slayer there were copied from the model in Buda. Considering that Banská Bystrica was an important tile-production center and that many fragments with this particular motif have been discovered in two distinct locations of the town, both green and polychrome glazed, it seems that the copies were produced locally from a tile or a mold brought from Buda. The reason behind such an initiative seems to have been the desire of city representatives to copy a motif rendered prestigious by its initial use in the interiors of the royal palace in Buda. As in the case of nobles, the leaders of a free royal town would have desired such items for considerations of symbolic representation and prestige. Though poorly preserved and published, other fragments from the barbican in Banská Bystrica, depicting Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge,[60] seem to have been related to Buda prototypes.[61]

A large group of glazed and unglazed tiles and molds were found during the excavations conducted in 1894 at Dolná Street nr. 35. The workshop was active around 1480 to 1500, being destroyed during the great fire that ravaged the city on April 1, 1500. Typical for its production are the square panel tiles or rectangular semi-cylindrical ones decorated with images of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Barbara.[62] Tiles created with identical molds have been excavated as far away as Bratislava castle (St. Margaret of Antioch)[63] and the fortification of Šintava in Slovakia (Margaret and Barbara).[64] One tile, showing St. Peter, was found in the market town of Szécsény,[65] today very close to the Hungarian-Slovak border. Products of this workshop are to be found in museum collections in Budapest, Bratislava, Červený Kameň, and Kremnica.[66] Nevertheless, to the present state of publication of this group, it seems that it was not distributed outside of present day Slovakia.

The second workshop was discovered in 1907 in the central square, now Slovenské Národné Povstanie, nr. 22. It was active around 1450 and produced religious tiles with inscriptions (Elijah, Isaiah, "marya", etc), but also lay scenes.[67] Some of these products were discovered in other locations of Slovakia, such as Banská Štiavnica[68] and Kremnica[69] but not in other areas.

The third workshop was not discovered archaeologically, but its existence is presumed according to a large group of tiles that share the

[57] Holl, Imre: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon IV, p. 84, p. 85, fig. 35; Melis, Irásné Katalin: Szent György alakos budai kályhacsempék. In *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. Ed.: Béla Köpeczi – Erik Fügedi. Budapest: Gondolat, 1986, pp. 254–358, pp. 257–259, fig. 15.

[58] Ušiak, Peter: Formy na výrobu kachlíc z Banskej Bystrice a Slovenskej Ľupče. In: *Archaeologia historica,* a. 29, 2004, pp. 561–568, p. 626, fig. 7.1, pp. 630–632, pp. 634–635.

[59] Ibidem, p. 626, pp. 630–632, pp. 634–635.

[60] Ibidem, p. 627, p. 628, fig. 8.1.a, p. 632.

[61] Holl, Imre: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon IV, p. 84, p. 85, fig. 37.

[62] Holčík, Štefan P.: Stredoveká kachliarska dielňa v Banskej Bystrici. In: *Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea, História 14,* a. 68, 1974, pp. 175–193.

[63] Egyház-Jurovská, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice. Katalóg.* Bratislava: Slovenské Národné Múzeum – Archeologické Múzeum, 1993, cat. 8; Holčík, Štefan P.: *Stredoveké kachliarstvo*. Bratislava: Pallas, 1978, fig. 64; Holčík, Štefan P.: Stredoveká kachliarska dielňa v Banskej Bystrici, p. 177, fig.1.

[64] Egyház-Jurovská, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice*, cat. 154, fig. 12 and cat. 155, fig. 11.

[65] Bodnár, Katalin: Kályhacsempék Nógrád megyéből I. Szécsény mezőváros XV–XVI. századi kályhacsempéi. In: *Nógrád megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve,* a. 14, 1988, pp. 9–24, p. 11, cat. 9, fig. 9.

[66] Holčík, Štefan P.: Ešte raz k nálezom gotickych kachlíc v Banskej Bystrici. In: *Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea, História 17,* a. 71, 1977, pp. 133–138. He debates the data published by Eva S. Cserey (Adatok a besztercebányai).

[67] Mácelová, Marta: Gotické kachľové pece z banskobystrickej radnice. In: *Archaeologia historica,* a. 24, 1999, pp. 409–420.

[68] Labuda, Jozef: Zaujímavé kachlice z Banskej Štiavnice a Sitna. In *Gotické a renesančné kachlice v Karpatoch*. Ed.: Ján Chovanec. Trebišov: Arx Paris, 2005, pp. 175–182 + 261, p. 181, fig. 6.

[69] Hoššo, Jozef: Archaeologický výskum hradu Šášov a zámku v Kremnici. In: *Archaeologia historica,* a. 6, 1981, pp. 457–465, p. 462, fig. III.3.



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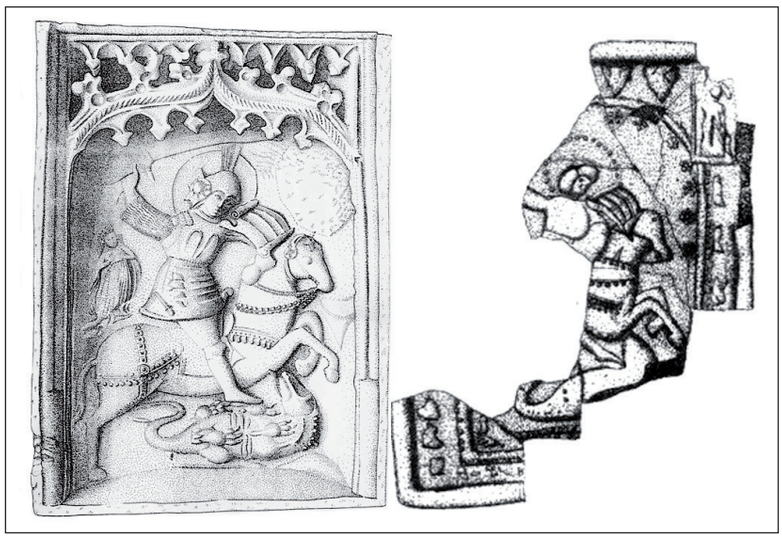


Fig. 83. *St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Klaštorisko and Mihăileni.*

same technical and stylistical characteristics, that seem to have only been used locally, in the city hall and house of the mayor, thus indicating a local commission.[70]

Summarizing, the great tile production center of Banská Bystrica produced for nowadays Slovakia alone and it mostly used unique motifs, but also some influenced by the Buda workshops.

Three other related tiles from Slovakia depict the seated Madonna holding a scepter in her right hand and the baby Jesus in the left. The fragmentary or reconstructed state of the items discovered in the castle of Parič, in Trebišov,[71] the Benedictine monastery in Krásna nad Hornádom,[72] and the Carthusian monastery in Kláštorisko[73] prevent making final conclusions in this case. The tiles date to the end of the fifteenth century and maybe the early years of the next century. The latest seems to be the polychrome-glazed fragment from Parič, while another fragment from the same site and the tile from Kláštorisko are green-glazed. No information is available for the glazing of the tile from the third location. Some researchers have indicated that the motif, probably similar on all three tiles, was inspired by engravings such as those signed by Master ES and Israhel van Meckenem.[74]

Another group includes two directly related tiles from Slovakia and Transylvania: one from the Carthusian monastery in Kláštorisko[75] and the other from the village of Mihăileni[76] (Fig. 83). The tiles, depicting St. George on horseback, are rich in details of arms and armor. The tile in Kláštorisko probably served as the model, since it has more details and is a higher-quality product. It is a niche tile with an added architectural tracery in the upper part. The inner relief with St. George was copied in Mihăileni and applied to a panel tile with an added decorative border and a semicircular arch. The princess, depicted behind St. George in Slovakia, probably became the standing figure on the border of the tile in Transylvania. The different status of the sites is noticeable: a Carthusian monastery and a village. The transmission of the motif in this case might have been mediated by other, as yet undiscovered, tiles.

A stone mold decorated with the scene of the Annunciation comes from an unknown location in Slovakia, now kept in the collections of the Hornonitrianske Múzeum in Prievidza.[77] A tile probably created with this mold was found in nearby Silesia (Bohemia), in the castle on Vsetínske vrchy (Vsetínke Hills).[78] The image belongs stylistically to the sixteenth century, showing Archangel Gabriel and Mary under a semicircular arch. An

[70] Gruia, Ana-Maria: Sex on the Stove. A Fifteenth-Century Stove Tile from Banská Bystrica. In: *Medium Aevum Quotidianum,* a. 55, 2007, pp. 19–58.

[71] Chovanec, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho. In *Gotické a renesančné kachlice v Karpatoch.* Ed.: Ján Chovanec. Trebišov: Arx Paris, 2005, pp. 23–54, p. 49, fig. 20.

[72] Chovanec, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho, pp. 23–54, p. 49, fig. 20; Polla, Belo: *Košice-Krásna. K stredovekým dejinám Krásnej nad Hornádom*. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo pre Slovenské Národné Múzeum v Bratislave, 1986, p. 244, fig. 120:6.

[73] Chovanec, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho, pp. 23–54, p. 49, fig. 24; Egyház-Jurovská, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice*, cat. 225, fig. 44.

[74] Chovanec, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho.

[75] Drawing from on-site presentation panels.

[76] Kémenes, Mónika: *Kályhacsempék Csik-, Gyergyó – és Kászonszékből 14.–18. század*. Kolozsvár: Entz Géza Foundation for Cultural History, 2005, p. 114, cat. 1, plate 8, fig. 3.

[77] Egyház-Jurovská, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice*, cat. 121, fig. 21.

[78] Kahoutek, Jiří: Výzkum středověkých hradů v oblasti Vsetínských vrchů. In: *Archaeologia historica,* a. 16, 1991, pp. 241–254, p. 245, fig. 6.



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interior space is suggested by the flanking columns, the window in the background and the lectern in front of which Mary is kneeling in prayer (Fig. 84). One must also note that the mold and tile were discovered on sites belonging in the late Middle Ages to two different kingdoms, i.e. Hungary and Bohemia.



Fig. 84. *Stone mold from an unknown location in Slovakia and tile created with it, discovered at Vsetínske hory (Bohemia).*

## Tile collections in Slovakia and Slavonia

As one could note from the above presentation of groups of related tiles in the two provinces, most are connected to several sites rich in tile discoveries. The most conspicuous is Ružica, the only castle in Slavonia with a thorough analysis of its tile material.[79] The rich stoves built by Nicholas of Ilok and after 1477 by his son, Lovro (Laurencius), were composed of tiles with a wide range of analogies to the Realm of St. Stephan and other regions. Nicholas of Ilok (1410–1477) occupied the position of ban of Slavonia and at the end of his life, that of king of Bosnia.[80] These, and his other positions, testify to his rank and importance in the Kingdom of Hungary. The site is relevant due to the varied iconography of the tiles, including the knight in tournament, numerous religious scenes, vegetal, geometric, heraldic, and lay scenes, but especially for the varied and distanced sources of their motifs. The main sources of these motifs were tiles in Buda castle. Tiles decorated with the knight in tournament, the Pelican in Her Piety, a holy bishop, and numerous saints had prototypes in Buda, thus the motifs traveled ca. 650 km.[81] Fragments depicting a holy bishop, part of this group, might indicate that tile motifs from Buda were copied in Varaždin and redistributed in Slavonia. The tile decorated with St. Christopher and the decorated frames of tiles found in the castle, depicting Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge and their Banishment from Eden are identical to some of the tiles produced for St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna, 450 km away. The same frames were also found on tiles in Varaždin, suggesting that the Viennese influence on tiles from Ružica might have been as well mediated by a workshop in Varaždin. Directly-related tiles depicting Samson killing the lion were found in the castle and town of Varaždin and Vienna, supporting the above mentioned hypothesis. The motif of Archangel Gabriel might have been part of the repertoire of niche tiles with saints on corbels produced by the royal workshops in Buda, but its only preserved analogy comes from Visegrád, 630 km away. A crown tile decorated with the image of St. George on foot slaying the dragon has several analogies in Slavonia and in neighboring Styria, part of Austria at the time. The furthest site of discovery of such an analogy is Celje, 650 km away. Considering the variety of motifs copied and the long distances from where they were brought, Nicholas of Ilok seems to have made the most effort to embellish his stoves. He could almost be considered a collector of tiles. He emulated in this respect tiles from prestigious sites (royal castles such as Buda and Visegrád, St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna) or equal-rank locations such as castles in Slavonia and Styria.[82] One should also mention the tile from his home castle of Ilok, depicting an angel holding a censer, which also has analogies in Buda, this time 254 km away.

Varaždin was a place of both tile use (in its castle, town, and bishop's residence) and production

[79] Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, pp. 229–304.

[80] Pálosfalvi, Tamás: Miklós Újlaki. In: *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Exhibition Catalogue*. Ed.: Péter Farbaky. Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008, pp. 267–268.

[81] All distances are calculated according to modern maps.

[82] The status of the Cillei (Celjski) family was very similar to that of Nicholas of Ilok. This major aristocratic family also held high ranks in the Holy Roman Empire, therefore Celje and Ružica can be placed on the same level of prestige. See Kurelić, Robert: The Status of the Counts of Cilli as Princes of the Holy Roman Empire. In: *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, a. 12, 2006, pp. 143–162.



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(mold discovered). Tiles depicting a holy bishop were produced locally (indicated by the discovered mold) but influenced by tiles in Buda (247 km) and Ružica (146 km). The tile decorated with Samson fighting the lion has analogies in Vienna (300 km) and that with a kneeling angel in Nova Ves (100 km).

The settlement of Nova Ves was first owned by the bishops of Zagreb, but it soon freed itself and gained in importance, maybe also due to its urban tile workshops, excavated in the so-called Centar-Kaptol in the center of the town. These urban workshops were the most productive during the fifteenth century.[83] Several individual tiles of the knight in tournament have been found there, lower-quality interpretations of the models from Buda (250 km away). A tile with a kneeling angel, probably part of the Annunciation scene and therefore depicting Archangel Gabriel, is part of a group found in Varaždin (9 km), Čazma (70 km), and Planina pri Sevnici – Styria (68 km).

As for sites with large tile collections in Slovakia, the most preeminent is Banská Bystrica. Still, the only distant analogies are in Buda (at 170 km) – tiles with St. George and Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge. The three urban workshops seem to have fulfilled the demand for tiles in Slovakia alone (each having different market areas).

A rich stove tile material has been discovered over the years in the ruins of the Carthusian monastery in Kláštorisko.[84] The monastery, dedicated to St. John the Baptist and established in 1307, is located in a remote place in today's Slovak Paradise National Park (Slovenský raj) in the Spiš region. Kláštorisko was reconstructed between 1478 and 1530 and this is when decorated stoves were installed in each monk's cell and in some of the common spaces.[85] The tile collection from Kláštorisko is unique in its dimensions, variety, and good archaeological context (the site was not re-used after the destruction of the monastery around the middle of the sixteenth century). Remains of more than 200 tiles and the bases of at least 14 stoves have been discovered there. Several types of images can be found on these stove tiles: religious representations, especially related to the Virgin, but also symbols of the evangelists, the Agnus Dei, other saints and *Old Testament* scenes, heraldic representations, angels supporting coats of arms, knights, vegetal and animal decoration, but also a series of "strange" images. The latter include tiles depicting combinations of signs and symbols, a wild man with a crab, a man working with retorts and containers in front of a character in orant position (an alchemist?), and a man and a fool pounding together in the same mortar.[86] Not many of these tiles have analogies elsewhere and they might have been created by a temporary workshop installed on site (considering the large number of tiles and the remote location of the monastery, thus making the transport of stove tiles problematic) or through special order placed at a workshop in the region. As previously indicated, tiles with *Maria in sole* have an analogy in Slovenská Ľupča, and that depicting the Madonna in Parič and Krásna nad Hornádom (all ca. 100 km away). The strange analogy is that found in the deserted medieval village of Mihăileni, in Transylvania (640 km away). It seems probable that monasteries in a certain region (Kláštorisko – Carthusian, Slovenská Ľupča – Franciscan, Krásna nad Hornádom – Benedictine) would place orders at the same tile workshop or would choose the same motifs among those available, but the connection with a far-away village, located in another province, must still receive explanation (the transmission of the motif was probably intermediated by other, yet undiscovered or lost tiles).

The palace of the fortification in Parič (Trebišov), nowaday Slovakia, is very rich in Renaissance stove tiles dated around 1504, when the owner, Imrich Perényi, became palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary. More than 30 motifs decorated these tiles, most of them polychrome glazed. Their similar characteristics and tracery, base, and crown elements discovered at the site allow for theoretical reconstructions of the stoves heating the interiors of this palace at the very beginning of the sixteenth century. Considering the unity of the lot, one may easily conclude that the tiles were probably the products of the same workshop or potter. The discovery of a tile decorated with an

[83] Mašic, Boris: *Kasnogoticki pecnjaci s Nove Vesi*.

[84] The archaeological material is still in the process of being catalogued and inventoried and I thank Dr. Michal Slivka for allowing me to study several of the tiles.

[85] Slivka, Michal: Doterajšie výskledky výskumu na Kláštorisku v Slovenskom raji. In: *Archaeologia historica,* a. 31, 1988, pp. 423–439; Idem: Vita contemplativa ako protiklad k vita activa (Kartuzia hornonemeckej proveniencie). In: *Archeologia historica,* a. 15, 1990, pp. 151–173; Idem: Kláštorisko (kataster obce Letanovce). In: *Pamiatky a súčasnosť*, a. 1, 1991, pp. 23–24; Egyház-Jurovská, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice*, cat. 207–248, fig. 31–40; www.klastorisko.sk (accessed 2009).

[86] Gruia, Ana-Maria: Fools, Devils, and Alchemy. Secular Images in the Monastery. In: *Central European Charterhouses in the Family of the Carthusian Order*. Ed.: Martin Homza – Veronika Kucharská – Stanislava Kuzmová – Naďa Rácová. Levoča-Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 2008, pp. 149–159, p. 179.



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angel supporting a coat of arms with the three lilies of the city of Košice[87] offers further support for placing the workshop in that town (located just 36 km away). The religious motifs on these tiles include the Madonna, the four capital virgins, St. James, St. John the Almsgiver, St. Christopher, and St. George. There are also lay motifs, such as a couple of burghers playing cards, couples in love, dancers, vegetal and geometric motifs.[88] Some of the depictions were inspired by contemporary engravings. The only identified analogies are on tiles in Krásna nad Hornádom (40 km) and Kláštorisko (100 km); it is possible that the workshop in Košice supplied these other sites as well.

## Conclusions

The present study can only lead to tentative conclusions, due to the partial state of research and publication of tiles in the region, the need for exact measurements of related tiles in order to determine if they are original products, copies, imitations or only indirectly related, and for historical research that might offer more insight in the means of tile transmission (molds, tiles, traveling masters, drawings/engravings). Also, the distances are calculated according to modern roads and maps and the figures might be adjusted and better explained through research of medieval markets, roads, and transportation in the region in the late Middle Ages. Nevertheless, I believe the present analysis can be useful in noting general trends in tile motif transmission and distribution and in emitting initial hypotheses to be verified by further interdisciplinary research. The main advantage in identifying groups of iconographically related tiles is the direction given for more in-depth, technical analyses.[89]

As for the means of motif transmission on tiles, the analyzed cases indicate the possibility of tiles (molds or masters) granted by royal favor (tiles with the knight in tournament produced in Buda and used by magnates very soon afterwards), collected or commissioned through personal initiatives, maybe inspired by travels of the nobility (the case of special collections such as that in Ružica), and obtained through connections between workshops (Buda, Banská Bystrica, Nova Ves, possibly also Varaždin). Tile collections certainly depended on availability and the market area of each workshop. One workshop in Banská Bystrica produced for the wide area of nowadays Slovakia (over an average distance of 117 km), the second for a more restricted area (on average 26 km), while the third only for local demands, though there are two cases of tiles in the city with analogies in distant Buda. The workshop in Nova Ves had a market area of ca. 87 km and produced, among others, imitations of prototypes from Buda. Another local workshop was probably active in Košice, supplying surrounding sites over average distances of 33 km.

The social transmission of motifs seems to have generally been among sites of equal status (castles – most obvious in the case of crown tiles showing St. George – monasteries, and workshops), but there are also exceptions. Tiles with the knight in tournament show a top-down social distribution, from royal castles, to those owned by magnates, then fortifications, noble residences, and bishop's residences. The latter type of contexts contained imitations of the original that reveal a decrease in quality (loss of tracery and open-work, distortions).

The same loss of details and technically challenging elements can be noted in the strange transmission of an image of St. George on horseback from Kláštorisko to Mihăileni. The tile from the latter site, a medieval village, can certainly be placed at the end of a copying series due to its low quality and added border (a frequent procedure in the case of tiles rendered ytoo small by clay shrinking through repeated copying).

One can also note the fact that the most luxurious tiles and the most prestigious motifs traveled the longest distances and that there are more numerous such cases in Slavonia than in Slovakia. The best example is again Ružica, with tile motifs from Buda, Visegrád, Vienna, and Styria. Sites and workshops in both provinces felt the influence of Buda, but the impact of the center was, again, stronger in Slavonia. The latter area was also more open and capable to integrate outer influences, emulating tiles from the Holy Roman Empire (Vienna, Posreda, Celje), probably through the mediation of local workshops. In Slovakia there are less external connections and more local products – but one can still find analogies in Bohemia (Vsetínske hory) and Transylvania (Mihăileni).

[87] Chovanec, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho, pp. 47–48.
[88] Ibidem.
[89] See the exemplary work of Tamási, Judit: *Verwandte Typen im schweizerischen und ungarischen Kachelfundmaterial*. Budapest: Ungarisches Landesdenkmalampt, 1995.



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# CROATS IN SLOVAKIA AND SLOVAKS IN CROATIA

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MILOŠ MAREK*

# Die Kroaten in der Slowakei im Spätmittelalter (15. Jh.–Anfang des 16. Jhs.)

## Chorváti na Slovensku v neskorom stredoveku (15.–začiatok 16. storočia) / Hrvati u Slovačkoj u kasnom srednjem vijeku (15. st.–poč. 16. st.)

*The members of the Croatian ethnic group lived in present-day Slovakia already at the time of the emergence of the Kingdom of Hungary. This fact is attested to by local place names such as Horvátiči, Chorvatice, which were established probably during the reigns of the first Arpadians. Mutual contacts intensified after the Hungarian annexation at the end of the eleventh century. Although the vast migrations from the south took place only as late as the second third of the sixteenth century under the Ottoman threat, Croatian hospites settled in villages in Western Slovakia already in the fourteenth century (Lančár, dominion of Čachtice castle, etc.). Besides, some Croatian nobles resided here as well, their living conditions being eased by the similarity of the languages.*

Keywords: ethnic groups, migrations, the late Middle Ages, Croats in Slovak regions

Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass die Mitglieder des kroatischen Ethnikums erst am Anfang der Neuzeit begannen, sich im Gebiet der Slowakei in größerem Stile niederzulassen, als eine große Menge der serbischen und kroatischen Bevölkerung ihre Heimat aus Angst um Leben und Besitz, bedroht von den Militäraktionen des Osmanischen Reiches, verließ und in die nördlicher gelegenen Gebiete des Königreichs Ungarn, aber auch nach Mähren und Österreich umzog. In dieser Zeit kam eine bedeutende Anzahl an Kroaten auch in die südwestliche Slowakei. Sicher nicht zufällig ist Horvát der meistverbreitete Nachname in der Slowakei. Heutzutage wird er von mehr als dreißigtausend Personen getragen.[1] Man muss sagen, dass die Anwesenheit der Kroaten in unserem Gebiet schon im Mittelalter bemerkt wurde. Vor allem in seiner Endphase häufen sich Belege über ihre Anwesenheit in verschiedenen Orten der Slowakei. Viele von ihnen hatten bedeutende Ämter in der Staatsverwaltung inne (Gespane, Vizegespane, Kastellane). Bei ihrer Aufzählung beginnen wir mit der Ostslowakei.

Dominik, der Sohn von Dežo und Brikzius, der Sohn Martins von Svilna („de Zwylna"), genannte Horvat, erhielten vor dem Jahre 1412 von König Sigismund als Schenkung die Zempliner Dörfer Tušice, **Šimkovce* („*Symkolch*"), „Felzerfalu", Kyjov und Merník. Diese Besitzungen wurden den Edelleuten von Tušická Nová Ves vom Herrscher wegen ihrer Treulosigkeit konfisziert und den zwei Kroaten geschenkt. Dominik und Brikzius erbarmten sich aber dieser Adligen und mit Zustimmung des Königs gaben sie ihnen die geschenkten Besitzungen zurück. Dafür bekamen sie als Kompensation das Dorf Tušická Nová Ves, wo sie sich später niederließen und begannen den Namen des Dorfes in ihrem Prädikat zu schreiben.[2] Die Familien der neuen Besitzer mussten kurz danach die Übergriffe der benachbarten Drugeten von Humenné, die ihnen im Jahre 1413 ein Teil des Landes aus dem Besitz in Tušická Nová Ves wegnahmen, ertragen.[3]

Das Dorf Svilna, woher die beiden Kroaten stammten, liegt im heutigen Ostteil Kroatiens (in Slawonien, östlich von Požega). Sein Name, den diese zwei Gefährten am Anfang des 15.

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[1] Ďurčo, Peter et al.: *Databáza vlastných mien a názvov lokalít na Slovensku*. Zit. 6.2.2012 [Database online] http://slovniky.korpus.sk. Siehe auch: http://www.geni.sk/najcastejsie-priezviska-na-slovensku/.

[2] „*Briccii et Dominici Horwath dictorum de Wyfalu*". *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* (deinde *ZsO*), vol. 3. Ed.: Elemér Mályusz – Iván Borsa. Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1993, nr. 2247. Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapest, Diplomatikai Fényképgyujtemény (deinde MOL DF) 250 787. Die Urkunde darüber ließen sie im Jahre 1417 auf das Ansuchen des Albert von Michalovce transkribieren.

[3] *ZsO* 4. Ed.: Elemér Mályusz – Iván Borsa. Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1994, nr. 2144; MOL DF 209 841. Dominik heiratete Margarethe, mit der er fünf Kinder hatte: die Töchter Katharina, Helene, Margarethe und die Söhne Nikolaus und Stefan. Ibidem, nr. 1744; MOL DF 220 719.



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Jahrhunderts als ihr Prädikat benutzten, bedeutet, dass sie erst vor kurzer Zeit nach Zemplín gekommen waren. Dominik erscheint aber ein Jahr später auch mit dem Prädikat des zu dem Besitzkomplex um Tušice gehörenden Dorfes **Vrbovec*, das schon im Jahre 1325 bei der Teilung unter den Nachkommen des Adligen Klč erwähnt wird. Der Grundbesitz dieser Kroaten beschränkte sich also nicht nur auf Tušická Nová Ves, sondern umfasste auch das nahegelegene **Vrbovec*.[4]

Dies waren aber nicht die einzigen in dieser Zeit in Zemplín lebenden Kroaten. Aus dem Jahre 1414 gibt es Nachricht über einen gewissen Paul genannt Horvat, dem Getreuen von Georg von **Petenyeháza*. Ein anderer Paul Horvat und seine Frau werden im Jahre 1419 als Gäste des Konvents von Leles, die auf dessen Besitzen, vielleicht sogar direkt in Leles, gewohnt haben, erwähnt.[5] Im Jahre 1479 besaß ein gewisser Johannes Horvat einen Teil des Zempliner Dorfs Zemplínsky Klečenov. In demselben Jahr erwähnt die gleiche Urkunde auch den Kroaten Demeter aus seinem Offizialat Svätá Mária am Bodrog zusammen mit dem Kroaten Nikolaus.[6] Svätá Mária gehörte im Mittelalter dem Egerer Kapitel (dt. *Erlau*), das zur Verwaltung seiner Besitztümer in diesem Teil von Zemplín ein Administrationszentrum, das sog. *Offizialat*, errichtete. Seit Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts wurde der Kroate Demeter mit seiner Leitung beauftragt.

Im Jahre 1423 werden Georg, genannt Horvat, und seine Frau Elena mit dem Prädikat des Scharoscher Dorfes **Delňa*, von dem ihnen aber nur ein Teil gehörte, erwähnt.[7] Obwohl wir aus dieser Zeit über zahlreiche Belege von den Besitzern von **Delňa* verfügen, nennt uns nur dieser einzige den Namen von Georg Horvat. Ein Jahr später finden wir vermutlich dieselbe Person im Amt des Kastellans der Burg Turňa, die sich in den Händen des ehemaligen slawonischen Bans Paul von Mojzesov befand. Auf Befehl seines Herren führte damals Georg Horvat eine Gruppe von Schweinen in die Wälder des dem Zipser Kapitel gehörenden Zempliner Dorfes Olaszliszka, die dort die ganze Eichelernte abfraßen.[8]

Im Jahre 1466 lebte im Scharoscher Drienov Andreas Horvat, der von den Edelleuten von Brezovica unter anderen zu ihrem Rechtsvertreter gewählt wurde.[9] In den neunziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts beklagten sich die Beamten der Zipser Gespanschaft über einen gewissen Andreas Chorvat, der beim Komitatsgericht (lat. *sedria*) dieser Gespanschaft einige von ihnen angegriffen, verletzt und mit vulgären Worten beleidigt hatte. Der König verbat deshalb Chorvat die Komitatsbeamten zu belästigen. Als sie ihm aber die königliche Urkunde zeigten, begann Chorvat sie noch mehr zu beleidigen und zu demütigen und drohte ihnen sogar mit dem Tod, falls er jemanden von ihnen entweder in seinem Haus oder an einem anderen Ort finden würde. Die Beamten haben deswegen den König angesprochen, um in dieser Angelegenheit Varoč, den Kastellan von Abaujvár und Diener von Stefan Zapolya, zum Richter zu ernennen.[10]

Eine ähnliche Unannehmlichkeit geschah auch Peter und Ladislaus von Barca bei Košice (dt. *Kaschau*), die im Jahre 1500 beim Komitatsgericht der Abaujwarer Gespanschaft im Dorf Méra ihre Angelegenheiten erledigten. Im Gebäude des Gerichts wurden die Brüder jedoch vom Vizegespan Johannes Horvat, den sie eigentlich besuchen wollten, überfallen. Er beschimpfte sie als „*Hurensöhne*" und zusammen mit seinen Getreuen griff er sie sogar mit Schwert und Säbeln an und wären die anwesenden Schiedsrichter (*probi viri*) ihnen nicht zur Hilfe gekommen, hätten sie sie getötet.[11] Hierin zeigte sich die heißblütige Balkannatur von Johannes.

Die Kroaten waren anderseits aber auch selbst Opfer der Gewalttätigkeiten und Misshandlungen. Ein gewisser Michael Chorvat, Getreuer der

[4] *ZsO* 4, nr. 1170, 1296, 2144; MOL DF 220 647.
Uličný, Ferdinand: *Dejiny osídlenia Zemplínskej župy.* Michalovce: Zemplínska spoločnosť, 2001, p. 609. *Adalékok Zemplén Megye Történetéhez* XVII, Sátoraljaújhely 1911, p. 246.

[5] *ZsO* 4, nr. 1883; MOL DF 220 680; Ibidem, vol. 7. Ed.: Iván Borsa. Budapest: A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai, 2001, nr. 10; MOL DF 253 823.

[6] Magyar Országos Levéltár Budapest, Diplomatikai Levéltár (deinde MOL DL) 18 284: „*Iohannes Horwath de porcione Kelechen … Demetrius Horwath de officiolatu suo Zenthmarya, Nicolaus Horwath*".

[7] *Codex Diplomaticus Patiae* (deinde *CDP*). Ed.: Iván Nagy – Ferenc Deák – Gyula Nagy. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1879, pp. 376–377, nr. 324.

[8] MOL DL 43 601.

[9] „*Andream Horwath in Somos commorantem*", MOL DL 16 301. Der in der Liste der Edelleute auftretende Andreas hatte als einziger kein Prädikat, was bedeutet, dass er Ausländer war und sich hier erst seit kurzem aufhielt.

[10] MOL DL 65 385.

[11] MOL DL 84 002.



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Edelleute von Rakovec nad Ondavou in Zemplín, wurde im Jahre 1447 Opfer eines bewaffneten Angriffs, als er in Rakovec von den Edelleuten von Žbince und Moravany getötet wurde.[12]

Am Ende der fünfziger Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts war Gregor, der Gespan von Krbava (*comes Corbavie*), demnach kroatisch *knez* genannt, Mitbesitzer der Turzer Burg Blatnica. Gregor war Kommandant der königlichen Burg (Slovenská) Ľupča, wo er auch siedelte. Für seine zahlreichen Verdienste bei den Reparaturarbeiten dieser Burg, aber auch in den königlichen Diensten, bekam er im Jahre 1455 vom König die Burgherrschaft Ľupča als Pfand.[13] Krbava, woher Gregor stammte, liegt im Südwesten Kroatiens und bildete im Mittelalter eine Sonderverwaltungseinheit – die Gespanschaft. Gregor heiratete Sophia, die Tochter von Ladislaus von Necpaly, derzeit einer der bedeutendsten Adeligen von Turz mit Gütern auch außerhalb der Turzer Gespanschaft. Ihr Sohn Christoph geriet später in einen Streit um die Burg Blatnica und weitere Nachkommen Gregors bemühten sich um den Erwerb der Burg Ľupča noch am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts.[14] Die Person Gregors von Krbava gilt als zweites Beispiel für den Kontakt des Kurjakovič-Zweiges der Gusić Familie mit dem Gebiet der Slowakei.[15]

In derselben Zeit (1465) wirkte in der Trentschiner Gespanschaft als Vorsteher und Kastellan der Burg Trenčín Paul Chorvat. Vermutlich derselbe Paul Chorvat war im Jahre 1461 zusammen mit dem oben erwähnten Damian Horvat Kastellan der Burg Visegrád.[16]

In der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts wird eine kroatische Familie im Dorf Báhoň erwähnt. Im Jahre 1451 haben sich Stefan, Sohn von Ladislaus, Horvat von Báhoň und Martin, Sohn von Ladislaus' Schwester Anna um den Besitz **Kostolný Meder* („*Eghazasmagyar*") gestritten, den einst Georg, Graf von Pezinok (dt. *Bösing*), Stefans Vater geschenkt hatte.[17]

Andreas, genannt Horvat, erscheint in den zwanziger Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts als Mautner in Svätý Anton (vorher Antol) in Hont. Bei seiner Arbeit beging er aber Gewalttätigkeiten. In den Jahren 1420–1422 wurde ein Streit zwischen Ďula Kakaš von Kaza in der Borschoder Gespanschaft und dem Kapitel von Esztergom (dt. *Gran*) verhandelt. Das Kapitel beschuldigte ihn, dass der oben erwähnte Mautner, Diener von Ďulas Kastellan Andreas von Turz, auf den Befehl seines Herren, die Bürger von Sebechleby auf dem Weg nach Ilija gefangen genommen und beraubt hatte. Ďula wurde für schuldig erklärt und zum Tode und Verlust aller seiner Güter verurteilt.[18]

Seit der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts begegnen wir in dem Honter Dorf Kosihy nad Ipľom der kroatischen Familie eines gewissen Peter von **Mašec* (*Massecz*), der im Jahre 1456 zusammen mit seiner Frau Anna von Michael Boda von Bodice (Liptauer Gespanschaft) einen Besitzanteil in Kosihy als Pfand genommen hatte. Peter ließ sich hier nieder und den Dorfnamen führte er in seinem Namen als Prädikat. Auch seine zwei Söhne Johann und Nikolaus wurden als Kroaten bezeichnet. Der ältere Johann bekleidete in den Jahren 1500–1503 das Amt des Stuhlrichters (*iudex nobilium*) der Honter Gespanschaft. Der jüngere Nikolaus hinterließ einen Sohn, Georg, der im Jahre 1519 mit einem Adligen von Bodice um die Güter in Kosihy in Streit geriet.[19]

In etwa derselben Zeit wird eine kroatische Familie im heute nicht mehr existierenden Dorf **Pomat* in der Nähe von Uňatín, südlich von Krupina, erwähnt. In der Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1453 waren Damian und Stefan Horvat, Adlige von **Pomat*, unter den anderen Honter Adligen eingetragen. Damian tritt in den Quellen schon zum ersten Mal im Jahre 1438 als Getreuer des Propstes von Bzovík, der am Mord von Johann von Vrbovok beteiligt war, auf.[20] Nach dem Eintrag aus dem Jahre 1453 könnte man schließen, dass es sich um Brüder handelte, weitere Angaben bestätigen das aber nicht. Damian tritt hier nicht einmal mit dem Attribut Horvat auf. Sein Gefährte und Mitbesitzer Stefan Horvat fungierte

[12] MOL DL 14 067.
[13] MOL DL 30 859: „*Magnificus Gregorius comes Corbavie, nunc capitaneus castri nostri Lypche*".
[14] MOL DL 94 489: „*Christoforum filium Gregorii Knez, comitem de Karbowa*", MOL DL 63 247. Beňko, Ján: *Starý Turiec.* Martin: Osveta, 1996, p. 170. (1504) MOL DL 30 864.
[15] Zur Genealogie dieser Familie siehe auch: Hungarian noble families. Zit. 6.2.2012 [Database online] http://genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/korbaviai.html.
[16] MOL DF 268 227 und 237 601.
[17] MOL DL 14 510.
[18] *ZsO* 7, nr. 2034. MOL DL 236 003.
[19] „*Petro dicto Horwath de Massecz*", MOL DL 44 806. „*Petrus Horwath de Ipolkezy*", MOL DL 65 952. Siehe auch: MOL DL 16 313, 16 569, 46 633, 46 872, 47 369, 69 540, 69 570, 75 974, 90 256.
[20] „*Damianus de Pomagh*", MOL DL 13 251. „*Damianus et Stephanus Horwath de Pomagh, nobiles*", Státní archiv v Brně (Staatsarchiv in Brünn), Fond Rod Seilern, nr. 230. MOL DF 249 276. „*Stephanus Horwath de Pumath*", 1464, MOL DL 30 861.



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in der Mitte der sechziger Jahre als Kastellan von Komárno.[21] Über sein weiteres Schicksal und mögliche Nachkommen stehen uns keine Informationen zur Verfügung.

Mehr Berichte gibt es über eine weitere kroatische Familie in Hont, die Familie von Damian Horvat von Vrbas.[22] In den Quellen war es ziemlich problematisch, die beiden in der selben Zeit und am selben Ort wirkenden Damiane zu unterscheiden, insbesondere, wenn aus den Belegen die Namen ihrer Väter nicht hervorgingen.[23] Damian von **Pomat* hatte Katharina zur Frau, die in diese Ehe ihre Kinder Valentin, Georg, Margarethe und Martha mitbrachte, eigene Kinder hatten sie vermutlich nicht. Damian von Vrbas heiratete Euphrosyne aus dem Budimir-Zweig des Geschlechts Aba, mit der er den Sohn Stefan und die Töchter Anna und Sophia hatte.[24] Außerdem erschien er immer mit dem Beinamen Horvat und dem Titel des slawonischen (bis 1473), kroatischen und dalmatischen (1471–1475) Banes. Er fungierte auch als Kastellan der Burgen Visegrád und Slovenská Ľupča und Schatzmeister der Königin.[25] In der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts (sechziger und siebziger Jahre) erwarb er, mit Hilfe seines großen Reichtums, mehrere Güter in der Mittelslowakei.

Im Jahre 1463 kaufte er vom obersten Landesrichter (*iudex curiae*), Ladislaus von Pavlovce, für zweitausend Florine die Honter Dörfer Devičie und Medovarce und die Zvolen (dt. *Altsohler*) Orte **Teplice*, Lehota, Prenčov, Babiná, Žibritov und Beluj. Damals trat dieser Kroate aber schon mit dem Prädikat „von Čabraď und Selce", die er schon vorher erwarb, auf.[26] Eine weitere bedeutende Besitzvergrößerung gelang ihm im Jahre 1464, als er von König Matthias Korvin für zweitausend Florine die Burg Slovenská Ľupča mit der gleichnamigen Stadt und den Dörfern der Burgherrschaft als Pfand bekam.[27] Es ist bemerkenswert, dass er in den Besitz der Burgherrschaft Ľupča von Stefan Horvat von **Pomat* kommen sollte.

Von Damians, dank der Einkommen aus den bekleideten Ämtern noch erweitertem, Reichtum zeugt, dass er im Jahre 1468 für dreitausend Florine weitere drei Dörfer in Hont kaufte, und zwar Sečianky, Veľká Ves nad Ipľom und Slatina, sodass er in dieser Zeit zu den bedeutendsten Grundbesitzern in diesem Gebiet gehörte.[28] Außer den Gütern in der Slowakei besaß er auch die Burg Kamengrad („*Kewar*") in der Gespanschaft Požega, die Festungen Badnjevice („*Bagynowcz*") und „*Kustheryowcz*" in der Gespanschaft Križ (Križevci), samt allem Dazugehörigen und weitere Güter in Slawonien. Er starb im Jahre 1475. Sein Besitz (Herrschaft Litava) wurde unter seiner Frau Euphrosyne mit den Kinder und seinem Bruder Peter, der in Čabraď (Litava) und Sečianky siedelte und als Getreuer in den Diensten des Bischofs von Eger stand, geteilt. Bei der Besitzteilung beteiligte sich als *homo regius* der oben erwähnte Peter Horvat von Kosihy nad Ipľom.[29] Es scheint also, dass die in unserem Gebiet wirkenden Kroaten unter sich lebhafte Kontakte pflegten. Sehr wahrscheinlich brachte Damian auf seine Güter in der Slowakei auch kroatische Siedler mit. Dies deuten mehrere, in die bei der Teilung der Herrschaft Litava erstellten Listen eingetragene Namen an.[30]

Für die kroatischen Siedler war es nicht immer möglich einen Besitz im „Oberland" zu erwerben. Oft protestierten dagegen die einheimischen

[21] „*Damianus de Pomach*", 1469, MOL DL 69 492. „*Stephanus de Horwath … castellani dicti castri de Kamaran*", (1465) DL 16 186.

[22] Die Gespanschaft Vrbas war eine der Gespanschaften in Niederslawonien. Das Zentrum war die gleichnamige Burg (Vrbaški grad). Ihre Lage ist umstritten – laut einigen Autoren handelt es sich um die heutige Banja Luka, laut anderen geht es um das Gebiet des Dorfes Gornji Podgradci am oberen Lauf des Flusses Vrbaška. Heute gehört dieses Gebiet zu Bosnien. Engel, Pál: *Magyarország világi archontologiája 1301–1457.* Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1996 (CD Rom).

[23] In seiner Genealogie identifiziert Pál Engel beide Personen miteinander. *Középkori Magyar genealógia.* Budapest: Arcanum, 2001 (CD Rom).

[24] Katharina wird als Frau des Damian von Pomag in den Jahren 1469–1472 erwähnt. MOL DL 69 491, 69 493. Zusammen mit den Kindern Georg, Valentin, Margarethe und Martha im Jahre 1472. MOL DL 17 387. Euphrosyne, die Witwe von Damian Horvat und seine Kinder Stefan, Anna und Sophia im Jahre 1475. MOL DL 17 754 und 65 951.

[25] MOL DF 237 601.

[26] „*Damiano Horwath de Zeelcze et de Chabrad, castellano castrorum Wysegradiensium ac Petro similiter Horwath de eadem Zelcte, fratri suo*", 1463, MOL DL 98 193. „*Damiano filio Stephani de Orbaz alias de Zelez*", DL 66 005.

[27] „*Damianus Horwath de Orbaz*", MOL DL 30 860, 30 861. In den Besitz von Ľupča kamen also bald nach Gregor von Krbava auch weitere Kroaten.

[28] MOL DL 98 198.

[29] „*Damianus Horwath de Lythwa*", 1467, MOL DL 16 587. „*Petrus Horwath de Zelchen … familiares … domini episcopi ecclesie Agriensis*", MOL DL 90 205, 65 952.

[30] **Sthefelfalwa: „Blasius Tomczawicz … Nicolaus Zethkowycz … Bartholomeus Koktorowycz; Prenčov: „Iohannes Kwdalycz… Michael Kolbozicz…Georgius Kwdalycz…Cristel Steblewicz…Johannes Colbazycz"; Beluj: „Benedictus Lolgolawicz … Johannes Plwythycz… Johannes Abranowycz … Gurko Dedoycz … Blasius Sleybelewycz … Andreas Marthonawycz … Valentinus Thwrczawycz … Emericus Magrawycz … Antonius Herkowycz*". MOL DL 65 952.



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Adligen. Wie zum Beispiel im Jahre 1472, als sich die Herren von Topoľčianky gegen die Donation der Besitzungen Uherce, Pažiť, Kolačno, Topoľčianky, Mlyňany, Málaš in Tekov, Sudince und Túrovce in Hont und Omšenie in der Trentschiner Gespanschaft für Johann Horvat und Emmerich, Sohn von Onofrius von Bojnice, seitens des Königs Matthias Korvin verwahrten.[31]

Vermutlich aus der kroatischen Lomnica in der Agramer Gespanschaft (heute Donja Lomnica) stammte eine Familie, deren Mitglieder seit Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts in der Slowakei erwähnt werden.[32] Georg und Matthias, genannt Chorvat, Söhne von Fabian, Getreue des Sikuler Grafen Peter von Perín, haben im Jahre 1403 von ihm für ihre Dienste gegenüber ihm und dem König das Dorf Vojkovce in der Gespanschaft Uh bekommen. Vojkovce erwarben sie auf die gleiche Art und Weise wie die oben erwähnte kroatische Familie in Zemplín: König Sigismund hat das Dorf seinen vorherigen Besitzern für ihre Treulosigkeit genommen und Georg von Lomnica, aber auch seinen Gefährten Ladislaus, dem Sohn von Laurentius von Ida, und Johann, Sohn von Nikolaus von Lastomír, geschenkt. Drei Jahre später gab der König diesen Besitz seinen ursprünglichen Besitzern zurück.[33]

Etwa einhundert Jahre später war die Burgherrschaft Orava in den Händen eines gewissen Michael Horvat von Lomnica, die ihm als Pfand von Johann Korvin gegeben wurde.[34] Er stammte aus der Familie Kiševič und war vermutlich verwandt mit den zwei erwähnten Vorgängern, die einhundert Jahre vorher in der Gespanschaft Uh erschienen waren. Michael war im Jahre 1503 Liptauer Gespan. In dieser Zeit führte er den Titel „Erbbesitzer der Burg Plaveč", die er im Jahre 1505 als Tausch für die Burg Orava von Hedwig, der Witwe von Stefan Zapolya, erwarb. In den Jahren 1508–1513 fungierte er auch als Kastellan oder Kommandant der Burg Richnava. Im Jahre 1519 hat ihm Thomas von Brezovica seinen Anteil in den Dörfern Blažov, Stotince und Výborná verpfändet.[35] Michaels Prädikat „von Lomnica" bezeichnete aber nicht die Lomnica in der Zips, sonder die in Kroatien. Im Jahre 1517 wurde er mit diesem Prädikat in Bezug auf Kroatien neben den Adligen aus den kroatischen Dörfern Velika Mlaka, Čiče, Kuče erwähnt.[36] Außer Michael ist auch noch Johann Horvat von Lomnica, der Zipser Propst in den Jahren 1511–1544, zu erwähnen. Nach seinem im Jahre 1564 verfassten Testament, lebte er in Veľká Lomnica. Dies deutet eine interessante Tatsache an, nämlich, dass die Kiševič-Familie aus der kroatischen Lomnica in die Zipser Lomnica übergesiedelt ist. Die Verzeichnisse (*conscriptiones portarum*) aus dem 16. Jahrhundert beinhalten aber diese Familie in der heutigen Veľká Lomnica nicht. Die Kiševič-Familie von Lomnica lebte auch während der Neuzeit in der Zips.[37]

Eine andere Familie kroatischer Herkunft lebte seit Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts in Žabokreky nad Nitrou. Ein gewisser Nikolaus Horvat wird im Jahre 1496 als Arbiter im Streit um Grundstücksgrenzen in Nitrianske Pravno erwähnt. Er stammte aus dem kroatischen Dorf Plavno (nördlich von Knin), seine Nachkommen lebten in Žabokreky bis zum Ende des Mittelalters.[38] Nikolaus verfügte auch in Bošany über Besitz, im Jahre 1479 verpfändete Benedikt von Horné Lefantovce ihm dort drei Untertanenanwesen. Nikolaus heiratete Anna, die Tochter Johanns von Žabokreky, sein Sohn Valentin, auch mit dem Beinamen Horvat, fungierte Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts als Nitraer Vizegespan.[39]

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[31] MOL DL 17 321.

[32] Auch in der Slowakei gibt es Orte mit dem Namen Lomnica. Die Lomnica in Zemplín gehörte aber zur Burgherrschaft Čičava, später zu Vranov. Veľká Lomnica in der Zips gehörte dem Geschlecht Berzevici, Lomnica in der oberen Nitra dem Geschlecht Bošáni.

[33] „*de Lompnycha*", cfr. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, tom. 2, vol. 1. Ed.: Elemér Mályusz. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1956, nr. 2688, „*Georgius Horwath dictus de Lomnycha*", MOL DL 75 392. MOL DL 75 400. „*Georgio dicto Horwath de Lezthemer*", MOL DL 107 313.

[34] Die Burg Orava wird zusammen mit der Burg Likava in Liptau im Jahre 1505 als Pfand von Michael und Andreas Horvat erwähnt. MOL DL 37 777: „*castra Arwa et Likawa que pronunc in manibus egregiorum Andree et Michaelis Horwath pro quibusdam summus pecuniarum inscripta haberi asserunt*".

[35] MOL DL 61 096 und 69 112: „*Michael de Lomnicia, capitaneus castri Rychnow nec non dominus et heres castri Plawetcz*", MOL DF 281 612. Varsik, Branislav: *Otázky vzniku a vývinu slovenského zemianstva.* Bratislava: Veda, 1988, p. 199.

[36] „*nobilis Michaelis Kyssewych de Lomnycza*", MOL DL 34 619.

[37] „*Acta sunt haec in loco incolatus mei, in Lomnica Majore*". *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*, vol. 3. Ed.: Carolus Wagner. Posonii et Cassoviae: Typis Joannis Thomae nobil. de Trattnern, 1778, p. 83. „*Christofori Horwath Kissvitz de Lomnicza*", 1670, MOL Budapest, Urbaria et Conscriptiones, fasc. 35 nr. 17.

[38] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus et civilis* (deinde *CDH*), tom. 9, vol. 1. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: Typis. Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1833, nr. LIV, pp. 134–135: „*in nobilis Valentini filii Nicolai Horwath de Plawno alias de eadem Sambokrek personis*", MOL DL 95 747. Nikolaus hatte außer den Sohn Valentin auch drei Töchter – Barbara, Katharina und Helena. (1507) MOL DL 95 751 et 95 756.

[39] „*Anna … consors Nicolai Horváth de Bassan*", MOL DL 25 321, 95 748 et 98 205.



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Ein weiterer kroatischer Grundbesitzer in der Nitraer Gespanschaft, in den letzten Jahren des Mittelalters, war Bartholomäus Horvat von Urmince. Ein Mann mit demselben Namen wurde schon im Jahre 1511 in einer Urkunde des Nitraer Kapitels erwähnt, als ihn Johann von Špačince zu seinem Rechtsvertreter auswählte. Bartholomäus wurde damals mit dem Prädikat von **Kľúčinec*, zusammen mit einem gewissen Martin, eingetragen. Fünf Jahre später berichtet eine weitere Erwähnung über Georg Horvat von **Kľúčinec*, Ehemann von Barbara von Borovce, die in dieser Zeit einen Streit um die Hälfte des Besitzes in diesem Dorf führte. In derselben Zeit stoßen wir also auf drei Personen kroatischer Herkunft, die durch den gleichen Abstammungsort – **Kľúčinec* – verbunden sind. Es handelt sich vermutlich um eine nicht mehr existierende Siedlung oder der Name betrifft den Ort Kletinec in der damaligen Vukovarer Gespanschaft in Kroatien.[40]

Mehrere kroatische Familien erwarben Güter in der Slowakei durch Kauf oder Pfand. So etwa auch die Familie des Nikolaus Horvat von Hraščan in Međimurje in Slawonien (heute vermutlich Donji Hraščan in der Gespanschaft Međimurje). Im Jahre 1520 verkauften die Edelleute von Krušovce Nikolaus, seiner Frau Katharina und seinem Bruder Peter ihre Anteile in den öden Orten **Konček* und **Zemianske Solčany* sowie drei Wiesen und einen Wald in Malé Chlievany.[41] Später hat sich Nikolaus in Krušovce niedergelassen und benutzte den Namen des Dorfes als sein Prädikat.[42] Weitere Besitze erwarb er auch in der Trentschiner Gespanschaft. Im Jahre 1520 erhielt er eine Wiese in Bobrovník von der Familie Haláčovský als Pfand. Ein Jahr später vermietete er einen Teil des Dorfes Dobrá der Familie Rožeň.[43]

Eine weitere Möglichkeit in die Slowakei zu kommen und hier Güter zu erwerben war für Menschen kroatischer Herkunft das Einheiraten in die slowakischen Adelsfamilien. Dies gelang hier auch Georg Horvat von Požega, der am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts Barbara, die Tochter Peters von Mičiná, heiratete. Georg wurde Kastellan der Burg Vígľaš und im Jahre 1512 Besitzer von neun Untertanensiedlungen im Dorf Vlkanová.[44]

Am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts begegnen wir im nördlichen Teil der Trentschiner Gespanschaft und in Turz Mark Mislenovič oder Mark Mišljenović aus dem kroatischen Kamičak, der am Anfang der neunziger Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts das Amt des königlichen Kammerdieners und im Jahre 1506 des dalmatischen, kroatischen und slawonischen Banes und auch des Kastellans von Buda bekleidete.[45] Mark heiratete Benigna, die Witwe von Paul von Kiniž (Temescher Gespanschaft) und Tochter von Blasius Magyar, der in dieser Zeit über große Besitztümer im Nordwesten der Slowakei verfügte. Dank dieser Ehe erwarb er die Burgherrschaft Strečno. In seine Hände gerieten auch die Burg und das Städtchen Sučany und mehrere Güter erwarb er (dank königlicher Donation) auch in anderen Gebieten des Königreichs Ungarn (die Burg Vásonkő / Nagyvázsony), in der Gespanschaft Veszprém, nördlich von Balaton, und in den Gespanschaften Fejér, Zala und Külső Szolnok. Dank diesem benutzte er außer der Prädikate von Kamičak und Strečno auch das Prädikat „de Hardoleweld" (heute Kis-Lőd nordwestlich von Veszprém).[46] Im Jahre 1493 schenkte ihm der König für seine treuen Dienste die Güter eines gewissen Blasius Cickan – Vyšná Rudina und Cickanova Rudina (heute Rudina und Rudinka) am Fluss Kysuca („*Nakyzyczy*").[47] Weitere Besitze erwarben die Mislenovičs durch Kauf, wie z.B. Mojš und Horný Vadičov.[48] Mark brachte auch seine Landsmänner in die Slowakei mit. Zum Kastellan der Burg Strečno bestallte er Georg Horvat, auch Georg Bojničič genannt, oder dessen Bruder Michael Horvat.[49]

[40] „*Nobiles … Bartholomeus Horwath de Ilmer* (…) *Bartholomeus Horwath Nicolai filii sui ac dominarum Barbare sue* (…) *consortum*", 1520, *A Pécz-nemzetség Apponyi-ágának oklevelei*. I. *1241–1526.* Ed.: Ernő Kammerer. Budapest, 1906, p. 472. MOL DL 66 035. „*Bartholomeum Horwath de Klwchyncz* (…) *Martinum de Klwchyncz*", 1511, MOL DL 95 469 et 95 499.

[41] „*Nicolao Horwath de Hraschan*", MOL DL 95 772. Er ist aber nicht identisch mit Nikolaus von Žabokreky, der eine Generation früher lebte.

[42] Keresteš, Peter – Čisárik, Ladislav: *Lexikon erbov šľachty na Slovensku*, vol. 4 : *Nitrianska stolica*. Bratislava: Hajko&Hajková, 2010, p. 99.

[43] Fekete-Nagy, Antal: *Trencsén vármegye.* Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1941, pp. 265–266.

[44] MOL DL 63 990, 63 992.

[45] MOL DL 39 335. In der von der Trentschiner Gespanschaft herausgegebenen Urkunde wurde sein Beiname in der slowakischen Form „Chorwath" geschrieben, 1505, MOL DL 38 914.

[46] Die Herrschaft Vásonkő und das Städtchen Sučany, zusammen mit der Burg, hatte der König an erster Stelle Marks Ehefrau Benigna, der ehemaligen Witwe von Paul von Kiniž, und erst dann Mark und seinen Brüdern Johannes Mislenovič, Peter Kolonič, Matthäus und Andreas Literatus, geschenkt. MOL DL 82 531, 82 532. Die Ruinen der Burg Kamičak liegen am linken Ufer des Flusses Krka zwischen Roški Slap und dem See Visovac.

[47] MOL DL 82 063. Wegen der Proteste bei der Einsetzung (*statutio*) konnte Mark aber die Güter nicht übernehmen.

[48] MOL DL 46 657.

[49] MOL DL 38 194.



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Michael Horvat aus dem kroatischen Plavno, der Kastellan von Strečno, erwarb hier einige Güter durch Heirat. Er heiratete Barbara, die Tochter von Philipp und Margarethe von Hôrka aus der Trentschiner Gespanschaft. Im Jahre 1515 schenkte ihr ihre ältere Schwester Anna, die Frau von Benedikt von Svätá Mária, einen Anteil am Dorf Hôrka, denn Barbara, die von Anna noch als Mädchen bezeichnet wurde, wurde nach dem Tod ihrer Eltern bedürftige Waise, obwohl sie schon mit Michael verlobt war. Dies war sie in der Tat, denn immerhin war Michael ein Einwanderer, der dort bis dahin keinen Immobilienbesitz besaß.[50] Dabei dürfen wir natürlich nicht die Dörfer Mojš und Horný Vadičov mitrechnen, die er zusammen mit seinem Bruder Georg von Benigna, der damaligen Besitzerin der Burgherrschaft Strečno und Witwe von Mark Mislenovič und ihres dritten Ehemannes Gregor Kereki, erwarb. Georg Horvat war eine heftige Natur, wie der Mord an Johann Majteni, Kastellan von Starý hrad bezeugt. Er tötete ihn im Jahre 1518, als er ihn die der Burgherrschaft Strečno gehörenden Wälder durchqueren sah.[51] Michael war den Burgbesitzern als Kastellan auch finanziell behilflich. Obwohl er ursprünglich keinen Immobilienbesitz besaß, war er sicher nicht arm. Sonst hätte er Benigna nicht 600 Florine leihen können, für die er dann zu seinen aus der Burgherrschaft Strečno ausgegliederten Besitztümern Mojš und Horný Vadičov auch das Amt des Schultheißen (*scultetus*) in diesen Dörfern und die Ortschaft Lúčka von ihr bekam. Dies wurde auch durch eine neue Donation von König Ludwig II. im Jahre 1520 bestätigt. Michael benutzte aber auch weiterhin das Prädikat von Plavno.[52]

Das Einheiraten kroatischer Adliger ins slowakische Umfeld war also nicht außergewöhnlich. In einer Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1468 erfahren wir, dass Bartholomäus, Thomas und Ladislaus, die Söhne Johanns von Janíkovce bei Nitra, ihre Schwester Katharina mit dem Fremden Kaspar Horvat nach „Römischem Ritus" verheirateten. Damit Katharina und ihre Kinder durch diese Heirat nicht als unedel bezeichnet und verachtet würden – wie in der Urkunde behauptet wird – sie sich herumtreiben müssten (was vermutlich auf Kaspars Schicksal hindeuten sollte) und sie auch weiterhin das Recht auf den Adelsbesitz wie andere Adlige behielten, wurde ihr von den Brüdern ein Besitzanteil im Dorf Ílové in der Nitraer Gespanschaft überlassen, unter der Bedingung, dass dieser Besitz im Falle von Katharinas kinderlosem Tod oder kinderlosem Tod ihrer Kinder an ihre Brüder zurückfalle.[53]

Kaspar erwarb aber nicht nur durch die Heirat Besitz in der Slowakei. Vor dem Jahre 1466 verkauften Ladislaus Čech von Levice und sein Sohn Johann, Kaspar Horvat von Radoševic (vermutlich Radośevići bei der Burg Vrbovsko in Kontinental-Kroatien) für 16 Florine, die sie später auf 23 erhöhten, ihren Besitzanteil im Dorf Vyšné nad Hronom („*Nagod*") in der Barscher Gespanschaft. Einen viel höheren Preis musste Kaspar für die Pachtung des Dorfes Dolné Zbrojníky in Novohrad bezahlen. Dieser „Spaß" kostete ihn 700 Florine.[54] Wahrscheinlich war er es, der das Amt des Kastellans von Šurany bekleidete. Eine Person mit demselben Namen wird in diesem Amt im Jahre 1465 erwähnt.[55]

Am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts (1501) erwarb Gregor Horvat von Japrica mehrere Besitze im osten der Slowakei. Der Borsoder Gespan und Kastellan der Burg Diósgyőr, der sich im Borsoder Dorf Csaba (heute Hejőcsaba, Südteil der Stadt Miskolc) niederließ, begann seinen Namen als Prädikat zu benutzen.[56] Diese Besitze erlangte er dank der Heirat mit der Tochter Georg Kováč, einem Edelmann aus Csaba. Mit seiner Frau Katharina bekam Gregor alle Besitze von Kováč in Csaba, Szirma und im Städtchen Miskolc in der Borsoder Gespanschaft, Čaňa in der Abover Gespanschaft und in den Dörfern Silica und Petri (heute Szinpetri in Ungarn) in der Turnaer Gespanschaft.[57]

Gregor hatte mit Katharina die Tochter Margarethe, die einen gewissen Oswald, einen Edelmann aus dem Dorf Janík bei Košice, heiratete.

[50] MOL DL 47 104.
[51] Fekete-Nagy, Antal: *Trencsény vármegye*, pp. 157, 267.
[52] „*Michaeli Horwath de Plawna in Moysfalwa commoranti*", MOL DL 50 601.
[53] „*Caspar Horwath dicto, homini alienigene*", MOL DL 69 489.
[54] „*Gaspar Horwath de Radasewygh~ Radosewygh*", MOL DL 16 382, 16 383.
[55] MOL DL 95 378.
[56] „*egregius Michael Horwath de Chaba super quadam fassione condam Gregorii Horwath de Japrycza*", 1523, MOL DL 84 157; „*condam Gregorius Japrycza Horwath de Chaba*", MOL DL 84 161; „*Gregorius Horwat de Gay comes*", MOL DL 15 763. Als Borsoder Gespan tritt er schon im Jahre 1462 auf. Gaj war der Name des Distrikts in der ehemaligen Zagreber Gespanschaft.
[57] MOL DL 84 135.



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Gregors Schwester Lucia wurde wiederum zur Frau von Georg Maršič aus dem kroatischen Klokoč[58] und ihr Sohn Michal Horvat erwarb einen Anteil im Dorf Gyňov. Obwohl sich Gregor im Borsoder Dorf Csaba niedergeließ, war er noch immer mit seinem Geburtsland Kroatien verbunden. Schrittweise aber beendete er die Verbindungen – im Jahre 1503 verkaufte er Gregor, dem ehemaligen Bischof von Veszprém und damaligen Erzbischof von Kalocsa-Bač und Besitzer der Burg Cetin, und seinem Bruder Johann Frangepan seine Dörfer Boskovec und Bistra in der Agramer Gespanschaft im Distrikt Gaj.[59] Im Dokument wird er als Gregor Japrica von Japra erwähnt. Diesen Beinamen bekam er nach seinem Familienbesitz in Japra.[60] Es handelt sich bestimmt um das heutige Dorf Blagaj Japra in Bosnien an der kroatischen Grenze am Fluss Japra. Japra war einst Zentrum des Distrikts der Agramer Gespanschaft, wo die Gerichtssitzungen stattfanden. Zum Japra-Distrikt gehörte auch das am gleichnamigen Fluss liegende Dorf Japrica.[61]

Die Familienmitglieder stritten sich in der folgenden Zeit um ihre oberungarischen (ostslowakischen) Besitzungen. Im Jahre 1520 vereinbarten sie, dass im Falle von Gregors kinderlosem Tod die Besitzungen seiner Tochter Margarethe, oder ihrem Ehemann, zugeteilt werden sollten. Falls auch sie keine Nachkommen hätten, sollte der Besitz an Michael Horvat, Sohn von Gregors Schwester Lucia, fallen. In demselben Jahr vereinbarten Gregor und seine Tochter, von diesem Besitz das Dorf Gyňov und die Mühle in Čaňa Gregors Schwester Lucia und ihrem Sohn Michael zu überlassen.[62] Trotz der Vereinbarung beneideten sich die Familienmitglieder für ihre Besitztümer untereinander. Michael und Gregor waren gezwungen Satisfaktion wegen der Schäden, die sie beim Überfall von Margarethe und ihrem Mann Osvald in Horný Gyňov und auf Gregors Mühle in Čaňa erlitten hatten, durch ein Gerichtsverfahren zu beanspruchen.[63]

Ein weiterer der kroatischen Einwanderer in der Ostslowakei war Thomas Horvat mit dem Prädikat „von Kuzmice“ in der Zempliner Gespanschaft, der im Jahre 1518 erwähnt wird. Eine gewisse Dorothea, die ehemalige Frau von Nikolaus Koša, Andreas Čelej und zu guter Letzt Brikzius von Všechsvätých verkauften ihm damals einen Besitzanteil in Puszta Hollóháza.[64] Thomas heiratete eine gewisse Potenziana, Witwe von Peter Kozmai von Kuzmice. So gelangte er auch in den Mitbesitz ihrer Güter und begann das Prädikat „von Kuzmice“ zu führen.[65]

Die Kroaten findet man bei uns aber auch in der städtischen Umgebung. Wie wir schon bemerkt haben, waren es nicht nur Adlige, die in die Nordgebiete des Königreichs Ungarn aus Angst vor der Türkengefahr wanderten. Im Jahre 1421 vertrat Andreas, genannt Horvat, aus dem nördlich von Velika Gorica in Kroatien liegenden Dorf Petina, die Stadt Krupina (dt. *Karpfen*) im Streit mit dem Esztergomer Kapitel.[66] Im Jahre 1455 war z.B. Georg Horvat sogar Schultheiß des Städtchens Sečovce.[67]

* * *

Die Kroaten sind also bei uns auch nicht im Mittelalter unbekannt gewesen. Ihre Wanderung in die Nordteile des Königreichs Ungarn verstärkte sich aber zum Ende dieser Epoche. Vor allem im 15. Jahrhundert gelang eine größere Anzahl Kroaten in die Slowakei. Die einen durch Heirat, die anderen bekamen königliche Donationen, kauften Besitze oder bekamen sie ins Pfand. Viele

[58] Georg wird in den Jahren 1492–1493 als Nachbar des Besitzes Stotnik, der dem Comes Johannes Frangepan von Cetine vom König geschenkt wurde, erwähnt. MOL DL 38 556.

[59] „*Gregorii Japrycza de Japra*“, MOL DL 88 889.

[60] Gregors Vater Michael wurde Japrič genannt. „*Michael Japrych de Japra*“ (1471). MOL DL 88 949.

[61] „*in possessionibus* (…) *Japricza* (…) *in districtu Japre comitatus Zagrabiensis*“, MOL DL 83 756. Die Besitzungen in diesem Distrikt gehörten Gregors Familie.

[62] „*domine Lucie, filie egregii condam Michaelis de Jappra, relicte vero egregii olim Georgii Marsycz de Klokoch, sorori videlicet prefati Gregorii Horwath carnali ac* (…) *Michaeli filio eiusdem domine Lucie*“, MOL DL 84 134. Klokoč ist ein Ort und eine Burg in Mittel-Kroatien, südlich des Dorfes Vojnić, an den Grenzen zu Bosna. Einst wurde Klokoč von lokalen Edelleuten besessen, das Geschlecht Frangepan war gerade zu dieser Zeit sein Besitzer, zusammen mit der unweit entfernten Burg Cetin. MOL DL 34 016. Lopašić, Radoslav: *Oko Kupe i Korane. Mjestopisne i povjestne crtice.* Zagreb: Matica Hrvatske, 1895, pp. 142–152.

[63] MOL DL 84 155.

[64] MOL DL 47 226.

[65] MOL DL 47 454. Es ist deshalb nicht überraschend, wenn in demselbem Besitzstreit die Tochter von Thomas zusammen mit ihren Söhnen Caspar und Balthasar auftraten, Thomas aber nicht mehr.

[66] *CDH* 10/6. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: Typis. Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1844, pp. 351–354, nr. 129.

[67] Iványi, Béla: *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára*, vol. 1. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910, p. 132, nr. 821.



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Kroaten haben sich in den Strukturen der weltlichen Verwaltung durchgesetzt. Sie fungierten als Kastellane (in den Burgen Abaujvár, Komárno, Richnava, Slovenská Ľupča, Strečno, Šurany, Trenčín, Turňa, Visegrád, Vígľaš, Zniev) oder in der Gespanschaftsverwaltung (Liptauer Gespan, Abover und Nitraer Vizegespane). Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass die Slowakei schon im Mittelalter zu einem beliebten Zufluchtsort der kroatischen Familien wurde. Die Sprachenverwandschaft spielte dabei eine positive Rolle. In der neuen Umgebung fühlten sich die Kroaten nicht fremd und begannen sich relativ früh zu assimilieren. Es ist aber bekannt, dass die kroatischen Ansiedler erst seit den dreißiger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts, also am Anfang der Neuzeit, im Zusammenhang mit der Ausbreitung der Türkenmacht und Besetzung der Gebiete in Balkan, in einem größeren Ausmaß bei uns ankamen. Damals gelangten viele Kroaten, außer in die Gebiete von Transdanubien (heutiges Burgenland) und Südmähren, auch in die südwestliche Slowakei, wo sie mehrere, meistens am Fuße der Kleinkarpaten liegende, Orte bevölkert oder auch gegründet haben. Wir waren aber diesmal mehr an den, auch unter dem Begriff „kroatische Kolonisation" bekannten, ethnischen Bewegung vorangehenden Begebenheiten, interessiert.*

* Übersetzt von Veronika Kucharská



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EVA BENKOVÁ*

# Die Kroaten in der Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň im 16. Jahrhundert

## Chorváti na hradnom panstve Červený Kameň v 16. storočí / Hrvati na vlastelinstvu Crveni kamen u 16. stoljeću

*In our contribution we will deal with the migration of the Croats into Slovakia in the sixteenth century. We will focus our attention on Croatian settlement in Malé Karpaty (the Little Carpathians) wine region with regard to the estate of Červený Kameň (Red Stone) Castle. The precise economic and public administration of the estate of the Fugger family will allow us to analyse the course of local Croatian colonization into its component stages. We will explain the social stratification of immigrants, the intensity and stability of the Croatian settlement based on a detailed inventory of Červený Kameň Castle's possessions, which was made in the year 1543 with additional entries from the years 1544–1583. At the same time we will examine the role of the Fugger family in the colonization and internal migration of the Croats, the privileges which the Croats obtained, and the personal attitude of the Croats to the new local conditions. As part of our contribution we will assess the contribution of the Croats in the economic field, particularly to viticulture, which took on a decisive role in the agrarian production of the Kingdom of Hungary in this century.*

Keywords: the estate of Červený kameň, Western Slovakia, migration, settlement, the sixteenth century, *urbaria*

Unter dem Einfluss der osmanischen Expansion in Südosteuropa kam es in den ersten Jahrzenten des 16. Jahrhunderts zur Migration der kroatischen, slowenischen und serbischen Bevölkerung.[1] Auf dem Gebiet der Westslowakei, vor allem in Záhorie und in den Domänen Dobrá Voda (dt. *Gutwasser*), Smolenice (dt. *Smolenitz*), Svätý Jur (dt. *Sankt Georgen*) und Pezinok (dt. *Pösing*), Červený Kameň (dt. *Rotenstein/Bibersburg*) ließen sich kroatische Edelleute und Bürger bereits vor dem Jahre 1526 nieder.[2] Die Massenkolonisation durch kroatische Bauern fing erst in den dreißiger Jahren an. Diese Übersiedlung der Kroaten verlief etappenweise. Einzelne Etappen hingen unmittelbar mit den militärischen Ereignissen und sozialen Veränderungen zusammen.[3] Nach den schriftlichen Quellen erschienen die Kroaten schon um das Jahr 1529 in der Umgebung von Bratislava (dt. *Pressburg*), genauer in den Dörfern Lamač (dt. *Blumenau*) und Záhorská Bystrica (dt. *Bisternitz*).[4]

Die Ankunft der Kroaten in der Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň, die in der Weinbauregion am Fuße der Kleinen Karpaten (slow. Malé Karpaty) liegt, wurde mit den landwirstchaftlichen Aktivitäten ihrer Besitzer, den Fuggern, und mit deren Bemühungen einer Wiederbelebung ihres kleinkarpatischen Besitztums verbunden.[5] Im Wesentlichen handelte es sich dabei um eine organisierte und systematische Tätigkeit und Kolonisation der öden Ansiedlungen.[6] Als die Fugger die Burgherrschaft übernahmen, befand sie sich

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[1] Kučerová, Květoslava: Sťahovanie Chorvátov na Slovensko v 16. storočí. In: *Slovanské štúdie*, a. 8, 1966, p. 5; Eadem: Vplyv osmanskej expanzie na etnické premeny a sociálny vývoj v strednej Európe. In: *Osmanská moc ve střední a jihovýchodní Evropě v 16.–17. století*. Ed.: Zdenka Veselá. Brno: Československo-sovětský institut ČSAV, 1977, p. 96–113; Kučerová, Květoslava: Osmanská expanzia a jej vplyv na etnické premeny u južných a západných Slovanov. In: *Československá slavistika 1988: Historie, lingvistika*. Ed.: Jan Petr. Praha: Academia, 1988, p. 243–253.

[2] Eadem: Minulosť a súčasnosť Chorvátov na Slovensku. In: *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku: História, onomastika, národopis*. Ed.: Ján Botík. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, p. 20.

[3] Eadem: *Chorváti a Srbi v strednej Európe*. Bratislava: VEDA, 1976, p. 220.

[4] Húščava, Alexander: *Dejiny Lamača: príspevok k dejinám Veľkej Bratislavy*. Bratislava: Kultúrny a informačný odbor ÚNV, 1948, p. 35.

[5] Jedlicska, Pál: *Kiskárpáti emlékek. Vöröskőtől – Szomolányig. Hely – s művelődéstörténeti tanulmány*. vol. 1. kötet. Budapest: Nyomatott a „Hunyadi Mátyás" Intézetben, 1882, p. 27–30.

[6] Kučerová, Květoslava: Etnické zmeny na Slovensku od 16. do polovice 18. storočia. In: *Historický časopis*, a. 31, nr. 4, 1983, p. 532.



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in einem sehr schlechten Zustand.[7] Von zwanzig Lokalitäten waren sieben vollständig verödet und die anderen waren nicht einmal zur Hälfte besiedelt.[8] Bei ihrer Einführung in den Besitz (*introductio*) vom König Ferdinand I. von Habsburg (1526–1564) aus dem Jahre 1536 waren die nachfolgenden Siedlungen ganz verödet: Šelpice (dt. *Schelpitz*), Nemečín, Klčovany, Fančal, Lattingdorf, Schönau und Neudorf.[9] Die Ursachen des Niederganges hingen mit den damaligen politischen Verhältnissen, gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen, militärischen Konflikten und mit der Plünderung der Landschaft durch die Osmanen und die kaiserlichen Söldnerarmeen zusammen.[10]

Die Kroaten kamen auf in Burgherrschaft während der kroatischen Kolonisation, deren allgemein anerkannter chronologischer Ablauf erstmals von Květoslava Kučerová dargelegt wurde.[11] Erste Flüchtlinge fanden hier ihre neue Heimat schon in den dreißiger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts.[12] Die Kroaten besiedelten folgende Orte: Častá (dt. *Schattmannsdorf*) – 1542, 1548, 1554, 1557–1559; Doľany (dt. *Ottental*) – 1553[13], 1563; Šelpice – 1539–1541, 1546, 1552, 1554, 1565; Bohdanovce (dt. *Bogdanowitz*) – 1541, 1544, 1548, 1550, 1554, 1559, 1565; Nemečín – 1540; Zvončín (dt. *Neuschlag*) – 1535, 1546, 1547, 1552, 1553, 1556, 1557, 1561, 1562; Dubová (dt. *Wernersdorf*) – 1540; Suchá nad Parnou (dt. *Dürnbach*) – 1536, 1539, 1540, 1548, 1549, 1554; Košolná (dt. *Kesselsdorf*) – 1547, 1548, 1551, 1554, 1569; Dlhá (*Langendorf*) – 1540, 1543, 1546, 1548[14], 1550, 1552[15], 1554, 1569; Jablonec (dt. *Halmesch*) – 1543, 1547, 1559, 1562, 1564; Kaplna (dt. *Kapellen*) – 1546, 1554, 1562, 1567; Budmerice (dt. *Pudmeritz*) – die dreißiger Jahre, 1565, 1569; Vištuk (dt. *Wischtuck*) – 1540, 1548[16], 1569.[17]

Die Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň hatte unter anderen frühneuzeitlichen ungarischen Domänen eine besondere Stellung. Das Geschlecht der Fugger führte die progressive Regiewirtschaft ein. Die Fugger trieben die Entwicklung beider Landwirtschaftszweige voran, den Anbau von Nutzpflanzen und die Viehzucht. Sie gründeten die Holzindustrie auf die kapitalistische Unternehmensform und widmeten sich auch der Teichwirtschaft sehr intensiv. Die Prosperität der Burgherrschaft, die auf dem traditionellen Agrargebiet mit der Ausrichtung auf

[7] Die Fugger Familie gewann die Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň von Alexius Turzo im Jahre 1535. *Consensus super castro wereskew fuggaris.* Ungarisches Staatsarchiv, Budapest (Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest, deinde MOL), Fond (weiter F.) Archiv der ungarischen Kanzlei (Magyar Kancelláriai Levéltár, deinde MKL), Königliche Bücher (Libri regii, deinde LR), 1. Band, folium (deinde fol.) 312, pagina (deinde pag.) 250; *Eredeti részletek gróf Pálffy-család okmánytárhoz (1401–1653) s gróf Pálffyak életrajzi vázlatai.* Ed.: Pál Jedlicska. Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda, 1910, p. 8.

[8] Žudel, Juraj: Osídlenie a pohyb obyvateľstva na Červenokamenskom panstve za Fuggerovcov v rokoch 1535–1583. In: *Historický časopis*, a. 13, nr. 4, 1965, p. 572.

[9] Slowakisches Staatsarchiv, Bratislava (Slovenský národný archív, Bratislava, deinde SNA), F. Archiv des Preßburger Kapitels (Archív Bratislavskej kapituly), Capsa 6, Faszikel (deinde F.) 14, nummer (deinde nr.) 15. Peres, Zsuzsana: *A magyar „hitbizományi" jog kezdetei.* (Doktori értekezés). Pécs: Pécsi Tudományegyetem Állam – És Jogtumányi Kar Doktori Iskola – Jogtörténeti Alprogram, 2009, p. 37.

[10] Während des verheerenden osmanischen Einfalls in die Slowakei im Jahre 1530, nach der erfolglosen Belagerung Wiens, wurde das Dorf Šelpice zerstört. Die Osmanen fügten auch den Einwohnern des Dorfes Bohdanovce großen Schaden zu. Der Kampf um die Nachfolge auf dem ungarischen Thron zwischen Ferdinand von Habsburg und Johannes Zapolya und die damit zusammenhängenden Militäroperationen in der Gegend von Trnava riefen den allmählichen Niedergang der Siedlung Nemečín hervor. Das Dorf Klčovany war noch um die Jahrhundertwende vom 15. auf das 16. Jahrhundert verödet. Die mittelaterliche Siedlung Fančal ging während der unbedachten Herrschaft des Raubritters Ladislaus More (1528–1535) unter. Die Umstände vom Untergang der Siedlungen Schönau und Lattingdorf kennen wir nicht. Den schriftlichen Urkunden nach beendete die Anlage eines Teiches die Existenz des Dorfes Neudorf. *Registratur und Protocoll über die Herrschaft Piberspurg.* SNA, F. Die Herrschaft Červený Kameň I (Panstvo Červený Kameň, deinde HR I), Inventarnummer (deinde Inr.) 1, Karton (deinde K.) 1, fol. 266 v – 268. Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň. In: *Urbáre feudálnych panstiev na Slovensku (XVI. storočie)*, vol. 1. Ed.: Richard Marsina – Michal Kušík. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1959, p. 97, 105, 142, 155, 157, 158.

[11] Die erste Etappe begann in den vierziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts. Später kamen die Kroaten im Verlauf des ganzen fünften Jahrzehnts, wobei die wichtigste Phase der Emigration die Jahre 1552 und 1553 waren. Die letzte große Migration spielte sich in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren ab. Kučerová, Květoslava: Naseljavanje hrvatskih seljaka u Slovačkoj i njihov socijalni položaj. In: *U povodu 400. godišnjice hrvatsko-slovenske seljačke bune.* Ed.: Ivan Kampuš. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu – Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1973, p. 115.

[12] Im Jahre 1513 besaß Christoff Osnit ein Achtel des Weingartens. Es handelt sich um einen Einzelfall. *Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň*, p. 86.

[13] *„Croatae in novis turigulis 4."*

[14] *„Croaci nunc primum tuguriola erigentes 10."*

[15] *„Noviter erectae per Croatos portae 7."*

[16] *„Croaci noviter tuguricola erigentes 15."*

[17] *Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň*, pp. 71–143; Žudel, Juraj: *Osídlenie a pohyb obyvateľstva na červenokamenskom panstve za Fuggerovcov v rokoch 1535–1583*, p. 589.



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den Weinbau lag, war vor allem durch die hinreichende Arbeitskraft der Untertanen bedingt.[18]

Die Besiedelung wurde von mehreren Faktoren bedingt. In erster Linie boten die Besitzer den Siedlern eine Erleichterung der Untertanenpflichten. Die Befreiung bezog sich aber nur auf die Zahlung des Hauszinses. Diese Freiheit dauerte gewöhnlich zwei bis neun Jahre.[19] Daraus geht hervor, dass die Sachbezüge und der Frondienst große Bedeutung für die Burgherrschaft hatten. Da die Wirtschaftspolitik auf der Weinproduktion gegründet war, war es selbstverständlich, dass die Erleichterungen nicht die Befreiung von den Weinbautaxen betrafen.[20] Die Kroaten entrichteten also außer den grundlegenden Angaben (das heisst das Zehent und das Neuntel in Form von Naturalabgaben) auch den sogenannten *Hofweingarten*[21], den *Dorfwein*[22], und bezahlten den *Kueffengab*.[23] Sofern sie in den Kleinstädten (Častá, Doľany, Dolné Orešany) wohnten, hatten sie auch *Markhtwein* jährlich abzugeben.[24] Falls die Untertanen Weingärten außerhalb der Grenzen der Burgherrschaft besaßen, waren sie verpflichtet, *Modergaab* (4,5 Denare) zu zahlen.[25] Viele Kolonisten hatten sich, bevor sie ihre Heimat unfreiwillig verließen, mit der Rebenzüchtung beschäftigt. Darauf weist nämlich die allgemeine Entwicklung des Weinbaues im 16. Jahrhundert hin.[26] Aus den Angaben in Schriftstücken aus der Verwaltung der Burgherrschaft wissen wir, dass die Kroaten die Eigentümer der Weingärten waren.[27]

Die Fugger bemühten sich, die Ansiedler mit einem zinsenlosen Darlehen in der Höhe von ein bis drei Gulden zu unterstützen. Diese Investitionen belasteten nicht die Kasse der Fugger. Es ging ihnen um ein langfristiges Ziel und gewisse finanzielle Verluste verursachten keine schwerwiegenden Schäden. Als es in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts zur Stagnation der Kolonisation kam, erteilte der ungarische König Maximilian II. (1563–1576) den Fuggern ein günstiges Privilegium. Es handelte sich um die Befreiung der Bewohner von allen ordentlichen und außerordentlichen Staatssteuern und Diensten für sechs Jahre.[28]

Unsere Forschung beruht auf der Analyse der Urbare aus den Jahren 1543 und 1559.[29] Die Informationen schöpften wir aus der kanonischen Visitation des Jahres 1561[30] und aus den Verzeichnissen.

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[18] Skladaný, Marián: Rybnikárstvo na Fuggerovskom panstve Červený Kameň v 16. storočí. In: *Historické štúdie*, a. 10, 1965, p. 22–52; Žudel, Juraj: *Fuggerovci na Červenom Kameni 1535–1583.* Bratislava: VEDA, 1991, p. 45–83.

[19] Nach dem Urbar aus dem Jahre 1543 (mit den Einträgen bis zum Jahre 1583) gab es 115 sichere Fälle von der Verabfolgung des Darlehens. Žudel, Juraj: *Osídlenie a pohyb obyvateľstva na červenokamenskom panstve za Fuggerovcov v rokoch 1535–1583*, p. 581.

[20] *„Allain welche weingarten haben, geben das neunt davon, wie ander, so nit freyhait haben und ist inen, was die weingarten anlagen, ist kain freyhait geben."* Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň, ref. 10, s. 97; Kahounová, Ema: Spoločensko-ekonomické podmienky vývinu vinohradníctva na západnom a strednom Slovensku. In: *Slovenský národopis*, a. 15, 1967, p. 518.

[21] Ein Teil des Ertrages vom Weingarten bei dem Haus musste abgegeben werden. *Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň*, p. 71.

[22] Die Weinbauern gaben Dorfwein gemäß dem Umfang des einzelnen Anwesens. Es ist wichtig, zwischen dem Hof (*sessio coloni*) und Hofstaat (*sessio inqulini*) zu unterscheiden. *Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň*, p. 71, 84, 91.

[23] Gezahlt wurden 52 ungarische Denare für jedes Fass Wein oder zwei Denare für jeden Weinkübel. Eimer oder Weinkübel sind alte Hohlmaße für Most und Wein. Es ging um den sogenannten gewöhnlichen Eimer, der 32 Pint umfasste, also 54,2976 Liter. *Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň*, p. 71; Húščava, Alexander: *Poľnohospodárske miery na Slovensku.* Bratislava: VEDA, 1972, p. 114.

[24] Diese Umlage stellte zwanzig Eimer dar.

[25] Tibenský, Ján: *Poctivá obec budmerická. Starodávna história. Každodenný život slovenskej dediny od najstaršách čias do začiatku 18. storočia*. vol. 2. Budmerice: RAK, 1998, p. 327.

[26] Baďúrik, Jozef: *Malokarpatské vinohradníctvo v 16. storočí.* Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 1990, p. 93–105.

[27] Zudem hatten sie auch die Wiesen, für die sie regelmäßig Taxen zahlten. *„Ibidem est unum pratum, quemt Martinus Synowycz possidet, a quo singulis annis solvere tenetur domino per fl.1 d. 10."* *„Ibidem Nicolauus Horwat possidet unum pratum, a quo solvet d. 16." Weingartenbuch.* SNA, F. HR, INr. 26, K. 9. *Regestum super proventum et numerum colonorum tam inquilonoruma et obventionum ad castrum Wereskw pertinentium conscriptum 22. die Octobris Anno Domini 1559*. MOL, F. Urbaria et Conscriptiones (deinde U et C), F. 61, nr. 38, pag. 6, 31.

[28] SNA, F. HR I, INr. 1, K. 1, fol. 337: *„… universos et singulos dicti castri Wereskew colonos ac alios quoque homines, qui in pertinentiis prefati Wereskew in locis videlicet cespitosis aedificiisque penitus carentibus tam oppidorum, villarum et praediorum quam etiam aliorum quorumcunque locorum intra metas et in pertinentiis praedicti castri Wereskew aiacentium domos noviter pro eorum residentiis erigere vel combustas ignisque voragine incineratas restaurare et nova quoque domorum aedificia facere et laborare ceperint vel iam de facto laborassent et fecissent, ab omnibus datiis, censibus, taxis et contributionibus nostris tam ordinariis quam extraordinariis subsidiisque et lucro camerae nostrae Hungariae ac servitiis et aliis quibuslibet exactionibus ad cameram nostram praefatam provenientibus infra spatium sex integrorum annorum a die cepti vel incipiendi laboris computandorum … eximendos duximus… Ita tamen, quod penes tale aedificium domus octuale quoque vineae, ad dictam domum suam pro reali proprietate domusque pertinentes similiter in montibus de nova plantet, aedificet vitiumque plantationibus infra praefati sexennii tempus undequaque circumducat et finiat, terras insuper arabiles, incultas et spinosas et pristino usui et commodo restituere debeant et teneantur."*

[29] MOL, F. U et C, F. 61, nr. 38.

[30] Bucko, Vojtech: *Reformné hnutie v arcibiskupstve ostrihomskom do r. 1564*. Bratislava: Unia, 1939, p. 136.



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In den zeitgenössischen Dokumenten unterschieden sich die kroatischen Kolonisten von der einheimischen slowakischen oder deutschen Bevölkerung aufgrund der schriftlichen Form des Namens. Optimal war, wenn der Schreiber unmittelbar die ethnische Bezeichung eintrug. So erhielten sich die Namen Crawat, Corwat, Corvat, Chorwat, Korwat, Khorwat, Horwat, Khorwath, Carwat, Crowat, Corwath, Karwath, Karwat, Horwath, Chorwatt, Horackh, Krawate, Chorwath, Crowatz, Crawaten etc. Die linguistische Analyse der Namen ist sehr kompliziert. Deshalb stützen wir uns auf die Ergebnisse der bisherigen Forschungen. Es ist notwendig zu erinnern, dass nicht alle mit Suffix *–ich* oder *–itz* endenden Nachnamen nur den Kroaten gehörten.[31]

Die gegenwärtige Geschichtsforschung erklärt nicht genügend die konkrete Herkunft Siedler. Die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen über die freie Auswanderung seitens der kroatischen Versammlung des Jahres 1538 und die historischen Urkunden zeigen, dass die Bauern aus Westslawonien ins Königreich Ungarn übersiedelten. Durch die Erforschung kroatischer Dialekte gelangte man zu dem Schluss, dass in die Pressburger Gespanschaft (comitatus Posoniensis) auch die Bauern aus der Gegend von Sisak, Čazma, Križevci, Koprivnica flüchteten.[32] Die Kroaten kamen in die Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň aus anderen Gebieten im Rahmen der Sekundärkolonisation. In das Dorf Častá immigrierte ein gewisser Balasch von Weissenstein aus Kärnten. Auf die Verbindung zu den österreichischen Ländern weist auch die modifizierte deutsche Form des Namens eines kroatischen Bewohners aus Doľany – Jorg Oscitsch hin. Im Dorf Košolná wohnte beispielsweise ein Kroate, der aus Mähren kam. In Dlhá besaß ein kroatischer Bewohner aus Trnava einen Weingarten. Die Familien in Zvončín kamen aus dem Burgenland (Jörg Semonitz).[33]

Das Problem bei der Besiedelung lag im Halten der Siedler in der Burgherrschaft und in der Loyalität der Bauern gegenüber dem Grundherr. Ein negativer Aspekt des Gesamtprozesses der kroatischen Kolonisation war die illegale Flucht. Die Besiedelung der Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň beeinflusste auch der Herrscher mit seinen Gesetzen. Im Jahre 1540 befreite er die Flüchtlinge von allen Untertanenpflichten und Steuern. Den Verlauf der Kolonisation beeinflusste außerdem das Verbot der Umsiedelung. Für die Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň galt dies in vollem Umfang, da sich das Dominium im Bereich des Einflusses vom König Ferdinand I. befand. Die Emigration der Kroaten in die Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň beschränkte, aber auch begünstigte die Art der Gründung und der Verwaltung der Siedlungen. Nach dem emphyteusischen Recht konnte der Bauer sein Grundstück verlassen, wenn er für sich einen geeigneten Nachfolger fand. Eine wichtige Rolle im Verhalten der Kroaten spielte das psychologische Moment. Die Bauern verließen ihre Heime unter Druck. Manche setzten voraus, dass sie in der Zukunft nach Hause zurückkommen würden. Wahrscheinlich unter dem Einfluss der Vorstellung von vorübergehenden Veränderungen nutzten sie die gewährten Vorteile. Die Kroaten wurden für unverlässliche, durchtriebene und schlaue Leute gehalten.[34] Die konkreten historischen Erwähnungen erinnern: *„ Ist ain unstet poss volckh, das am kainem ort gern pleibt.“ „Ist ain beses volckh, die gar aigenwillig sein, verkern irn nem teglichen, also das man wol auf ire reden zue merckhen hat.“*[35]

Die kroatischen Bauern lebten auf Ganz-, Halb-, Viertel- und auch Achtel- Besitzen. Trotz der Ungewissheit entschieden sich viele Kroaten für immer am Fuße der Kleinen Karpaten zu siedeln. In den Dörfern Vištuk und Suchá nad Parnou dominierte das slawische Element schon im Jahre 1548 auch wegen der Kroaten.[36] Die gleiche Situation

[31] In aller Kürze bringen wir einige Namen der Kroaten in einzelnen Siedlungen näher. Im Dorf Častá lebten Blassko Wolflowicz, Michel Schebowitz, in Doľany Jorg Oscitsch, in Dolné Orešany Palasch Themaritz, in Šelpice Petter Clunowitz, Michal Janussowitz, Blaho Ssymowich, Zulba Miculitz, in Bohdanovce Martin Chudowitz, Wido Blasowitz, Mathe Bencowitz, Juro Dluhowitz, in Zvončín Martin und Dian Jurgowitz, in Dubová Michael Poturitza, Micholasch Kreptzanich, Watzlaw Posterowitz, in Košolná Juro Radowitz, Steffan Oschustowitz, Watzlaw Wowotowitz, in Dlhá Blasco Gofftofftzitz, Ywanisch Chrischgowitz, Juro Hamsitz, in Jablonec Jan Diukowitz, Benno Demkhowitz, in Kaplna Jan Partusowich, Juro Tzuruschkowit, in Budmerice Nicollasch Zehowitz, Jacob Morawitz, in Vištuk Petter Dechanitz, Juro Butzitz etc.

[32] Kučerová, Květoslava: *Chorváti a Srbi v strednej Európe*, p. 221.

[33] Aus Ungarn zog István Chorwat nach Zvončín um. *Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň*, p. 107.

[34] Klačka, Jozef: Urbáre Červenokamenského a Stupavského hradného panstva o chorvátskej kolonizácii v 16. storočí. In: *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku: História, onomastika, národopis.* Ed.: Ján Botík. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, p. 26.

[35] *Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň*, p. 134, 140.

[36] *„Dűrenbach* (Suchá nad Parnou). *Ist ain dorf, …maistthails mit Winden und Crawaten besetzt.“ „Wyschtuech* (Vištuk). *Ist ain dorf, darin das maistail Crawaten, die haben 8 jar freyung… .“ Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň*, p. 108, 134.



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gab es im Jahre 1561 in Dlhá.[37] In Dubová wohnten vor allem Kroaten.[38]

Während des 16. Jahrhunderts assimilierten sich die Kroaten in der Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň und in der Umgebung der Slowaken haben sie ihre etnische Angehörigkeit ganz verloren. Deshalb entstand nicht ein kompaktes Dorf, wie es in Devínska Nová Ves und Chorvátsky Grob geschah. Manche Kroaten bauten sich so starke Positionen gegenüber der ursprünglichen Bevölkerung aus, dass sie sogar die Funktion des Schultheißen bekleideten. Es handelte sich hier um Martin Jurgowitz und Mark Chorwat aus dem Dorf Zvončín und Benno Plascowitz aus Bohdanovce. Eine bedeutende Persönlichkeit war der Händler Iwan Krawat aus Trnava, der über Liegenschaften in Dlhá verfügte. Von der wirtschaftlichen Prosperität zeugt auch die Tatsache, dass die Kroaten Mühlen besaßen. Anderseits müssen wir feststellen, dass einige Flüchtlinge es nicht geschafft haben, sich eine stabile wirtschaftliche und gesselschaftliche Position aufzubauen. In Suchá nad Parnou wohnten beispielsweise arme besitzlose Kroaten bei der Kirche.[39]

Das Archiv des Dominiums Červený Kameň umfasst eine grosse Menge von archivalischen Dokumenten, die über das Leben der Kolonisten ausführlich berichten.[40] Obwohl die Urbare hauptsächlich allgemeine Rahmeninformationen über die Stellung der kroatischen Flüchtlinge bieten, ermöglichen sie, den Prozess der Besiedelung nachzuvollziehen. Nach Ablauf der Befreiungen wurden die Kroaten mit den anderen Bewohner gleichgestellt. Der große Vorteil der Burgherrschaft Červený Kameň lag in der ausgefeilten Verwaltung und dem genau begrenzten Verhältnis zwischen Grundherr und seinen Untertanen, das durch Urbare garantiert wurde. Die Kroaten wurden nicht sehr stark vom Eigenwillen der Besitzer bedroht und konnten somit ihren Leben neu beginnen.

Der Beitrag der Kroaten für die Slowakei liegt unserer Meinung nach in der Verstärkung der slawischen Ansiedlung und in der Bereicherung unserer Kultur. Sehr interessant wäre noch die Feststellung, durch welche Erkenntnisse die Kroaten unsere Landwirtschaft und konkret den kleinkarpatischen Weinbau bereicherten.

[37] *„Wysthak* (Vištuk). *Populus catholicus Croaticus. Longa Villa (Dlhá). Populus Croaticus, non diu illic cepit residere.“* Bucko, Vojtech: *Reformné hnutie v arcibiskupstve ostrihomskom do r. 1564*, p. 136.
[38] *Urbár hradného panstva Červený Kameň*, p. 140: *„Diß dorf ist vor wenig jarn besetzt worden mit Crawaten.“*
[39] Ibidem, p. 114.
[40] Žudel, Juraj: *Panstvo Červený Kameň I. (1287) 1536–1913. Inventár*. Bratislava: Slovenská archívna správa, 1969, p. 15–19.



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LJILJANA DOBROVŠAK*

# Croatians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Croatia in the Eighteenth Century

## Chorváti na Slovensku a Slováci v Chorvátsku v 18. storočí / Hrvati u Slovačkoj te Slovaci u Hrvatskoj u 18. stoljeću

*Croatians started to settle in present-day Slovakia in the sixteenth century and Slovaks arrived in Croatia in the late eighteenth century. In the eighteenth century, Croatians settled in several Slovak villages, while Slovaks were recorded only in the vicinity of Ilok and Osijek. This paper analyzes the social position of the eighteenth-century Croatians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Croatia as well as the similarities and the differences between their social standing.*

Keywords: migrations of Slovaks and Croats, Slovak and Croatian regions, the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries

The relations between two nations – Croatia and Slovakia – have a long tradition. Croatian and Slovak historiography, however, have poorly researched these connections and only few books and articles have been published on this subject. Those books and articles have mostly focused on the issue of their respective immigration, as well as their culture, ethnography, language, and contemporary position. While both historiographies agree on the history of Croatians in Slovakia, they disagree on the issue of Slovaks' arrival in Croatia. Namely, the history of Slovaks in Croatia has not been sufficiently researched. Therefore, different perceptions of their arrival in Croatia do not converge on whether it should be dated to the middle of the eighteenth or the middle of the nineteenth century.

Croatians in Slovakia were and are part of a larger Croatian group of people which settled in the Central Europe while fleeing from the Ottomans. Their origin, population, and customs are intimately connected to those of the Croatians in Burgenland and Moravia, from whom they were separated only by the newly formed twentieth-century state borders. The Croatian settlement process in Slovakia started and can be dated to the first decade of the sixteenth century. Their settlement process includes several waves; the most prominent one occurred after the Battle of Mohács in 1526.[1] Croatians arrived to western Slovakia and eastern Moravia predominantly from the northern parts of Slavonia. Thus, some of them migrated from the coastal (Adriatic) region and some from the river Sava area (surrounding Kostajnica). As far as their language is concerned, Croatians in Slovakia speak all three Croatian dialects: *kajkavian*, *štokavian* and *ikavian*.[2] Fleeing from the Ottomans and the adverse climatic conditions,[3] from the sixteenth until the seventeenth century, the Croatians settled in about fifty settlements in Bratislava and Nitra counties. In 13 settlements (or one third of their settlements in those counties), they had an absolute population majority. Three regions in Slovakia stand out with extensive Croatian population: Záhorie area, the Danube area and the area under the Small Carpathians.[4] One

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[1] As confimed by the following authors: Kučerová, Květoslava: *Hrvati u srednjoj Europi*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska – Matica Slovenská, 1998, pp. 179–180.; Klačka, Jozef: Hrvatski kmetovi u zapadnoj Slovačkoj od 16. do 19. stoljeća. In: *Odkaz a súčasnosť Chorvátov na Slovensku*. Ed.: Viliam Pokorný. Bratislava: CHKZS, 2001, p. 7.; Kučerová, Květoslava: Minulosť a súčasnosť Chorvátov na Slovensku. In: Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku. Ed.: Ján Botík. Bratislava: SNM, 1999, pp. 19–23.; Jelić, Tomislav – Holjevac, Željko: *Gradišćanski Hrvati u Mađarskoj i Hrvati u Slovačkoj*. Zagreb – Budapest – Bratislava: Croatica, 2006, p. 18. The first Croats in today's Slovakia were recorded in Čunovo already in 1518.

[2] Botík, Ján: Etnokulturni razvoj Hrvata u Slovačkoj. In: *Etnološka tribina*, a. 28, 1998, pp. 35–43; Holjevac, Većeslav: *Hrvati izvan domovine*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1967, pp. 331–332.

[3] Jurković, Ivan: Šesnaestoljetna hrvatska raseljenička kriza i moderna sociološka terminologija. In: *Društvena istraživanja*, a. 78–79, 2005, pp. 759–782.

[4] Sumić, Ivica: Hrvati u Slovačkoj. In: *Zadarska smotra*, a. 4–5, 1992, pp. 193–197; Miličević, Josip: Hrvati u Slovačkoj i njihova predaja o vezi s Istrom. In: *Nova Istra*, a. 3, 1998, pp. 259–165; Botík, Jan. Botík: Etnokulturni razvoj Hrvata u Slovačkoj,



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part of the Croatian population emigrated from their old homeland spontaneously in search of basic security, while others were moved in an organized fashion by particular magnates, as their subordinates during the adverse war conditions.[5] The Croatian magnates attained land all over the Hungarian Kingdom based on their war merits, as well as through marriages, adoptions, leases, and royal and magnate donations. Some of the prominent magnates include the Keglević family, Nikola Jurišić, Petar Kružić, Andrej Dudić, Ivan Ungnad, Marko Stančić, and others. At first, with the permission of the ruler, the magnates would relocate their subordinates from danger zones to their lands in more secure regions of the kingdom – to today's Hungary, Austria, Moravia, and Slovakia.[6] Namely, the ruler legitimized the free movement of subjects only in the 1540s as an attempt to solve the economic crisis brought about by Turkish penetrations. Therefore, the first immigration of Croatians into Slovakia was that of the lesser nobility with their subjects, which was later on followed by high nobility. Even though most of them left in an organized fashion, they were followed by individual refugees, who followed the steps of the magnates (as they fled Croatia in an organized or disorganized manner).[7]

During the sixteenth century, Croatians settled in the region around the city of Trnava and the city of Bratislava. Here, due to the similarities in language and customs, they were assimilated faster than in other parts of Slovakia. However, Croatians settled mostly in abandoned villages previously populated (before their arrival) by the domestic population, with the exception of three settlements which they founded: Mást (which no longer exists today), Malé Šenkvice and Mokrý Háj in Slovakia. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, numerous Croatians were active at the University of Trnava or its Jesuit Institute (which was founded in 1635 and moved to Buda in 1777). They belonged to the academic and management staff. Also, numerous students from Croatia, especially from Zagreb county, studied at this university,[8] together with students who were descendants of the sixteenth-century immigrant Croatians, as well as Croatians from other parts of Hungary. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries connections between Slovak and Croatian intellectuals were very vibrant, as many pedagogues from Croatia worked in Slovakia, as well as Slovaks in Croatia. Exceptionally prominent were the Slovaks who established the Jesuit Academy of the Royal City of Zagreb (today's University of Zagreb).[9]

However, it is very difficult to talk about the numbers of Croatians and about the places where they were the dominant population (majority). Namely, the *Josephinian census* of 1784–1785 lists the population numbers of four settlements around Bratislava: in Čuňovo/Čunovo – 716, in Devínska Nová Ves – 956, in Chorvátsky Grob – 591, and in Hrvatski Jandorf – 597.[10] These figures do not include the ethnic characteristics of the inhabitants, but one can conclude that they were of Croatian origin because the *Hungarian Lexicon of Settlements* from 1773 confirms it. The *Lexicon* stated that the Croatian language was the official language in these settlements. It also indicated that the inhabitants had a priest of their own kin and that the Croatians were predominantly peasants.[11] Those demographic characteristics of the Croatian population did not last for too long, as the nineteenth century saw the process of their increasing assimilation – Slovakization.[12] This was brought about by the increasing numbers of priests of

pp. 35–36. In the sixteenth century Croatians settled places in Záhorie region (Devín, Mast, Devínska Nová Ves, Lamač, Dúbravka, Záhorská Bystrica, Mást, Mokrý Háj), in the Danube region (Jarovce, Rusovce, Čunovo) and in the Small Carpathians region (Dobrá Voda, Smolenice, Chorvátsky Grob, Veľké and Malé Šenkvice, Vištuk).

[5] Jelić, Tomislav – Holjevac, Željko: *Gradišćanski Hrvati u Mađarskoj i Hrvati u Slovačkoj*, p. 18.

[6] Jurković, Ivan: Šesnaestoljetna hrvatska raseljenička kriza i moderna sociološka terminologija, pp. 759–782; Kučerová, Květoslava: Migracije Hrvata u Slovačku u 16. st. i Slovaka u Slavoniju od 1730 do kraja 19. st. In: *Historijski zbornik*, a. 47, 1994, pp. 51–60; Eadem: *Hrvati u srednjoj Europi*, pp. 55–56, 62–63.

[7] Eadem: Migracije Hrvata u Slovačku u 16. st. i Slovaka u Slavoniju od 1730 do kraja 19. st., pp. 51–60.

[8] Eadem: Trnavsko sveučilište i njegovo mjesto u kulturnim kontaktima s Hrvatima. In: *Spomenica Ljube Bobana 1933–1994*. Ed.: Ljubo Boban – Mira Kollar-Dimitrijević. Zagreb: Zavod za Hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1996, pp. 113–121; Horák, Emil: Panorama hrvatsko-slovačkih odnosa. In: *Hrvatska/Slovačka, Povijesne i kulturne veze*. Ed.: Dražen Katuvarić. Zagreb: Društvo hrvatskih književnika, 1998, p. 14.

[9] Kučerová, Květoslava: Trnavsko sveučilište, pp. 115–117. Some Slovaks, like Adam Kolečan who graduated from the university of Trnava, teaching in the high school in Lepoglava.

[10] Jelić, Tomislav – Holjevac, Željko: *Gradišćanski Hrvati u Mađarskoj i Hrvati u Slovačkoj*, pp. 235–279.

[11] Ibidem, p. 25; *Lexicon locorum regni Hungariae populosorum anno 1773 officiose confectum*. Ed.: András Vályi. Budapest: Magyar Békeküldöttség, 1920, pp. 83–215.

[12] Kučerová, Květoslava: Migracije Hrvata u Slovačku u 16. st. i Slovaka u Slavoniju od 1730 do kraja 19. st., p. 54.



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non-Croatian origin active in Croatian communities, which culminated at the end of the nineteenth century. As a result, the Croatian language was pushed out of the churches and the Croatians moved out from certain settlements (like Rosvar).[13] In the localities with mixed population of Croatians and Slovaks, and partly also with Germans and Hungarians, the Croatians did not succeed in preserving their national identity and were eventually assimilated. On the other hand, there were also cases of Slovaks being Croatized while living alongside Croatian majority population (like Šenkvice), who were Slovakized later.[14]

## Slovaks in the Eighteenth-Century Croatia

The arrival of Slovaks in Croatia was somewhat different from their counterparts. It was a part of the so-called "lower countries" migrations, which included first the Báčka, Banat, and later Slavonia and Syrmia/Srijem. While the Croatians began their settlement in Slovakia already in the sixteenth century, according to some researchers the Slovaks arrived in Croatia as individuals or in small groups – predominantly to Slavonia and Srijem – at the end of the seventeenth century.[15] Others place their arrival in the middle of the eighteenth century and in a massive scale at the beginning of the twentieth century.[16] Namely, in order to organize the administration after the liberation from the Ottomans, the central government in Vienna started to populate the barren Slavonia. At the end of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Slavonia was a rich agricultural area full of forests, fertile soil, but also large marshes. Therefore, the newly arrived population was used as ideal workforce to clear the marshes and to farm the fertile land. The first to arrive to those Croatian lands were the Germans, Czechs, and Hungarian, with the Slovaks arriving somewhat later. The Slovaks arrived to Slavonia mostly from the poor regions of the river Dráva, Kysuca, but also from other regions of Slovakia and from southern Hungary (Báčka, Banat, Srijem). They started to arrive in the middle of the eighteenth century (Bački Petrovac, 1745). At first they arrived seasonally, seeking employment, and later on they settled permanently, as their families arrived. The causes of Slovaks' later migrations to Croatia are related to their social difficulties, the economic situation, the disease (the plague), the hunger, and the relatively high population density in Slovakia.[17] Most Slovaks who arrived individually at the beginning of the eighteenth century were peasants. However, some intellectuals who worked at the University of Zagreb were among them. Currently, the original documents and the literature do not permit us to ascertain the exact number of Slovaks who arrived in Slavonia in the eighteenth century.[18] The Catholic Slovaks were the first to arrive in Slavonia in the eighteenth century, whereas the Evangelicals arrived somewhat later, after 1859, when the Protestants were allowed to settle in Croatia. Nevertheless, the Slovak Evangelicals were still noted in the eighteenth-century book registers in Srijem (like Stara Pazova, 1770, where they settled with the permission of Maria Theresa).[19]

Slovaks gradually settled in five Slavonian regions: Našice, Đakovo, Požega and their surroundings, as well as eastern Slavonia in towns

[13] Botík, Ján: Etnokulturni razvoj Hrvata u Slovačkoj, p. 37.

[14] Kučerová, Květoslava: Migracije Hrvata u Slovačku u 16. st. i Slovaka u Slavoniju od 1730 do kraja 19. st., p. 54.; Botík, Ján: Etnokulturni razvoj Hrvata u Slovačkoj, p. 37.

[15] Kuric, Andrija – Baksa, Branka: 15 rokov Zväzu Slovákov v Chorvátskej Republike. In: *Slováci v Chorvátsku včera, dnes, zajtra*. Našice: Savez Slovaka u RH, 2007.

[16] Kučerová, Květoslava: Migracije Hrvata u Slovačku u 16. st. i Slovaka u Slavoniju od 1730 do kraja 19. st., p. 56; Grbić, Jadranka: Etničke i nacionalne zajednice ili manjine u Republici Hrvatskoj. In: *Prvi i drugi međunarodni seminar zajednice Nijemaca u Hrvatskoj* 2001./2002. Ed.: Nives Rittig-Beljak. Zagreb – Varaždin: Zajednica Nijemaca u Hrvatskoj, 2001, p. 166; Hudec, Ivan – Kuric, Andrija: Slováci v Lipovlianoch/ Slovaci u Lipovljanima. Lipovljani: Savez *Slovaka* u RH i MS Lipovljani, 2006, p. 14; Kučerová, Kvetoslava: *Slovaci u Hrvatskoj (od početaka naseljavanja)*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2005. Slovak historian Kučerová dates the arrival of the Slovaks to the beginning of the eighteenth century, while the previous research put the immigration at the end of the eighteenth century, on the basis of the writing of names and surnames. The authors who date the immigration of the Slovaks to Croatia to the eighteenth century base their findings only on the writing of the names in the parish registers of baptisms, deaths, and marriages. However, it cannot be inferred whether one was Slovak or not unless the name and surname were not stated and the place of birth, which was a rare case. Moreover, the writing of the names depended on the scribe and his knowledge of spelling, which had not been standardized then.

[17] Kučerová, Květoslava: Slovaci u Hrvatskoj, pp. 175–176.

[18] Eadem: Slovaci u Iloku i okolici. In: *Zbornik radova, Istočna Hrvatska*: Osijek – Vukovar – Ilok. Osijek: Pedagoški fakultet, 2002, pp. 93–119.

[19] Eadem: Slovaci u Iloku i okolici, pp. 104–111.



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of Osijek and Ilok. In the eighteenth century, the Slovaks were individually registered in only three or four villages. They began to immigrate more massively only in the middle of the nineteenth century, when they started to populate Slavonia mostly. At first, Slovaks were moved into Croatia by Croatian noble families (Pejačević, Janković, Turković, etc.). Later on, the state also participated in the process.[20] One can find Slovak surnames in the parish registers already at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and in Požega and its surrounding towns such as Pleternica (properties of Turković and Janković family).[21] At first, Slovaks worked in the fields, woods, and vineyards, before they permanently settled later on. In the middle of the eighteenth century the Slovaks settled at the property of counts Pejačević in Našice, while in 1830s they moved into most of the settlements in the property (Ledenik 1830, Miljevci 1830, Markovac 1879, Jelisavac 1889).[22] The Slovaks were present (mentioned in the records) in the town of Osijek right after the liberation from the Ottomans at the end of the seventeenth century: as soldiers protecting the border, as civilians, as the entourage to the Emperor's army, and as members of soldiers' families. In the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Slovaks appear as travelling salesmen and artisans who transported merchandise from the Ottoman Empire into various parts of the monarchy. Some of them stayed in Osijek and founded their families there. This, however, is recorded in the 1698 and 1702 censuses.[23] During the 1730s Slovaks started to immigrate to Ilok and the surrounding area. Later on, Ilok would become the strongest centre of Slovak Catholics and Evangelicals in Croatia.[24] They settled in the Đakovo region only at the end of the nineteenth century, thanks to the archbishop of Đakovo, Josip Juraj Strossmayer.[25] The demographic composition of the migrated and settled Slovaks varies according to their social status, even though most of them were peasants, and some were artisans, merchants, servants, and soldiers. While Croatian priests were still present among their population during the eighteenth century in Slovakia, there were no Slovak priests in Croatia. Also, during the eighteenth century the Slovaks did not establish their own settlements, but rather moved into towns with other ethnic minorities such as Hungarians, Czechs, and Germans. It facilitated their assimilation.[26]

What to say at the end about the similarities and differences between the Slovaks and Croatians in the eighteenth century? While the Croats came to Slovakia because of the Ottoman conquest of Croatia, the Slovaks arrived in Croatia mostly after the Ottomans' departure from Croatia. The Croatians immigrated to Slovakia individually and in organized fashion in the sixteenth century, while the Slovaks migrated to Croatia individually – in the middle of the eighteenth century – and in an organized fashion – in the nineteenth century. The Croatians in Slovakia were all Catholics, while the Slovaks in Croatia were Catholics at the beginning of their immigration. Later on, some of them were Greek Orthodox and Evangelicals. Croatian assimilation in Slovakia started in the eighteenth century, while the assimilation of the Slovaks started one century later. Croatians in Slovakia inhabited 50 settlements, out of which some were established by them. In the eighteenth century the Croatians were the majority in one third of these (50) settlements. Today, they have kept the Croatian language and some elements of tradition in only four settlements: Čunovo, Hrvatski Jandorf (Sl. *Jarovce*), Devinsko Novo Selo (Sl. *Devínska Nová Ves*) and Hrvatski Grob (Sl. *Chorvátsky Grob*). Similarly to Croatians, the Slovaks who immigrated with other migrants to Croatia have established their own settlements in the nineteenth century, such as Markovac and Jelisavac. Even though they were under constant threats of assimilation, the Slovaks in Croatia have kept their language, traditions, religion, dances, songs, and traditional outfits. Today, the biggest Slovak settlements in Slavonia are: Josipovac, Jurjevac next to Đakovo, Jelisavac, Markovac, Ledenik next to Našice, Miljevci next to Slatina, Antunovac next to Pakrac, and Lipovljani next to Novska.

[20] Ibidem, p. 96.
[21] Kučerová, Květoslava: Slovaci u Hrvatskoj, pp. 105–106.
[22] Ibidem, pp. 54, 62.
[23] Ibidem, p. 55, pp. 159–160.
[24] Ibidem, p. 170.
[25] Ibidem, pp. 87–103.
[26] Kučerová, Květoslava: Migracije Hrvata u Slovačku u 16. st. i Slovaka u Slavoniju od 1730 do kraja 19. st., p. 56; Eadem: Slovaci u Iloku i okolici, pp. 98–103.



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# THE MODERN AGE

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PETR KOZÁK*

# Feind und Faszinationsobjekt zugleich: „Der Türke“ in den Augen des polnischen Prinzen Sigismund während seines Aufenthaltes im Königreich Ungarn und in den böhmischen Ländern (1498–1506)**

## Nepriateľ i objekt fascinácie. Osmani očami poľského princa Žigmunda počas jeho pobytu v Uhorsku a Českých krajinách v rokoch 1498 až 1506. / Neprijatelj i predmet opčinjenosti. Osmanlije u očima poljskog princa Žigmunda tijekom njegova boravka u Ugarskoj i češkim zemljama u godinama 1498.–1506.

*Prince Sigismund (from 1506 the ruler of Poland and Lithuania) came from the Jagiellonian dynasty, which took control of a large area of Central and Eastern Europe around the year 1500. By the will of his older brother Wladislas, the Bohemian and Hungarian king, Sigismund became the duke of the Lower Silesian Duchy of Głogów and Opava situated on the borders of Moravia. He developed remarkable political and cultural activity, became the governor of Silesia and Lusatia and also kept close relation not only with Cracow but with Buda as well. The young Jagiello was constantly on the move – though he spent most of his time in the Kingdom of Hungary (Buda, Bács, Tolna, Székesfehérvár, Slovak towns). His stay in the Realm of St. Stephan brought him near the zone where the Christian and Islamic worlds were in conflict. In addition to restlessness and hysteria, the Turkish danger brought with it also a rise of interest in the feared enemy. Sigismund also eagerly embraced everything Turkish. This included not only fashionable clothing accessories, but mainly information gained from people (in particular from the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia) fleeing the Turkish captivity or seeking ransom money to free their relatives and friends. It has been possible to trace his interest in detail owing to an outstanding source, books of court accounts which have been preserved.*

Keywords: the sixteenth century, ethnographic observations, Polish prince, the war with Turks, Christian and Muslim border zone

In der vorgelegten Studie konzentrieren wir uns auf – ganz allgemein gesagt – die Begegnung eines spätmittelalterlichen (west-)christlichen Dynasten mit dem Phänomen des kulturell andersartigen, in diesem Fall moslemischen „Anderen“. Die konkrete Analyse wird dann auf das Beispiel des Prinzen und späteren polnisch-litauischen Herrschers Sigismund appliziert. Die jagellonische Dynastie, die um das Jahr 1500 die geographisch riesigen Räume von Mittel – und Ostmitteleuropa beherrschte, stand im unmittelbaren Kontakt mit den kulturell (religiös) andersartigen Welten der orthodoxen Christen und moslemischen Türken und Tataren. Die jagellonischen Monarchen waren deshalb natürlich für solche Nachbarn in höherer Weise interessant und waren oft im Stande, sich das propagandistische Potential des Kampfes gegen die Andersgläubigen effektiv zunutze zu machen.[1] In Hinblick darauf kann gerade Prinz Sigismund, der sich an der

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** Diese Studie entstand im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes der Zuschussagentur der Tschechischen Republik Nummer P405/11/P509 *Kritische kommentierte Quellenedition von Hofrechnungen Sigismund Jagiellones, dem Prinzen von Polen und Fürsten von Glogau und Troppau, aus den Jahren 1493–1507* (Grantová agentura České republiky, projekt č. P405/11/P509, *Kritická komentovaná edice dvorských účtů Zikmunda Jagellonského, prince polského a vévody hlohovského a opavského, z let 1493–1507*).

[1] Dazu siehe vor allem das Buch von Dziubiński, Andrzej: *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie w latach 1500–1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym*. Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2005 oder die Studie von Podraza, Antoni: Kraje środkowej Europy wobec cesarstwa i Turcji od XIV do XVI wieku. In: *Czechy i Polska na szlakach ich kulturalnego rozwoju*. Ed.: Jerzy Wyrozumski. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury w Krakowie, 1998, pp. 9–19. Die Gedankenstereotype, die man in den frühneuzeitlichen böhmischen Ländern mit dem Türkenbegriff verband, analysierte vor kurzem Rataj, Tomáš: *České země ve stínu půlměsíce. Obraz Turka v raně novověké literatuře z českých zemí*. Dolní Břežany: Scriptorium, 2002.



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Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert zwischen den jagellonischen Machtzentren in Kraków (dt. *Krakau*) und Buda (*Ofen*) bewegte, ganz attraktiv sein. Schon der Kontakt mit der ungarischen Umwelt stellte deshalb für den späteren Fürsten notwendigerweise auch eine gewisse „türkische" Erfahrung dar. Die Frage, auf die wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit richten, ist der „Türke" (die Anführungszeichen wurden gesetzt, weil es sich nicht um eine ethnische, sondern um eine kulturelle Kategorie handelt) in den Augen des Prinzen Sigismund, eines jagellonischen Dynasten, welcher sich zufällig um das Jahr 1500 in Ungarn befindet und so direkt an der Grenze, die damals seine Welt von der mysteriösen, durch die osmanischen Sultane beherrschten Welt separierte. Sigismund war Herrscher und Mitglied einer bedeutsamen europäischen Dynastie. Dem entsprach nicht nur der relativ weite Zugang Sigismunds zu Informationen, die über den „Erbfeind des Christentums" zur Verfügung standen, sondern auch – und das ist viel wichtiger – der Umgang mit dem symbolischen Kapital, welches der „Türkenbegriff" enthielt. Allgemein formuliert, legen wir in unserer Analyse den Fokus auf das Phänomen des Umgangs mit Informationen: der Erwerb von ihnen, aber auch ihre Nutznießung. Als Hauptquelle unserer Überlegungen dienen uns die bis heute bestehenden Rechnungsbücher, die an den Höfen von den einzelnen jagellonischen Herrschern – darin namentlich auch am Hofe des Prinzen Sigismund – geführt wurden.[2] Es handelt sich um eine hervorragende Informationsquelle zur breit aufgestellten Kulturgeschichte, darin auch zum Bereich der Kontakte mit dem osmanischen Nachbarn.[3]

Am Anfang sollten wir kurz die Persönlichkeit, die im Zentrum unseres Interesses steht, vorstellen. Wer war also der Fürst Sigismund und was brachte ihn um das Jahr 1500 an die ungarisch-osmanische Grenze? Im Allgemeinen ist er als der polnisch-litauische Herrscher und vorletzte Spross der Jagellonen-Dynastie, Sigismund I. der Alte (†1548), bekannt. Im von uns betrachteten Zeitraum suchte dieser Prinz aber erst seine Position im Machtsystem seines Hauses. Seine Perspektiven waren am Anfang keineswegs aussichtsvoll. Während seine älteren Brüder Vladislav, Johann Albrecht und Alexander selbstständig herrschten und der jüngste, Friedrich, eine kirchliche Karriere beschritt, musste sich Sigismund lange Zeit mit der undankbaren Rolle des Thronanwärters begnügen. Eine provisorische Lösung dieser für das Prestige der ganzen Dynastie unangenehmen Situation bot erst der älteste der jagellonischen Geschwister und der Senior des gesamten Hauses, der böhmische und ungarische König Vladislav, an. Im Jahre 1498 siedelte Sigismund nach Buda über und in Kürze wurde er von seinem Bruder mit zwei kleineren Fürstentümern aus dem Staatsverband der böhmischen Krone – mit dem niederschlesischen Fürstentum Glogau und mit dem an der schlesisch-mährischen Grenze liegenden Fürstentum Troppau – belehnt. Bis Ende des Jahres 1501 verweilte Sigismund in der Hauptstadt des Königreichs Ungarn und genoß die Gastfreundlichkeit seines Bruders. Später zog er in seine soeben erhaltene Domäne um und wurde sogar der Hauptmann für die gesamte Nordhälfte (Schlesien und Lausitz) des böhmischen Staates. Er reiste aber ohne Unterlass kreuz und quer durch das jagellonische (Ost-)Mitteleuropa

[2] Hofrechnungen des Prinzen Sigismund sind heute im Warschauer Zentralarchiv für die alten Bestände deponiert – siehe Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego dz. 1 Rachunki Królewskie (deinde AGAD, ASK-RK), sign. 29 (*Rachunki Krzysztofa Szydłowieckiego z dochodów i wydatków dworu królewicza Zygmunta z lat 1500–1504*) und sign. 33 (*Rachunki Krzysztofa Szydłowieckiego z dochodów i wydatków dworu królewicza Zygmunta z lat 1504–1507*). Das Material veröffentlichte (eine Auswahl, nur für die Aufenthalte des Prinzen Sigismund in Ungarn) *Zsigmond lengyel herczeg Budai számadásai (1500–1502., 1505.)*. Ed.: Adorján Divéky. Magyar történelmi tár XXVI. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1914. Eine weitere Auswahl (diesmal aus Divéky) bietet dann die Übersetzungsedition *Szemelvények Zsigmond lengyel herceg Budai számadásaiból*. Ed.: Zoltán Horogszegi – Krisztina Rábai. Szeged: JATE Press, 2005.

[3] Das Potential dieser Quelle analysierten kürzlich Rábai, Krisztina: Everyday Life at the Court of Prince Sigismund Jagiellon (1499–1507). In: *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae*, a. 14, 2009, pp. 389–394; Kozák, Petr: Prameny a možnosti jejich využití při výzkumu mocenských uskupení na Hlohovsku a Opavsku podzimu středověku. In: *Drugie polsko-czeskie forum młodych mediewistów. Mediewista wobec Źródła – teoria i praktyka. Materiały z konferencji naukowej Gniezno 25–28 września 2007 roku*. Ed.: Józef Dobosz – Jakub Kujawiński – Marzena Matla-Kozłowska. Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2009, pp. 277–292 (hauptsächlich pp. 289–290); Idem: „Citharedo cum cane saltante ad mandata domini principis dedi…". Všední den na dvoře hlohovského a opavského vévody Zikmunda Jagellonského. In: *Dvory a rezidence ve středověku III* : *Všední a sváteční život na středověkých dvorech. Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica. Supplementum* 3. Ed.: Dana Dvořáčková-Malá – Jan Zelenka. Praha: Historický ústav AV ČR, vol. 12, 2009, pp. 223–239; Rábai, Krisztina – Horogszegi, Zoltán: Die Rechnungsbücher Herzogs Sigismunds als Quelle für die Medizingeschichte. In: *Virus. Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte der Medizin*, a. 6, 2007, pp. 121–124; Rábai, Krisztina: Jagelló Zsigmond herceg számadásainak orvostörténeti tanulságai. In: *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok*, vol. 5. Az V. Medievisztikai PhD-konferencia (Szeged, 2007. június 7–8.) előadásai. Ed.: Éva Révész – Miklós Halmágyi. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2007, pp. 133–140.



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und festigte seine Machtstellung innerhalb der Dynastie mithilfe langfristiger Aufenthalte in Polen und dem Königreich Ungarn. Das unerwartete Ableben seiner Geschwister öffnete ihm endlich im Jahre 1506 die Tür zur Übernahme des polnisch-litauischen Erbes. Er wurde König und verzichtete auf seine Glogauer und Troppauer Fürstenwürde.[4]

Der Ausgangspunkt aller Überlegungen über das Thema „Der Türke" in den Augen des polnischen Prinzen Sigismund" sollten zweifellos die Vorstellungen in den damals verfügbaren Informationsquellen über „Türken" und über die „türkische" Welt sein. Man kann davon ausgehen, dass das Königreich Ungarn um das Jahr 1500, vom geographischen Gesichtspunkt aus betrachtet, hierfür den besten Platz bot. Die unmittelbare Nähe des osmanischen Reiches brachte nämlich nicht nur Nervosität mit sich, sondern auch eine ganze Welle des Interesses für den gefürchteten Feind. An der Schwelle zwischen Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit konnte Fürst Sigismund die Informationen über „Türken" aus mehreren Quellen gewinnen. Kenntnisse und/oder persönliche Erfahrungen konnten ihm bedeutsame ungarische Aristokraten, mit denen er sich am königlichen Hofe seines Bruders Vladislav traf, oder welche der Prinz an seinem fürstlichen Tisch bewirtete, mitteilen.[5] Auch die Privaterlebnisse einiger der Höflinge Prinz Sigismunds versprühten übrigens den Duft moslemischer Exotik. Christoph Szydłowiecki beispielsweise, ein Mann, der seinem Herren sehr nahe stand und von Kindheit an ein Freund des jungen Jagellonen war, unternahm in den Jahren 1492–1493 eine Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land, welches damals von den mamlukischen Sultanen kontrolliert wurde, und wurde bei dieser Gelegenheit zum Ritter des Heiligen Grabes geschlagen.[6] Man sollte auch nicht vergessen, dass ein nicht unbedeutender Teil der Höflinge des Prinzen Sigismund die erst in Buda in seine Dienste traten, ursprünglich in der Umgebung König Vladislavs tätig war. Auch diese ließen sich wahrscheinlich nicht lange von ihrem neuen Herren bitten und teilten mit ihm ihre, meist in Ungarn gewonnenen, „türkischen" Erfahrungen.[7] Als weiteres Beispiel können wir Hans Rechenberg, einen der namhaften Schlesier in Sigismunds Diensten, der in der Mitte der neunziger Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts – damals noch als Höfling König Vladislavs – die Gegner bei dem zur Ehre eines osmanischen Gesandten organisierten Turnier besiegte, erwähnen.[8]

Gerade die gegenseitigen Kontakte auf dem Feld der Diplomatie, die regelmäßig durch die spektakulären Veranstaltungen – welche den Glanz der Herrschermajestät demonstrieren sollten – begleitet wurden, kann man ohne Zweifel als bemerkenswerte Kreuzungspunkte der „türkischen" und „christlichen" Welt bezeichnen. Der Herrscher, seine Getreuen, aber auch das gemeine Volk, bekamen eine einzigartige Gelegenheit den gefürchteten Feind aus der Nähe zu betrachten. Das Erkennen, dass auch der „Türke"

[4] Die Umstände, die die Ankunft des Prinzen Sigismund in Buda und seine Übernahme der Regierung in den Fürstentümern Glogau und Troppau begleiteten, ebenso wie die Geschichte seiner dortigen Herrschaft erörterte kürzlich Kozák, Petr: *Zrod stavovského Hlohovska. Mocenská uskupení ve slezském pozdním středověku*. Opava: ÚHV FPF Slezské univerzity v Opavě, 2008 (cfr. pp. 156–267). Aus den älteren Monographien siehe vornehmlich Nowogrodzki, Stanisław: *Rządy Zygmunta Jagiellończyka na Śląsku i w Łużycach (1499–1506)*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1937 und Adolf Pawiński: *Młode lata Zygmunta Starego*. Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1893.

[5] Cfr.. den Rechnungseintrag vom 9.9.1500: „*Item pro duabus pusdra super kupki cum cristallo, que dedit domino principi dominus episcopus Zagrabiensis, dum comedebat dominus princeps apud dominum Josza, dedi III flor.*" Cfr. AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 47v.

[6] Bogucka, Maria: Mąż stanu czy zdrajca? Na marginesie sporów o Krzysztofa Szydłowieckiego i polską dyplomację początków XVI wieku. In: *Aetas media, aetas moderna.* Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin. Ed.: Halina Manikowska – Agnieszka Bartoszewicz – Wojciech Fałkowski. Warszawa: Instytut Historyczny UW, 2000, p. 398.

[7] Die Zusammensetzung und die Struktur des Hofes Sigismunds analysierte Kozák, Petr: Dvorská společnost hlohovského a opavského vévody Zikmunda Jagellonského. In: *Dvory a rezidence ve středověku II* : *Skladba a kultura dvorské společnosti. Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica. Supplementum 2.* Ed.: Dana Dvořáčková-Malá – Jan Zelenka. Praha: Historický ústav AV ČR, vol. 11, 2008, pp. 257–284; Idem: *Zrod stavovského Hlohovska*, pp. 173–214.

[8] „*Item eodem die ad rel. Br. dati sunt Egrgio Rahembergh ad hastiludendum 5 fl.*", siehe dazu Registrum omnium proventuum Regalium in hiis duobus infrascriptis annis per Reverendissimum Dominum Sigismundum Episcopum Quinqueecclesiensem Thesaurarium regie Majestatis in parata pecunia perceptorum: incipiendo ab ultima die Januarii anni Domini Millesimi Quadringentesimi Nonagesimi Quarti usque ad ultimum diem Anni ejusdem Millesimi Quadringentesimi Nonagesimi Quinti. In: *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer*. Erster Theil. Ed.: Johann Christian Engel. Halle: Johann Jacob Gebauer, 1797, p. 112. Zur Karriere von Hans Rechenberg vgl. Kozák, Petr: Hans Rechenberg († 1537): slezský válečník, diplomat a stoupenec luterství. In: *Náboženský život a církevní poměry v zemích Koruny české ve 14.–17. století. Korunní země v dějinách českého státu* 4. Ed.: Lenka Bobková – Jana Konvičná. Praha: FF Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2009, pp. 572–588; Andrzejewski, Tomasz: *Rechenbergowie w życiu społeczno-gospodarczym księstwa głogowskiego x XVI–XVII wieku*. Zielona Góra: Oficyna Wyd. Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2007.



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ein menschliches Wesen ist, konnte dabei die naturgemäße Neugier weiter steigern. Diese Erfahrung musste nicht (und war nicht) ausschließlich auf das Königreich Ungarn und auf die anderen Grenzgebiete beschränkt sein. Am Anfang der dreißiger Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts konnte man beispielsweise die „Türken" in Basel treffen, denn sogar hier besuchten die Gesandten des osmanischen Sultans Murad II. den römischen König Sigismund von Luxemburg.[9] Im Jahre 1495 – also nur drei Jahren vor der Ankunft des Prinzen Sigismund in Buda – fand ein pompöses diplomatisches Treffen gerade im jagellonischen Königreich Ungarn, genauer in der südungarischen Stadt Pécs (dt. *Fünfkirchen*) statt. In den Verhandlungen ging es damals um nichts weniger als den Waffenstillstand. König Vladislav versuchte auf den osmanischen Gesandten, der von einer Gruppe von Höflingen des Sultans und ihren Dienern begleitet wurde, mithilfe kostspieliger Geschenke und beträchtlicher Summen an Geld einzuwirken (zweifellos benutzten die „Türken" ähnliche Taktiken). Die Tische waren voll von deliziösen Speisen, der gesellschaftliche Glanz wurde weiter durch die Präsenz von zahlreichen Vertretern der benachbarten balkanischen Herrscher erhöht und die christlichen Ritter zeigten ihre Unerschrockenheit und militärische Tüchtigkeit auf dem Turnier. Hans Rechenberg übrigens, der damals, wie es scheint, exzellierte und sich dadurch die besondere Aufmerksamkeit seines Königs verdiente, wurde schon erwähnt. Es ist nicht notwendig daran zu zweifeln, dass solche Machtspektakel in den Teilnehmern, seien sie aktive oder passive, einen tiefen Eindruck hinterließen und dass die von der menschlichen Vorstellungskraft hervorgebrachte Erinnerung daran weiter lebte.[10]

Als Vermittler der „türkischen" Erfahrung konnten für den Prinzen Sigismund auch die Diplomaten und Ambassadeure der ungarischen (und zugleich böhmischen) Könige in der osmanischen Hauptstadt Istanbul dienen. Einer von diesen war z. B. der künftige Troppauer Landeshauptmann Emerich Czobor, der von König Vladislav für seine Reise zum „türkischen Kaiser" eine Summe in Höhe von 1500 Gulden empfing.[11] Als später im Jahre 1505 Sigismund Jagellone aus dem schlesischen Glogów (dt. *Glogau*) durch Mähren ins Königreich Ungarn reiste, zögerte gerade Czobor nicht ihm eine bewaffnete Begleitung entgegen zuschicken und dann den Prinzen auf seinem Schloss Holíč (dt. *Holitsch*) zu bewirten.[12] Der gegenseitige Austausch von nutzbringenden Informationen über „Türken" und über die „türkische" Welt verband den polnisch-litauischen Prinzen auch mit den Woiwoden von Siebenbürgen.[13] Man sollte dabei nicht vergessen, dass Sigismund Bruder des Königs war. Dieser Fakt bewirkte, dass die Aufmerksamkeit der fremden Abordnungen, derer Mitglieder versuchten sich bei ihm beliebt zu machen um dadurch selbst in eine bessere Position beim König zu gelangen, sich immer auf ihn richtete. Den Preis eines fürstlichen Entgegenkommens stellten dann verschiedene Geschenke dar, im Fall der Mächte, die im alltäglichen Kontakt mit dem osmanischen Nachbarn standen – z. B. Venezia (dt. *Venedig*) oder die adriatische Stadt Dubrovnik (it. *Ragusa*) –, wahrscheinlich auch Präsente in Form von Histörchen von der osmanischen Grenze.[14] Im ungarischen Binnenland, hauptsächlich in der Hauptstadt Buda, auf dem berühmten Pferdemarkt in Pest oder vielleicht auch in manchen anderen Handelszentren bewegten sich – und man konnte

[9] De Lannoy, Guillebert: *Cesty a poselstva*. Ed.: Jaroslav Svátek – Martin Nejedlý – Olivier Marin – Pavel Soukup. Praha: Centrum medievistických studií, Scriptorium, 2009, pp. 14–15.

[10] Zum osmanisch-ungarischen Treffen in Fünfkirchen siehe die ungarischen königlichen Hofrechnungen aus den Jahren 1494–1495; Registrum omnium proventuum Regalium. In: *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer* 1, pp. 73–75.

[11] *„Item eodem die Dno Emerico Czobor eunti ad Imperatorem Turcorum pro expensis dati sunt eidem 1500 fl.";* cfr. Registrum omnium proventuum Regalium. In: *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reichs und seiner Nebenländer* 1, p. 110 (deinde Registrum omnium proventuum Regalium). Der ungarische Adelige Czobor bekleidete das Landeshauptmannsamt im Fürstentum Troppau in den Jahren 1511–1514, vgl. dazu Kozák, Petr: Zápas o personální politiku v úřadě zemského hejtmana mezi stavy knížectví opavského a českými králi z rodu Jagellonců (1510–1528). In: *Časopis Slezského zemského muzea* – B, vol. 54, 2005, pp. 193–210 (hauptsächlich pp. 195–197).

[12] „*Item in via procedendo stipendiariis domini Czobor, qui in obvium domino principi cancros dederant, dedi X gr.*"; AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 33, fol. 103v.

[13] Cfr. „*Item* (23.3.1503) *nunccio domini woyewoda Transsiluani cum litteris ad dominum principem venienti, retendenti contra, dedi pro expensis I½ flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 279r.

[14] Am 26.4.1500 trat beispielsweise ein Koch der venezianischer Abordnung mit einem Geschenk (vielmehr auf Befehl seiner Herren) vor Sigismund Jagellone: „*Item eodem die coco Venetorum, qui portauerat vnum ferculum ad dominum principem infra cenam, ad mandata domini principis dedi III flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 30v. Die Gesandten der Stadt Dubrovnik gehörten regelmäßig zu den Gästen am Hofe in Buda – siehe dazu z.B. diesen Rechnungseintrag aus der Mitte der neunziger Jahre des 15. Jahrhunderts: „*Item tredecimo die Julii Georgio de Ragusio Nuntio Ciuitatis Ragusiensis ad Regem in reuersione, ex quo de Ragusyn habebit ire ad Turciam, dati sunt 8 fl.*". *Registrum omnium proventuum Regalium*, p. 95.



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ihnen eventuell begegnen – türkische Händler[15] oder sogar muslimische Flüchtlinge aus den vom osmanischen Sultan beherrschten Ländern. Die bis heute existierenden Rechnungsbücher vermitteln uns z. B. die Geschichte eines „Türken", der nach seinem Abzug oder vielmehr nach seiner unfreiwilligen Flucht aus dem Osmanischen Reich zuerst in christliche Gefangenschaft geriet und später, nach seiner Freilassung, von König Vladislav ein Almosen erhielt.[16]

Dieses heitere Ereignis sagt einiges über Misstrauen und Befürchtungen aus. Daneben verweist es aber auch auf eine andere Quelle von Informationen über die „Türken" und zwar auf den Kreis von Agenten und Spähern, welche die ungarischen Könige, ihre wichtigeren Untertanen, oder ihre Befehlshaber von den Grenzfestungen ins Innere des Osmanischen Reiches aussendeten. Die Frequenz der Abschnitte in den Quellen, die mit den Aktivitäten dieser Spitzel verbunden waren, wuchs proportional zur steigenden Aggression des moslemischen Gegners und kurz vor der Schlacht bei Mohács (dt. *Mohatsch*) kann man solche Erwähnungen praktisch in jedem Schritt erkennen.[17] Der Dienste der Späher bediente sich allerdings nicht nur König Ludwig regelmäßig, sondern auch sein Vater, König Vladislav, und man kann voraussetzen, dass die Neuigkeiten dem Prinzen Sigismund nicht verheimlicht wurden. Er konnte übrigens darüber nicht nur von den Vertrauten seines Bruders etwas zu Ohren bekommen, sondern auch vom König Vladislav selbst – z. B. während der gemeinsamen Jagd oder abends beim Beisammensein, wenn die beiden Geschwister Wein tranken oder verschiedene Spiele spielten.[18] Die Ankömmlinge, die vor ihrem Herrscher *„cum certis nouitatibus ex parte Thurcorum"* niederknieten, stellten wie die Quellen zumindest andeuten, keine Seltenheit dar.[19] Interessant waren bestimmt auch Fakten, welche dem Prinzen Sigismund sein eigenes Netz von Fahr – und Fußkurieren, die sich auf den Wegen des jagellonischen Europa bewegten, bot.[20] Überdies mussten sich mit der osmanischen Gefahr auch die jagellonischen Brüder Johann Albrecht und Alexander, die in Polen und Litauen herrschten, auseinandersetzen.[21] Auch zu ihnen und zu ihren Höfen pflegte Prinz Sigismund enge Beziehungen.

Zur Verfügung standen aber auch schriftliche Quellen über die Anhänger des Propheten Mohammed. Die Quellen schweigen zwar in dieser Hinsicht (die Hofrechnungen registrieren Ausgaben für Besorgungen, Verbesserungen oder Reparaturen der Gebetsbücher, es ist aber klar, dass die Einträge keinesfalls alles umfassen – einschließlich auch der fürstlichen Bibliothek). Es gibt aber andere Indizien: der hohe gesellschaftliche Rang des Prinzen Sigismund, der ihm zweifellos den Zutritt zu Informationen erleichterte; das Milieu, in welchem er sich bewegte (in der Residenz

[15] Die Pferde und das Zubehör ließ sich in Buda z.B. der Erzbischof von Esztergom (dt. *Gran*) Hypolit d`Este bei „Türken" einkaufen, siehe dazu *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei 1500–1508*. Ed.: Péter E. Kovács. Eger: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1992, p. 188. Übrigens konnte man die türkischen Händler mit den Luxuswaren um das Jahr 1500 z.B. auch in Zentrallitauen, in der Stadt Hrodna (heute in Weißrussland) treffen, siehe *Lietuvos didžiojo kunigaikščio Aleksandro Jogailaičio dvaro sąskaitų knygos (1494–1504)*. Ed.: Rimvydas Petrauskas – Darius Antanavičius. Vilnius: Pilių tyrimo centras „Lietuvos pilys", 2007, p. 282.

[16] *„Vni Turco, qui exiuit de Turcia & hic Bude fuit captus et tandem emissus de carcere ad commissionem D. Blasii Raskay propter Deum datus est 1 fl.". Registrum omnium proventuum Regalium*, p. 96.

[17] Berichte *„ad exploratoribus nostris, quos in Thurcia servamus"* hatten z.B. im Jahre 1523 auch die Delegationen des ungarisch-böhmischen Königs Ludwig, des damals schon polnisch-litauischen Herrschers Sigismund I. und des österreichischen Erzherzogs Ferdinand, die damals in Wiener Neustadt und in Bratislava (dt. *Preßburg*) zusammentrafen, zur Verfügung; siehe *Krzysztof Szydłowiecki kancellár naplója 1523-ból*. Ed.: István Zombori. Budapest: METEM, 2004, p. 114.

[18] Cfr. e.g.: „*Item* (5.11.1500) *eodem die vespere post cenam ad ludum crisolki cum domino rege domino principi per manus Mazurek dedi I ortt.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 59v.

[19] Cfr. e.g.: einen Eintrag aus den Hofrechnungen König Ludwigs: *„Eodem die* (20.2.1525) *Georgio Nagh et Urbano similiter Nagh, Capitaneis centum peditum Klysiensium, qui venerant ad Regiam Maiestatem cum certis nouitatibus ex parte Thurcorum, et pro petendis eciam seruiciis eorunden peditum, ut expectarent relacionem, pro expensis dedi fl. III."*; Fraknói, Vilmos: *II. Lajos király számadási könyve. 1525. Január 12 – Július 16*. Ed.: Vilmos Fraknói. Magyar történelmi tár XXII. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1877, p. 84.

[20] Das Kuriernetz des Prinzen Sigismund verband alle wichtigeren Zentren der jagellonischen Welt. Siehe dazu z.B. einen Eintrag von Anfang März 1503: „*Item cursori pedestro, qui dominica invocauit conuentus erat cum litteris in Glogouiam et iam sibi medietas sui solarii soluta erat, dedi finem sui solarii XXV gr.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 280v.

[21] Die Aufmerksamkeit der polnisch-litauischen Herrscher banden traditionell mehr die Tataren und Moskauer als die Türken, trotzdem war es nicht möglich die osmanische Großmacht zu ignorieren. Auch aus Kraków und Vilnius reisten deshalb diplomatische Missionen nach Istanbul. Siehe dazu z.B. einen Eintrag aus dem Rechnungsbuch vom Hofe König Alexanders. *Liber quitantiarum Alexandri regis ab a. 1502 ad 1506. Ksiega skarbowa króla Aleksandra Jag.* Ed.: Adolf Pawiński. Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1897, p. 40. „*Nicolao Firley de Dambrowicze, pro itinere turchico, date sunt centum marce pecuniarum ad racionem exactionum terre radomiensis ad Gosczyssowski*".



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der ungarischen Könige in Buda befand sich z. B. auch die berühmte *Bibliotheca Corviniana*); nicht zuletzt auch das persönliche Interesse des jungen Jagellonen für „alles Türkische". Obwohl wir in diesem Falle nur mit Analogien und Hypothesen arbeiten, da die Quellen darüber nicht verbis expressis sprechen, ist es möglich, dass Prinz Sigismund selbst, oder jemand aus seinem Umkreis, noch manche „fachliche" Abhandlungen oder populäre Reisebeschreibungen kannte. Im christlichen Europa gingen überdies schriftlich oder (und so öfter) mündlich tradierte Erinnerungen mancher Flüchtlinge aus der türkischen Gefangenschaft um. Diese verweilten häufig mehrere Jahre unter osmanischer Herrschaft und galten als gute Kenner der Kultur und Bräuche der „Türken". Michael Konstantinović von Ostrovica, ein Serbe, gefangen im Jahre 1455 bei der Belagerung der Bergstadt Novo Brdo, wurde z. B. Janitschar und Befehlshaber der Festung Zvečej in Bosnien. Nach ihrer Eroberung durch eine ungarische Truppe kam er nach Polen, wo er auch seine Erlebnisse niederschrieb.[22] Der Text ging in Polen in Abschriften um und später wurde er gedruckt. Es ist also nicht auszuschließen, dass ihn auch Prinz Sigismund kannte.

Die Schlüsselrolle aber, wie es scheint, spielte etwas ein bisschen anderes, und zwar der persönliche Kontakt unseres Fürsten mit den Menschen, die mit den „türkischen" Erfahrungen disponierten. Sigismund verweilte in den ersten Jahren seines Aufenthaltes im Königreich Ungarn meistens in Buda. Außer in der ungarischen Hauptstadt konnte man ihn wohl nur bei seinem königlichen Bruder Vladislav in Visegrád (dt. *Plintenburg*) treffen. Der Weg nach Süden öffnete sich für ihn erst im Jahre 1500. Er beteiligte sich damals zusammen mit seinen Hofleuten an einem Feldzug gegen die Türken. Die Gesellschaft machte sich auf den Weg entlang der Donau nach Süden – sie reisten durch Dunaföldvár, Paks (dt. *Paksch*), Tolna (dt. *Tolnau*), Bátmonostor und Sombor im heutigen Serbien. Die Kampagne wandelte sich zwar in eine Rundfahrt durch die Landschaft in der Umgebung von Bač (dt. *Batsch*), Čantavir (dt. *Jollenberg*) und Szeged (dt. *Segedin*).[23] Es ist aber ohne Zweifel, dass diese Reise eine Gelegenheit bot, die „Türken" kennenzulernen: die Bewegung in der unmittelbaren Nähe zur osmanischen Grenze, der Kontakt mit Soldaten in den ungarischen Grenzfestungen und mit den Beteiligten des Feldzuges – das alles ermöglichte dem Prinzen Sigismund einerseits seinen Informationshunger zu stillen, anderseits stellten sich ihm so immer neue, die Türken betreffenden Fragen. Noch in Szeged nahm Sigismund einen Knaben – einen Jüngling aus Moldawien oder der Walachei – an seinem Hof auf.[24] Die Notizen über die regelmäßigen Audienzen, während derer sich der Prinz, umgeben von Prunk und bedeutenden Personen, öffentlich der Ausübung seiner Rolle als Herrscher widmete, zeigen nun eine ganz spezifische Kategorie von Bittenden – Leute, die von den konkreten Folgen der Türkengefahr persönlich betroffen waren.

Die Tür der fürstlichen Residenz in Buda wurde in den Jahren 1500–1501 (selbstverständlich aber auch später) regelmäßig für Menschen, die aus der osmanischen Gefangenschaft flohen, geöffnet. Prinz Sigismund beschenkte sie und – was wichtiger ist – hörte gleichzeitig aufmerksam ihren Erzählungen zu. Die Quellen bezeugen zwar diese Kommunikationsebene nicht ausdrücklich, es wäre aber falsch, prinzipiell daran zu zweifeln. Die Gruppen von Russen, Russinen (so wurden sie von dem Schreiber der Hofrechnungen des Prinzen Sigismund zumindest bezeichnet – es ging also zweifellos um Menschen aus den polnisch-litauischen Gebieten) wechselten sich vor dem Jagellonen ab.[25] Die fürstliche Gnade suchte aber z. B. auch ein sonst unbekannter Adeliger aus Masowien, der in der Sphäre der osmanischen Macht nach dem unglücklichen Ausgang des Feldzugs des polnischen Königs Johann Albrecht gegen Moldawien im Jahre 1497 stecken geblieben war.[26] Zu Sigismund kamen auch Menschen verschiedener Herkunft aus dem Königreich Ungarn und Kroatien, Laien und Geistliche (z. B. ein

[22] Rataj, Tomáš: *České země ve stínu půlměsíce*, pp. 73, 79; Mendel, Miloš – Ostřanský, Bronislav – Rataj, Tomáš: *Islám v srdci Evropy. Vlivy islámské civilizace na dějiny a současnost českých zemí*. Praha: Academia, 2007, pp. 194–195.

[23] Die Expedition, ihre Vorbereitung und ihren Verlauf registrierten eingehend die Hofrechnungen, siehe AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 43r, 49r–62v. Den Verlauf dieses „Feldzuges" behandelt Zolnay, László: Szeged-környék néhány művelődéstörténeti emléke 1500 őszéről. In: *A Móra Ferenc múzeum évkönyve*. Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum 1, 1974–1975, pp. 5–9.

[24] AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 61v.

[25] Ibidem, fol. 80r, 93v, 110r.

[26] „*Item eodem die* (23.7.1500, Buda) v*ni nobili de Mazouia, qui captus fuerat in bello Valachorum, ad mandata domini principis dedi ½ flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 42v. Zum Feldzug ans Schwarze Meer König Johann Albrechts vgl. Papée, Fryderyk: *Jan Olbracht*. Kraków: Universitas, 1949, pp. 125–146.



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Franziskaner aus der bosnischen Stadt Jajce), die den Fürsten um Hilfe beim Beschaffen des Lösegeldes baten, da ihre Verwandten oder Freunde ins türkische Binnenland verschleppt worden waren.[27] Man könnte einwenden, dass solche Hilfeleistungen im Königreich Ungarn (und Kroatien) kein isoliertes Phänomen darstellten und dass sie mit dem Streben sich in der Rolle eines „guten" Herrschers sehen zu lassen zusammenhingen.[28] Gleichfalls können wir aber ein persönliches Interesse des Monarchen, Bestrebungen, für sich Informationen zu besorgen und den Gegner zu begreifen, nicht abstreiten. Zudem kann man die Neugier des Prinzen Sigismund z. B. auch bei anderen Audienzen, in deren Verlauf verschiedene Menschen aus Kroatien und Slawonien (und somit also aus der Nähe der osmanischen Grenze) ihre Bitten vortrugen, erahnen.[29] Diese alle machten den Fürsten Sigismund mit ihren Erlebnissen und Eindrücken bekannt, stillten seine Informationsgier und vergalten damit reichlich die von ihm gezeigten Gnaden.

Es war also die Wissbegierde des Prinzen Sigismund, die wir als den wichtigsten Punkt seiner Audienzen bezeichnen können. Es musste nicht immer um die „Türken" gehen. Der Jagellone, der nicht nur in Polen, sondern auch im geographisch weitläufigen Litauen aufwuchs, war von klein auf z. B. mit tatarischer Exotik konfrontiert. Die wilden Nomaden, die überdies mehr oder weniger enge Verhältnisse zum Osmanischen Reich pflegten, waren in seiner Welt fast überall präsent – als Gegner, aber auch als Verbündete, Söldner, Nachbarn, Händler und Diener am königlichen Hof oder in den Häusern von manchen Adeligen.[30] Bedeutende Tataren fehlten auch nicht zwischen den Höflingen[31] und die polnische Königskanzlei hatte sogar eine selbstständige tatarische Abteilung.[32] Die Metropolen Kraków und Vilnius (dt. *Wilna*) empfingen in ihren Stadtmauern öfters Gesandte vom tatarischen Khan bei Gelegenheiten, die ähnlich dem osmanisch-ungarischen diplomatischen Treffen in Pécs waren. Prinz Sigismund schätzte die Fähigkeiten der tatarischen Diener sehr, besonders in Bezig auf seine Pferde. Nicht nur in Buda bewegte sich deshalb Andreas „Tatar" in den fürstlichen Ställen.[33] Später, als polnischer König und Großfürst von Litauen, sandte Sigismund seinem Burggrafen in Kraków eine Gruppe von Tataren aus Litauen, aus denen dann ein stabiler Kreis von Dienern tatarischer Herkunft in der königlichen Residenz Wawel werden sollte.[34] Auch hier verband sich die Repräsentationsebene – da nicht jeder Monarch Tataren in seinen Diensten hatte – mit der Sphäre des Privatlebens. Wie es scheint, sollte man immer damit rechnen, dass Sigismund eine wissbegierige Persönlichkeit war. Er suchte konsequent den persönlichen Kontakt zu Männern und Frauen, die ihm erzählen konnten, was sie erlebt hatten und was in der umliegenden Welt – von ihnen gesehen und gehört – passierte. Er empfing und hörte dann sicherlich auch eine Gruppe von kranken Franzosen, einen aus Mähren kommenden Mönch oder eine wandernde, aus Rom stammende Pilgerin, an.[35] Seine Faszination von der türkischen Exotik fand ihren Ausdruck auch im Bereich der materiellen Kultur, also in den Gegenständen, die der Jagellone beschaffen ließ oder als Geschenke bekam. Die Abordnung des moldawischen Herzogs Stephan

[27] Siehe „*Item eodem die* (19.4.1500, Buda) *monachis bernardinis de castro Jaycza pro redimendo fratre eorum de Thurcia cum supplicacione ad dominum principem venientibus dedi XXXIII den. vng.*"; „*Item eodem* (26.5.1501, Buda) *vni Karuatto, qui venerat ad dominum principem cum supplicacione rogans subsidium pro exemendo fratre de captiuitate Turcorum, dedi ½ flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 28v, 83v.

[28] Cfr. Fraknói, Vilmos: *II. Lajos király számadási könyve*, pp. 62, 66, 96, 164, 213; Fragmentum libri rationarii super erogationibus aulae Regis Hungariae Ludovici II. de anno 1526. In: *Monumenta Ungarica.* Ed.: Johannes Christianus Engel. Viennae: Antonius Doll, 1809, pp. 206, 219; Idem: *Registrum omnium proventuum Regalium*, pp. 64, 156–158, 164.

[29] Cfr.. e.g.: „*Item* (18.5.1500, Buda) a*d mandata domini principis duobus racianis alias raczom a castro Yaycza dedi ½ flor.*"; „*Item feria VI*[a] *in octaua visitacionis Marie* (9.7.1501, Buda) *bernardinis de Croacia cum supplicacione ad dominum principem venientibus dedi I flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 33v, 89v.

[30] Zur Illustration siehe z.B. eine Angabe aus den Hofrechnungen des Prinzen Sigismund: „*Item* (26.12.1501, Kraków) *Thartharis domini regis, qui vespere venerant ad dominum principem cum columbacione, dedi per manus Wyrzbyata II flor. in auro.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 134r.

[31] „*Item* (26.12.1501, Kraków) *Thartharis domini regis, qui sunt inter alios priores ad curiam, dedi pro colanda dedi X flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 135v. Ein Halbtatar war z.B. Michael Gliński, der einflussreiche Höfling König Alexanders; siehe Łowmiański, Henryk: *Polityka Jagiellonów*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006, pp. 364–365.

[32] Sigismund ließ ihren Schreibern ein Weihnachtsgeschenk auszahlen: „*Item* (26.12.1501, Kraków) *nothariis Thartaricis ad dominum principem venientibus pro colanda dedi I flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 136r.

[33] Cfr.. e.g.: einen Eintrag von 1.10.1500: „*Item Andrzeyecz Thatharzyn in eodem recessu dedi pro suo solario, quod exseruierat ad illud tempus, IIII flor. et I flor. pro pellicio.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 53r.

[34] Cfr. *Rachunki wielkorządowe Jana Bonera 1558*. Ed.: Józef Garbacik. Kraków: Nakł. Ministerstwa Kultury i Sztuki, 1974, pp. 61–64.

[35] Cfr. AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 37v, 41r, 110r.



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übergab ihm noch in Polen ein türkisches Zaumzeug[36] und sein Bruder, König Vladislav, schenkte ihm, diesmal im Königreich Ungarn, sogar ein hochgeschätztes türkisches (arabisches) Pferd.[37] Es ist charakteristisch, dass die „türkische" materielle Kultur überwiegend durch die Reithilfsmittel (Originale oder Imitationen) repräsentiert wurde, es ging wieder hauptsächlich um Zaumzeuge, Sättel usw. Man konnte aber auch Waffen (Säbel, Schwerter, Speere)[38] und Bekleidungsbeiwerke (hier meistens Gürtel) finden, mit denen nicht nur Sigismund prahlte, sondern auch einige der wichtigeren unter seinen Hofleuten[39]. Die Vorliebe für „alles Türkische" zeigte Sigismund auch nach seiner Thronbesteigung in Kraków und Vilnius. Z. B. im Jahre 1510 ließ er sich einen mit einer „türkischen" Perle geschmückten Ring anfertigen und wendete gleichzeitig eine Summe von 300 Gulden für Kleinodien, die direkt aus dem Osmanischen Reich importiert wurden, auf.[40] Kehren wir aber noch einmal zurück nach Buda. Gehörige Aufmerksamkeit – und darum ging es an erster Stelle – riefen auch die Gegenstände tatarischer Provenienz hervor. Kein Wunder, dass Prinz Sigismund gerade diese Dinge von seinen im polnisch-litauischen Raum regierenden Geschwistern bekam. Eine Peitsche, die ein Tatar in seine Hände (natürlich öffentlich) übergab, genauso wie ein „tatarisches" Leinen – das alles stellte womöglich im Königreich Ungarn um das Jahr 1500 einen ebenso ungewöhnlichen wie prunkvollen Handelsartikel, so wie die „türkischen" Gegenstände nördlich des Karpatenbogens, dar.[41]

Nachdem Sigismund nach Schlesien übersiedelte (an der Wende des 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert), schwanden aus den vorhandenen Quellen auch die „türkischen" Gegenstände. Dies ist eigentlich nicht überraschend. Die türkische Gefahr war damals in den böhmischen Ländern noch etwas ganz fernliegendes und es ist wahrscheinlich, dass auf den lokalen Märkten die „türkische" Ware nicht nur fehlte, sonder dass die einheimischen Handwerker nicht wussten, wie eigentlich solch „türkisches" Erzeugnis aussah und deshalb nicht im Stande waren, es zu imitieren. Sich einen auf die „türkische" Art geschmückten Mantel (*a la turchesca*) anfertigen zu lassen, wie ihn zur selben Zeit der Erzbischof von Esztergom, (dt. *Gran*) Hypolit d`Este, bestellte, konnte Sigismund wahrscheinlich weder im reichen Wrocław (dt. *Breslau*) noch im Zentrum Großpolens Poznań (dt. *Posen*) und umso weniger dann in einer von den zahlreichen kleineren städtischen Siedlungen.[42] Dessen ungeachtet wurde die Kenntnis von der Vorliebe des Prinzen Sigismund für alles „Türkische" allgemein verbreitet. In Schlesien wie in Polen wurde unser Jagellone deshalb immer wieder von den aus der türkischen Gefangenschaft fliehenden (oder schon geflohenen) Menschen oder von denen, die ihn um Hilfe beim Beschaffen des Lösegeldes baten, ausgesucht. Dies geschah in den beiden Residenzen des Fürsten Sigismund, also in Glogów[43] und Opava,[44] genauso wie während seiner Aufenthalte in Kraków.[45] In der

[36] „*Item eodem anno et loco, feria quinta post judica* (9.4.1500, Buda), *dedi ad deaurandum tercium frenum tureczkie, quod fuit datum a woyewoda Moldauiensi aduc in Polonia, V flor.*" oder „*Item* (30.4.1500, Buda) *serifabro, qui fecit thureczkie wadzyla ad frenum datum a domino Gyrzyk, de ferro ad powlaczenyv et eciam fecit idem serifaber deszczolky X ad frenum datum in Moldawia, pro toto dedi per Chlewyczki LX den. vng.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 31r, 105v.

[37] In den Rechnungsbüchern des Hofes des Prinzen Sigismund sind diese Pferde regelmäßig mit dem ursprünglich arabischen Wort „*badavia*" (was einfach „Beduine" bedeutet), bezeichnet. Siehe dazu Dvořáková, Daniela: *Kôň a človek v stredoveku. K spolužitiu človeka a koňa v Uhorskom kráľovstve*. Budmerice: Vydavateľstvo RAK, 2007, p. 74. Vgl. „*Item a freno badauie, que data est a domino rege domino principi cum Thurcis, dedi I flor.*"; AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 33, fol. 111v.

[38] Cfr.. e.g.: AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 75v, 103v.

[39] Einen „türkischen" Gürtel besaß z.B. Christoph Szydłowiecki. AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 110r.

[40] Cfr. *Rachunki podskarbiego Andrzeja Kościeleckiego z lat 1510–1511*. Ed.: Hubert Wajs – Anna Wajs. Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 1997, p. 22, 63.

[41] „*Item in festo pasche* (19.4.1500, Buda) *Thartaro, qui portauit flagellum domino principi, ad mandata domini principis dedi I flor.*"; „*Item eodem die* (24. 5. 1500, Buda) *dedi Zaleski pro tribus faciletis, duobus cum auro et tercio non, de tela thartarica huiusmodi, quales dominus rex Polonie portat, quos laborauit domina Clara in Cracovia, III flor. pro domino principe.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 29r, 35r.

[42] Hypolit d`Este ließ sich einen solchen Mantel im Jahre 1500 anfertigen, siehe „Item spexi in una copertina da lecto lavorata a la turchesca, fl. II."; Kovács, Péter E.: *Estei Hippolit püspök egri számadáskönyvei*, p. 32.

[43] „*Item feria II*$^{a}$ (27.6.1502, Glogów) *duobus Alemanis captiuis ex Thurcia fugientibus de captiuitate ad dominum principem cum supplicacione venientibus dedi ad mandata domini principis II flor.*"; „*Item eodem die* (15.8.1502, Glogów) *vni rustico ex Turcis fugienti et dominum principem pro elemosina roganti dedi ½ flor.*"; *Item eodem die* (18.7.1503, Glogów) *duobus Alemanis ad dominum principem suplicantibus pro exemendo patre eorum de captiuitate Thurcorum dedi I flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 205v, 213r, 303v.

[44] Ein aus der osmanischen Gefangenschaft geflohener Söldner kam genau zum Zeitpunkt der Sitzung des gesamtschlesischen Landtages zu Sigismund: „*Item eodem die* (7.2.1505, Opava) *vni pauperi stipendario ex Turcia fugienti ad dominum principem cum suplicacione venienti dedi VIII gr.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 33, fol. 70v.

[45] Siehe folgende Einträge: „*Item eodem die* (24.2.1502, Kraków) *infra prandia per manus Wyrzbyata vni Vngaro cognominati Zalk, qui cum litteris regalibus et domini cardinalis comendatoriis ad dominum principem venerat rogando subsidium pro exempcione*



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polnischen Metropole wechselte das „türkische" Stereotyp nur manchmal mit dem „tatarischen".[46] Für beide kann man eine kuriose Audienz, die sich Anfang Januar 1502 abspielte, nennen. Vor Sigismund kam ein Edelmann aus Podolien, der vom Prinzen drei Gulden für sich erbat, mithilfe derer er sich eine Prothese seiner von den Tataren abgehauenen Hand beschaffen wollte.[47]

Auch in Schlesien nutzte Sigismund jede Gelegenheit, um sich irgendwelche (nach der „türkischen" Exotik duftenden) Nachrichten über das Geschehen im Königreich Ungarn anzuhören.[48] Kein Wunder, dass ein bestimmter Geldanteil „*captivo fugienti ex Turcis*" auch im Jahre 1505, als der Prinz wieder die Hauptstadt Ungarns besuchte, ausgezahlt wurde.[49] König Vladislav schenkte ihm damals sogar eine ganze Gruppe von lebenden Türken, die Sigismund dann mit sich nach Schlesien brachte. Diese gefangenen „Türken" stellten für ihren neuen hochgeborenen Herren ein höchst geschätztes Eigentum dar, für ihre Beförderung wurden spezielle Wagen in den Bestand aufgenommen und der Rechnungsschreiber registrierte alles ganz sorgfältig.[50] Der Fürstenhof reiste durch die Städte Esztergom, Nitra (dt. Neutra), Trenčín (dt. *Trentschin*), Vsetín (dt. *Wsetin*), Opava (dt. *Troppau*), Nysa (dt. *Neise*) und Brzeg (dt. *Brieg*) bis nach Glogów. Ohne Zweifel rief die Möglichkeit, einen lebenden (also nicht abstrakten) „Türken" zu sehen, schon in Oberungarn, noch mehr aber in den böhmischen Ländern, große Aufregung hervor. Die Bewohner von Praha (dt. *Prag*) z. B. konnten sich gefangene „Türken" erstmals im Jahre 1437 und zum zweiten Mal erst nach hundert Jahren, im Jahre 1522 ansehen![51] Was in Buda Alltag war, als z. B. Nikolaus Zrinski seinem König Ludwig als Geschenk zwei „Türken" schicken ließ,[52] war im Rest Mitteleuropas etwas ganz ungewöhnliches.

Der „Türke" hatte in den Augen des jagellonischen Prinzen Sigismund mehrere praktische Funktionen, deren Auswirkungen sich miteinander ergänzten. Am Anfang stand vielleicht die übliche menschliche Neugier, die Faszination von dem außerordentlich erfolgreichen Gegner. Die sorgfältig organisierten Audienzen, der Besitz von wertvollen türkischen Pferden, modischen Bekleidungsbeiwerken und auch von exklusiven Informationen, das alles demonstrierte öffentlich die Macht, den Reichtum und die gesellschaftliche Stellung des Fürsten. Auf der Ebene der Symbole und Gesten verstand Prinz Sigismund es, sich selbst wendig als einen Bezwinger der „Türken", die Angst und Instabilität in „seine" christliche Welt hineintrugen, zu präsentieren. Dies geschah nicht nur durch Zurschaustellung der Gegenstände (pittoreske Bekleidungsbeiwerke), sondern auch und hauptsächlich durch die Präsentation des lebendigen „Inventars" – den gefangenen Angreifern. Das alles (selbstverständlich zusammen mit einer Reihe von anderen Faktoren) gestaltete das Bild eines zum Herrschen geborenen Mannes und half dem ursprünglich in den Hintergrund gerückten Prinzen in die entscheidenden Machtstrukturen des jagellonischen (Ost-)Mitteleuropa vorzudringen. Es ist wesenseigen, dass auch die Brüder von Sigismund ähnliche Machtinstrumente wählten, mit denen sie ihr eigenes Bild eines erfolgreichen Herrschers untermalten – auch sie nutzten spektakulär die türkischen (im böhmisch-ungarischen Raum) und tatarischen (im polnisch-litauischen Raum) Elemente. Es war gerade dieser „Erbfeind des Christentums", der (und so nicht paradox) durch seine bloße Existenz die – von den christlichen Monarchen benutzte – Palette der Machtinstrumente bereicherte.

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*fratris de captiuitate Thurcorum, dedi III flor.*"; „*Item* (18.5.1502, Kraków) *vni nobili pauperi fugienti ex Turcis de Podole ad dominum principem venienti cum supplicacione dedi per manus Olbricht I flor.*"; „*Item* (10.1.1503, Kraków) *vni nobili fugienti de Thurcia cum domino Phirley dedi ½ flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 153v, 194r, 270v.

[46] „*Item feria III*[a] (14.3.1503, Kraków) *monacho cum tabellis et captiuis, qui fugerant a Thartaris, dedi II gr.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 278r.

[47] „*Item eodem die* (5.1.1502, Kraków) *vni nobili de Podole, cui Thartari manum amputauerunt, ad manum ferream dedi ad mandata domini principis III flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 138v.

[48] Anfang Dezember gewährte Sigismund auf seinem Schloss in Glogów einem Bürger aus Bratislava eine Audienz; siehe AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 29, fol. 334v.

[49] „*Item eodem die* (30.7.1505, Buda) *ad mandata domini principis vni captiuo fugienti ex Turcis dedi per manus Migdal ½ flor.*" AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 33, fol. 109v. Entsprechende Einträge kann man dann öfter auf anderen Seiten der Rechnungsbücher finden.

[50] Für Rechnungseinträge, die die Auszahlung der finanziellen Belohnungen (furlon) für die angeworbenen Fuhrmänner registrieren, siehe AGAD, ASK-RK, sign. 33, fol. 111v, 112r, 112v, 113r, 114r, 115r, 119v, 120r.

[51] Mendel, Miloš – Ostřanský, Bronislav – Rataj, Tomáš: *Islám v srdci Evropy*, p. 274.

[52] Cfr. „*Eodem die* (14.3.1525) *Paulo Ambrozowyth seruitori domini Nicolai Zrini, qui a domino suo duos Thurcos Regie Maiestati attullerat, pro expensis et remuneracione dati sunt fl. X.*"; Fraknói, Vilmos: *II. Lajos király számadási könyve*, p. 105.



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JOZEF ŠIMONČIČ*

# Die Universität von Trnava in den Jahren 1635–1777 und die Kroaten

## Trnavská univerzita (1635–1777) a Chorváti / Sveučilište u Trnavi (1635.–1777.) i Hrvati

*All attempts to establish a university in the Kingdom of Hungary, including the Academia Istropolitana, were only short-term. The University of Trnava was established on May 12, 1635 by Cardinal Peter Pazman and the Society of Jesus was appointed to lead the new university. The University of Trnava was the first comprehensive university in the Realm of St. Stephan with two faculties at first, Philosophy and Theology, which later became four with the addition of Law in 1667 and Medicine in 1769. The university had a library, archives, chambers, theatre, printing press, pharmacy, observatory, botanical garden, five residences and an exclusive residence, Albanus, in the town of Biely Kostol. It was supported financially by Slovak villages and existed as a Slovak institution even though it was a Hungarian establishment using Latin as its official language. The printing press in Trnava published over 5000 items in Latin, German, Hungarian, Slovak, Croatian and many other languages. The relationship between the city of Trnava and the university was often marked by conflict. City leaders demanded that according to privileges granted to them by King Bela IV they had the right to punish anybody whom they deemed had committed a crime in the city. The university refused to accept this and the king agreed. After 142 years the university left the city and only then the city realized what it had lost. It took over 200 years before the university was re-established. The Jesuits did not distinguish between Slovaks and Croats. A Slovak could be the rector in Zagreb. The same applied to the professors.*

Keywords: University in Trnava, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, faculties, institutional basis, personal constitution, students

Zur Wende vom ersten zum zweiten Jahrtausend wurde das Königreich Ungarn relativ schnell zum größten administrativ und kirchlich organisierten Staatsgebilde Mitteleuropas. Übertroffen wurde es jedoch von den Nachbarländern bei der Konstituierung der Universitäten: Praha (dt. *Prag*) in Böhmen im Jahr 1348, Kraków (dt. *Krakau*) in Polen im Jahr 1364, Wien in Österreich im Jahr 1365. Nicht ein Versuch, eine Universität in Ungarn zu gründen (in Pécs/*Fünfkirchen* im Jahr 1367, in Buda (dt. *Ofen*) im Jahr 1389, in Bratislava (dt. *Pressburg*) – die Academia Istropolitana – im Jahr 1465) gelang, oder war, besser gesagt, von längerer Dauer.

## Die Anfänge der Universität von Trnava

Die Stadt Trnava (dt. Tyrnau), die im Grenzbereich zwischen den slawischen, germanischen und ungarischen ethnischen Gruppen lag, war häufiger Objekt geschichtlicher Ereignisse als das Subjekt selbst. Als erste Stadt auf dem Territorium der heutigen Slowakei erhielt sie im Jahr 1238 die Privilegien einer freien Königsstadt. Die Privilegien, insbesondere die wirtschaftlichen, nahmen später zu. Hier fanden königliche Beratungen, Hochzeiten, Begräbnisse statt. Nachdem Esztergom (dt. *Gran*) im Jahr 1543 in die Hände der Türken gefallen war, zog der Erzbischof mit dem Kapitel nach Trnava um und aus dieser Stadt wurde ein religiöses und kulturelles Zentrum. Es ist ein geschichtliches Paradox und die Widerlegung des alten Spruchs *inter arma silent musae – wenn Waffen sprechen, schweigen die Musen* –, dass in Trnava eine Universität um die Mitte eines langwierigen europäischen Kataklysmus, des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, entstand. Ihr Gründer, der Esztergomer Erzbischof Kardinal Peter Pázmány, entschloss sich zu diesem Schritt fast sofort nach seinem Amtsantritt. Sein Vorgänger, Erzbischof Forgatsch, gab 1615 in Trnava das verlassene Gelände des Dominikanerklosters des heiligen Johannes des Täufers den Jesuiten. Diese kamen erneut nach Trnava (nach einem ersten kurzen Aufenthalt in den Jahren 1561–1567), reparierten das geschenkte Kloster, richteten darin

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ein Gymnasium – mit 600 Schülern schon in den ersten Jahren – ein, rissen auch die alte gotische Kirche ab und begannen an ihrer Stelle die Universitäts-, heute Kathedralkirche des heiligen Johannes des Täufers zu bauen – und hier realisierte Pázmány seinen Traum. Er kaufte Häuser in Trnava für die Internate der armen Studenten und auch der Adligen, für die Bibliothek, private Häuser für die Erweiterung der künftigen Universitätsgebäude. Er verhandelte mit dem Kaiser und auch dem General der Jesuiten. In der Gründungsurkunde vom 12. Mai 1635 führte er das Ziel der Universität an: *„… Oft haben wir im Geist bang erwogen, in welcher Weise wir im Ungarischen Königreich zum einen die katholische Religion erweitern, zum anderen die Würde des erhabenen ungarischen Volks gewährleisten können, und hier bot sich uns außer anderen Hilfsmitteln als erstrangiger Schritt die Gründung einer Universität an, da sich in ihr die Sinne dieses kämpferischen Volks verfeinern würden und zugleich würden fähige Menschen die sowohl für die Leitung der Kirche, als auch für die öffentliche Verwaltung notwendige Bildung erwerben…"*[1] Wäre die türkische Gefahr verschwunden, hätte Pázmány auch einer anderen Stadt zugestimmt, nicht nur Trnava, aber nicht außerhalb des Territoriums der Graner Erzdiözese. Die Erteilung akademischer Würden war identisch mit der Praxis anderer Universitäten. Mit der Ergänzung einer Einlage von hunderttausend Dukaten für die Universität verpflichtete Pázmány den Kaiser. Die feierliche Eröffnung der Universität fand am 13. November 1635 im Dom des heiligen Nikolaus in Trnava statt, wo Kardinal Pázmány unter reger Beteiligung des Volkes, kirchlicher Würdenträger und des Adels beim Gottesdienst die Gründungsurkunde dem ersten Rektor Georg Dobronoki übergab. Am folgenden Tag begann das Wintersemester an der philosophischen Fakultät mit einer Vorlesung von Martin Palkovitsch über das Wesen der Verstandsphilosophie.

*Tenella universitatula – das bescheidene Universitätchen* – wie sie Pázmány vertraulich nannte, war Realität und besaß zunächst nur die Fakultät für Philosophie und für Theologie. Die 142 Jahre des Bestehens der Universität von Trnava in der ersten Phase (1635–1777) waren bestimmt von der Vision des Dienstes für Kirche und Staat in den Gebieten der Pädagogik, der Forschung und der Publikation – sowie in den grundlegenden Universitätsaufgaben. Auf die Dreihundertjahrfeier, während der einige ungarische Historiker behaupteten, dass es sich um eine ungarische Universität handele, reagierte Prof. Branislav Varsik mit seinem wichtigsten Buch *Národnostný problém Trnavskej univerzity (Das Nationalitätenproblem der Universität von Trnava),*[2] in dem er kritisch nachwies, dass die Universität fast 150 Jahre in einem rein slowakischen Umfeld existierte, sie ihre Umgebung wirtschaftlich ernährte und ausbaute und dass die Mehrheit der Studenten und Professoren vom Territorium der Slowakei stammte. An ihr studierten Angehörige aller Völker Ungarns: Slowaken, Ungarn, Deutsche, Kroaten, Siebenbürger, sogar Studenten aus anderen Ländern. Unterrichts – und Kommunikationssprache war Latein (wie an allen europäischen Universitäten). Heute behaupten wir, sie war eine übernationale Universität *par excellence,* wenn auch in der Mehrheit die Ungarn waren.

Damit die Universität bestehen konnte, musste sie zu Beginn wenigstens zwei Fakultäten haben. Diese Anforderung erfüllte sie von Anfang an durch die Eröffnung der Fakultäten für Philosophie und Theologie, die rechtswissenschaftlichen und medizinischen Fakultäten kamen später hinzu. Die Vorlesungen an allen Fakultäten fanden vom 1. November bis zum 8. September statt.

## Die Philosophische Fakultät

war die erste konstitutive Fakultät der Universität.[3] Ihr Besuch war die Vorbereitung auf das Theologiestudium. Das Studium dauerte drei Jahre. Das erste Jahr umfasste das Fach Logik, im zweiten Jahr war es das der Physik und im dritten das der Metaphysik. Nach diesen wurden die Studenten dann auch bezeichnet. Im Verlauf weiterer Jahrzehnte kamen zu den Hauptfächern andere Fächer dazu: Mathematik, Geometrie, Ethik, Astronomie, Naturwissenschaften, Kirchengeschichte, ungarische Geschichte und Weltgeschichte, Italienisch, Französisch, Fechten, Tanz u. a. An der Spitze der Fakultät stand der Dekan, der vom Provinzial der Österreichischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu ernannt wurde. Die Rigorosumsprüfungen waren ursprünglich zwei, die erste am Ende des zweiten Studienjahres und

[1] *Trnavská univerzita (1635–1998) v dokumentoch.* Ed.: Jozef Šimončič – Vladimír Rábik. Bratislava a Trnava: Veda a Typis Universitatis Tyrnaviensis, 2002, nr. 2.

[2] Varsik, Branislav: *Národnostný problém Trnavskej univerzity.* Bratislava: Učená společnost Šafaříkova, 1938.

[3] Marsina, Richard: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity Petra Pázmaňa 1635–1777. In: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia,* vol. 1. Ed.: Jozef Šimončič. Trnava: Trnavská univerzita, 2002, pp. 25–35.



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eine einstündige nach Ende der drei Jahre. Der Kandidat musste eine bestimmte These auf einer öffentlichen Disputation verteidigen. Die Philosophische Fakultät erteilte die Titel Bachelor, Magister und Doktor – alle Titel mit einer feierlichen Promotion, die unter Anwesenheit des Rektors, des Kanzlers und der Dekane stattfand. Unsere Forscher unterscheiden zwischen drei Zeiträumen hinsichtlich der Vorlesungen an der Universität von Trnava: 1635–1700, 1700–1753 und 1753–1777, der letzte während der Zeit des größten Aufschwungs des Denkens. Es ist auch die Zeit der Blüte des Fachs Geschichte an der Universität von Trnava, wo seit dem Jahr 1770 Stephan Katona den Lehrstuhl für Rhetorik und Geschichte führte. Unter den bedeutendsten Professoren sind Martin Palkovitsch, Martin Szentiváni, Henrich Berzeviczy, Franz Csernovics, Paul Benyovszky, Johannes Prileszky, Andreas Jaslinsky, Johannes Ivanchich, Anton Revicky und Johannes Horváth zu erwähnen. Auch der erste in der Universitätsdruckerei 1640 gedruckte Titel war *Triplex philosophia rationalis* von Andreas Mokchai. Später wurden von der Druckerei philosophische Handbücher, manchmal auch ältere philosophische Arbeiten (Boetius: *Trost der Philosophie*, 1735) und die auch außerhalb des Königreichs Ungarn beliebte Enzyklopädie *Miscelanea* von Martin Svätojánsky/Sentiváni/Szentiványi herausgegeben. In Trnava waren auch die Arbeiten von Descartes und Newton bekannt. Zum System der Philosophischen Fakultät gehörte auch das fünfklassige Gymnasium mit den Klassen *Infima*, *Media*, *Gramatica*, *Humanitas* und *Rhetorica*.

## Die Theologische Fakultät

vermittelte die Gesamtheit der damaligen theologischen Kenntnisse in einem vierjährigen Studium. Als Norm galt das Werk des heiligen Thomas von Aquin (*Summa theologica*) und Suarez; die Vorlesungen waren in Dogmatik, Moraltheologie, Heiliger Schrift, Pastoraltheologie, Hebräisch. Nach der Reform und der Verstaatlichung der Universität im Jahr 1769 blieben an der Theologischen Fakultät sieben Professuren erhalten: zwei für Dogmatik, zwei für Moral – und Pastoraltheologie, eine für Biblistik, eine für Kontroversistik, eine für Rhetorik und Kirchengeschichte. In den theologischen Disziplinen kamen in der Universitätsdruckerei viele grundlegende Titel heraus, deren Autoren Franz Obrocsny, Caspar Henter, Christoph Peichich, Gabriel Erdődi, Franz Bolech, Veit Pichler, Ludwig Csapody, Johannes Filo waren. An der Theologischen Fakultät studierten Studenten aus dem ganzen Königreich Ungarn und die Nationalitäten waren hier am buntesten gemischt.[4]

## Die Rechtswissenschaftliche Fakultät

wurde an der Universität von Trnava im Jahr 1667 auf Entscheidung des Erzbischofs Georg Szelepcséni und auf Grundlage der Testamente seiner Vorgänger, der Erzbischöfe Emmerich Lósy und Georg Lippay, eröffnet. Die Feierlichkeiten zur Eröffnung fanden erneut im Dom des heiligen Nikolaus unter persönlicher Anwesenheit des Palatins und der höchsten Repräsentanten des Landes statt. Die Rede über die Nützlichkeit und die Bedeutung ziviler Gesetze hielt der Professor für Zivilrecht, Johannes Adam Textor, und in der Universitätskirche hielt der Professor für Kirchenrecht, Ferdinand Preyschaff, die Eröffnungsrede.

Außer diesen beiden hielten zwei Professoren Vorlesungen über Ungarisches Recht, einer über dessen Theorie, der andere über dessen Praxis. Gelehrt wurde auch Allgemeines und Internationales Recht. Die Kandidaten für einen akademischen Grad gaben vor den Prüfungen ihre Arbeiten gedruckt heraus. Das Studium dauerte drei bis vier Jahre. Ein wichtiger Umstand war, dass die Universität von Trnava das Recht und auch die Pflicht erhielt, die Sammlung des ungarischen angewandten Rechts, das *Corpus Iuris Hungarici*,[5] herauszugeben.

## Die Medizinische Fakultät

entstand nach der Reform und der Verstaatlichung der Universität von Trnava durch die Intimation der Kaiserin Maria Theresia vom 7. November 1769. Zu ihrem ersten Direktor wurde der Stadtarzt in Trnava, Johannes Gilg de Gilgenburg, gebürtig aus Schlesien und Absolvent der Wiener Medizinischen Fakultät, ernannt. Die Medizinische Fakultät der Universität begann mit fünf Lehrstühlen (die Wiener hatte vier): Die Anatomie wurde von Wenzel Trnka, Chirurgie

[4] Herrmann, Egyed – Artner, Edgár: *A hittudományi kar története 1635–1935*. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938.

[5] Prusák, Jozef: Stodvadsať rokov činnosti Právnickej fakulty Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave. In: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia* 1, pp. 49–55. Eckhart, Ferenc: *A jog – és államtudományi kar története 1667–1935*. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1936.



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und Geburtenwesen von Josef Jakob Plenck, Physiologie und Pharmakologie von Adam Ignatius Prandt, Pathologie und Innere Medizin von Michael Schoretics, Botanik und Chemie von Jakob Winterl gelesen. Das Durchschnittsalter der Professoren war 31 Jahre. Die Vorlesungen gab es an fünf Tagen in der Woche, täglich sechs Stunden. Das Studium dauerte fünf Jahre. Bei Entstehung der Medizinischen Fakultät – als sie noch kein eigenes Gebäude hatte – fanden die Vorlesungen im Trinitarkloster, im Adalbertinum und im Hauptgebäude der Universität von Trnava statt. Erst im Jahr 1772 zog die Medizinische Fakultät in ein neu errichtetes Gebäude. An der Medizinischen Fakultät nostrifizierten das im Ausland erworbene Diplom 39 Ärzte, zwei Geburtshelfer, zwei Augenärzte, 127 Chirurgen und 21 Geburtsassistentinnen. Unbekannt ist die Anzahl der Apotheker, die hier ihre Prüfungen ablegten. Das größte Problem der Medizinischen Fakultät war, dass sie keine eigene Klinik hatte (mit dem Bau des Gespanschaftskrankenhauses wurde erst 1824 begonnen); im kleinen städtischen Xenodochium neben der Kirche der heiligen Helena waren zwölf Betten für überalterte Bürger, die der Stadt zur Pflege blieben, und das Lazarett am Alten Friedhof lebte nur von Almosen. Die Professoren der Medizinischen Fakultät widmeten sich der Forschung und der Publikationstätigkeit. Wenzel Trnka gab im Jahr 1775 ein Werk über Malaria heraus, das von Kennern als bestes Werk der gegenwärtigen Medizin bezeichnet wurde. Das Buch des Professors Josef Jakob Plenck *De morbis oculorum* (*Über Augenkrankheiten*) kam kurz danach auch in deutscher, holländischer und im Jahr 1815 auch in chinesischer Übersetzung im japanischen Kioto heraus. Noch vor den Rigorosumsprüfungen hatten die Studenten der Medizin ihre Arbeiten zu publizieren und unter ihnen waren auch einige grundlegende Werke (Sigmund Horvatovszky: *Flora Tyrnaviensis*. Trnava 1774). Die Absolventen der Medizinischen Fakultät waren hervorragende Gespanschafts – und Stadtärzte und Jakob Reineggs war in den Jahren 1778–1781 persönlicher Arzt des grusinischen Königs Heraklit II. In der Handschriftenabteilung der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Grusinischen Republik in Tiflis wird das handschriftliche Erbe des Doktors Jakob Reineggs, Absolvent der Universität von Trnava, aufbewahrt. Schon seit ihrer Gründung hatte die Universität eine eigene und hervorragend ausgestattete Apotheke, die auch den Bedürfnissen der Stadt diente und im Unterschied zu den übrigen Apotheken die Medikamente umsonst ausgab. Im großen Streit mit den Apothekern von Trnava nach dem Jahr 1748 stellte sich die Stadt auf ihre Seite. Erhalten geblieben ist die Einladung von Fr. Abraham Jung, mit der er den Stadtmagistrat in diese Apotheke zu den Prüfungen einiger berühmter Ärzte seiner Zeit und zur Bereitung des seltenen und teuren Medikaments Theriak einlud.[6]

## Die institutionelle Basis der Universität von Trnava

Die Universität begann im Gebäude des ehemaligen Dominikanerklosters des heiligen Johannes des Täufers, das das Jesuitenkollegium im Jahr 1615, durch Feuer zerstört und verlassen, als Ruine übernahm, zu wirken. Nach den notwendigsten Reparaturen und einem Anbau für das Gymnasium begann man auch mit dem Bau einer wunderschönen Basilika, die von Nikolaus Esterházy finanziert wurde. Das Gelände ist zum nationalen Kulturdenkmal erklärt worden und überragt mit seiner Monumentalität nicht nur die Verhältnisse von Trnava, sondern auch die der ganzen Slowakei. An der Stelle der heutigen Basilika stand eine zweischiffige gotische Kirche, die nicht mehr zu retten war und abgerissen wurde. Für den Bau der Universitätskirche wurde das Holz aus bayrischen, Tiroler und Liptauer Wäldern geliefert, die Schindeln vom Gut Bytča (dt. *Bitscha*), die Steine und das Pflaster aus Orava (dt. *Arwaer*) Steinbrüchen. Die Ziegel wurden von Anabaptisten in Dechtice (dt. *Dechtitz*) gebrannt, die Lindenblöcke für die Statuen des Hauptaltars wurden im Januar 1636 auf Schlitten aus den Wäldern des Gutes Čachtice (dt. *Schächtitz*) herangefahren. Architekt der Universitätsgebäude war Pietro Spazzo, in der zweiten Phase Venerio Ceresola, die letzten Umbauten, bzw. den Bau des Gebäudes der medizinischen Fakultät, leitete Franz A. Hildebrant. Die Ostseite der Straße bilden vier Internate für die Studenten (*Adalbertinum*, *Convictus rubrorum*, *Marianum*, *Convictus nobilium*), in der Halenárska Straße steht das *Stephaneum* (das Waisenhaus). Bischof Pálfi ließ (um das Jahr 1670) die Universitätsaula ausschmücken, damit dort die Feierlichkeiten, Disputationen und Promotionen stattfinden konnten.

Erhalten blieben der undatierte Brandschutzplan und die Brandschutzordnung (etwa aus dem Jahr 1700), die ein Beweis für die durchdachte Brandschutzvorsorge ist. Vom Rektor, der sich

[6] Kopecký, Štefan: Lekárska fakulta Trnavskej univerzity 1769–1777. In: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia* 1, pp. 37–47.



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um das Archiv zu kümmern hatte, über die Universitätsprofessoren, bis hin zu den Studenten, hatte jeder zugeteilte Räume und Arbeitsgeräte. Dieser Organisation ist es wahrscheinlich zu verdanken, dass während der riesigen Brände in Trnava in den Jahren 1666 und 1683 die Universitätsgebäude unberührt blieben.

Die Universität hatte eine eigene Druckerei, die während ihres Bestehens in Trnava über 5 000 Titel herausgab. Sie konnte lateinische, griechische, hebräische, deutsche, slowakische, ungarische, rumänische, kroatische und auch französische Texte drucken. Für die Liquidation hatte sie 17 Arten von Initialen, 86 Schriftarten, 26 Frakturarten, vier griechische, zwei hebräische und zwei Notensätze. Gedruckt wurden hier auch einige Bücher in kyrillischer Schrift. Beim Umzug der Universität nach Ofen blieb die Hälfte der Druckerei in Trnava, aber nach 20 Jahren wurde auch diese verlagert.

Vier große Folienkataloge der Bibliothek der Universität von Trnava erfassten den Zustand der Bibliothek vor dem Umzug. Unter mehr als 15 000 Bänden waren über 300 Inkunabeln, hinzu kamen eigenständige Sammlungen Kaprinais und Prays. Die Universität hatte ihr eigenes umfassendes Archiv, Sammlungen, Kabinette, einen botanischen Garten, ein astronomisches Observatorium. Zur Universität gehörte auch der große Garten der Stella im englischen Stil mit einer Erholungsanlage; er erstreckte sich zwischen den heutigen Straßen Kollárova, Sladovnícka, Tamaškovičova und Žarnovova.

Am Rand des Eichenwaldes zwischen Ružindol (dt. *Rosenthal*), Bohdanovce (dt. *Bogdanowetz*) und Parná (dt. *Parna*) gab es die Villa und die Farm Weiße Kirche (*Albanus*), wohin die Professoren und Studenten an den freien Tagen gingen. Den dortigen Sommersitz erbaute Pietro Spazzo schon im Jahr 1636 und 1719 wurde er von den Jesuiten radikal als Chateau umgebaut.[7]

## Die Studenten und die Stadt

Die Anwesenheit von etwa tausend Universitätsstudenten in einer siebentausend Einwohner zählenden Stadt machte sich in jedem Schuljahr bemerkbar. Die Tendenz zu Ausschreitungen, die aus allen europäischen Universitätsstädten bekannt ist, ließ die Magistratsherren von Trnava nicht ruhig schlafen. Seit dem Jahr 1238, als Trnava von Konstancia, bzw. Bela IV. zur freien Königsstadt erhoben wurde, war der Magistrat stolz auf das Schwertrecht, die Universitäten bestraften ihre Schuldigen jedoch selbst. Und dieser Fakt wurde für die ganzen fast 150 Jahre zum Apfel der Zwietracht. Die Studenten begingen kleine Diebstähle, z.B. stahlen sie Fische im Teich hinter dem Oberen Tor, Weintrauben in den städtischen Weingärten, Obst in den Gärten, Bier in der Brauerei. Ohne sie gab es keine Prügeleien in den Kneipen und auf den Straßen. Die größte war eine Verwicklung im Jahre 1726. Sie begann um zwei Uhr nachmittags, als die Studenten die Degen zogen, um einen Untergebenen zu befreien, den die Schergen ins Gefängnis führten, und bis zum Abend prügelte sich die ganze Stadt, obwohl niemand mehr die Ursache kannte. Die Untersuchung durch den Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät, F. Roys, endete in einem Fiasko, die Studenten bekannten sich nicht und die Behörden blieben ratlos. Noch im Jahr 1692 bewies der Rektor Martin Szentiványi der Stadt, dass die Universität allein das Recht hatte, ihre Studenten zu bestrafen. Die Stadt appellierte an den Kaiser und bat mit der bekannten Begründung *per viscera Jesu Christi – wegen der Wunden Christi*, er möge etwas bezüglich der Studenten unternehmen. Die Studenten hatten die Neigung, sich mit ihren Kollegen in Paris oder Bologna zu vergleichen, aber Trnava gab ihnen diese Möglichkeiten nicht und begrenzte ihnen auch die anderen Möglichkeiten, die sie hatten. Aus den erhaltenen Liedern, mit denen sich die Studenten 1777 von Trnava verabschiedeten, als die Universität nach Buda umzog, strahlte Ironie und Hohn für den engherzigen Magistraten, der kein Verständnis für sie hatte. Der wiederholte Refrain des Liedes *eris posthac, nisi fallor, oppidorum famula – wirst Du, Trnava, zur Dienerin der Städtchen, wenn wir weggehen* – ist ausdrucksvoll.[8]

## Der Umzug der Universität von Trnava nach Buda

Bei der Reform der Universität im Jahr 1769, die vor allem die Rechtswissenschaftliche Fakultät und die neu eingerichtete Medizinische Fakultät betraf, wurde erstmals die Verlagerung der Universität erwogen. Bisher ging es nur um ihre Verstaatlichung. Damals ernannte der Hof Emmerich Fekete zum Hauptverwalter der Universität und seit diesem Zeitpunkt konnten Professoren nur

[7] Radváni, Hadrián: Inštitucionálna báza Trnavskej univerzity 1635–1777. In: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia* 1, pp. 71–81.
[8] Šimončič, Jozef: Trnavská univerzita (K 350. výročiu založenia). In: *Domová pokladnica 1985*. Bratislava: Príroda, 1984, pp. 84–87.



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mit seiner Zustimmung ernannt werden. Die Professoren der Philosophischen und der Theologischen Fakultät sollten ihr Gehalt aus Pázmánys Stiftungen erhalten, das Gehalt der anderen wurde von der Kaiserin bestimmt – durchschnittlich 1 200 Dukaten jährlich. Als Papst Clemens XIV. am 21. Juni 1773 den Jesuitenorden annullierte und Kaiserin Maria Theresia am 11. Oktober 1773 die Zustimmung zu seiner Annullierung auch in Ungarn gab, waren die Professorenstellen an der Philosophischen und Theologischen Fakultät zu besetzen, was durch eine Ausschreibung erfolgte. Die Gebäude, die Kirche, die Druckerei, das Observatorium, die Bibliothek, die Sammlungen, die Gärten, die Wiesen, die Felder, der Besitz in Weißkirchen, die Turiec (dt. *Turzer*) Präpositur, die großen Besitztümer in Šaľa (dt. *Schelle*), in Zniev (dt. *Kühhorn*), in Bzovík (dt. *Posauken*) und Bohunice (dt. *Bohunitz*), die Weingärten in Šenkvice (dt. *Schenkwitz*), Modra (dt. *Modern*), Svätý Jur (dt. *Sankt Georgen*) und Rača (dt. *Ratzersdorf*) fügte die Kaiserin dem staatlichen Universitätsfonds hinzu.

Über der Universität begann es zu dämmern. Eingewendet wurde, dass Trnava keine günstige Lage habe, ein Stück von ihr entfernt die nächste Universität in Wien sei, die Stadt nicht genügend Gebäude habe (!?) und vor allem ein großes Krankenhaus fehle. Eine Sonderkommission (K. Nitzky, W. Kempelen, A. Szabó) besichtigte am 2. Dezember 1776 die Gebäude in Trnava und es fiel die definitive Entscheidung, die Universität nach Buda zu verlegen, wo die Kaiserin den königlichen Palast zur Verfügung stellte. Der Professor für ungarisches Recht und Rektor Johannes Zelenay hielt am 24. August 1777 die letzte Vorlesung in Trnava. Die Salz fahrenden Fuhrleute aus Leeg transportierten die Universitätseinrichtung und über die Donau gelangte sie auf Schiffen nach Buda. Der andere Teil wurde auf Flößen aus Sereď verschifft. Die Stadt Buda bot sich an, die Umzugskosten zu bezahlen. Schon am 9. November 1777 begannen die Vorlesungen in Buda, aber die komplizierten Probleme einzelner Fakultäten dauerten länger und die Lage an der Medizinischen Fakultät verbesserte sich auch nicht. Im Jahr 1834 zog die Universität nach Pest um.

Die Universitätsgebäude in Trnava blieben leer. Ursprünglich plante die Kaiserin, das Waisenhaus aus Ptuj (dt. *Pettau*) hierher zu verlegen, später erhielten jedoch die Kriegsinvaliden die Gebäude. Ins Gebäude der Medizinischen Fakultät zog zeitweilig die Königliche Akademie ein, die sozusagen eine Kombination des zweijährigem Studiums der Philosophie und des Rechts anbot. Auch diese ging 1784 nach Bratislava. Josef Ignaz Bajza schickte in seinem Roman *René mládenca príhody a skúsenosti (Die Geschichte und Erfahrungen des jungen René)* seinen Helden auch in das damalige Trnava und hinterließ ein relativ getreues Zeugnis wie es dort aussah.

## Zur Bedeutung der Universität von Trnava

Die Universität entstand und wirkte in einem slowakischen Umfeld und beeinflusste dieses, aber bis heute wird ihre Bedeutung für die slowakische Kulturgeschichte nicht vollständig anerkannt. Nicht einmal ihr Anteil an der Einführung der heimischen Sprache in das Kulturmilieu, der sich schon 1634 zeigte, als Pázmánys Hodegus *von einem Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu* ins *allgemeine Slowakisch* übersetzt wurde, und dann nach dem Jahr 1648, als hier das lateinisch-ungarisch-slowakische Wörterbuch herausgegeben wurde, als hier vor dem Jahr 1655 Szölősis *Cantus catholici* vorbereitet wurde und auch als hier in den sechziger Jahren Nikolaus Miris aus Domaniža die lateinische Arbeit *Zaujímavý spis o slovenskej reči (Interessante Schrift über die slowakische Sprache*) herausgab. In den Gesellschafts – und Rechtswissenschaften formierten sich in Trnava die Wissenschaftler Szentiváni, Revicky, Ivanchich, Jaslinsky, Adámi, denen moderne Denksysteme nicht fremd waren. Die Universität von Trnava blieb keinesfalls in der Anwendung der neuesten Erkenntnisse der Newtonschen Physik zurück. Maximilian Hell, der Quästor des Observatoriums der Universität, erreichte weltweite Anerkennung und mit Unterstützung des dänischen Königs beobachtete er die Verdunklung der Venus von der Insel Vardö aus. Das Werk des Professors der Chirurgie und der spezialisierten Augenmedizin Josef Jakob Plenck wurde schließlich – nach Übersetzungen in die westeuropäischen Sprachen – auch ins Chinesische übersetzt. Die bedeutsamen Historiker der Universität von Trnava Kazy, Katona, Pray, Kaprinai, Timon werden bis heute zitiert. An der Universität schuf Samuel Timon die Konzeption der Geschichte des slowakischen Volkes und von seinen Gedanken über die Slowaken ging später unsere nationale Wiedergeburt aus. Bekannt sind Versuche auch einen Lehrstuhl für die slowakische Sprache zu gründen und die Anknüpfung von Bernoláks *Slowár* an die an der Universität von Trnava verfassten Wörterbücher. Das Gedicht des Studenten der Rechtswissenschaften Stephan Selecky *Obraz panej krásnej perem malovaný, která má v Trnave svoje prebývání* (*Bild der schönen Dame, die in Trnava*



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*sich aufhält, mit der Feder gemalt*) charakterisiert die Universität wie folgt:

> Auch sie hat den Ort Trnava berühmt gemacht
> in Ländern, denen sie zuvor unbekannt.
> Zur ihr aus Türkenland, Tatarien, Russland
> und auch Polen
> kamen Menschen zusammen, ebenso wie aus
> Mähren, Schlesien,
> aus Kroatenland und Siebenbürgen
> nach Trnava wegen der schönen Dame:
> aus Böhmen, Steiermark und Austria besucht
> man diesen Ort
> auch Walachen in Trnava sich wiederfinden
> und von Rom kommt man, um die Wunder
> der Dame zu sehen.

Während der ganzen Zeit des Bestehens der Universität verstand die Stadt ihre Bedeutung nicht und erst nach ihrem Umzug nach Buda gingen Delegationen zum Kaiser, um wenigstens um eine der Fakultäten zu bitten. Der Rektor der Universität von Trnava verwendete in einer Verteidigung seiner Studenten (es ist zu sagen, dass, auch wenn die Studenten sonst was anstellten, die Universitätsleitung immer auf ihrer Seite war, auch wenn das rechtlich nicht gerade in Ordnung war) folgende Formulierung: *Certe nomen Tyrnaviae per Academiam universae Europae inclaruit, quod alias mansisset obscurum… der Name Trnava ist nur Dank der Universität nach ganz Europa gelangt, anders wüsste niemand von dieser Stadt…* In der Begründung sind die gesammelten Vorwürfe in Richtung der Stadt Trnava zu spüren, aber auch das Bewusstsein, wie viel die Universität für die Stadt bedeutete.

Der Erzbischof Pázmány stammte aus einer ethnisch ungarischen Umgebung, aber in Trnava wollte er eine Universität für alle Völker Ungarns haben und die Universität von Trnava war eine solche während der ganzen Zeit ihres Bestehens. Die Südslawen hatten keine Universität (sie entstand erst später in Zagreb nach dem Muster der Universität von Trnava) und so wurde sie sofort nach der Eröffnung zu ihrem Refugium – für Professoren wie Studenten (vor allem Kroaten). Der erste Rektor der Universität von Trnava, Georg Dobronoki, wurde im Jahr 1588 in Lendava (dt. Lindau) in Slowenien geboren und verstarb 1644 in Trnava, in der Slowakei. Besonders in den ersten Dezennien ist eine Überzahl nicht-ungarischer Professoren auffällig. Diese Fremden stammten insbesondere aus den österreichischen Ländern – Ungarn war Bestandteil der *Provinciae Austriae* – der Österreichischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu, aber in Trnava wirkten auch Professoren, die aus Böhmen, Polen, Deutschland, Lothringen usw. stammten. Die Universität war ein lebender Organismus, der die Stadt in europäische Zusammenhänge rückte.

## Die Universität von Trnava und Kroatien

Fast jeder organisierte Besuch von Kroaten in Trnava macht im Gebäude des Vereins des hl. Adalbert bei der Büste und der Tafel des Kardinals Haulik halt, an der ursprünglichen Universität von Trnava befindet sich die Tafel für die kroatischen Professoren und Studenten. In der Basilika des hl. Nikolaus liegt der Bischof Vranchich begraben, auf dem Platz des hl. Nikolaus ist das Geburtshaus des Kardinals Georg Haulik mit der den Gemeinschaften des hl. Hieronymus gewidmeten Gedenktafel und in der Ursulinenkirche befinden sich die Reliquien der drei Märtyrer von Košice (dt. *Kaschau*) – und des hl. Mark Križin.

Die lebendigsten Beziehungen haben Trnava und Zagreb (dt. *Agram*) seit der Gründung der Universitäten in beiden Städten. Die Vorsteher der Gesellschaft Jesu betrachteten Slowakisch und Kroatisch als so nahe Sprachen, dass ein Slowake Rektor in Zagreb und ein Kroate in Trnava war; Pater nahmen sogar die Beichte ab und predigten.

Dr. Mijo Korade publizierte eine erschöpfende Studie über diese Beziehungen – der nichts hinzuzufügen ist.[9] Noch vor der Entstehung der Universität von Trnava Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts arbeiteten die kroatischen Pater Marko Pitačić aus Siska, Ljudevit Lukarić aus Split und Ivan Zanić im Kloster Kláštor pod Znievom, in der sehr problematischen bis feindlichen Umgebung der lutherischen Turzer Gespanschaft.

Die slowakischen Jesuiten waren wiederum bei der Eröffnung der ersten Residenz in Zagreb (1606), bei ihrer Umwandlung in ein Kollegium, dabei. Sie hielten hier Vorlesungen in Philosophie (1612) und wohnten auch der Gründung der Zagreber Universität (Leopold 1669) bei, die nach dem Muster der Universität von Trnava entstand. Georg Forró aus Siebenbürgen war Rektor in Trnava und auch in Zagreb – er bewirkte, dass die Kirche der hl. Katarina zur akademischen Kirche wurde, schrieb die *Chronik des Kollegiums* in

[9] Korade, Mijo: Veze izmedju Zagrebačkog i Trnavskog sveučilišta. In: *Trnavská univerzita 1635–1777*. Ed.: Jozef Šimončič. Trnava: Trnavská univerzita, 1996, pp. 61–68.



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den Jahren 1608–1618, organisierte die erste große Feier (1622) zur Kanonisierung des hl. Ignatius und des hl. Franz Xaver und war auch Provinzial der *Provinciae Austriae*. Der erste Rektor der Universität von Trnava, Georg Dobronoki, war zuvor Rektor des Kollegiums in Zagreb. In seinem Tagebuch beschreibt er die mehr als einmonatige Reise von Zagreb nach Trnava.

Juraj Turković aus Brdovec war Rektor des Kollegiums in Zagreb und auch Rektor der Universität von Trnava (1649). Ivan Despotović aus Čakovec war Rektor der Universität von Trnava 1694–1696.[10] Andreas Horvat aus Varaždin (dt. *Warasdin*) war auch Rektor der Universität von Trnava in den Jahren 1717–1718 und danach Regens des Konvikts. Der Kroate Fraňo Kunič aus Cikljin war zweimal Rektor der Universität von Trnava: 1749–1751, 1756–1759.[11]

Slowaken waren wiederum Rektoren in Zagreb, so auch Thomas Ovčarovič aus Vysoká pri Morave (dt. *Hochstädten/Hochstetten*) und Pavol Somalovič aus Rohonec.

An der Universität von Trnava erwarben kroatische Jesuiten das Doktorat: der Schriftsteller Juraj Habdelić, der Lexikograf Andrej Jambrešić und der Historiker Fraňo Zdelar. Kroatische Jesuiten waren auch Dekane der Philosophischen und der Theologischen Fakultät: Štefan Pethö, Jan Despotovič, Ján Patačič, Fraňo Janešič, Andrej Jambrešič, Štefan Glavač, Jakub Pejačevič, Fraňo Xaver Carina, Michal Šoretič (Pathologe), Juraj Lakič (Kirchenrecht).

Die ausgezeichnet ausgestattete Druckerei der Universität von Trnava diente auch Kroatien. Ihre Lehrbücher und wissenschaftliche Produktion nutzte die Universität in Zagreb. In Trnava kamen in kroatischer Sprache die Werke *Kanizia Petra Abekavica i krescanski nauk* (1634), *Kratka Azbukvica* (1696), *Libellus alphabeticus* (1702, 1756, 1768), *Bogoljubne pisme* (1736), *Knixica duhovna* (1768) und die lateinischen Werke der Professoren Ladislav Despotovič, Nikol Laurenčič, Matej Purulič und anderer heraus.

Die Universität von Trnava hatte eine hervorragende und vortrefflich ausgestattete Apotheke; ihre Apotheker Pavol Thaller, Karol Smichel dienten dem Kollegium und der Stadt auch in Zagreb und Požeg.

Josip Kraljič, der in Trnava zu der Zeit (1705–1708) Theologie studierte, als die Seitenkapellen der Kathedrale des hl. Johannes des Täufers bemalt wurden, ließ als Rektor in Požega und Zagreb die von ihm verwalteten Kirchen in ähnlicher Weise bemalen.

Dr. Korade führt statistische Angaben für das 17. Jahrhundert an: bereits im ersten Jahr des Bestehens des jesuitischen Gymnasiums in Trnava (1616) meldeten sich dort 22 kroatische Jungen an.

In den Jahren 1635–1680 studierten an der Universität von Trnava allein 114 Kroaten, davon 54 Adlige, zehn Bürger, die übrigen waren freie Bauern. 75 davon erreichten das Bachelorat.

[10] Hološová, Alžbeta: *Rektori Trnavskej univerzity 1635–1777/1992–2008*. Trnava: Trnavská univerzita, 2009, pp. 52–53.
[11] Ibidem, pp. 88–89.



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NAĎA LABANCOVÁ*

# Zum kroatischen Slawismus im Kreis der Societas Jesu auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei an der Wende des 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert

## K chorvátskemu slavizmu jezuitov na území dnešného Slovenska na prelome 16. a 17. storočia / O hrvatskom slavizmu u isusovačkom krugu na području današnje Slovačke na prijelazu iz 16. u 17. stoljeće

*After the year 1561, several houses of the Society of Jesus were established on the territory of present-day Slovakia. Their communities were formed not only of local people, but a considerable number of members came from other parts of the Hungarian Kingdom, and also from beyond its borders, to a great extent of Slavic origin (Croats or Poles). Such migration (reinforced by the fact that Jesuits were not limited by a promise of living stably in their home monastery, as were members of other monastic orders) contributed to the transfer of ideas, traditions, as well as books using glagolitic letters from the South-Slavic region to the area of present-day Slovakia. Confirmation of this lively ideological exchange (at least in religious circles) between the area of present-day Slovakia and Croatia in the early modern period, but also testimony to how this form of "Slavic reciprocity" was reflected in the Roman curia at this time, is a project of the Jesuit college for Slavic nations living on the eastern border of Roman Christianity, where the Croatian language was to be used. This college was presumably to be situated in the area of present-day Slovakia. Although this project was not finally realized in this form, the idea was applied with modifications a hundred years later at the University of Trnava.*

Keywords: Slavism, *Societas Jesu*, Jesuit education, Alfonso Carillo, Theophil Kristek

Das Projekt, mit dem sich der nachfolgende Beitrag beschäftigt, hängt eng mit der Schul – und Erziehungstätigkeit der Jesuiten zusammen, die man heute gewöhnlich als ihre Hauptaktivität, wenn auch nicht als ihre ausschließliche Beschäftigung betrachtet. Am Anfang war dabei alles ganz anders. Ignatius von Loyola und seine ersten Gefährten dachten gar nicht an die Errichtung irgendeiner Schulinstitution, da sie überzeugt waren, dass sie durch eine solche in der erforderlichen Mobilität beschränkt werden würden. Im Entwurf der Ordensregel wird zwar vom Unterricht der Kinder in der christlichen Lehre gesprochen, man sollte jedoch darunter das Bedürfnis nach der Katechese und keinen ordentlichen Schulunterricht verstehen. Die Situation änderte sich noch zu Lebzeiten des Ignatius, als die ersten Erfahrungen die Lehranstalten als eines der besten Mittel zur Erfüllung der Ziele der Gesellschaft Jesu erwiesen. In den fünfziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts begann die Anzahl der Schulen unter der Kuratel der Jesuitenpater kontinuierlich anzuwachsen und Ignatius selbst versprach für sie einheitliche Regeln und Prinzipien auszuarbeiten, was er jedoch bis zu seinem Tode im Juli 1556 nicht geschafft hat. Der Bedarf an der Gestaltung eines einheitlichen Jesuitenschulwesens wurde jedoch immer stärker und deshalb ernannte der fünfte Generalvorsteher des Ordens, Claudio Aquaviva, in den achtziger Jahren eine internationale Kommission der Jesuiten, die einen Vorschlag für die allgemeinen Richtlinien für das Jesuitenschulwesen ausarbeitete. Dieser Vorschlag wurde dann zur Überprüfung in der Praxis einzelnen Kollegien geschickt. Die endgültige Redaktion wurde im Januar 1599 unter dem wohl bekannten Titel *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu* genehmigt und herausgegeben.[1]

Man kann gerechtfertigt vermuten, dass das Projekt bezüglich der Schaffung eines Kollegiums für die slawischen Völker an der Ostgrenze des römischen Christentums, mit dem ich mich in

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[1] Mehr zum Thema des Jesuitenschulwesens siehe in *Jezuitské školstvo včera a dnes*. Ed.: Ladislav Csontos. Trnava: Teologická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Bratislave – Ústav dejín Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave, 2006, 214 pp.



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diesem Beitrag beschäftigen möchte, ein Bestandteil, oder besser, eine Fortsetzung dieser Prozesse war. Die Idee hinsichtlich des Vorhabens bleibt uns erhalten in der wenig bekannten Korrespondenz des spanischen Jesuiten Pater Alfonso Carillo,[2] eines der bedeutendsten Jesuitenvorsteher an der Wende des 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert, damals unter anderem der Vorsteher des Hauses in Šaľa, mit Pater Theophil Kristek,[3] dem Vorsteher des Hauses in Kláštor pod Znievom.[4] Das Motiv des Briefes von Theophil Kristek an seinen Vorgesetzten Alfonso Carillo war, wie aus dieser Korrespondenz hervorgeht, die Antwort auf eine Frage, die Alfonso Carillo direkt aus Rom von dem General der Jesuiten, dem schon erwähnten Pater Claudio Aquaviva selbst erhalten hatte. Die Frage lautete, ob es möglich sei – auf Grund des angeführten Textes ist es nicht ganz klar wo, doch wahrscheinlich direkt in Turiec (dt. *Turz*) – ein Jesuitenkollegium zu gründen, dessen Unterrichtssprache irgendein allgemein akzeptierter slawischer Dialekt sein sollte. Die zweite Frage, die A. Carillo unvermeidlich stellen musste, war, um welche Sprache es sich in solch einem Fall handeln sollte. Nach gründlicher Erwägung der gestellten Fragen antwortete Theophil Kristek, dass es die kroatische Sprache sein sollte, die auch Illyrisch und wegen den Buchstaben, die sie benutzt, sowohl Glagolitisch, als auch im allgemeinen Slawisch genannt wird.

Die Gründe, die zu solch einem Urteil führten, waren teilweise praktischen, sprachwissenschaftlichen sowie historischen Charakters.

Zu den praktischen Gründen gehört die allgemeine Verbreitung dieser Sprache besonders unter den Südslawen unter dem türkischen Joch, aber auch die Tatsache, die später zu einem beliebten Argument der Verfechter der illyrischen Sprache werden sollte, dass eben diese Sprache während der Kontakte mit den Slawen auch von der türkischen slawischen Kanzlei in Istanbul als ihre Amtssprache verwendet wurde. In der Umgebung der slowakischen Intellektuellen operiert damit zum Beispiel der Neusohler Joannes Fischer-Piscatoris in seiner Dissertation *De Origine, Jure ac Utilitate Linguae Slavonicae* aus dem Jahre 1697.[5] Hinsichtlich der linguistischen Kriterien weist Theophil Kristek auf ihre Verständlichkeit hin, insbesondere im Vergleich mit anderen Varianten der zeitgleich bestehenden slawischen literarischen, sowie liturgischen Sprachen, vornehmlich jedoch mit den ostslawischen (ruthenischen) Varianten der kirchenslawischen Sprache. Als bei weitem interessanteste erscheint die historische Argumentation zu Gunsten der glagolitisch-illyrisch-kroatischen Sprache. Zuallererst, wie es der Autor des Briefes anführt, ist sie die älteste slawische Sprache (dieses Argument wird später mehrmals wiederholt). Nach Pater T. Kristek war es der heilige Hieronymus (347–420) selbst, der diese Sprache durch die Erfindung des glagolitischen Alphabets und durch die nachfolgende Übersetzung der *Heiligen Schrift* faktisch kodifizierte. Obwohl es sich hier um keine historisch berechtigte Begründung handelt, wird sie um ein Jahrhundert später zu einem untrennbaren Bestandteil der Argumentation der slowakischen Intellektuellen, vor allem ihres evangelischen Teils. Das Kirchenslawische sowie dessen erste Schrift – Glagoliza – wurde erst von dem heiligen Konstantin dem Philosophen († 14. Februar 869) kodifiziert. Hauptsächlich ist es hier die Funktionsfähigkeit dieser historischen Konstruktion, die der kroatischen Form des in Glagoliza geschriebenen Kirchenslawischen nicht nur den Ruf der Altertümlichkeit beibrachte, sondern auch jahrhundertelang die kroatischen diese Sprache benutzenden Benediktinermönche vor der potentiellen Beschuldigung der methodianischen Häresie bewahrte. Theophil Kristek verwendete also dieses Argument im traditionellen und damals gewöhnlichen Sinne.

Ein nicht weniger bedeutungsvolles Argument zu Gunsten der illyrischen Sprache ist die Tatsache, dass sie als Sprache der heiligen Liturgie von mehreren Päpsten anerkannt wurde, was lange Zeit nicht einmal in Rom vergessen wurde. Die weltliche Macht, die vom historischen Gesichtspunkt die Übernahme der illyrischen Sprache legitimieren sollte, wurde dann in der

[2] Alfonso Carillo war ein spanischer Jesuit, betraut mit der Führung der ungarischen Jesuitenmission in den letzten Dezennien des 16. und am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts, außer anderem war er sowohl Rektor des Jesuitenkollegien in Kláštor pod Znievom und in Šaľa. Später wurde er zum Provinzial in Österreich.

[3] Teofil Kristek/Theofyl Cristecus/Teofil Křístek/Teofil Krzysztek, ein bedeutsamer polnischer Jesuit an der Wende des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, der auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei tätig war, Superior des Klosters in Kláštor pod Znievom. Siehe Mijo Korade: Veze izmedju Zagrebačkog i Trnavskog sveučilišta. In: *Trnavská univerzita 1635–1777*. Ed.: Jozef Šimončič. Trnava: Neumahr, 1996, pp. 61–68.

[4] Für den Hinweis auf dieses bedeutungsvolle Dokument möchte ich mich bei dem Dozenten Ivan Mrva bedanken.

[5] Fischer-Piscatoris, Johannes: *De Origine, Jure ac Utilitate Lingvae Slavonicae*. Wittenbergae: Typis Christiani Schrödteri, Acad. Typ., 1697.



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Argumentation von Theophil Kristek durch die Autorität des römischen Kaisers, Karl IV. (1355–1378) vertreten. Eben dieser Herrscher hatte im Jahre 1347 die kroatischen Glagoliza benutzenden Mönche (*glagoláši*) nach Prag eingeladen und dort für sie ein slawisches Kloster, Emauzy, errichtet. Hier fügen wir nur hinzu, dass ein ähnliches Kloster auch von Hedwig (1384–1399), der Tochter Ludwig des Großen von Anjou und polnischen Königin im Jahre 1390, in Krakau, am Kleparz, gestiftet wurde.[6] Obwohl auch dieser Akt schließlich nicht zum Bestandteil der Argumentationsbasis von Theophil Kristek wurde, ist wesentlich, dass seine historische Reichweite höchstwahrscheinlich nicht ohne Einfluss auf das Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei blieb.

Wie man nämlich im anderen Teil des Briefes lesen kann, befanden sich in dieser Zeit mehrere glagolitische Drucke im Eigentum der Jesuitenpater von Kláštor pod Znievom. Namentlich ging es um das *Leben des heiligen Hieronymus* oder eine gewisse Sammlung der wichtigsten Gebete, lateinisch als *Alphabeticum et Preces Illyricae* bekannt. Daneben benachrichtigt Pater T. Kristek seinen Vorgesetzten ebenfalls über weitere slawische Drucke, die sich im Eigentum des Jesuitenklosters in Turz befinden. Dass es sich nicht um vereinzelte Texte gleichartigen Charakters handelt, über die die Jesuiten von Kláštor pod Znievom verfügten, bezeugt zudem Alfonso Carillo in seinem nachfolgenden Bericht an Claudio Aquaviva, General der Jesuiten in Rom. Er erwähnt sogar ein Verzeichnis solcher Handschriften und Drucke mit den Orten ihrer Aufbewahrung, das zum genannten Bericht beigefügt werden sollte.[7] Dieses sicher wertvolle Verzeichnis ist jedoch verlorengegangen.

Wie viel Wert die Jesuiten auf die Gründung eines slawischsprachigen Kollegiums legten, dokumentiert vermutlich am besten der erwähnte Brief von Alfonso Carillo an Claudio Aquaviva vom 24. Januar 1600. Unter anderem schreibt A. Carillo nach Rom: „*Ich schicke Euch den Bericht in der Sache des Seminars in der illyrischen (slawischen) Sprache, wie Ihr mir angeordnet habt, was ich nicht vergessen habe. Ich schicke Euch das Ergebnis, zu dem ich gekommen bin. Ich habe mich mit zahlreichen Sachverständigen beraten und ich sehe, dass die kroatische Sprache mehr als andere Dialekte zur Unterstützung der östlichen Völker geeignet ist …*“.[8] Sicher ist es hier nicht um die erste sowie die letzte Initiative in dieser Richtung gegangen. Bereits im Jahre 1553 ist in Bologna das jesuitische *Collegium Hungaricum-Illyricum* entstanden, das vom Zagreber Kapitel verwaltet wurde. Im Jahre 1580 wurde dann ein Illyrisches Kollegium direkt in Rom, in Loreto, gegründet. Im Jahre 1595 ist wiederum in Rom auch eine Akademie der illyrischen Sprache entstanden.[9] Im Jahre 1606 wurde dann in Zagreb das erste jesuitische Kollegium in Kroatien gegründet. Teilweise ging es um die Initiativen der Jesuiten ursprünglich bezüglich des Gebiets der heutigen Slowakei.

Abschließend kann man sagen, dass der Brief von Theophil Kristek ein wichtiges Zeugnis darstellt, das die Bedeutung der glagolitischen (slawischen) Sprache nicht nur in der Vergangenheit bewertet, sondern gleichwohl ihre Aufgabe und Funktionsfähigkeit in Hinblick auf die Zukunft betrachtet. Zugleich konnte es für uns eine Inspiration sein, genauer die Beziehungen und gegenseitige Beeinflussung der Jesuitenpater aus der slowakischen und kroatischen Umgebung zu untersuchen. Aus wenigstens einem weiteren Grund scheint es wichtig und interessant zu sein, noch einmal auf den Brief von Theophil Kristek zurückzukommen. Er hält den Zustand sowie die Strukturen des Bewusstseins eines slowakischen, oder genauer auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei wirkenden, Intellektuellen, des Jesuiten Theophil Kristek, in der Sache der Benutzung einer slawischen (in diesem Fall der kroatischen) Sprache, sowohl als ein wirksames Mittel der Rekatholisierung als auch einer potentiellen Mission oder Union mit den orthodoxen Ostslawen, fest. Dieser Vorschlag scheint desto interessanter, wenn man sich die übliche damalige Praxis vergegenwärtigt, und zwar, dass als Unterrichtsprache der (nicht nur) jesuitischen Kollegien das Lateinische üblich war. Ausnahmen waren normalerweise nur erklärende Anmerkungen zu den lateinischen Texten (besonders für die unteren Klassen), verschiedene Schulakademien, Theatervorstellungen oder Dispute in der entsprechenden Muttersprache. Es ist jedoch vermutlich kein anderer Fall bekannt, bei dem man über eine Muttersprache als Unterrichtssprache nachdachte.

Mit der Residenz in Kláštor pod Znievom ist sowohl ein anderes interessantes Schulprojekt

[6] Ähnlich wurde schon im Jahre 1380 von dem Fürsten Konrad II. aus dem Geschlecht der Piasten ein Kloster der Benediktiner (glagoláši) im schlesischen Oleśnica (dt. *Oels*) gestiftet.

[7] Epistoli et acta p. Alfonsi Carrillii 2, nr. 187, p. 298.

[8] Ibidem.

[9] Knežević, Sanja: Nazivi chorvatskoga jezika u dopreporodnim gramatikama. In: *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina*, a. 3, 2007, p. 42.



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verbunden. Im Frühling des Jahres 1583 hat Pater Antonius Possevino einen Bericht an den päpstlichen Nuntius am kaiserlichen Hof in Wien, Giovanni Francesco Bonomi geschickt, in dem er eben das Turzer Kloster als eine ideale Stelle zur Gründung eines Kollegiums der Gesellschaft Jesu beschrieben hat, das in der Zukunft in die länger geplante jesuitische Universität umgestaltet werden könnte (schließlich wurde diese in Tyrnau gestiftet). Er hat mit der Nähe der Universitäten in Deutschland, Tschechien sowie in Polen argumentiert und Kláštor pod Znievom hat er als die Stelle gesehen, wovon sich (außer anderem) der erneuerte Glaube in das ganze Königreich Ungarn ausbreiten könnte.[10]

Es bleibt unbekannt, ob zwischen beiden Projekten einiger Zusammenhang besteht, abschließend kann man jedoch sagen, dass der Brief von Theophil Kristek ein wichtiges Zeugnis darstellt, das die Bedeutung der glagolitischen (slawischen) Sprache nicht nur in der Vergangenheit bewertet, sondern auch seine Aufgabe und Funktionsfähigkeit in Bezug auf die Zukunft betrachtet. Zugleich konnte es für uns zur Inspiration werden, eingehender die Beziehungen und gegenseitige Beeinflussung der Jesuitenpater aus der slowakischen und kroatischen Umgebung zu untersuchen.

## Auszüge der wichtigsten Teile des Briefes von Theophil Kristek an Alfonso Carillo über die Möglichkeit der Gründung eines Jesuitenkollegiums mit einer slawischen Unterrichtssprache[11]

„Vor einiger Zeit hat mich Euer Ehrwürden gefragt, ob eine Schule in unserer slawischen Sprache gegründet werden könnte (ähnlich wie die Gymnasien, die in Indien und Japan eröffnet wurden) und welche von den so vielen Mundarten einer derart verbreiteten Sprache ich für die allgemeinste halten würde, insbesondere zum Nutzen der östlichen diese Sprache benutzenden Völker. Und obwohl ich mit den Ostslawen, soweit ich mich erinnere, niemals geredet habe, inwiefern ich trotzdem auf Grund des Tschechischen und Polnischen, die ich ziemlich gut beherrsche, darüber urteilen kann, als auch anhand dieser unseren Sprache, die ich derzeit benutze, nämlich der ungaroslawischen[12] sowie der ruthenischen, der ich mehrere Jahre als ein Knabe in Jaroslawl (*Jaroslavl'*) zugehört habe, ebenfalls auf Grund der Moskauer, der serbischen und bulgarischen sowie kroatischen, slowenischen und kärntnerischen Sprache, von welchen es mir gelang, manche öfter zu hören, manche hingegen nur selten (wie zum Beispiel die Sprache der Moskauer); sei mein Urteil in dieser Sache durchaus bedeutungslos, lege ich dennoch Euer Ehrwürden jene Sprache fest, weil Sie es so gewünscht haben und auf die schriftliche Antwort gedrängt haben. Ich nehme an, dass es die kroatische Sprache ist.

Diese Sprache wurde am stärksten unter den Türken volkstümlich, insbesondere an ihren Höfen. Zudem scheint die kroatische Sprache die Wurzel und Mutter der übrigen zu sein. Drittens hat sie die lieblichste Aussprache von allen, ohne Hiate, Kollisionen, raue Akzente, usw. Viertens scheint sie die älteste von allen zu sein, weil die Buchstaben dieser Sprache, die auch als glagolitische bezeichnet werden, der heilige Hieronymus [*den Menschen*] schenkte und man sagt, dass diese Sprache von einigen römischen Päpsten dispensiert wurde, damit sie Sprache der heiligen [*Liturgie*] sein könnte.

Und so auch mochte um das Jahr des Herrn 1400 Karl IV., römischer Kaiser, früher auch Wenzeslaus genannt, nämlich Sohn des tschechischen Königs Johann, in Böhmen geboren, der sich daneben um zahlreiche weitere Sachen bemühte, um seine tschechische Heimat zu schmücken und aus der ganzen Welt die Reliquien der Heiligen sowie andere Antiquitäten versammelte; er mochte also dieser Sprache ihr eigenes Heim vorbereiten und im Neuen Prag (das jedoch an das Alte grenzt), in der Stadt, die von ihm selbst gegründet worden war, stiftete er ein Kloster. Hier setzte er die Mönche ein, die in jener glagolitischen, ergo slawischen Sprache alle kanonischen Stunden sangen sowie auch sonstige heilige Handlungen leisteten. Dieses Kloster steht bis heute in Prag, in seiner Neuen Stadt, volkstümlich Slowin,[13] oder bei einem anderen, gleichwohl volkstümlichen Namen Emauzy genannt. Eines seiner Bestandteile ist auch die Kirche mit Patrozinium des heiligen Hieronymus. Nunmehr verweilen dort keine Mönche, jedoch ist da immer ein Priester, der dieses

[10] Šimončič, Jozef: Školstvo Spoločnosti Ježišovej na Slovensku 1561–1773. In: *Jezuitské školstvo*, pp. 40–41. Der originale Brief siehe: *Monumenta antique Hungariae*, vol. 2. Ed.: Ladislaus Lukács. Romae 1976, pp. 479–480.

[11] Epistoli et acta p. Alfonsi Carrillii S.J. (1598–1618), vol. 2. Ed.: Endre Veress. In: *Monumenta Hungariae Historica* : *Diplomataria*, vol. 41. Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Académia, 1943, nr. 176, pp. 277–281.

[12] Slowakischen, Anmerkung der Autorin.

[13] Na Slovanech, Anmerkung der Autorin.



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Kloster verwaltet und den Titel eines Abtes trägt. Einer dieser Priester, Herr Matthäus Benessovinus,[14] Abt dieses Klosters, hat mir vor neun Jahren die Klostersakristei geöffnet. Hier habe ich viele Bücher in dieser Sprache mit der für diesen Typ charakteristischen Schrift verziert gesehen, und zwar, wenn ich mich recht erinnere, die Antiphonarien mit Noten sowie ein Martyrologium und andere Handschriften verschiedenen Charakters.

Etwas später, als sich der Einfluss der kaiserlichen Majestät verringerte und das Prager Kollegium ohne Schutz verblieb (auch heute ist es so), wurde diese Bibliothek an die Burg Zbirow[15] übertragen, die drei oder vier Meilen von Prag entfernt ist, falls ich mich nicht irre. Ich habe mich dem damaligen Rektor des Prager Kollegiums, Vater Wenzeslaus Sturmius, angeschlossen und wir haben dort mehrere in dieser Sprache abgefasste Kodizes glagolitischen Charakters gesehen.

Auch hier in Turz habe ich vor einem Jahr das *Leben des heiligen Hieronymus*, in jener Sprache und mit den glagolitischen Buchstaben gedruckt, gesehen. Das bezeugt auch Pater Joannes Zanić.[16]

Und ich bin der Meinung, dass es mehr solche Bücher gibt, auch hier in Turz hat doch Pater Ludwig Lukari[17] zurzeit ein Büchlein, in dem die glagolitischen Buchstaben vorkommen. Es wurde in Venedig von Andreas de Torresanis de Asula im Jahre des Herrn 1527 gedruckt.[18] (…) Wie es auch bekannt ist, wurde im Jahre 1582 von Alexander Komulović aus Split in dieser illyrischen, das heißt kroatischen Sprache sogar der *Katechismus* des Paters Kanisius, in der Lateinschrift gedruckt, veröffentlicht. (…)

Es ist genügend, sich bis daher auszudrücken, weiter bin ich farbenblind.

In Turz am 27. September 1599“

[14] Matej Benešovský/Philonomus, Matouš (ungefähr 1550–† ?), bedeutsame, aber kontroverse Person der Prager intellektuellen Umgebung am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, tschechischer Prediger, Übersetzer ins Tschechische, Abt des Klosters Emauzy.

[15] Zbiroh, eine Burg in der Landschaft Křivoklátsko, etwa 58 km von Prag entfernt. In der Zeit der Regierung von Rudolf II. wurde sie im Renaissancestil umgebaut.

[16] Ján Zanič/Ivan Žanič/Johannes Sanitius/Zanitius, Prokurator der Turzer Präpositur, der Abstammung nach ein Kroate (Illyricus).

[17] Ľudovít Lukari/Ludovicus Lucarius/Ljudevit Lukarić, ein kroatischer Jesuit aus Split. Siehe Korade, Mijo: Veze izmedju Zagrebačkog, p. 61. Zusammen mit Leonard Klasović, Marcus Pitaćić, Laurentius Critander oder Stefanus Arator Szantó gehörte er zu den führenden Persönlichkeiten des Turzer Jesuitenklosters. Die Jesuitenmissionare wirkten in jener Zeit erfolgreich sowohl in der Sohler oder Sempliner Gespanschaft. Mehrere Jahre bekleidete Ludwig Lukari das Pfarreramt in Valča. Später übte er den Pfarrerdienst in Svätý Ďur aus, wo er im Jahre 1599 auch die Missionen führte. Siehe Krapka, Emil – Mikula, Vojtech: *Dejiny Spoločnosti Ježišovej na Slovensku*. Cambridge (Ontario): Dobrá kniha, 1990, pp. 43–44 et p. 206.

[18] *Alphabeticum et Preces Illyricae*, imp. Ven. per Andream de Toressanis de Asula, Venetia 1527.



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SVORAD ZAVARSKÝ*

# Some Notes on I. F. X. Cetto's Collection of Thirty-Nine Panegyrics on St. Ladislas (Vienna, 1655–1693)**

## K Cettovej zbierke tridsiatich deviatich panegyrík na svätého Ladislava (Viedeň, 1655–1693) / Neke zabilješke o I. F. X. Cettovoj zbirci od tridesetdevet hvalospjeva Sv. Ladislavu (Beč, 1655.–1693.)

*King St. Ladislas of Hungary, the patron-saint of Natio Hungarica at the University of Vienna, became the subject of panegyrical orations delivered annually in St. Stephen's Cathedral on 27 June. This paper discusses the orations held in the years 1655–1693. Collected in one volume by I. F. X. Cetto, they form an easily accessible corpus of texts which may serve as a starting point for further research into the Viennese panegyrics on St. Ladislas. Based on the political thinking of the Spanish Jesuits, Pedro Ribadeneira and Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, as well as on the rhetorical conventions of the period, the thirty-nine panegyrics depict the figure of King St. Ladislas as the prototype of a Christian prince whose cooperation with the heavenly powers ensures the welfare of his people. Parallels drawn between St. Ladislas and Leopold I (1655–1705) constitute the backbone of the ideological message conveyed in the texts.*

Keywords: St. Ladislas, the idea of the Christian prince, rhetorical conventions, theory of imitation

The aim of this paper is to comment briefly on a collection of thirty-nine panegyrical orations on the holy King Ladislas of Hungary published in Vienna in 1693. Entitled *Virtus Coronata Divi Ladislai I. Hungariae Regis, Inclytae Nationis Hungaricae Tutelaris*,[1] the book contains speeches dating from 1655 to 1693 and delivered on the occasion of the annual solemnities held in honour of St. Ladislas (June 27) in St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna. The collection opens with a dedication letter to Cardinal Leopold Kolloniz[2] written by *Ignatius Franciscus Xaverius Cetto*, a student of rhetoric and the orator of the speech given in 1693, the last one included in the volume. (I therefore refer to it as Cetto's collection in the following lines.) As we learn from the title page, the book owes its existence to a lucky numerical coincidence which, however, was probably received as an omen in the intellectual atmosphere of the Baroque period: in 1693, Leopold I had been

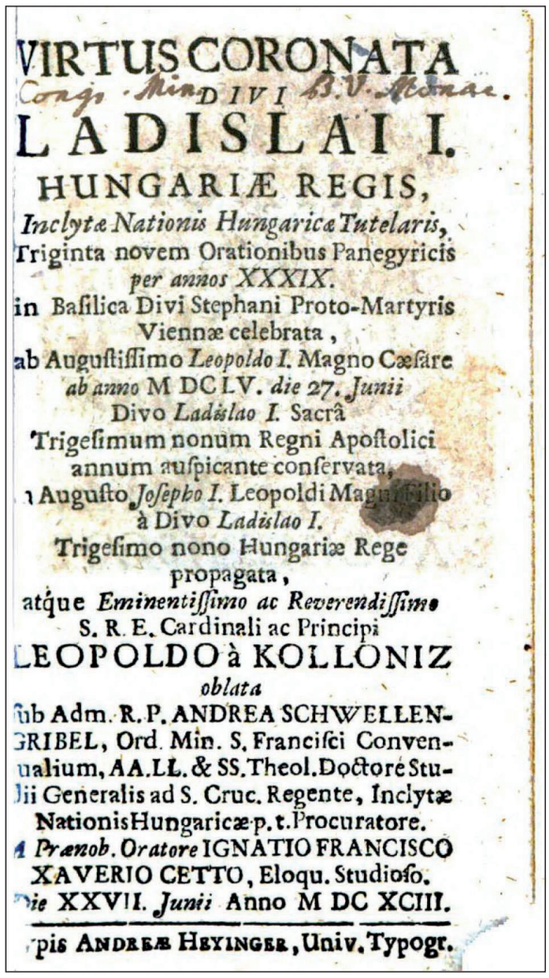

VIRTUS CORONATA
DIVI
LADISLAI I.
HUNGARIÆ REGIS,
*Inclytæ Nationis Hungaricæ Tutelaris,*
Triginta novem Orationibus Panegyricis
*per annos XXXIX.*
in Basilica Divi Stephani Proto-Martyris
Viennæ celebrata,
ab Augustissimo *Leopoldo I.* Magno Cæsare
*ab anno* M DC LV. *die 27. Junii*
Divo *Ladislao I.* Sacrâ
Trigesimum nonum Regni Apostolici
annum auspicante conservata,
Augusto *Josepho I.* Leopoldi Magni Filio
à Divo *Ladislao I.*
Trigesimo nono Hungariæ Rege
propagata,
atque *Eminentissimo ac Reverendissimo*
S. R. E. Cardinali ac Principi
LEOPOLDO à KOLLONIZ
*oblata*
sub Adm. R. P. ANDREA SCHWELLEN-
GRIBEL, Ord. Min. S. Francisci Conven-
tualium, AA. LL. & SS. Theol. Doctore Stu-
dii Generalis ad S. Cruc. Regente, Inclytæ
Nationis Hungaricæ p. t. Procuratore.
*Prænob. Oratore* IGNATIO FRANCISCO
XAVERIO CETTO, Eloqu. Studioso.
die XXVII. *Junii* Anno M DC XCIII.
Typis ANDREÆ HEYINGER, Univ. Typogr.

Fig. 1. *The title page of Cetto's collection.*

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[1] Cetto, Ignatius Fransciscus Xavierius: *Virtus coronata divi Ladislai I. Hungariae regis, inclytae nationis Hungaricae tutelaris, triginta novem orationibus panegyricis celebrata*. Viennae: Typis Andreae Heyinger, Univ. Typogr., 1693.

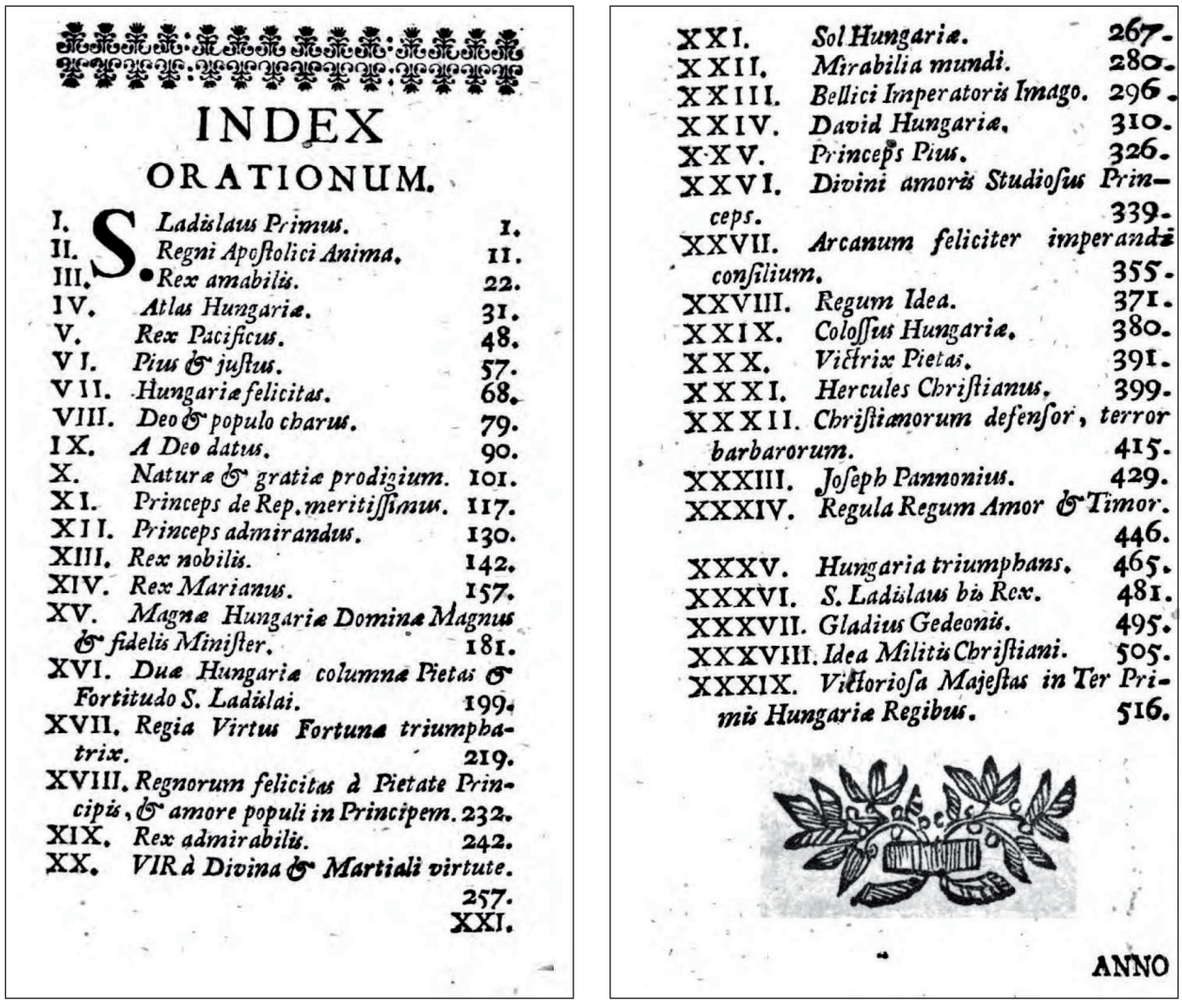
[2] This form of the Cardinal's surname is used on the title page and in the dedication of the collection.



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reigning over the Kingdom of Hungary for 39 years and his son Joseph, crowned King of Hungary in 1687, represented the 39th successor of St. Ladislas. (Note also the inversion 93–39.)[3] Also interesting in this respect is the fact that Leopold's coronation took place in Bratislava (*Posonium*, Presburg) on 27 June, 1655, i. e. on the feast day of St. Ladislas, a date no doubt chosen deliberately.[4]

In 1414, the corporation of the ‚Hungarian' nation (*Natio Hungarica*) was established as the university of Vienna and St. Ladislas was chosen its patron saint.[5] It must be remembered, though, that the membership of the Hungarian university nation consisted not only of students coming from the Hungarian Kingdom but encompassed a much larger community, including Czechs, Poles, Croats, and others. The frontispiece of the 1681 oration provides an eloquent illustration of this fact, displaying an image in which the Viennese *Natio Hungarica* is represented by twenty boys holding the coats of arms of twenty different regions and surrounding the holy King Ladislas seated on his throne.[6] (See fig. 3) According to the statutes one of the main tasks of the nation was



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ANNO

Fig. 2. *The Index of Cetto´s collection.*

[3] This is explicitly stated both in the title of the collection and in the last of the 39 panegyrics delivered by I. F. X. Cetto in 1693. (See also fig. 1.)

[4] Ducreux, Marie-Elizabeth: Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories: Multiple versions of the Pietas Austriaca? In: *The Catholic Historical Review*, a. 97, 2011, nr. 2, p. 262.

[5] Pöschek, Andreas: *Disputationen und Ungarische Studenten an der Wiener Universität*. Wien – Debrecen: Institut für europäische vergleichende Literatur– und Sprachwissenschaften, 2007, p. 5. There were four nations at the University of Vienna: *Natio Austriaca*, *Rhenana*, *Hungarica*, and *Saxonica* whose patron saints were St. Leopold, St. Ursula, St. Ladislas, and St. Mauritius respectively.

[6] The coats of arms represent the following regions: Hungaria, Bohemia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bulgaria, Servia, Sclavonia, Bosnia, Cumania, Gallicia, Lodomeria, Trasylvania, Silesia, Lusatia, Moravia, Polonia, Moscovia, Græcia, Asia, and Valachia.



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to arrange annual celebration on the feast day of its patron saint. Every year, the head of the corporation (*procurator*) was obliged to appoint from among university students a festive orator who was to give a laudatory speech on St. Ladislas.[7] The length of the speech was probably limited to half an hour on average, as can be assumed from the oration delivered in 1659.[8] Since the university of Vienna became the most important educational centre of Hungarian aristocracy in the course of the seventeenth century,[9] it is reasonable to suppose that these annual rhetorical performances exerted no small ideological influence on those exposed to them during their student years.

Although the texts included in the collection represent only a very small part of the extensive Neo-Latin panegyrical literature relating to the idea of St. Ladislas, they nontheless provide a comprehensive insight into almost the whole period of the reign of Leopold I (1655–1705). All these orations were published also in separate editions in the respective years of their delivery. Their dedications were regularly addressed to Emperor Leopold I by the orator who, important to note, was not necessarily identical with the author of the respective panegyric (as will be shown below). Although I am aware that the orations of Cetto's collection relate also to the broader concept of the *Pietas Austriaca*,[10] my article is not meant to contribute to this field as I have not studied the concept close enough to be able to comment on it. My intention is to shed some light on the collection's literary context by referring to some relevant works closely related to it. I hope my remarks will be of help to future students of the Viennese panegyrics.

## The keys to interpretation: the idea of the Christian prince, rhetorical conventions, and the theory of imitation

Perhaps the most significant key to understanding the late seventeenth century panegyrics devoted to St. Ladislas can be found in the Catholic (Jesuit) political teaching of the period. The title of the Viennese collection points eloquently to this context, for the notion of *virtus coronata* is no doubt derived directly from the work of the Spanish Jesuit Juan Eusebio Nieremberg (1595–1658) entitled *Corona virtuosa y virtud coronada* (Madrid

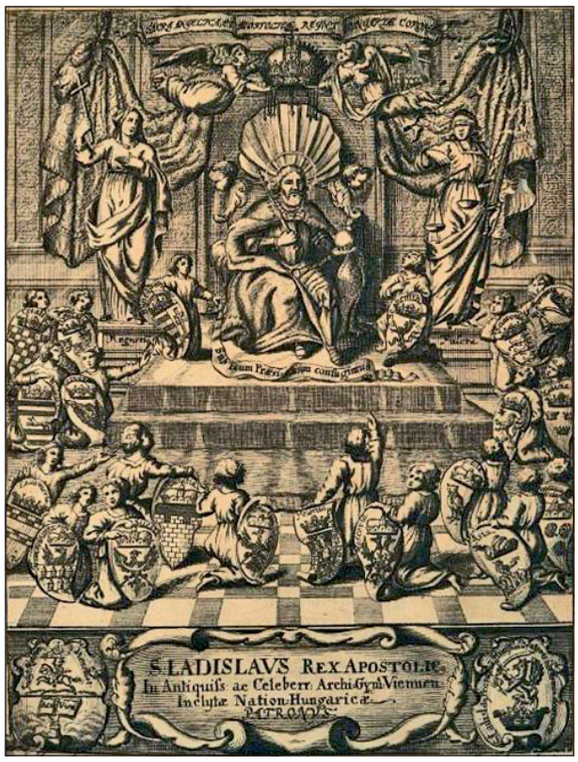



Fig. 3. *The frontispiece of the 1681 oration entitled* Arcanum feliciter imperandi consilium.

1643). Its Latin translation, made from Italian by *Fr. Joannes Foresius SJ*, an Italian-born member of the Austrian Province of the Society of Jesus, was published at Vienna in 1675.[11] It was issued in two different versions, one containing a dedication to Emperor Leopold I, the other addressed to Georgius Szelepchenius, Archbishop of Esztergom (*Strigonium*).[12] Quite surprisingly, Foresius was also the author of six of the orations included in

[7] Schrauf, Károly: *A bécsi egyetem magyar nemzetének anyakönyve 1453-től 1630-ig*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1902, p. 5.

[8] Cetto, Ignatius Fransciscus Xavierius: *Virtus coronata divi Ladislai I. Hungariae regis*. Rex pacificus, p. 49.

[9] Bitskey, István: Studenten aus der Ländern der Stephanskrone and katholischen Universitäten des Heiligen Römischen Konigreiches deutscher Nation im 17. Jahrhundert. In: *Peregrinatio Hungarica. Studenten aus Ungarn an deutschen und österreichischen Hochschulen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Ed.: Márta Fata – Gyula Kurucz – Anton Schindling. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006, p. 120.

[10] On the research concerning the *Pietas Austriaca* see Ducreux, Marie-Elizabeth*: Emperors, Kingdoms, Territories: Multiple Versions of the Pietas Austriaca?*, pp. 247–275; Coreth, Anna: *Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock*. Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1982.

[11] Nieremberg, Joannes Eusebius: *Virtus coronata, seu coronarum illustrata documentis, et exemplis imperatorum, ac regum ex augustissima et serenissima domo Austriaca et Hispana.* Viennae Austriae: Typis Joan. Bapt. Hacque, Typog. Acad., 1675.

[12] Szelepchenius is the form printed in the dedication. The archbishop is referred to as Juraj Selepčéni and Szelepcsényi György in Slovak and Hungarian scholarship respectively.



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Cetto's collection[13] which renders the connection between the panegyrics and Nieremberg's work even more explicit. It is important to stress that Foresius's name is not adduced in the panegyrics but his authorship is evident from the fact that Foresius included the six panegyrics in a collection of his orations published in 1679.[14]




Fig. 4. *St. Ladislas depicted in* Calendarium academicum celeberrimae et antiquissimae Universitatis Viennensis. *(Vienna 1693).*

Probably the most obvious similarity between Nieremberg's theory and the Viennese orations consists in that they both employ *Old Testament* analogies: while the Christian prince is compared to David, Joseph of Egypt or Gedeon, his people takes on the role of Israel. One of the central ideas behind the concept of the Christian prince, as presented by Nieremberg and our panegyrics alike, is expressed in the conviction that the well-being of an entire nation depends on the virtuous conduct of its ruler, who is the first image of God on earth that cannot bear the slightest obfuscation. But if the prince succumbs to vice, God afflicts his people so that they, as a result, stop following him.[15] The same idea is expressed in a similar way by another Spanish Jesuit, Pedro Ribadeneira (1527–1611), who says that "*God favours pious and devout princes in an extraordinary way; he bestows upon them temporal happiness on earth and eternal bliss in the future life. Therefore,*" Ribadeneira continues, "*a prince should set before his eyes examples of other godly princes who maintained their rule over their kingdom whenever they entered upon this royal path (of virtue), but lost it ignominiously when proceeding in the opposite direction.*"[16] Ribadeneira thus opposes his *Princeps Christianus* to the Machiavellian model of rule. In his opinion, Machiavelli was an atheist denying God's intervention in human history, and his followers, whom Ribadeneira calls *politici*, are considered to be worse than heretics.[17] Similarly, the panegyrics of Cetto's collection contain repeated negative references to Tacitism[18] and Reason of State (*ratio status*) and, in opposition to these, a system of royal virtues (*virtutes Ladislajanae*) is formulated in the texts. The political teaching of Tacitism advocated moderate use of dissimulation and deceit as legitimate means of prudent government. On the contrary, the concept promoted in our texts is based on piety, justice, bravery, and wisdom. The king is said to be the soul of his nation and his virtues make life flow throughout the whole body of his kingdom. Crucial for its well-being is the king's piety towards God and the people's affection towards the king. The secret strategy (*arcanum consilium*) of St. Ladislas's worldly success lies in his ardent zeal for the cause of the true religion. Contrary to the doctrine of Machiavellism, it is asserted that God gives prosperity to those who show respect and engagement for things divine.

Another aspect that must be taken into account is the high degree of conventionality and stereotypeness applied in these texts. According to François Pomey SJ (1618–1673), an influential seventeenth-century authority on rhetorical

[13] He is the author of the orations delivered in the years 1662–1666 (VIII–XII) and 1672. (XVIII) (See fig. 2a.)

[14] Foresius, Joannes: *Allocutiones oratoriae, habitae in solennitatibus Christi, B. Virginis et Sanctorum, aliisque academicorum, ac Marianorum sodalium congressibus publicis*. Viennae Austriae: Typis Joannis Christophori Cosmerovii 1679.

[15] Cfr. Nieremberg, Joannes Eusebius: *Virtus coronata, seu coronarum illustrata documentis, et exemplis imperatorum, ac regum ex augustissima et serenissima domo Austriaca et Hispana*, pars 1, pp. 1–74.

[16] Ribadeneira, Pedro: *Princeps Christianus adversus Nicolaum Machiavellum, ceterosque huius temporis politicos*. Antverpiae: Apud Ioachimum Trognaesium 1603, p. 365: "*Principibus enim piis & religiosis Deus non vulgariter fauet, eósque in terris temporaria felicitate prosequitur, in cælis sempiterna. Habeat itaque Princeps præ oculis piissimorum aliorum Principum exempla, qui regiam hanc viam ingressi, imperia sua conseruarunt, & contrariam insistentes, turpiter perdiderunt.*"

[17] Ibidem, Preface (*Christiano et pio lectori*).

[18] For example, the oration of 1663 entitled *A Deo datus*, p. 90, contains the exlamation: "*Taceat Tacitus*" ("Let Tacit be silent!").



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education, the panegyrical style is the most appropriate form of literary practice for young students since it best suits their nature, owing to its spectacularity and abundant use of exaggeration. Pomey explains that the praise of a male princely person should focus on such virtues as piety towards God, generosity towards his subjects, mercy towards law-breakers, watchfulness in the administration of state affairs, justice in both defending the innocent and punishing the wicked, military fortitude in restraining his enemies, magnanimity in providing for public necessities, etc.[19] In fact, all these qualities can be found in the Viennese panegyrics where they are asserted to represent the innermost features of King Ladislas. Panegyrical oratory is obviously a genre modelled on a set of strictly prescribed rules. Hence, discerning its message from common rhetorical devices requires experience and detailed attention.

Vincent Houdry (1631–1729), a theorist of the panegyrical oratory relating to saints, distinguished between secular and hagiographical panegyrics stating that while the aim of the first is to procure fame for the praised person, the latter are designed to incite the venerators of a saint to imitate his virtues.[20] As has been shown above, Ribadeneira's Christian prince, too, is an imitator of his virtuous predecessors. We may ask, however, what precisely was meant by imitation or what connotations were associated with it at that time. An excellent seventeenth-century source of information in this respect is the work on imitation written by the German Jesuit Georg Stengel.[21] In it, the object of imitation is referred to as *exemplum*, *exemplar*, *archetypus*, or *paradigma*. The author says that whoever wishes to achieve perfection must follow an archetype. Distinguishing between internal and external models of imitation (*exemplum internum/externum*), Stengel says that in moral affairs the internal model is provided by the light of sane reason and true faith whereas the external model is to be derived from the deeds of glorious men. But since all people inherited a blinded mind from Adam, their internal model alone is insufficient for achieving perfection.[22] Such understanding of imitation seems to account for the way in which historical events and processes are described in Cetto's collection. The analogies between the ancient heroes and St. Ladislas as well as between the latter and Leopold I point to a specific conception of historical development lying behind the panegyrics. Here, history is not conceived primarily as a series of events leading to an ultimate fulfillment, we might rather say that the past, present and future coincide in a timeless space of invisible reality while the visible is but an actual individualized manifestation of the ever-recurrent archetypal happening. Not proceeding in time but approaching towards the perfection of an archetype is that which constitutes progress and fulfillment in history.



Fig. 5. *The Depiction of St. Ladislas in* Ungaricae sanctitatis *indicia (Trnava 1737).*

Thus the notion of imitation or, more precisely, the notion of conforming to an archetype in order to achieve perfection is indispensable if we are to fully understand the images and similes employed in the Viennese panegyrics. However, it is important to note that in Cetto's collection the explicit call for imitation is addressed not so much to Leopold as to the Hungarian political nation. The

[19] Pomey, François: *Novus Candidatus Rhetoricae*, pars 3, sect. 1, cap. 3, membr. 1 (*Dissertatio de nobilissimo dicendi genere, hoc est de panegyrico seu laudatione – De quarundam personarum laudatione speciatim.*)

[20] Houdry, Vincent: *Bibliotheca concionatoria complectens panegyricas orationes Sanctorum*, vol. 1. Venetiis: Typographiae Heredis Nicolai Pezzana, 1779, p. 10 (Prolegomenon secundum).

[21] Stengel, Georgius: *Vis et virtus exemplorum, hoc est, solatia et documenta; haec moribus, illa temporibus nostris adhibita.* Ingolstadii: Formis Wilhelmi Ederi, 1634.

[22] Ibidem, Praefatio ad lectorem.



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Hungarians are urged to follow the virtues of their ancestors who lived under Ladislas's reign. Their doing so would ensure that the advent of a new golden age takes place soon since the people's affection for the king is shown to be essential for the prosperity of the kingdom. On the other hand, Leopold is depicted in a proleptic way as already possessing the qualities of his holy predecessor.

## The principal ideas and imagery of Cetto's collection

The major part of the content of all 39 orations is dedicated to the account of St. Ladislas's fighting against the external enemies of his kingdom. All famous triumphs of antiquity, compared to the victories of the Holy King, are told to resemble "*a piece of broken glass struck against a diamond.*"[23] The exceptional nature of Ladislas's achievements stems from the fact that he was able to join military action with Christian charity. Having gloriously defeated pagan aggressors, he does not let them be put to death; he rather saves their lives so they can embrace Christianity and increase the number of the citizens of the City of God. It is emphasized over and over again that St. Ladislas managed to put to practice the ancient wisdom according to which it is much more diffult to win over oneself than to triumph over the most ferocious army of enemies. As regards the historical data contained in texts of the panegyrics, these are mainly drawn from Antonio Bonfini's *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*. Hence, the ideology of the Viennese collection should be also studied against the background of the political message of Bonfini's historiographical work.

The period of St. Ladislas's rule is depicted as the time in which the golden age was introduced into the Kingdom of Hungary. It is said that in those days the virtues of the Holy King not only competed with those of the great heroes of the past, they even surpassed them. One of the motifs most frequently recurring in the Viennese speeches can be epitomised in these words: Let the ancient Greeks and Romans boast about their great historical figures, let the illustrious men of the sacred antiquity (*Old Testament*) have their merit and honour; nevertheless, the Kingdom of Hungary is endowed with virtues of no less quality in the person of King Ladislas. This and similar formulations may be considered as reflecting a spirit of patriotism, as an endeavour to express or shape the nation's identity. Such kind of self-awareness, acquired by self-definition in contrast to and in comparison with antiquity, both profane (classical) and sacred (Biblical), should be viewed as a real expression of collective (social/national) identity, appropriate for the age in which the classical heritage was the measure of all human achievements.

Among the numerous images representing St. Ladislas, those of the mythical hero Hercules and the *Old Testament* king David are especially worth for emphasing. In both cases, the deeds of the models are depicted in vivid colours. The twelve labours of Hercules are paralleled to St. Ladislas's endeavours exerted on behalf of his country's safety and well-being.[24] The combat between David and Goliath is compared with St. Ladislas's conflict with his cousin Solomon.[25] The Holy King is not only shown to surpass both David and Hercules, he is even considered the true David and the true Hercules of the Christian era, since the deeds of the ancient heroes, it is asserted, were just a prelude to those of St. Ladislas.[26] It is interesting to note that the speech *Hercules Christianus* in whose peroration Leopold I takes on the role of Atlas aided by Hercules-Ladislas was delivered in 1685 while the oration *Atlas Hungaricus* in which the two rulers switch their roles comes from 1658. The inversion of both the dates and themes bears witness to the importance of number symbolism in the Baroque period.[27] Often images from earlier speeches were resumed and used in an innovative way at a later time.

Particularly interesting is the way in which the Marian cult is represented in Cetto's collection. Surprisingly, the image of St. Ladislas as the a devotee of the Marian cult is built upon a numismatic motif. In the panegyrics of 1668 and 1669, it is regarded as a historical fact that the Holy King was the one who first introduced the figure of Blessed

[23] Cetto, Ignatius Fransciscus Xavierius: *Virtus coronata divi Ladislai I. Hungariae regis*, p. 365 (*Arcanum feliciter imperandi consilium*, 1681): "*Sed quam istorum hominum clarissimae quantumvis victoriae cum Ladislai comparatae, ut vitrum adamanti illisum labefiunt, atque sordescunt?*"

[24] See especially Cetto, Ignatius Fransciscus Xavierius: *Virtus coronata divi Ladislai I. Hungariae regis*, p. 412 (*Hercules Christianus*, 1685).

[25] See especially Ibidem, pp. 316–318 (*David Hungariae*, 1678).

[26] Ibidem, p. 321.

[27] On the hidden significance of words and names in the Baroque period see Helander, Hans: *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620–1720. Stylistics, Vocabulary and Characteristic Ideas*. Uppsala: *Uppsala* Universitet, 2004, pp. 453–474.



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Fig. 6. *The frontispice and the illustration to the 48th elogium (*Miracula auro obsignat*) in Stephanus Tarnoczi's* Rex Admirabilis.

Virgin Mary into Hungarian coinage, although in reality it did not appear on the coins before the late twelfth century and only became regular three hundred years later.[28] The gold coin (*ducat*) of the Hungarian kings from Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) to Rudolph II (1572–1608) bore the image of St. Ladislas on one side and Madonna and Child on the other. In our texts, the coin is interpreted as depicting St. Ladislas standing as a servant before his Queen, the patron saint of the Hungarian Kingdom.[29] It is very interesting to observe that in 1608, when Matthias II began his reign in the Kingdom of Hungary, the figure of St. Ladislas was replaced by that of Matthias himself. From then on, the Hungarian ducat bore the image of the reigning king. Simultaneously, the same change occurred in the Bohemian kingdom where the modern Habsburg ruler took the place of St. Wenceslaus.[30] This numismatic substitution corresponds well to St. Ladislas's "reincarnation" into Leopold frequently referred to in our panegyrics (see below). Interestingly, the association between Ladislas´s Marian devotion and the Hungarian gold coin is not a peculiarity occurring only in the two mentioned orations, it was more widespread at the time. For example, Stephanus Tarnoczi SJ devoted one of his fifty *elogia* (printed inscriptions)[31] on St. Ladislas[32] to this particular motif. (See fig. 6.)

[28] Bovan, Marián: Madona na uhorských minciach v 15. až 19. storočí. In*: Ikonografia peňazí v strednej a východnej Európe. Zborník súhrnov referátov z medzinárodného numiznatického sympózia*. Ed.: Zbyšek Šustek. Humenné: Slovenská numizmatická spoločnosť, 2007, pp. 17–18.

[29] See the exordium of the panegyric *Magnae Hungariae Dominae Magnus Minister* (1669), pp. 181–183.

[30] I am indebted for this information to Prof. Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux (Centre de recherche historique, L'École des hautes études en sciences sociales).

[31] On the Neo-Latin genre of *elogium* / *ellogium* see Ijsewijn, Jozef – Sacré, Dirk: *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies, Part II, Literary, linguistic, philological and editorial questions*. Second entirely rewritten edition. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998, p. 372.



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Fig. 7. *St Ladislaus depicted in the frontispice of the 1509 Viennese edition of Paulus Crosnensis's panegyric.*

The final part (*peroratio*) in most of the speeches contains a transition from St. Ladislas to Leopold I in which the latter is often referred to as the new Ladislas or, in the oration of 1655, as the ruler of the New Pannonia (*Neo-Pannonia*). In fact, the way in which the two kings are associated with one another is one of the most fascinating aspects of the Viennese panegyrics. They are presented as two complementary powers – one acting from heaven, the other on earth – co-operating on behalf of the Hungarian Kingdom. In some cases, this parallelism ventures as far as to employ the Platonic idea of reincarnation (*palingenesis*, *metempsychosis*) stating that the soul of King Ladislas has entered the body of Leopold.[33] Thus it is repeatedly asserted that Leopold represents a living image of Ladislas's virtues on earth and, as the oration of 1665 puts it, every praise of King Ladislas becomes in fact an "emblem" of Leopold's qualities.[34] In other words, Ladislas and Leopold are two names representing the same reality (*diversa nomina, res eadem*).[35] The same idea is recurrently expressed also by means of numeric symbolism which at that time was taken very seriously and considered to convey secret meanings. When read as chronograms, the two names result in the same numeric value: LaDIsLaVs = LeopoLDVs I. = 606.[36] Some of the panegyrics end with a simple prayer to St. Ladislas asking him to watch over his kingdom and help the modern king of Hungary in his responsibilities. Finally, about a quarter of the speeches contain no allusion to Leopold I in their conclusions.

It must be stressed, however, that not all of the numerous allegorical images contained in the Viennese panegyrics should be considered typical of the period. Evidently, many of them come from an earlier time. For instance, a long panegyrical poem on St. Ladislas (consisting of 734 verses)[37] composed by Paulus Crosnensis Ruthenus (ca. 1470–1517)[38] in 1509 at the court of Gabriel Pereneus (Perínsky, Perényi) in Zeules (now Vinohradiv in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine) contains a number of metaphors and images identical with those employed in Cetto's collection. There the Holy King is compared to Atlas and Hercules and shown to surpass all the great men of antiquity, his victories over eastern invaders are referred to and his zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith is praised. It is indeed instructive to observe how the literary expression of 1509 fits perfectly with the events occurring more than a hundred and fifty years later. This leads us to think that it was the interpretation of images rather than the images themselves that evolved and changed through time.

[32] Tarnoczi, Stephanus: *Rex admirabilis, sive vita S. Ladislai regis Hungariae historico-politica, ad christianam eruditionem elogiis theo-politicis illustrata*. Viennae Austriae: Typis Joannis Christophori Cosmerovii, 1683.
[33] See the orations of 1656 (*Regni apostolici anima*) and 1675 (*Sol Hungariae*) in Cetto's collection.
[34] Cetto, Ignatius Fransciscus Xavierius: *Virtus coronata divi Ladislai I. Hungariae regis*, pp. 128–129 (*Princeps de republica meritissimus*, 1665).
[35] Ibidem, p. 56 (*Rex pacificus*, 1659).
[36] Ibidem, p. 100 (*A Deo datus*, 1663).
[37] Ruthenus, Paulus Crosnensis: *Panegyrici ad divum Ladislaum Pannoniae regem victoriosissimum: et sanctum Stanislaum praesulem: ac martyrem Poloniae gloriosissimum: et pleraque alia connexacarmina non sine magna suavitate condita*. Viennae: Ioannes Winterburger, 1509. See the frontispice of this book (Fig. 7).
[38] Referred to as *Pawel z Krosna* in Polish historiography.



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## Prospects

The Viennese collection of panegyrics dating from 1655 to 1693 offers a good insight into the late seventeenth century concept representing St. Ladislas as the patron saint of the Hungarian political nation. Although abundant in the Baroque period, panegyrical literature relating to saints has attracted little attention so far, even among specialists in Neo-Latin philology. What is most fascinating about this genre is its long-time continuity: endless variations of a single theme and its evolution through decades and centuries are recorded in these texts which makes them an invaluable source of information providing access to ideas operating beyond historical events. Detailed classification and interpretation of the images employed in the panegyrics would certainly yield precious results.

The context outlined above may seem to indicate that the orations included in Cetto's collection do not contain many specifically Hungarian features but rather show the figure of St. Ladislas embedded within a broad Catholic political concept. Nevertheless, it remains a task for future research to identify, by more detailed analysis, the individual traits of the Viennese panegyrics connected to the particular historical situation in which they were written and delivered. These, however, cannot be discerned nor adequately interpreted without regard to the general context and the ideological sources indicated in the present contribution. I would like to point out in the end that if we want to see St. Ladislas from a more genuinely Hungarian perspective, we should turn our attention to Stephanus Tarnoczi's fifty *elogia* entitled *Rex Admirabilis*. Written for an entirely different purpose, these *elogia* convey a view that was certainly less affected by ideology and propaganda. Perhaps a comparison between Tarnoczi's poetical inscriptions and the texts of Cetto's collection would lead to inspiring conclusions, too.



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IVAN MRVA*

# Johann Pálffy – ungarischer Palatin und kroatischer Ban

## Ján Pálfi – uhorský palatín a chorvátsky bán / Ivan Palfi – ugarski palatin i hrvatski ban

*Johannes Pálfi (Pálffy, 1663–1751), born in Červený Kameň (The Red Stone Castle), was one of the most prominent political and soldierly figures in the Kingdom of Hungary during the first half of the eighteenth century. His successful career was determined by a rare combination of Hungarian patriotism and pro-Habsburg loyalty. He was a prominent figure in regards to Croatian history as well, since he served as Croatian, Dalmatian and Slavonian ban for 27 years (from 1704). He was gradually awarded with the highest military and political offices. He became a general and later on the commander-in-chief of the imperial cavalry during the wars against the Ottomans. In the meantime, he was appointed the district governor of Šariš (Sarus) and Bratislava (Posonium) counties, provincial judge, a member of the vice-regency council and from 1741 the palatine as well. He played an essential role during the last anti-Habsburg uprising, defending Croatia against the invasion of the Kuruc army. Commanding an army consisting predominantly of Serbian and Croatian troops, he launched a successful offensive against the insurgents. This resulted in the defeat of Francis II Rákoci at Trenčín in August 1708. Johannes Pálfi managed to contract the peace treaty (1711), which was so advantageous for the insurgents that it secured the long-term pacification of the situation in the Kingdom of Hungary. His personality is connected with the historical development of Croatia and Slovakia within his period in many ways. He was born in present-day Slovakia which was connected with his family by familial and property ties. However, he started his spectacular political career in Croatia. On the other hand, he eliminated the Kuruc army especially in Slovakia.*

Keywords: high nobility, early modern era, palatine, ban, Kuruc rebellion

Die Persönlichkeit von Johann Pálffy verbindet die Slowakei und Kroatien: geboren in Červený Kameň (dt. *Rotenstein*, *Bibersburg*), nicht weit von Bratislava (dt. *Preßburg*) entfernt, Magnat mit Besitz und Erbrecht im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei, zu seinen Lebzeiten zugleich Ban von Kroatien, Slawonien und Dalmatien. Das Amt des Bans wurde ihm als dem einzigen Angehörigen des begüterten Adelsgeschlechtes der Pálffy verliehen und er bekleidete es 27 Jahre lang. In der Neuzeit war er zusammen mit Franz Nádasdy von Fogarasföld der am längsten dienende Ban des Königreichs Dalmatien, Kroatien und Slawonien.

Der Beginn seiner Tätigkeit in dieser Funktion wurde von außerordentlich komplizierten sowohl außen- als auch innenpolitischen Umständen beeinflusst. In Europa wickelte sich ein erschöpfender Konflikt um das spanische Erbe ab und im Königreich Ungarn wütete ein antihabsburgischer Aufstand unter der Leitung von Franz II. Rákóczi. Johann Pálffy engagierte sich intensiv im Kampf gegen die Rebellen und vor allem wegen seines Engagements wurde der Kuruzenkrieg schließlich geführt. In diesem Zusammenhang sind sich klar abzeichnende Parallelen mit Joseph Jelačić zu beobachten, der 150 Jahre später erfolgreich gegen den Aufstand der Magyaren unter Lajos Kossuth kämpfte. Es ist jedoch nur ein Zufall, dass der Stellvertreter von Johann Pálffy in Kroatien, der Vizeban, gerade Stephan Jelačić war. Wegen seiner Treue gegenüber den Habsburgern wurde er als Labanz bezeichnet. Dies ist höchstwahrscheinlich einer der Gründe, warum über Pálffy in der ziemlich reichen ungarischen Historiographie eine bedeutende Monografie fehlt, trotz der Tatsache, dass er zu den ungarischen Patrioten gehörte.[1] Gerade aus diesem Grund war ich bei der Rekonstruktion seiner Karriere als Ban, vor allem in der ersten Periode, also in der Zeit des Rákoczi- Aufstandes, auf die Materialien des Zentralen Pálffyschen Archivs (slow. *Ústredný pálfiovský archív*) in Bratislava angewiesen. In diesem Archiv befindet sich ein Teil von Schriftstücken aus seinem Ban-Archiv zusammen mit seiner reichhaltigen Korrespondenz. Während der Archivarbeit

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[1] Es ist nur eine 50-seitige biographische Studie vorhanden, die schon vor mehr als 80 Jahren erschien: Málnasi, Ödön: *Erdödi Gróf Pálffy János nádor*. Eger: Nyomatot az Érseki Liceumi könyunyomdában, 1929.



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fand ich auch einige interessante und bisher nicht veröffentlichte Tatsachen.

Johann Pálffy wurde am 20. August 1663 in Červený Kameň geboren. Die Burg galt als Sitz dieser bedeutenden adligen Familie. Johann war der zweitgeborene Sohn des Hüters der ungarischen Krone und gleichzeitigen Gespanes des Preßburger Komitats, Nikolaus IV. Pálffy († 1679), und seiner Gattin Marie Eleonore Harrach. Sein Urvater war Nikolaus II. Pálffy (1552–1600), der Raaber Held und Gründer des Geschlechts, das 1581 von Kaiser Rudolf II. zum Rang der Reichsbarone erhöht wurde und dank der Hochzeit mit Maria Fugger und anderen wertvollen Diensten für Kaiser Rudolf auch zu umfangreichem Besitz kam. Sein Großvater Stephan II. Pálffy, vermählt mit Eva Puchaima, war Barscher Gespan, Hauptmann von Bratislava und Herr von Červený Kameň, Pajštún (dt. *Paulenstein*), Pezinok (dt. *Bösing*) und Svätý Jur (dt. *Sankt Georgen*). Im Jahre 1626 wurde er zum Hauptmann des Kriegsdistrikts Cisdanubien und der Festung Nové Zámky (dt. *Neuhäusel*) und später auch zum Hauptmann von Transdanubien ernannt. 1634 wurde er von Ferdinand II. in den Grafenstand erhoben, den auch seine Nachfolger erbten.[2] Eleonore Harrach, die Mutter von Johann Pálffy, und seine Großmutter Eva Puchaim gehörten der deutsch-österreichischen Aristokratie an, was zweifellos auch seine Familienverhältnisse beeinflusste. Seine männlichen Vorfahren waren den Habsburgern außerordentlich treu gewesen und diese Familientradition brach auch er nicht. Johann Pálffy wurde in sehr dramatischen Zeiten geboren. Die Zukunft des Königreichs Ungarn, aber auch der ganzen Habsburger Monarchie, war unsicher. Das Ergebnis des Krieges gegen die Türken war jedoch besser, als erwartet wurde, aber eine Hälfte von Johann Pálffys Leben wurde gerade vom türkischen Problem gekennzeichnet.



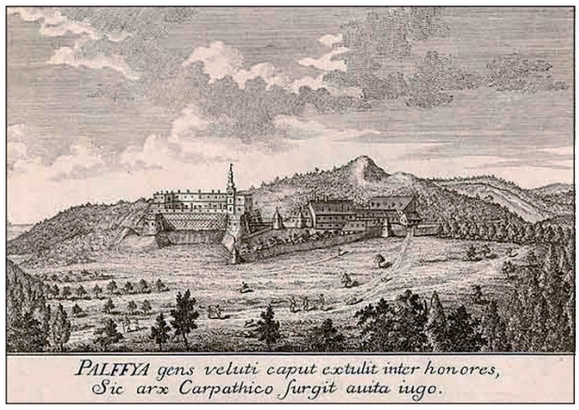



Bild. 8. *Das Porträt von Johann Pálffy und der Anblick auf einen seiner Sitze - die Burg Červený Kameň.*

Die ersten dreizehn Jahre lebte er unter der Obhut seiner Eltern überwiegend in Červený Kameň, dann folgte das Studium in Wien und in Parma. Mit 19 Jahren fing seine bemerkenswert lange militärische Karriere an. Zuerst diente er als Fahnenträger, aber bereits bei dem ersten Angriff auf Buda in 1684 war er so tapfer, dass er gleich zum Hauptmann erhoben wurde. In den folgenden dreizehn Jahren nahm er an diversen militärischen Aktionen im Rahmen des langen Freiheitskampfes gegen die Türken teil und machte erfolgreich militärische Karriere. Bereits im Alter von 30 Jahren erhielt er den Titel des Generals.[3]

[2] Nagy, Iván: *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblakkal*, vol. 9. Budapest: Kiadja Friebeisz, 1862, pp. 46–47: „*Ex ordine et numero Regni Hungariae Magnatum et Baronum exemptus, ad gradum et honorem atque ordinem liberorum majorum atque Perpetuorum ejusdem regni Hungariae Comitum a germanis Graf nuncupatorum cooptatur*."

[3] Aufgrund der Entscheidung von Leopold I. erhielt Johann Pálffy (Karol) am 3. April 1693 den Titel eines *Generals Campivigiliarum Prefectum*. Slovenský národný archív Bratislava (Slowakisches Nationalarchiv Pressburg) Ústredný archív rodu Pálffy (Zentralarchiv der Familie Pálffy, deinde SNA UPA), armarium 1, ladula 1, capsa/scatula 2, nr. 58.



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Später heiratete er Maria Czobor, die Tochter von Adam Czobor, eines Regimentsinhabers, unter dem er lange Zeit seinen Wehrdienst ausübte. Seine aussichtsvolle Karriere wurde im Jahre 1697 unterbrochen, als er in einem Pistolenduell den Herzog Johann Friedrich von Württemberg, einen Verwandten des Kaisers Leopold I. erschoss. Die Ursache des Duells seien seine Schmähworte auf die königliche ungarische Armee gewesen. Vor dem Zorn des Kaisers musste er nach Polen fliehen. In die Heimat konnte er erst nach zweijährigem Exil aufgrund seiner Begnadigung zurückkehren. Für die Begnadigung legte Eugen von Savoyen beim Kaiser ein gutes Wort für ihn ein. Gerade mit Eugen von Savoyen pflegte er während den Zügen gegen die Türken gute Kontakte, was später äußerst wichtig für seine militärische Karriere war. Bereits im Januar 1700 wurde Johann Pálffy zum Feldmarschall ernannt und damit wurde er zum Regimentsinhaber.[4] Nach Kriegsbeginn um die Erbschaft in Spanien am Anfang des Jahres 1701. war er für einige Teile der am Rhein operierenden kaiserlichen Armee verantwortlich. Kurz danach musste er jedoch seinen Dienstort wechseln. Der Kuruzenaufstand unter der Leitung von Franz II. Rákóczi entwickelte sich für Wien negativ. Nachdem im Jahre 1703 bei Zvolen (dt. *Altsohl*) die kaiserlichen Truppen und die ungarischen Milizverbände unter der Leitung der Generäle Schlick und Forgács in alle Winde zerstreut worden waren, begann sich das Hofmilitäramt mit der ernsten Situation im Königlichen Ungarn zu befassen. Eugen von Savoyen empfahl gerade Johann Pálffy zum Hauptmann der Kaiserlichen Armee. Der Kaiser war von einigen Beratern gewarnt worden, da das Vertrauen gegenüber den ungarischen Adligen erschüttert war. Die Ursache des Misstrauens war der Übergang von einigen ungarischen Adligen auf die Seite von Rákoczi wie es zum Beispiel der Oberbefehlshaber der ungarischen Miliz Simon Forgács getan hatte. Aus diesem Grund wurde Siegbert Heister beauftragt, die Truppen zu kommandieren. Schließlich wurde beschlossen, Johann Pálffy zum kroatischen Ban zu ernennen, um die Treue der Kroaten gegenüber dem Kaiser in solch komplizierten Zeiten zu erhalten und ihr Potential zur Unterdrückung des Rákoczi-Aufstandes zu nutzen. Es ist zu bemerken, dass Johann Pálffy nur eine schwache Beziehung zu den Kroaten hatte, im Unterschied zu seinen Vorläufern in der Funktion des Bans, wie die Familien Zrinski, Erdödi, Frangepan oder Draskovic, obwohl das Geschlecht Pálffy das Prädikat „von Erdöd" genoss, was bedeutet, dass das Geschlecht, ähnlich wie die verwandten Erdödis aus dem ostslawonischen Erdud stammte. Das aber war alles. Ungeachtet von diesen Fakten erhob Kaiser Leopold I. am 15. Januar 1704 den kaiserlichen Geheimrat, Unterfeldmarschall und Inhaber (Oberst) des kaiserlich-königlichen deutschen Reiterregiments in das Amt (*officium*) des Bans des Königreichs von Dalmatien, Kroatien und Slawonien, das nach dem Tod von Adam Batthyány unbesetzt gewesen war. Zugleich forderte er die kroatischen Stände auf, ihm wie üblich den Schwur abzulegen, ihn als unbestrittenen Ban anzuerkennen und seinen Befehlen zu folgen.[5] Gleichermaßen ermächtigte er ihn, alle Funktionen auszuüben, die üblicherweise mit dem Titel des Bans zusammenhingen. Ein paar Tage später beauftragte der Kaiser alle Angehörigen des militärischen Standes im Gebiet von Kroatien, Slawonien und Dalmatien, den Befehlen von Johann Pálffy zu folgen, und zwar auf gleiche Art und Weise wie den Befehlen seiner Vorgänger. Leopold I. händigte ihm Instruktionen aus und der Pálffy bestätigte, das Amt gehorsam und vernünftig auszuüben.[6] Die Stände in Kroatien empfingen den neuen Ban sehr befangen. Nach der vergangenen Bestellung von Emmerich Esterhazy zum Bischof in Zagreb (dt. *Agram*) konnte dies von den Kroaten als ein zumindest negatives Signal der Personalpolitik des Hofes empfunden worden sein. Vor allem, da die höchste säkulare und geistliche Funktion im Lande, die einen eigenen autonomen Status hatte, von ungarischen Magnaten und nicht von einheimischen Persönlichkeiten ausgeübt wurde. Wie es einige bis heute gut erhaltene Briefe beweisen, wurde die Korrespondenz zwischen Pálffy und Emmerich Esterházy auf magyarisch gehalten. An die kroatischen Stände wandte sich damals auch Franz II. Rákóczi mit einer Aufforderung, den Aufstand aktiv zu unterstützen. In seinem Memorandum erwähnte er alle Übergriffe Wiens gegenüber Kroatien, vor allem die Steuerlast, die

[4] Am 26. Januar 1700 wurde er vom König zum stellvertretenden Feldmarschall ernannt (*generalis campi Marschalis Locumetenentis*), SNA UPA, arm. 1, lad. 1, caps./scat. 2, nr. 63.
[5] SNA UPA, arm. 1, lad. 1, fasc. 3, nr. 69.
[6] Ibidem, fasc. 2, nr. 70. Am 24. Januar 1704 händigte Leopold I. Instruktionen für Johann Pálffy aus, nr. 71. Reversal vom gleichen Tag, mit dem sich Johann Pálffy verpflichtet, das Amt des Bans vernünftig und gehorsam auszuüben, nr. 72.



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Tätigkeit der Commissio neoacquistica, die Räubereien fremder Offiziere und Kommissare und sogar die Hinrichtung von Peter Zrinski und Franz Frangepan im Jahre 1671. Rákóczi forderte die kroatischen Stände zu einem gemeinsamen Kampf um eine bessere Zukunft des Königreichs Ungarn auf.[7] Die Mehrheit der Adligen nahm jedoch eine abwartende Stellung ein. Da der Adel in Kroatien ausschließlich katholisch war, waren hier die Bestrebungen von Rákóczi um die Religionsfreiheit kaum wirkungsvoll, im Unterschied zu anderen Gebieten des Königreichs Ungarn, wo der Kuruzenaufstand vom mittleren und niederen Adel, verbittert durch die Rekatholisierungspolitik des Wiener Hofes, unterstützt wurde. Bereits bei der Planung des Aufstands 1701, rechnete Rákóczi auch mit der Unzufriedenheit der kürzlich in den Grenzgebieten angesiedelten Serben, weil Wien mehrere Verträge verletzt hatte. Über diese Pläne informierte er sogar den französischen König Ludwig XIV.[8]

Das Interesse Rákóczis für Kroatien erhöhte sich in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 1704, als es ihm nicht gelang, sich mit den bayerisch-französischen Kräften im Donaugebiet zu verbünden. Eine zweite Möglichkeit, die militärische Hilfe Frankreichs zu gewinnen, stellten die Hafenanlagen in Dalmatien dar, da auf der Apenninenhalbinsel französische Kräfte operierten und französische Schiffe ohne Hindernisse im Adriatischen Meer segelten.[9] Die Stellung von Pálffy in Kroatien war am Anfang äußerst kompliziert. Eine der Ursachen war die Finanzknappheit. Die Kuruzen konfiszierten sein ganzes Eigentum im Königreich Ungarn und der Ban blieb praktisch ohne Mittel. Diesen Mangel versuchte erst Kaiser Joseph, Nachfolger von Leopold I., zu beseitigen. Am 7. November 1705 erließ er ein an die ungarische Kammer gerichtetes Dekret, nach dem dem Ban von Kroatien, Slawonien und Dalmatien ein Jahreslohn von 6000 Gulden ausgezahlt werden sollte. Diese königliche Entscheidung bezog sich ausschließlich auf die Person Johann Pálffys. Für seine Nachfolger war sie nicht verbindlich.[10] Die Summe sollte aus den Einnahmen des Dreißigstamtes in Varaždin ausgezahlt werden. Im Falle einer mangelnden Finanzierung sollte der Rest von der ungarischen Kammer bezahlt werden. Wegen bestehender Schwierigkeiten wurde in den ersten Jahren seit dem Erlass nicht die ganze Summe ausgezahlt. Wie es sich aus einem Fragment der Rechnungen des Bans ergibt, wurden ihm bis 1722 auch vorherige Außenstände ausgezahlt.[11] Der Geldmangel verführte jedoch zur Korruption. Im Rahmen seiner Befugnisse konnte der Ban nämlich Offiziere in militärische Funktionen in Grenzgebieten einsetzen. Es erhärteten sich Verdachte, dass Pálffy von ihnen Geschenke für sich forderte. In diesem Zusammenhang verordnete Joseph I., die Sache zu untersuchen. Vernommen wurde auch der Vizeban Stephan Jelačić. Seine Aussage war aber nicht eindeutig. Auf der einen Seite behauptete er diplomatisch, dass er über Bestechungsgeld nichts wisse und früher gar nichts gehört habe, auf der anderen Seite fügte er aber hinzu, dass er 30 Taler zu zahlen hatte, nachdem sein Sohn Nikolaus in die Funktion des stellvertretenden Festungsbefehlshabers bestellt worden war.[12]

Aus militärischer Sicht war die Situation für die Königreiche Dalmatien, Kroatien und Slawonien und auch für Johann Pálffy selbst gerade im Jahre 1704 am kritischsten. In Februar und März gelang es dem Kuruzenbefehlshaber Alexander Károly in Transdanubien einzudringen, das er für kurze Zeit auch unterwarf. Inzwischen organisierte Johann Pálffy dessen Abwehr am Fluss Drau. Ende März drängte jedoch der kaiserliche General Heister die Kuruzen aus Transdanubien fort. Im Sommer aber beherrschten die Kuruzen wieder diesen Raum und bei St. Gotthard im Eisenburger Komitat (Hun. *Vassvár*) besiegten sie den kaiserlichen General Rabatta. Nur die erfolglose Belagerung der Festung Szeged durch den Kern des aufständischen Heers unter der Leitung Rákóczis' und der Marsch der kaiserlichen Armee von der österreichischen Grenze bis zum Balaton brachten die Kuruzen vom geplanten Einfall in Kroatien und Slawonien ab. Gegen Ende des Sommers 1704 bekam Pálffy eine Chance mit dem kroatischen Heer in den ungarischen Krieg aktiv

[7] Senquicziensis, Kolinovics Gabriel: *Fulcrum Commentariorum de Rebus Hungaricis*, vol. 1–13. Šenkvice, l742, pp. 79–81. Invitatoria Rakoczy ad Croatos die 18, Januarii 1704, Handschrift in der ungarischen Szechenyi Nationalbibliothek Budapest, folia latina 338, Filmkopie in SNA Bratislava, nr. 1, B. 776.

[8] Kálmán, Benda: Magyr – Rác együttmükodési törekvések a szabadságharc idején. In: *Rákoczi tanulmányok*. Ed.: Béla Köpéczi – Ágnes Várkonyi – Lajos Hopp. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980, p. 144.

[9] Köpéczi, Béla: Rákoczi külpolitikája és a szabadságharc nemzetközi jelentösége. In: *Rákoczi tanulmányok*. Ed.: Béla Köpéczi – Ágnes Várkonyi – Lajos Hopp. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980, p. 212.

[10] SNA UPA, arm. 1, lad. 1, fasc. 2, nr. 78.

[11] Ibidem, nr. 90 et nr. 105.

[12] Ibidem, arm. 7, lad. 8, fasc. 1, nr. 4/B, Causa coniurationis 1709.



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einzugreifen. Zusammen mit den Kroaten überschritt er die Drau und bewegte sich Richtung Norden. Eine Gruppe zog entlang der westlichen Grenze des Königreichs Ungarn bis zum Neusiedler See, die zweite bewegte sich etwas weiter östlich. Die Kroaten waren jedoch vom Feldzug gegen die Kuruzen nicht besonders begeistert. Nach ein paar Tagen verweigerten beide Gruppen den Gehorsam. Trotz genügenden Vorräten und einem großen Abstand des Heeres zum Feind kehrten die Kroaten heim. Es scheint jedoch, dass der wichtigste Grund für die Rückkehr der kroatischen Soldaten das Vorhaben von Pálffy war, bis hinter die Donau, in die Preßburger Gespanschaft aufzuziehen, wo er sein Vermögen hatte. Vermutlich wollte Pálffy die Kuruzen aus seinem Besitztum vertreiben. Der Verrat des kroatischen Heeres wurde später untersucht. Gerade aus diesem Grund also haben wir einen guten Überblick darüber, was eigentlich passierte und wer die Rebellion verursachte. Der Zeuge Christoph Delisimonović sagte aus, dass er von einem Teilnehmer des Feldzuges einer Kompanie Georg Kerčelićs gehört habe, dass die hohen Offizieren Adam Domianić, Franz Poglidić, Joan Uzulín vereinbart hätten, nicht weiter zu ziehen und darüber auch Kerčelić und andere Befehlshaber informierten. Als Urheber des Rückzuges des kroatischen Heeres vom Neusiedler See, entgegen des Befehls, nannte er den Offizier Adam Domianić.

Der Hauptmann der Infanteristen, Franz Krizanić, sagte aus, dass er an der Beratung bei Peter Keglevič teilnahm, in der Befehl, über die Donau zu ziehen, behandelt worden war, aber es unter den Teilnehmern der Besprechung zur Vereinbarung, nach Hause zurückzukehren, kam. Damit waren alle wichtigsten Hauptmänner einverstanden, die den Beschluss ihren Soldaten mitteilten. Am dritten Tag kehrten sie zurück, obwohl der Ban von ihnen eindeutig verlangte zu verbleiben. Die Kroaten hatten jedoch auch objektive Gründe zum Ungehorsam gegenüber dem Ban. Bestimmt nicht ohne Grund waren sie der Meinung, dass der Ban enge Kontakte mit ihrem Feind pflege. Die Zeugen sagten aus, dass Pálffy zusammen mit Anton Esterházy trinke, also mit dem Aristokraten, der vor kurzer Zeit zu den Kuruzen desertiert war. Er habe sogar einige kroatische Soldaten von den Esterházy-Kuruzen bestrafen lassen. Ein Zeuge hörte von Peter oder Adam Keglević, dass, als sich das kroatische Heer aus Transdanubien zurück zog, der Ban die Ungarn herausgefordert habe, die Kroaten anzufallen und sie fertigzumachen. Obwohl für diese Beschuldigung keine überzeugenden Beweise zur Verfügung standen, verbreitete sich das Gerücht in ganz Kroatien sehr schnell, was die Popularität von Johann Pálffy schädigte und allmählich zum Grund für die Entwicklung einer Gegenbewegung wurde.[13] Nach dem Fiasko versuchte der Ban die militärischen Kräfte umzugestalten. Statt einer unsicheren Insurrektion der Adligen wollte er zuverlässige Truppen aus den aus den Grenzgebieten stammenden Soldaten bilden. Im Oktober 1704 fand auf seinen Befehl eine Inspektion der Grenz- und Festungstruppen im Raum des Flusses Kupa und der Festung Sredisko statt. Die Inspektion wurde vom Baron Franz Christoph Delišimović, dem höchsten Befehlshaber des Grenzgebietes Ober-Kupa, vollzogen. Das Grenzgebiet wurde mit Serben, Walachen und Kroaten besetzt. Der kroatische Teil wurde in Woiwodschaften mit Woiwoden an der Spitze eingeteilt. Ein Teil des Grenzgebietes wurde mit Serben und walachischen Grenzsoldaten besetzt, die in Dokumenten als *confiniarii Valachi* bezeichnet werden. Organisatorisch wurde das Gebiet in Kniezeatus mit Kniezen an der Spitze gegliedert.[14]

Die Kroaten, Serben und kroatischen Walachen aus den Grenzgebieten wurden zum Kern des neu organisierten Heeres des Bans, das bereits im folgenden Jahr an der militärischen Kampagne erfolgreich teilnahm. Der Sieg der kaiserlichen Truppen mit General Herbeville an der Spitze bei Budmerice (dt. *Pudmeritz*) im August 1705 zwang Rákóczi die Kämpfe zu unterbrechen und einen Platz am Verhandlungstisch einzunehmen. Das kroatische Heer von Pálffy war in den folgenden Jahren im Kampf gegen die Kuruzen erfolgreich, aber wegen seiner Grausamkeit gegenüber der zivilen Bevölkerung gewann es einen schlechten Ruf in der Öffentlichkeit. Vor allem die serbischen Truppen waren sehr brutal. Eine der bekanntesten Brutalitäten dieser Truppen auf unserem Gebiet war das Massaker an der Bevölkerung vom Marktflecken (*oppidum*) Stupava (dt. *Stampfen*) im Sommer 1706, als sie mehr als 200, meist alte und kranke, Leute ermordeten. Nur schwerlich ist dennoch für dieses Massaker der kroatische Ban verantwortlich, denn Stupava gehörte zu seinem Besitz.[15] Johann Pálffy drohte

[13] SNA UPA, arm. 7, lad. 8, fasc. 1, nr. 4/B, Causa coniurationis 1709.
[14] Ibidem, nr. 1/B.
[15] Dieses grausame Massaker in Stupava und Umgebung beschreibt die *Chronik der Jesuiten von Trnava*, die Zahl der Opfer ist mit mehr als 200 angeführt, die Täter waren laut dieser Quelle Serben, was indirekt auch die Plünderung



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nicht einmal der Landesbevölkerung mit Plünderungen durch die Serben, um das Erfüllen deren Pflichten leichter zu erzielen. Die Bedrohung mit Plündereien durch die Serben sollte eine wirksamere Befolgung der Befehle des Bans erzielen.[16]

Gegen Johann Pálffy formierte sich in Kroatien allmählich eine Oppositionsbewegung. Häufig wurden diverse Beratungen und geheime Zusammenkünfte veranstaltet, deren Hauptveranstalter Gabriel Erdödy, Peter und Adam Keglević, Baltazar Patačić und einige andere Personen waren. Die unzufriedenen Adligen bildeten eine Konföderation nach dem Vorbild von Rákóczi und dessen Gefährten. Mitglieder dieses Verbandes leisteten einen Kreuzschwur. Zum Haupt dieser Verschwörung wurde Gabriel Erdödy, der selbst jedoch keine zuverlässige und vertrauenswürdige Person war. Er veranlasste einige Morde an seinen Gegnern, vor allem aus ökonomischen Gründen. Alle seiner Taten waren geheim und zur Tarnung von Verbrechern konnte auch die Konföderation von Unzufriedenen gut geeignet sein. Dies bewies auch die beachtliche Zeugenaussage von Joan Balog vor der Untersuchungskommission, die im Auftrag des Kaisers 1709 gebildet worden war. Balog, der ursprünglich ungarische, seit 1690 in Kroatien lebende, Adlige sagte aus, dass er seit 28 Jahren in Kroatien lebe, wo unter den Bewohnern gute Beziehungen herrschten, aber es dort seit einiger Zeit verschiedene Gruppierungen gebe, Verschwörungen und miteinander konkurrierende Strukturen, die Zwietracht, Unruhen und Hass in der Bevölkerung, zwischen privaten und öffentlich aktiven Personen verursachten. Die Ursache dafür sei, nach der Meinung von Balog, die Verletzung der Rechte der Adligen. Der Zeuge sagte weiter aus, dass Gabriel Erdödy, Pavol und Matija Patačić ein Treffen (*conventiculum*) in Varaždin einberufen hätten, an dem auch er teilgenommen habe. Gabriel Erdödy, wahrscheinlich der Anführer, habe ihn aufgefordert, den Schweigeschwur zu leisten. Erdödy sagte ihm zu seinem Schwur, dass diese Verschwörung gegen den Ban gerichtet sei. Balog sagte weiter aus, dass Erdödy von Matej Patačić den Mord an der Witwe von Joan Uzulin gefordert und ihm verschiedene Vorteile und Geschenke von zwei Untertanen versprochen habe. Bereits vorher habe er einen Menschen beauftragt, Joan Uzulín zu erschießen. Grund dafür waren Besitztümer. Die Aussage von Balog stellt die damaligen Verhältnisse in Kroatien dar und auch den Charakter des Oppositionsführers gegen Johann Pálffy.

Seit 1707 verschärfte sich die heftige Situation in Kroatien. In diesem Jahr wurde vom Landtag in Ónod die Herrschaft der Habsburger aufgehoben, worin der Rákóczi-Aufstand kulminierte. Die Verschwörer und Unzufriedenen nutzten jede Gelegenheit aus, so auch die lange Abwesenheit des Bans, der mit militärischen Aufgaben beschäftigt war. Der Grund der Unzufriedenheit war vor allem die Politik des Wiener Hofes und die Nichtbeachtung von alten Rechten und Freiheiten. Im Zuge des Frühlingslandtags in Bratislava im Jahre 1708, wurden die kroatischen Stände aktiver. Kurz vor dessen Eröffnung trafen sie auf der Bischofsburg in Zagreb zusammen, in der Anwesenheit von säkularen Magnaten, Prälaten sowie gewählten Vertretern des Adels. Hier entstanden Beschwerden, formuliert in 25 Punkten, die an den ungarischen Landtag und den Kaiser Joseph gerichtet waren.

Bereits im ersten Punkt wurde gefordert, alle Verordnungen, Gesetze, Statuen, die nicht im Landtag und im Widerspruch zu den Rechten der Adligen verabschiedet worden waren, für ungültig zu erklären. Personen, die die Rechte der Adligen verletzt hatten, sollten bestraft werden.[17]

Im Mai 1708 wurden die Beschwerden in Bratislava in der Anwesenheit des Bans behandelt. In dieser Zeit wurde jedoch bereits die militärische Lösung des ungarischen Aufstands vorbereitet und das Problem der Unzufriedenheit in Kroatien wurde auf später verschoben. Die Schlacht bei Trenčín (dt. *Trentschin*) am 3. August 1708 entschied über das Schicksal des Aufstandes. Die entscheidende Rolle spielte dabei das strategische Talent von Johann Pálffy. Durch den Sieg bei Trenčín wurde auch die Zukunft der Opposition in Kroatien entschieden. Die Position des Bans wurde damit gefestigt und so konnte der Ban im nächsten Jahr die vorherigen Ereignisse

und Zerstörung der katholischen Kirche in Stupava bestätigt. Die ungarische Nationalbibliothek Szecheny Budapest, Handschriftensammlung, quart. Lat. 2524/4, p. 137. Das Massaker bestätigt auch die Matrikel der katholischen Pfarre in Stupava, aber hier sind nicht die Opferzahlen angeführt. Štátny Archív Bratislava, matrika narodených, sobášených a zomrelých Stupava 1670–1717, nr. 2166.

[16] Ungarisches Nationalarchiv Budapest, Magyar országos levéltár, Thököly és Rákóczi szabadságharc levéltára, G –29, fasc. 66, p. 391

[17] SNA UPA, arm. 7, lad. 8, fasc. 1, nr. 22. Am 12. Mai wurden die Beschwerden der Kroaten in Bratislava im Pálffy-Palais behandelt.



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untersuchen lassen. Auf Befehl des Kaisers Joseph I. begann im Juni 1709 in der Bischofsburg in Zagreb eine große Untersuchung der Ereignisse in den Königreichen Kroatien, Dalmatien und Slavonien in den Jahren 1704–1708. Es wurden fast 40 Personen in der Anwesenheit von Bischof Emmerich Esterházy, Johann Drasković und Protonotarius Georg Plenić, der die Untersuchung führte, verhört. Die Fragen richteten sich vor allem auf die Ursachen der Meuterei der kroatischen Truppen im Jahre 1704 und die Verschwörung einiger Magnaten mit Gabriel Erdödy an der Spitze gegen Ban Johannes Pálffy. Bei der Untersuchung wurden verschiedene interessante Tatsachen entdeckt. Nur eine tiefgreifende Analyse der Untersuchungsakten ermöglicht uns die Problematik weiter zu erforschen.[18] Wir können aber feststellen, dass die Schlacht bei Trenčín Johann Pálffy half, sein Amt des kroatischen Bans weiterhin zu bekleiden.

Johann Pálffy wurde im Jahre 1709 zum Befehlshaber des kaiserlichen Heeres im Königreich Ungarn, als er den als zu streng angesehenen Siegbert Heister ersetzte. Zu Beginn des Jahres 1711 knüpfte er Kontakte zu einem der wichtigsten aufständischen Grafen, Alexander Károlyi, einem der Aufstandsanführer, und ohne Anwesenheit von Rákóczi verhandelten die beiden den für den ungarischen Adel sehr wertvollen Frieden von Satu Mare (dt. *Sathmar*). Der unerwartete Tod von Joseph I. und die darauffolgende tiefgreifende politisch-dynastische Krise ließen einen breiten Raum für weitere Verhandlungen. In der nächsten Zeit setzte Johann Pálffy seine militärische und politische Karriere weiter fort. An der Spitze der kroatischen Truppen war er erfolgreich im Krieg gegen das Osmanische Reich (1716–1718). Wahrscheinlich mit der Absicht, bessere Beziehungen mit dem traditionellen kroatischen Adel aufzubauen, stimmte er der Ehe seiner Lieblingstochter Elisabeth mit dem Grafen Leopold Drasković zu. Im Jahre 1731 trat er von seiner Funktion des Bans zurück, mit der Hoffnung, dass er nach dem Tod seines älteren Bruders und Palatins Nikolaus Pálffy vom König in die Funktion des Palatins bestellt werden würde. Dies geschah jedoch wegen des Widerwillens König Karls III., den ungarischen Landtag einzuberufen, nicht. Wegen dessen Entscheidung konnte Pálffy nach dem Tod von Peter Koháry lediglich in der Funktion eines Landesrichters tätig sein. Den Höhepunkt seiner Karriere erreichte Johann Pálffy zur Jahreswende 1740/1741, als er unter großen Mühen die Bereitstellung militärischer Hilfe durch die ungarischen Stände für Maria Theresia durchsetzte, und zwar trotz der allgemeinen Erwartung, dass das Königreich Ungarn das habsburgische Joch endlich beseitigen könnte. Durch dieses Engagement gewann er die lebenslange Sympathie der Kaiserin Maria Theresia. Dadurch gewann er auch die Stellung des Palatins. Der ehemalige kroatische Ban, ungarische Palatin und Feldmarschall Johann Pálffy starb in seinem Palais in Bratislava am 24. März 1751.

[18] SNA UPA, arm. 7, lad. 8, fasc. 1, nr. 3 B-C (Causa coniurationis) et 4 B.



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# CHURCH HISTORY AND MISCELLANEA

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IGOR SVIATOSLAVOVICH FILIPPOV*

# Patrimonial and Baptismal Names in the Early Medieval Slavic World. Comparative Observations

## Rodinné a krstné mená vo včasnostredovekom slovanskom svete. Komparácia / Obiteljska i krsna imena u ranosrednjovjekovnom slavenskom svijetu. Usporedba

*The baptism of the Slavic peoples, as of all the pagan peoples of Europe, led to the introduction of Christian names into their culture. These were Jewish and Greek names mentioned in the Bible, also the names of saints of Greek, Roman, Celtic and Germanic origins, also some theophoric names. These new names coexisted for hundreds of years with the old pagan names of the Slavs. In the Orthodox part of the Slavic world it very soon became a custom to give a newborn child or a neophyte, at baptism, a truly Christian name which played an important part in the person's life even if he or she was better known by his or her patrimonial name of pagan origin. In Russia only by about 1100 we find people (and these are rather rare exceptions) who seem to have had only a baptismal name or, at least, to have been known only by their baptismal name. The old pagan names persisted for centuries and disappeared totally no earlier than the eighteenth century. In the Catholic part of the Slavic world the custom seems to have been at the beginning to bear both a Christian and a pagan name, very much unlike the custom of the Germanic peoples which in the Early Middle Ages and even later were usually quite content with pagan names. In the Germanic lands of those days it was even possible to baptize a person by a pagan name. Later, however, Catholic Slavs accepted modified systems of name-giving common in Western Europe, including the use of many pagan names (not yet having the status of a name borne by a saint) already widespread in Christian society as a sort of Christian name. This paper studies the possible reasons and the logic of this divergence.*

Keywords: Middle Ages, Slavic nations, Catholic and Orthodox traditions of name-giving, baptismal names, patrimonial vernacular names, theophoric names.

Studying medieval personal names one is perplexed by a profound difference between the customs in Catholic and Orthodox parts of Europe. Whereas in the Orthodox East baptismal names were from the very beginning of the Christian era regarded as obligatory and they gradually supplanted old patrimonial names, in the Catholic West until rather late into the Middle Ages patrimonial names of pagan origin prevailed to the point that an additional baptismal name did not seem to be necessary. The Slavic world divided between the two confessions demonstrates a peculiar combination of these two traditions of name-giving.

But what is a Christian name? Different Christian communities answered this question differently in different times. Most people today would say that it is the name of a saint or of a revered character of the *Bible* but some may disagree and insist that any meaningful name belonging to the Christian culture (such as Angel, Toussaint, or Trinidad) is in fact a Christian name. Oddly, this question has not been sufficiently studied, neither by specialists in onomastics,[1] nor by historians of

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[1] Leclercq, Henri: Noms propres. In: *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 12/2. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1936, col. 1481–1553; Marrou, Henri-Irénée: *Problèmes généraux de l'onomastique chrétienne. In: L'onomastique latine*. Ed.: Hans-Georg Pflaum – Noël Duval. Paris: Éd. du C. N. R. S., 1977, pp. 431–435; Lefebvre-Teillard, Anne: *Le nom. Droit et histoire*. Paris: P.U.F., 1990, 247 p; *Genèse médiévale de l'anthroponymie moderne*, vol. 1–5. Ed.: Monique Bourin – Pascal Chareille. Tours: Université de Tours, 1990–2002; Mitterauer, Michael: *Ahnen und Heilige. Namengebung in der europäische Geschichte*. München: C. H. Beck, 1993, 516 p; *L'anthroponymie. Document de l'histoire sociale des mondes méditerranéens médiévaux*. Ed.: Monique Bourin – Jean-Marie Martin – François Menant. Rome: École française de Rome, 1996, 502 p; *Nomen et gens. Zur historischen Aussagekraft frühmittelalterlichen Personennamen*. Ed.: Dieter Geuenich – Wolfgang Haubrichs – Jörg Jarnut. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1997, 303 p; *Personennamen und Identität. Namengebung und Namengebrauch als Anzeiger individueller Bestimmung und gruppenbezogener Zuordnung*. Ed.: Reinhard Härtel. Graz: Akademische Druck – u. Verlagsanstalt, 1997, 454 p; Wilson, Stephen: *The Means of Naming. A Social and Cultural History of Personal Naming in Western Europe*. London: UCL Press, 2000, 417 p; Mitterauer, Michael: *Traditionen der Namengebung: Namenkunde als interdisziplinäres Forschungsgebiet*. Wien – Köln – Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2011, 267 p.



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religion,[2] mainly, as one can guess, because research on baptismal names is usually conducted in the frame of a particular Christian community, without due attention to the ways of other Christians. With all my admiration and gratitude for the books and articles cited here I should say plainly that most authors do not see the problem itself, let alone study it. Recently I have discussed it in a special article;[3] this permits me to treat it here briefly.

The canons are quite tacit about name-giving, and it seems that initially there were no strict rules to this behalf. Ancient treatises on baptism, for example, those by Tertullian and Augustine, say nothing about name-giving either. True, according to the rules of the Ancient Church the name of the neophyte was announced not at baptism but at the preceding stage of the person's integration into the Christian community known as catechumenisation. In practice, however, the two procedures were often combined and in any case, speaking of catechumenisation, neither the two great Africans nor any other Christian authors of this period bring this question up. Bestowing upon the neophyte a specifically Christian name was certainly not an issue which most Fathers of the Church considered of importance.

## The emergence of the Christian name

The first Christians were apparently not much concerned with this problem. *The Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistles* mention baptized people bearing names of pagan gods or their derivatives: Apollos (I *Corinthians*, 16.12), Epaphroditus (*Philippians*, 14.18), Hermes (*Romans*, 16.14), etc. Likewise, in the inscriptions from the Roman catacombs we find Christians called Apollo, Bacchus, Saturnus; few have names which we could qualify as Christian.[4] No change of name was required of an adult undergoing baptism (whereas baptism of infants was only coming into practice). This custom emerged in the course of the third century. The new name began to be regarded as a sign of spiritual rebirth, an idea supported by the stories of the conversion of Apostle Peter (*Matthew* 16.17–18, *John* 1.42) and of Saul becoming Apostle Paul (*Acts* 13.9).

However, no rules as to which names were fit for a Christian existed yet. Until the end of the fourth century *Old Testament* names, such as Daniel, Moses or Tobias, were relatively more popular. Then, step by step, *New Testament* names – John, Peter, Paul, Andrew, Stephen, Mary, among others – found their way into the Christian community. Early Christians also invented new names emphasizing the moral qualities which they appraised: Clement (already in the first century), Innocentius, Pius, Prudentius, Simplicius, and so on. They also took for names words which signified the rites, feasts, and virtues of their religion or simply notions dear to them: Agapet, Anastasius, Benedictus, Bonifatius, Epiphanius, Fides, Martyrius, Pascasia, and so on. Subsequently, certain people with such names – for example, Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403) and Epiphanius of Pavia (d. 496) – were recognized as saints, and their names became truly Christian. In the Middle Ages some new names of this kind were forged, among them Dominicus and Osanna,[5] but in general this manner of creating names suffered a certain setback.

By the first half of the third century, another group of Christian names came to life – theophoric ("deity bearing") names of Hebrew, Greek, or Latin roots, one of them being the word "God" or its substitutes. The earliest theophoric names used by Christians were of Hebrew origin, for example, Emmanuel ("God with us") and Nathanael ("God has given"). Some early Greek names of this type, such as Timotheos, which is often interpreted as "fearing God" but which means rather "honoring God," seem to be pagan. However, most of the Christian theophoric names were inventions of

[2] See, for example: Angenendt, Arnold: *Das Frühmittelalter. Die abendländische Christenheit von 400 bis 900*. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1990, 499 p; *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours*, vol. 1–11. Ed.: Jean-Marie Mayeur – Charles Pietri – Luce Pietri – André Vauchez. Paris: Desclée, A. Fayard, 1992–2001; Lobrichon, Guy: *La religion des laics en Occident, 11–15 siècles*. Paris: Hachette, 1994, 242 p; Angenendt, Arnold: *Geschichte der Religiosität im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1997, 986 p; Brown, Peter: *The Rise of the Western Christendom*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003, 625 p; Dumézil, Bruno: *Les racines chrétiennes de l'Europe. Conversion et liberté dans les royaumes barbares, V–VIII siècle*. Paris: Fayard, 2005, 804 p; Ferguson, Everett: *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2009, 953 p.

[3] Filippov, Igor: Baptismal Names and Self-Identification in the Early Middle Ages. In: *Identitats*. Ed.: Flocel Sabaté. Lleida: Pagès editors, 2012, pp. 105–144.

[4] Kajanto, Iiro: *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage*. Helsinki: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 1963, passim; Solin, Heikki: Problèmes de l'onomastique du Bas Empire. In: *Le monde romain à travers l'épigraphie: méthodes et pratiques*. Ed.: Janine Desmulliez. Villeneuve d'Ascq: CeGes, 2005, pp. 271–293.

[5] Both names are registered already in the Carolingian polyptychs of Saint-Victor-de-Marseille, Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Saint-Remi-de-Reims. See: Morlet, Marie-Thérèse: *Les noms des personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VI au XII siècle*, vol. 2. Paris: Éd. du C.N.R.S, 1972, pp. 42, 86.



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Christians themselves. Among them we find such Greek names as Theodore ("gift of God"), Dorotheus ("gift to God"), Theodosius ("God given"; it may have been a translation of the Hebrew name Nathanael), Theophanes ("manifestation of God"), Theophilus ("loving God"), and their female analogues: Theodora, Dorothea, etc. Other names of this kind include Christianus, Christina and Christophorus, attested already in the first half of the third century. Later on Latin versions of these names were forged, among them Amadeus and Deusdat. We find also brand new Latin theophoric names, of which Quodvultusdeus is probably the most spectacular.

At this point, if not earlier, a custom began to be formed to accept at baptism the name of a martyr or of some other holy person.[6] Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339) took the name of Pamphilus, a friend and a martyr whom he particularly revered. Citing Dionysius of Alexandria (d. 265) he reported that "*there were many of the same name as the Apostle John who on account of their love for him, and because they admired and emulated him, and desired to be loved by the Lord as he was, took the same name, just as many of the children of the faithful are called Paul or Peter.*"[7] Likewise, John Chrysostom (d. 407) admonished his flock not to call their children by the first name which occurred to them, nor to give them the names of their ancestors or relatives but rather the names of holy men renown for their virtue and for their courage before God.[8] Yet, up to the end of the fifth century names one way or another connected with Christianity constitute not more than 10–15% of all registered names.[9]

Obviously, a Christian name was often not the only name a Christian had. Indeed, how could a Roman citizen have renounced his patrimonial triple name? Not surprisingly, inscriptions occasionally make reference to compound names such as "*Severus by the name Pascasius.*"[10] The polyethnicity of the Roman world also urged many Christians to keep more than one name, one of the religious arguments being the double name of Mark the Evangelist, whose Hebrew name was John (*Acts* 12.25, 15.37). A Christian name was for use mainly among co-believers. According to the *Passio of Saint Balsam*, a Palestinian martyr who perished in 311, Balsam was his "paternal" name whereas his spiritual name received at baptism was Peter.[11]

The stock of baptismal names grew richer as new ethnic groups accepted Christianity and some of their members were acknowledged as saints. As a result many pagan names of Celtic, Germanic, Slavic and other "barbaric" origin eventually came to be regarded as Christian. Genevieve of Paris (b. ca. 422) is an early example. Some of these names were also theophoric but initially referred to a pagan deity. This is the case of Oswald – the name of the Northumbrian king (d. 642) venerated as a saint – for "os" was one of the ways the Anglo-Saxons called Odin; his name can be interpreted as "Odin's rule." The name Gottfried ("God's peace") attested in Bavaria and in the Ardennes by the mid-seventh century[12] could be rooted in both pagan and Christian cultures. Later we find Germanic remakes of theophoric Greek or Latin names, such as Gottlieb ("loving God"), which seems to be an early modern creation.[13] New theophoric names sprung up also in the Romanic milieu, among them Salvator, which probably owes its origin to the cathedral of Oviedo dedicated about 802 to Saint Saviour.[14]

The earliest registered Slavic theophoric name is probably Bogumil ("dear to God"), first mentioned by Cosmas the Priest, a Bulgarian author of the second half of the tenth century who left us an account about the Bogomils, a heretical sect founded, as he claims, somewhat earlier by a certain priest Bogomil.[15] This name was not very popular among the Southern Slavs, perhaps

[6] Delehaye, Hippolyte: *Les origines du culte des martyres*. Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1912, p. 164.
[7] Eusebius Pamphilus: *Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. 7, cap. 25. 14.
[8] John Chrysostom: *Homiliae,* XXI, 3.
[9] Wilson, Stephen: *The Means of Naming*, p. 61.
[10] Janssens, Joseph: *Vita e morte del christiano negli epitaffi di Roma anteriori al secolo VII*. Roma: Università Gregoriana, 1981, p. 29, citing: ICUR, NS, VI, 15895: "*natu Severus nomine Pascasius*."
[11] Acta Sancti Petri Balsami ab Anastasio bibliothecario. In: *Acta Sanctorum,* Januarii, tom. 1, p. 129: "*Nomine paterno Balsamus dicor; spirituali vero nomine, quod in baptismo accepi, Petrus dicor*." (diende *AS*).
[12] Morlet, Marie-Thérèse: *Les Noms de personne sur le territoire de l'ancienne Gaule du VIe au XIIe siècle*, vol. 1. Paris: Éd. du C.N.R.S, 1968, p. 112.
[13] Bahlow, Hans: *Unsere Vorname im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*. Limburg an der Lahn: Starke Verlag, 1965, p. 40.
[14] It is registered in Spain from the late ninth century. See: Bolòs i Masclans, Jordi – Moran, Josep: *Repertori d'Antropònims catalans,* vol. 1. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1994, p. 473.
[15] Pópruženkó, Mihail G. *Sv. Kozmy presvitera Slovo na eretiki i poučenie ot božestvennych knig.* Sankt-Peterburg: Skorochodov, 1907, p. 2.



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exactly because it had been born by a heresiarch, but it has left traces in the sources.[16] At least from the mid-eleventh century this name was known also to the Poles,[17] later to other Western Slavs, including the Slovaks.[18] It is not clear whether it was a loan from Bulgarian; my guess is that it was rather an independent invention, perhaps even of pre-Christian origin. At any rate it does not seem to be a Slavic remake of any known Christian name, and this is true of most theophoric names of the Slavs. Brand new theophoric names were forged with no prototype in Greek or Latin name-stock, for example, Boguchwal ("who praises God"),[19] Bogoslav or Boguslav ("who glorifies God"),[20] Bogomir ("God's peace").[21] Female names of this type are also known, such as Bogunka written on an earthenware vessel from Old Ryazan, in north-east Rus,[22] and Bogina, Bogoslava, Bogusha registered in Dubrovnik in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[23]

The name Bogoris also comes to mind in this context but should be dismissed as irrelevant. It is regarded as a form of the Bulgarian name Boris and is mentioned only by Byzantine authors (such as Theophanes Continuatus, Pseudo-Symeon, Leo the Deacon and John Skylitzes) but never figures in Slavic texts. The etymology of the name Bogoris and its correlation with the name Boris has been much debated with no definite results. The first name is probably of Iranian or maybe of Turkish origin and should be apparently linked with the old Russian word *bogatyr'* ("hero," "champion," "strongman"). Despite some assertions there is clearly no connection with the Slavic word *Bog*.[24]

There were Slavic remakes of Greek theophoric names as well; of these Bogdan ("God given"), a translation of Theodosius, was the most popular. As far as I know, it is first attested by John Skylitzes in a report of events in Bulgaria dating from 1018.[25] In 1135 we find it in Slovakia,[26] a few years later in Poland,[27] then in Dalmatia, in the regions of Split[28] and Dubrovnik.[29] In Eastern Slavic lands it is first registered in a 1229 graffito from Galich (south-west Rus)[30] and later was much appreciated in Ukraine. The Slavic calque of Timotheos – Bogoboj ("who fears God") was much less favored but it is attested in Dalmatia.[31] On the contrary, in northern Rus Slavic theophoric names were rare,[32] unlike the Greek ones, especially Theodore, which was immensely popular.

[16] Grković, Milica: *Rečnik ličnih imena kod Srba*. Beograd: Vuk Karadžić, 1977, pp. 38–39.

[17] Annales Cracovienses vetusti. In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (deinde *MGH SRG in us. schol.*), vol. 19. Ed.: Wilhelm Arndt – Richard Roepell. Hannover: Hahn, 1866: a. 1092: "*Bogumilus archiepiscopus obiit*."

[18] *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde *CDSl*), vol. 1. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislavae: Academia Scientiarum Slovacae, 1971, p. 80.

[19] See: *Liber Fundationis claustri Sancta Marie Virginis in Heinrichow*. Ed.: Józef Pater. Wrocław: Muzeum Archidiecezjalne, 1991, p. 147 (f. s. XII): *Bogvalus*; *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, vol. 1. Ed.: Karol Maleczyński. Wrocław: Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 1956, nr. 104 (a. 1204).

[20] To my knowledge it is first attested in an inscription found near Novgorod, dated to the first half of the eleventh century. See: Miheev, Savva Mihailovich.: Nadpis' na kamennom kreste iz Vojmeric na reke Mste v kontekste nachal'noj istorii drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti. In: *Voprosy epigrafiki*, a. 6, 2012, pp. 7–30. Western Slavs used it at least by the thirteenth century. See: *CDSl* 1, p. 147 (a. 1214), pp. 259–260 (a. 1230).

[21] Ibidem, p. 4 (a. 1235).

[22] Medynceva, Albina Aleksandrovna: *Gramotnost' v Drevnej Rusi po pamjatnikam epigrafiki X – pervoj poloviny XIII veka*. Moskva: Nauka, 2000, pp. 45–47.

[23] Dinić-Knežević, Dušanka: *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku u XIII i XIV veku*. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1974, pp. 9, 10, 19, 25, 115.

[24] I express my gratitude for consultations on this issue to Vadim Borisovich Prozorov, associate professor of Slavic history at the Moscow Lomonosov University, and to Dmitrij Igorevich Polyviannij, professor of Slavic history at the Ivanovo State University. For further information the latter recommended: Simeonov, Boris: *Prabolgarska onomastika*. Plovdiv: Fondatsiya BIN, 2008, which, alas, I didn't manage to get hold of.

[25] Ioannis Scylitzae: Synopsis historiarum. In: *Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*, vol. 5. Ed.: Hans Thurn. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973, pp. 357, 372.

[26] *CDSl* 1, p. 71.

[27] See, for example, the so-called Gniezno bull of Innocent II dated 1136, which is actually a forgery compiled in Gniezno between 1139 and 1146. The best edition is that by Witold Taszycki in: *Chrestomatia staropolska*. Ed.: Wiesław Wydra – Wojciech Ryszard Rzepka. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1984, pp. 18–19.

[28] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 1. Ed.: Jakov Stipišić – Miljen Šamšalović. Zagreb: Academia, 1967, p. 184 (a. 1085/1086), p. 195 (a. 1090).

[29] Dinić-Knežević, Dušanka: *Položaj žena u Dubrovniku*, pp. 12, 99, 177, 182. Female forms of this name, Bogdana and Bogdasha, are also registered (ibidem, pp. 9, 18, 19).

[30] Rožděstvenskaja, Tatjana Vsevolodovna: *Drevnerusskaja epigrafika X–XV vekov*. Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskij Gosudarstvennyj Universitet, 1991, p. 94.

[31] *CDCr* 1, p. 99 (a. 1064), p. 138 (a. 1076).

[32] Zaliznjak, Andrej Anatol'evich: *Drevnenovgorodskij dialekt*. Moskva: Jazyki slavjanskoj kultury, 2004, p. 712.



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The Slavic world knew a translation of this name (Bogodar or Bozhidar) found occasionally among the Southern Slavs, but it was no match for Theodore. Still more difficult to explain, the calque of Theophilus (Bogoliub, "God loving") was hardly ever used as a proper personal name though it did exist as a common name, also as a nickname of Prince Andrew Yuryevich of Vladimir (d. 1174).

The medieval Slavic world also knew at least two names containing the word *svat* or *sviat* ("saint") – Svatopluk or Sviatopolk ("saint" and "levy", "troop"), and Sviatoslav or Svetoslav ("saint" and "glory"). The former is attested starting from ca. 870 in Nitra and Moravia, later also in Poland, Rus, and in Pomerania; there is little doubt that it owes its popularity to Prince Svatopluk of Moravia (d. 894).[33] The latter is registered from the mid-tenth century in Rus and in Croatia; the first two known men to have born it were Prince Sviatoslav Igorevich of Rus (d. 972) and King Svetoslav of Croatia (d. ca. 1000). The feminine form – Sviatoslava – was in use in Poland, then also in Bohemia/Czech lands. The earliest known case is that of a sister of Cnut the Great whose mother was from the Piast family.[34] These names are definitely of pagan origin and were regarded as pagan. Unfortunately, there is no data about the Christian name of Svatopluk of Moravia or of his later Polish and Czech namesakes but we do know that Russian princes called Sviatoslav and Sviatopolk had also classical baptismal names. However, already in the eleventh century an attempt was made to present Sviatopolk as a Slavic equivalent of Michael. Not surprisingly, Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavovich of Kiev (1050–1113) was baptized as Michael.[35] I remind that Archangel Michael is traditionally regarded as the head of the heavenly host.

The names of revered characters of the *Old Testament*, mostly patriarchs, prophets, and kings of Israel, were also accepted as normal Christian names, especially in the Celtic and the Eastern churches. For example, the house of Rurik included a son of Yaroslav the Wise named Elias and several princes called David; the earliest were born in the second half of the eleventh century. Circumstantial evidence indicates that they were named in honor of the biblical characters and not after one of the saints called Elias or David.[36] The most notorious case of adopting *Old Testament* names among the Slavs is no doubt that of the four brothers who semi-officially ruled Bulgaria from 971 onwards: their names were David, Moses, Aaron, and Samuel.[37]

## Eastern and Western understanding of what a Christian name is

In Eastern Christianity the idea that a person should be baptized by a saint's name was self-evident in the Middle Ages and has persisted till present days. When a pagan was baptized according to the Orthodox rite, he or she automatically assumed a Christian name. Thus, when in 864 the Bulgarian khagan Boris became a Christian, he received the name Michael, in honor of the Byzantine emperor Michael III (842–867). In the same way the Russian prince Vladimir took at his baptism (988) the name Basil – in honor of Emperor Basil II (976–1025) but perhaps also because of the name's meaning ("king"), which was not so different from his own Slavic name ("possess the world") and no doubt appealed to him. Both Boris and Vladimir were later canonized under their pagan names, which as a result subsequently became Christian.[38] One of Vladimir's sons, Yaroslav ("glory of Yarilo," the Slavic god of spring and fertility) the Wise, the prince of Kiev from 1019 to 1054, was baptized as George. Numerous other facts prove that this was the norm in medieval Rus. True, we know the baptismal names of only about every fifth Russian prince of the pre-Mongolian period (i. e. before 1237) but this is no doubt due to the condition of

[33] Mader, Adam. *Svätoplukovia v slovanských dejinách*. Bachelor thesis. Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave, 2013, passim.

[34] Uspenskij, Fiodor Borisovich: *Skandinavy, Varjagi, Rus: istoriko-filologičeskie očerki*. Moskva: Jazyki slavjanskoj kultury, 2002, pp. 24–28, 50–52.

[35] Litvina, Anna Feliksovna – Uspenskij, Fiodor Borisovich: *Vybor imeni u russkich knjazej v X–XVI vv. : dinastičeskaja istorija skvoz· prizmu antroponimiki*. Moskva: Indrik, 2006, pp. 180–181, 253, 440, 604–605, 609–610. See also: Poppe, Andrzej: O zarozhdenii kul'ta svjatyh Borisa i Gleba i o posvjaschennyh im proizvedenijah. In: *Russia Mediaevalis*, a. 8, 1995, pp. 21–68.

[36] Litvina, Anna Feliksovna – Uspenskij, Fiodor Borisovich: *Vybor imeni…*, pp. 527–532, 565–566.

[37] The basic sources are John Skylitzes and his Slavic continuator, Michael Devolskiy; additional data is furnished by inscriptions. See: Tăpkova-Zaimova, Vasilka: *"Bălgari rodom…" : komitopulite v letopisnata i istoriografska tradicija*. Veliko Tărnovo: Univ. Izdat. Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodij, 2009, passim.

[38] The canonization of Saint Vladimir took place probably in the second half of the thirteenth century. Several earlier princes called Vladimir were baptized under other names: Basil, Demetrius, John, etc. Similarly, Boris came to be regarded as a baptismal name, at least in Rus, after the canonization, probably in 1072, of princes Boris and Gleb (d. 1015). See: Litvina, Anna Feliksovna – Uspenskij, Fiodor Borisovich: *Vybor imeni…*, pp. 477–482, 494–501.



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the sources. It may be asserted that each prince about whom there is sufficient data is known to us by his baptismal name, no matter whether he had or had not also a pagan name. Scanty data available for non-princely families suggests that in their midst people also had both a vernacular and a baptismal name. We know, for example, thanks to an afterward note in the so-called *Ostromir's Gospel*, the oldest surviving Russian book, created in 1056–1057, that Ostromir, the governor (*posadnik*) of Novgorod and the book's promoter, was at his baptism named Joseph. A graffito from Novgorod's Sophia Cathedral dating to about 1100 mentions a certain Mutižir'' Ogafangelovich, who had a Slavic personal name and a patronymic derived from the Greek name Agathangel.[39]

Until the late eleventh century it was common for the Russian princes to give their sons a dynastic pagan name of Slavic or Scandinavian origin (and these names were practically a prerogative of the Rurik dynasty). It was the "real" official name, more important than the one received at baptism. Later we find princes referred to in the chronicles and other texts only by their baptismal names, for example, Yuri (i. e. George) the Longarmed (ca. 1090–1157), prince of Vladimir and Suzdal, who is traditionally regarded as the founder of Moscow. Likewise, his elder son figures in the contemporary sources only under his baptismal name – Andrei (i.e. Andrew). However, Yuri's younger son, born in 1154, though baptized Dimitriy, was better known as Vsevolod ("who possesses all") the Big Nest – for having fathered a large family. The rate of princes mentioned in the sources exclusively by their baptismal names grew steadily starting from the twelfth century so that, for example, none of the princes of Moscow (the first, Daniel, died in 1303) had a pagan name though they are attested in the lateral branch of the family, that of the princes of Serpukhov and Borovsk. However, it was not until the fifteenth century that patrimonial pagan names totally disappeared in the Rurik dynasty. Oleg of Ryazan (ca. 1350–1402), baptized as Jacob, and Yaroslav of Borovsk (1388–1426), baptized as Athanasius,[40] were among the last to bear such names. Gradually, certain baptismal names used in the dynasty became patrimonial; in fact, correlations have been detected between particular vernacular and baptismal names: Vladimir and Basil, Mstislav and Theodore, Sviatoslav and Nicholas, and so on.[41] Among other noble families as well as among commoners baptismal names triumphed over pagan names (these, however, were quite different names) more or less in the same time though this question demands more research.[42]

Similar attitudes prevailed among the Southern Slavs, both Orthodox and Catholic. However, unlike Rus where patrimonial and baptismal name coexisted without being used together but rather assigned to an appropriate sphere of activity, among Bulgarians, Serbs, Bosnians and Croatians they were often used side by side, as it is reflected in official documents, hagiography and inscriptions. The names of the Bulgarian tsars Gavriil Radomir (d. 1015) and Ivan Vladislav (d. 1018), of the Serbian rulers of Duklja Ivan Vladimir (d. 1016) and Stephen Vojislav (d. 1043), and of the Croatian kings Stephen Držislav (d. ca. 997) and Demetrius Zvonimir of Croatia (d. 1089) serve as early examples. This custom persisted in Bulgaria into the fourteenth century, both in the royal family (Fiodor Svetoslav, d. 1322; Ivan Sratsimir, d. after 1396) and among common people.[43] Serbian rulers of the Nemanich family combined the same baptismal name, Stephen, with vernacular names: Stephen Radoslav (d. 1233), Stephen Vladislav (d. 1243), etc. Peculiarly, in this case both names were patrimonial. Scarce data about simpler folk prove adherence to a similar pattern. According to a marginal note on the so-called Svrlig Gospel created in 1278–1279, the manuscript was the work of a certain Constantine named Voysil Grammarian, on order of presbyter Georgiy called priest Radoslav.[44]

[39] Gippius, Aleksej Alekseevich – Miheev, Savva Mihailovich: O podgotovke Svoda nadpisej-graffiti Novgorodskogo Sofijskogo sobora. In: *Pismennost', literatura, folklor slavjanskih narodov. Istorija slavistiki*. Moskva: Drevlehranilišče, 2013, p. 161–162.

[40] Litvina, Anna Feliksovna – Uspenskij, Fiodor Borisovich: *Vybor imeni…*, pp. 199, 622.

[41] Ibidem, pp. 419–432.

[42] Nikonov, Vladimir Andrejevich: *Imia i obšestvo*. Moskva: Nauka, 1974, pp. 35, 40, 46–47. The main source for common people's names in medieval Russia are texts on birch bark, mostly from Novgorod, and other inscriptions; this material still needs to be summarized. A good recent study: Kalečyc, Ina Leanidavna: *Epigrafika Belarusi X–XIV st*. Mìnsk: Belaruskaâ navuka, 2011, passim.

[43] *Istorija na Bălgarija,* t. 3. *Vtora Bălgarska dăržava*. Ed.: Dimităr Kosev. Sofija: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata akademija na naukite, 1982, p. 424; Kovačev, Nikolaj Petkov: *Bălgarska onomastika: nauka za sobstvenite imena*. Sofija: Nauka i izkustvo, 1987, passim.

[44] Ilinskij, Grigorij Andreevich: Sverlizhskie otryvki. In: *Sbornik statej po slavjanovedeniju*, tom. 2. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografija Ministerstva Putej Soobščenija, 1906, p. 10; *Istorija na Bălgarija*, tom. 3. Ed.: Dimităr Kosev – Natan Žak – Aleksandăr Burmov. Sofija: Darzavno Izdatelstvo Nauka i Izkustvo, 1982, p. 424. I owe this example to Pavel Evgenyevich Lukin, associate professor of Slavic history at the Moscow Lomonosov University.



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## Christians baptized by pagan names

The idea that baptism presupposes an adoption of a saint's name was not unknown in the early medieval West though few authors state this clearly. One of them was Bede the Venerable who drew arguments in support of this idea from *Isaiah* 65.15, *Acts* 4.12 and some other passages of the *Bible*.[45] The evidence that such practice did exist is rare but available. Thus, telling about the baptism of the Wessex king Cædwalla (685–688) who renounced his throne and in order to atone for his numerous sins chose to spend what was left of his life in Rome, Bede wrote that "*in baptism Pope Sergius gave him the name Peter, so that by name he could join the most blessed leader of the apostles*."[46] In Central and Northern Europe a ruler was sometimes called both by his Christian and his pagan name. A famous example is King Anund Jacob the Coal-Burner of Sweden (d. 1050), who was baptized in his childhood as Jacob but in order to be accepted by the Thing as ruler had to take a more appropriate traditional pagan name, Anund.[47] Thomas of Split (d. 1268) refers to a late-eleventh-century king of Croatia as "Demetrius known as Zvonimir,"[48] and Demetrius himself acknowledged in his charters that he also had a vernacular name.[49]

However, an overwhelming majority of Western Europeans till approximately the thirteenth century seem to have lacked a real baptismal name. At least sometimes this cannot be explained by the scarcity of sources. For example, we know a lot about Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald or, say, Alfred the Great. Yet, no trace of a real Christian name, not even circumstantial evidence, such as a preference for a certain cult, is available. The sources of that period are usually tacit about the Christians names of the mentioned characters, even when talking about their baptism. Thus, according to Gregory of Tours, when Clovis' wife Chrodehilda baptized their son, she called him Chlodomer.[50] Things remained much the same in Carolingian times. The Astronomer tells us that when Queen Judith gave birth to the future Charles the Bald, her husband, Louis the Pious, wished "*at baptism to call him Charles*."[51] A few generations later Flodoard informs us that "*the queen bore King Louis a son who was announced as Charles*."[52] Similar attitudes prevailed in other parts of Western Christendom. Thus, speaking about Saint Adalbert of Prague (d. 997), a Slav by birth, Thietmar of Merseburg says that "*at baptism he received the name Vojtěch*."[53] It was a pagan name (a short form of Wojcieslaw – "warrior" and "glory") which the future

[45] Venerabilis, Beda: *Homilia* (Bedae Venerabilis Opera Homiletica. Ed.: David Hurst. In: *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, vol. 122. Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), lib. 2. 108–110: "…*si percepta in Christo purificatione baptismi salutaris derivatum a nomine Christi gaudeant mutuasse cognomen*…."

[46] Idem: *Historia ecclesiastica* (*Bede's Ecclesiastical history of the English People*. Ed.: Bertram Colgrave – Roger Aubrey Baskerville Mynors. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), lib. 5, cap. 7: "*Cui etiam tempore baptismatis papa memoratus Petri nomen imposuerat, ut beatissimo apostolorum principi, ad cujus sacratissimum corpus a finibus terrae pio ductus amore venerat, etiam nominis ipsius consortio jungeretur*."

[47] Bremensis, Adam: *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* (*Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. Ed.: Bernhard Schmeidler. Hannover – Leipzig: Hahn, 1917, p. 119), lib. 2, cap 59: "*Anund… cognomento fidei et gratiae dictus est Iacobus, iuvenis quidem aetate, verum sapientia et pietate processit omnes qui fuerunt ante eum; nec quispiam regum fuit populum Sueonum tam acceptus sicut Anandus*." Cfr. Saga Ólafs hins helga, cap. XCIV. In: Snorri Sturluson: *Heimskringla*, vol. 2. Ed.: Finnur Jónsson. København: S. L. Møllers bogtrykkeri, 1893, p. 162.

[48] Spalatenisis, Thoma: *Historia Salonitana*. Ed.: Fraňo Rački. Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1894, cap. 16: *Demetrius cognomento Suinimir, rex Chroatorum.* He is also referred to as Suinimir. His predecessor, Peter Krešimir, is called Cresimir.

[49] *CDCr* 1, nr. 109 (a. 1075): "*Ego Demetrius qui et Suinimir nuncupor*…"

[50] Turonensis, Gregorius: Historia Francorum. Ed.: Bruno Krusch – Wilhelm Levison. In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (deinde *MGH*): *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* (deinde *SRM*), vol. 1. Hannover: Hahn, 1951, p. 75), lib. 2, cap. 29: "*Post hunc vero genuit alium filium quem baptizatum Chlodomerem vocavit*."

[51] Astronomus: Vita Hludowici. In: Thegan: *Die Taten Kaiser Ludwigs*. Astronomus: *Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs*. Ed.: Ernst Tremp. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1995, cap. 37, p. 422: *"natus est filius ei… quem tempore baptismi Karolum vocitare placuit*."

[52] Flodoardus: *Annales* (*Les Annales de Flodoard*. Ed.: Philippe Lauer. Paris: Picard, 1905, p. 95–96), a. 945: "*Gerberga regina filium Lauduni peperit qui Karolus ad catezizisandum vocatus est*."

[53] Merseburgensis, Thietmar: Chronicon (Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung. Ed.: Robert Holtzmann. In: *MGH. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*: *Nova Series* (deinde *SRG NS*), vol. 9. Berlin: Weidmann, 1955, p. 165, lib. 4, cap. 28 (19): "*Adalbertus Boemiorum episcopus qui nomen quod Woytech sonat in baptismate aliud in confirmacione percepit ab archiepiscopo Parthenopolitano*." Cfr.: Canaparius, Johannes: Sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita prior. Ed.: Jadwiga Karwasińska. In: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*: *Nova Series* (deinde *MPH NS*), vol. 4/2. Warszawa: PWN, 1969, cap. 2: "*puer… cui post in sacri baptismatis lavacro datum est nomen Woytech*."



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saint changed in honor of his mentor, Archbishop Adalbert of Magdeburg (d. 981).

Bede, who prompted his brethren to give their children a true baptismal name, oddly does not mention his own Christian name, be it a baptismal name or a name assumed when taking the monk's habit. Saint Willibrord (d. 739), the Anglo-Saxon "apostle of Friesland," got his Christian name, Clement, only when he became a bishop.[54] So did another Anglo-Saxon, Saint Boniface (d. 754), "the apostle of Germany," who was previously called Winfried.[55] Clearly, even entering the clergy was not necessarily accompanied by adopting a Christian name. Both in the Romanic and the Germanic parts of Europe in the early medieval period even clerics could have born names of pagan gods and their derivates. According to Snorri Sturluson (d. 1241) it was a priest called Thormod ("the wrath of Thor"?) who in 1000 baptized the Icelanders.[56] It appears that in the early medieval West, especially among the Germanic peoples, bestowing upon a child a Christian name which would indeed become a name for everyday life was a rather exceptional decision explained by exceptional circumstances. For example, one of the few Merovingians to bear a biblical name was Daniel, son of Childeric II, who was meant to join the clergy and most of his life was indeed a monk. In order to be raised to the throne he had to take a new name, more fit for a Merovingian king; he is generally known as Chilperic II (715–721).[57]

Similarly, Western accounts about the baptism of adult heathens are usually void of any reference to their baptismal name. For example, Gregory of Tours does not say a word about the Christian name of Clovis, Bede – about the Christian name of Aethelbert of Kent or of Edwin of Northumbria or of any other Anglo-Saxon. The most famous story of converting a pagan to Christianity during the reign of Charlemagne, the case of the noble Saxon Widukind, also contains no allusion to a change of name, though the conversion is well described in the sources.[58] Likewise, at the beginning of the twelfth century, Gallus Anonymus does not mention the baptismal name of Mieszko, the first Christian ruler of Poland (though he had one), nor does his contemporary, Cosmas of Prague mention the baptismal name of the first Christian Bohemian prince, Bořivoj. But the picture is more complicated than it may seem at first glance. When just a few years after the conversion of Widukind two Avarian khagans accepted Christianity, they were renamed Abraham and Theodore.[59]

Apparently no general rule existed. If some logic is perceptible, it is connected with the region where the event took place. At least Northern and Central Europe at the end of the first millennium supply us with a number of facts confirming that at baptism some people received truly Christian names. The case of the Hungarian king Vajk ("hero", "leader"), who was christened Stephen some time before 1000,[60] is notorious. Others include the Polish king Miezsko II (d. 1034) and his nephew, Cnut the Great, king of Denmark, Norway and England (d. 1035), both named at baptism after Saint Lambert of Liège (d. c. 705).[61] The first was known mainly by his Christian

[54] In his will the saint calls himself by a double name. See Wampach, Camillus: *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frümittelalter*. Luxemburg: Luxemburger Kunstdruckerei, 1929. Quellenband, nr. 39: "*monasterium Epternachum… ubi ego ipse Clemens Willibrordus custos vel gubernator preesse videor…*" Cfr.: Venerabilis, Beda: *Historia ecclesiastica*, lib. 5, cap. 11.

[55] *Sancti Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae*. Ed.: Michael Tangl. Berlin: Weidmann, 1916, nr. 12 (a. 719).

[56] Saga Ólafs Tryggvasons, cap. XCV. In: Snorri Sturluson : *Heimskringla*, vol. 1, p. 427.

[57] Liber historiae Francorum. In: *MGH SRM*, vol. 2. Ed.: Bruno Krusch. Hannover: Hahn, 1888, p. 326), cap. 52: "*Franci nimirum Danielem quondam clericum, cesarie capitis crescente, eum in regnum stabiliunt atque Chilpericum nuncupant*."

[58] See for example Annales Mosellani. In: *MGH*: *Scriptores* (deinde *SS*), vol. 16. Ed.: Johann Martin Lappenberg. Hannover: Hahn, 1869, p. 497, a. 785: "*Widuchind tot malorum auctor ac perfidie incentor venit cum sociis suis ad Attinacho palacio, et ibidem baptizatus est, et domnus rex suscepit eum a fonte…."*

[59] Annales Regni Francorum. In: *MGH*, vol. 6. Ed.: Friedrich Kurze – Georg Friedrich Pertz. Hannover: Hahn, 1895, p. 120), a. 805: "*erat enim capcanus christianus nomine Theodorus"*; Annales Sancti Emmerami Ratisponenses maiores. In: *MGH SS*, vol. 1. Ed.: Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Hahn, 1826, p. 93, a. 805: *"Abraham cagonus baptizatus super Fiskaha."* The choice of names is unusual and perhaps points to Orthodox influence. Cfr.: Pohl, Walter: Die Namengebung bei den Awaren. In: *Nomen et gens…,* pp. 84–93.

[60] Merseburgensis, Thietmar: Chronicon, lib. 4, cap. 59, p. 198: "*Waic in regno suimet episcopales cathedras faciens, coronam et benediccionem accepit*"; Cabannensis, Ademarus: Chronicon. In: *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, vol. 129. Ed.: Pascale Bourgain – Richard Landes – Georges Pon. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, lib. 3, cap. 31: "*regem Ungrie baptizavit qui vocabatur Gouz et mutato nomine in baptismo Stephanum vocavit, quem Oto imperator in natali protomartiris Stephani a baptismate excepit*."

[61] Thoma, Gertrud: *Namensänderung in Herrscherfamilien des mittelalterlichen Europa*. Kalmünz: Lassleben, 1985, pp. 36–39, 45–48. Cnut's baptismal name is known thanks to: Bremensis, Adam: *Scholia*, p. 37 and *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum…*, p. 112: "*Chnut filius Suein regis abiecto nomine gentilitatis in baptismo Lambertus nomen accepit*."



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name, whereas the other two – by their pagan names. This, however, was a purely individual and not a national trait: among the descendents of both Miezsko and Stephen some were remembered by their pagan names (Boleslaw, Casimir, Wladysław, Zbigniew; Almos, Bela, Geza), others by the local forms of their Christian names (Leszek; Andreas, Emericus). So much said, we should not overlook the fact that most Slavs and Scandinavians in this period baptized in accordance with the Western Christian rite are known only by their pagan names. Saint Václav (Wenceslas) of Bohemia and Saint Olaf of Norway come naturally to mind.

It should not surprise us, of course, that adult pagans in the early medieval West were occasionally renamed at baptism. Oddly, the new name was often also pagan! For example, Gregory of Tours mentions a certain Waldo of Bordeaux, a deacon, "*who, by the way, in baptism was also called Bertramn.*"[62] Indeed, the most striking fact is that in the West a heathen could have been given another pagan name at baptism. Thus, when in 878 King Alfred baptized Dane Gutrumn, he named him Aethelstan – no doubt, in memory of his elder brother deceased in 851.[63] In 911, in France, another Scandinavian, Hrollo alias Rollo, was called Robert at baptism; this was the name of his godfather, the future French king Robert I (922–923).[64] In 974 Swein, the son of the Danish king Harald the Bluetooth, was baptized as Otto – in honor of his godfather, Emperor Otto II (973–983).[65] In all three cases heathen Scandinavians were baptized under pagan names which, however, were already in use among Christians.[66]

## East and West: reasons for different approaches to the Christian name

How can we explain this striking difference of perception of what a Christian name is between the Orthodox and the Catholics? In the Middle Ages people were aware of this difference and occasionally they commented on it. In Rus, probably because paganism was not yet totally overcome, the clergy was more attentive to this issue than in the Byzantine empire. In the framework of the anti-Latin polemic uncoiled after 1054 by the Greek metropolitans of Kiev, Ephraim, George, Nicephorus, also by the Russian hegumen Theodosius, the Catholics were blamed for naming their children not in honor of saints but as "*the parents choose*" (Theodosius). It was stressed that in deviation from the ancient rite the "Latins" give the baptized the names of "*lions, wolves, leopards, foxes and even more shameful*" ones (Ephraim).[67] To my knowledge, Catholic authors never retorted this accusation nor defended the Western way of name-giving.

Trying to solve this mystery we should bear in mind that it was not uncommon then to have more than one name. A change of name seems to have occurred more often than in our days. However, studying double (triple, etc.) names we must be aware of quite a few traps set by the sources for the researcher.

To start, a double name is, not exceptionally, a creation of a much later tradition. According to some old time historians Vsevolod Mstislavovich (d. 1138), the last real prince of Novgorod prior to the proclamation of the city-republic, was called Vsevolod Gavriil. He was indeed baptized in the

[62] Turonensis, Gregorius: Historia Francorum, lib. 8, cap. 22, p. 388: "*Waldonem diaconem qui et ipse in baptismo Berthchramnus vocitatus est…*"

[63] Gutrumn's baptismal name is mentioned in connection with his death. See: Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, D, a. 890: "*7 Guðrum se norðerna cyning forðferde, 7 þæs fulluhtnama wæs Æþelstan, se wæs* Ælfredes *cyninges godsunu*" In: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: *A Collaborative Edition*, vol. 6. MS D. Ed.: Patrick G. Cubbin. Woodbridge – NewYork: Boydell and Brewer, 1996, p. 30.

[64] S. Quintini, Dudo: *De moribus et gestis primorum Normanniae ducum*. Ed.: Jules Lair. Caen: F. Le Blan-Hardel, 1865, p. 170), lib. 2, cap. 30: "*duxque francorum Rotbertus de fonte Salvatoris eum suscepit, nomenque suum ei imposuit magnisque muneribus et donis honorifice ditavit. Rotbertus autem, qui et Rollo, comites suos et milites omnemque manum exercitus sui baptizari fecit….*"

[65] Bremensis, Adam: *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, lib. 2, cap. 3: "*Nec mora baptizatus est ipse Haroldus cum uxore Gunhild et filio parvulo, quem rex noster a sacro fonte susceptum Sueinotto vocavit*"; Saga Ólafs Tryggvasons, cap. XXVIII. In: Snorri Sturluson: *Heimskringla* 1, p. 305: "*Svá segia menn, … at Otta keisari gerði guðsifjar við Svein, son Haralds konnungs, ok gaf honum nafn sitt, ok var hann svá skirðr, at hann hét Otta Sveinn.*"

[66] The name Robert became truly Christian after the canonization in 1070 of Robert, the abbot of Chaise-Dieu (d. 1068); the name Otto – after the canonization in 1189 of Otto, bishop of Bamberg (d. 1139). As far as I know no Aethelstan was ever declared a saint.

[67] Čičurov, Igor Sergeevich: Shizma 1054 g. i antilatinskaja polemika v Kieve (seredina XI–nachalo XII v.). In: *Russia Mediaevalis*, a. 9, 1997, nr. 1, pp. 48, 52; Idem: Ein antilateinischer Traktat des Kiever Metropoliten Ephraim. In: *Fontes Minores*, vol. 10. Ed.: Dieter Simon. Frankfurt-am-Main: Löwenklau-Gesellschaft, 1988, pp. 319–356; *Drevnerusskaja literatura: vosprijatie Zapada v XI–XIV vv*. Ed.: Alexandr Alexandrovich Kosorukov. Moskva: Nasledie, 1996, pp. 81–88.



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name of the Archangel but no contemporary source mentions him under this double name, which appears for the first time in some hagiographic texts of the fourteenth century. Another interesting case is Aba Samuel, the Turkish (Kabar) lord who in 1041 usurped the Hungarian crown.[68] It seems that only among the Southern Slavs (Croatians, Bosnians, Serbians, Bulgarians), and for reasons still to be examined, combinations of a baptismal and a vernacular name were used as official double names reflected in contemporary sources.

A double name could be the result of being born of parents of different ethnic origin. Thus, the elder son of Vladimir Monomach of Kiev (d. 1125) and Gita, the daughter of Harald, the last king of the Anglo-Saxons, Prince Mstislav (d. 1132; his name means "vengeance and glory"), baptized as Theodore, figures in Scandinavian and Germans texts as Harald. Likewise, according to a later source, his nephew, Prince Andrew Bogoliubskij (d. 1174), also had a pagan Turkish name, Kitay, inherited from his mother, a Cuman.[69] As for the Polish duke Wladyslaw Herman (d. 1102),[70] his second name may have been considered Christian by his parents but in fact it was a vernacular German name. He was named, no doubt, in honor of Archbishop Herman II of Cologne (d. 1056), his father's maternal uncle, at whose court he was born. It was not a saint's name for centuries to come. Another famous case of this type is that of the Bohemian king Přemysl Otakar I (d. 1230), whose mother was from Thuringia.[71]

Dynastic marriages sometimes also led to the change of the wife's name. Thus, when in 1058 Emperor Henry IV's sister Judith married King Salomon of Hungary, she was given, despite her high dynastic status, a new name – Sophia, regarded obviously more in line with the traditions of the Arpadian family. After Salomon's death in 1087, she chose to marry the Polish duke Wladysław Herman and was renamed Maria[72] – perhaps in order to distinguish her from her new husband's first wife, Judith of Bohemia.

However, this was by no means the rule, even when it came to marriages between representatives of the Catholic and Orthodox branches of Christianity. When in 972 the Greek princess Theophano wed the German emperor Otto II, no change of name occurred. The case of the three daughters of Yaroslav the Wise (Anna, Anastasia, and Elisabeth), married to the kings of France, Hungary, and Norway, respectively, is just as indicative.[73] If prior to the schism of 1054 a princess crossing the border between Western and Eastern Christianity was forced to change her name, it had nothing to do with canonical considerations. It happened rather because the original name was regarded abroad as improper. For example, in 1019 the newly christened Russians would not accept the name of Yaroslav's Swedish wife – Ingegerd (born in 1001) and she came to be called Irene. This case is of special interest since Ingegerd was definitely baptized in her homeland, her father, Olaf Shötkonung, having accepted Christianity together with his family around 1008. Why wasn't she given a Christian name, whereas her brother was baptized as Jacob, we can only guess.[74] Likewise, when in 1087 her granddaughter Eupraxia married Emperor Henry IV, she had to take a new name, Adelheid; there is no indication that a religious ritual of any sort took place.[75] True, after 1054 the converts from Western to Eastern Christianity and vice versa

[68] See cap. 33 of the Anonymous: Gesta Hungarorum. In: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 1. Ed.: Emericus Szentpétery. Budapest: Academia Hungarica, 1937, the oldest Hungarian chronicle, written about 1200: *rex Samuel… qui pro sua pietate oba uocabatur* (the Turkish word "aba" actually means "father"). All other surviving sources, Hungarian and foreign, call him Aba. On his coins he is presented as Samuel.

[69] Nazarenko, Alexandr Vasil'evich: *Drevnaja Rus' na mezhdunarodnykh putjakh*. Moskva: Jazyki slavjanskoj kultury, 2001, pp. 585–590; Litvina, Anna Feliksovna – Uspenskij, Fiodor Borisovich: *Vybor imeni…*, pp. 473–474.

[70] Annales capituli Cracoviensis. In: *MPH*, vol. 2. Ed.: August Bielowski. Warszawa: PWN, 1872, p. 796, (a. 1091): *Wladizlaus cognominatus Hermannus dux.* Gallus Anonymus refers to him only as Wladislaw.

[71] Barciak, Antoni: Przemysł czy Otokar? Z problematyki funkcjonowania dwóch imion władców czeskich w XIII wieku (Przemysł Otokar I). In: *Cracovia – Polonia – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane Jerzemu Wyrozumskiemu*. Ed.: Waldemar Bukowski. Kraków: Secesja, 1995, pp. 419–425.

[72] Thoma, Gertrud: *Namensänderung in Herrscherfamilien*, pp. 207–208.

[73] Hallu, Roger: *Anne de Kiev, reine de France*. Rome: Università Cattolica Ucraina, 1973, pp. 41–42; Thoma, Gertrud: *Namensänderung in Herrscherfamilien*, pp. 197–198; Nazarenko, Alexandr Vasil'evich: *Drevnaja Rus' na mezhdunarodnykh putjakh*, p. 568. Cfr.: Poppe, Andzhej: Gertruda-Olisava, rus'skaja knjagini. Peresmotr biograficheskih dannyh. In: *Imenoslov*, vol. 2. Ed.: Fiodor Borisovich Uspenskij. Moskva: Indrik, 2007, pp. 205–229.

[74] Uspenskij, Fiodor Borisovich: Olof Skötkonungs dotter Ingegerds ryska namn. In: *Släkt och Hävd*, a. 21, 2001, nr. 4, pp. 339–340.

[75] Rüss, Hartmut: Eupraxia-Adelheid. Eine biographische Annäherung. In: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Bd. 54, 2006, pp. 481–518.



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were sometimes required, when anointed, to take a new name. This is clearly stated in the so-called "Cyric's inquiry", a text from Novgorod written about 1147.[76] After the year 1204, which drew Eastern and Western Christians further apart, assuming a new name at a new anointment became more common; yet, it never became the rule, at least during the Middle Ages.[77]

Despite many common points in the Catholic and Orthodox approaches to the baptismal name, there was a marked difference in understanding of what it stood for. In the Orthodox world it supposed a strong link with the saint whose name was bestowed on the person; the saint was conceived as one's patron and heavenly protector. As a result, little by little, baptismal names, if not totally supplanted vernacular names (this has not happened up to this day), then deeply rooted themselves in everyday life and became indeed a significant part of one's identity. In the Catholic West the baptismal name was, on the contrary, for a long time overshadowed by the vernacular name and for a while it was not really important – to the point that perhaps it was not even uttered by the priest.

At the bottom of this phenomenon lies, no doubt, the greater flexibility of the Roman Church regarding pagan customs, revealed so well in the tolerant policies of Saint Patrick or in the famous answers of Pope Nicolas I to the questions of the Bulgarian neophyte king, Boris, who was alienated from Constantinople not in the last run by the strictness of the Byzantine religious attitudes. Omitting a true Christian name during the rite of baptism probably appeared to the Holy See not too great a sacrifice for the conversion of yet another heathen nation.

As early as the sixth century a conviction spread in the West that a person can be baptized with a name already born by a Christian, no matter whether it was a genuine Christian name or not. The next step was to accept the idea that it is possible to baptize a person under any given name. The widespread custom to bear more than one name (rooted in one's paternal and maternal families, being the result of an adoption, of settling in another country, of taking monastic vows, or accepting a new cult, and so on) contributed greatly to the perception of the baptismal name as simply one of the names a person had. Another factor was the cultural proximity of the Germanic tribes which to some extent shared their name-stock and when not – used names comprehensible to their neighbors and quite alike their own. In those days an overwhelming majority of the Christian neophytes were Germanic, and it was their kinsmen, mainly Franks and Anglo-Saxons, who evangelized them. It was obviously rather easy for them to accept a Saxon name like Widukind as one under which a pagan could be baptized whereas it was unthinkable to use, for the same purpose, the totally alien names of the Avar khagans. By the time the Catholic missionaries reached the lands of the Slavs a strong stereotype had been formed and it became feasible to baptize them by their pagan names as well.

In the medieval West baptismal names were for a long time in the shadow of vernacular names of pagan origin, many of which were patrimonial. By the thirteenth century, when baptismal names finally came out from the dark, vernacular names were quite often regarded as normal Christian names. However, as ecclesiastical interference in family life grew stronger, a compromise was found in the form of a personal name composed of many units, of which at least one was a true baptismal name linking the person to Christian culture. Yet, the emphasis was put not so much on the name of the heavenly patron but on supplying the child with names of elder relatives, thus connecting him to his kin, sometimes also to godparents, lords, and other earthly protectors. Unlike the Orthodox world which in the Middle Ages witnessed a steady progress of the baptismal name as the main and finally the only name one had, the Catholic world gradually developed another conception of the personal name which often was a name composed of several units, comprising both the baptismal name and one, two, or more patrimonial names, pagan or Christian. Of these the baptismal name was not necessarily the most important, nor the most commonly used by the person himself and by those around him.

[76] Voprosy Kirika, titul 10. In*: Russkaja istoricheskaja biblioteka,* vol. 6. *Pamjatniki drevnerusskogo kanonicheskogo prava,* vol. 1. *Pamjatniki 11–15 v.* Ed.: Kol. Archeografičeskoj komissii Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěščenija. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1880, pp. 26–27.

[77] Assuming a baptismal name was a must in the case of converted Muslims and Jews.



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KOSZTA LÁSZLÓ*

# Die Gründung des Bistums von Nitra[1]

## Založenie biskupstva v Nitre / Osnivanje biskupije u Nitri

*Until the end of the twelfth century the bishopric of Nitra had no territory of its own, it was not allowed to collect tithes by its own right, and its property rights were likewise limited. The bishops of Nitra played a role similar to that of the later assistant bishops to the archbishop of Esztergom and were not regarded as equal in rank to the other Hungarian bishops. This fact explains why the bishops of Nitra were not mentioned in the witness lists of twelfth-century royal charters. This situation changed in the late twelfth century, during the reign of Bela III. Hungarian medievalists maintain that the bishopric of Nitra was founded by King Coloman at the end of the first decade of the twelfth century as the twelfth Hungarian diocese, subject to the archbishopric of Esztergom. Slovak historians generally share this opinion, but they think that this foundation was only a reorganisation of the Moravian bishopric which had been established in 880.*

Keywords: Church history, the bishopric of Nitra, the twelfth century

In letzter Zeit sind die Fachleute zu einem Konsens über die Entstehung der Diözese von Nitra (dt. *Neutra*) in Nordwest-Ungarn gekommen. Die Forschung hält das Bistum von Nitra für eine Gründung König Kolomans, die im ersten Jahrzehnt des 12. Jahrhunderts zustande kam. Allgemein wird jedoch die Meinung akzeptiert, dass die Diözese von Nitra am Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts aus dem nordwestlichen Teil des Erzbistums von Esztergom (dt. *Gran*) ausschied.[2] In den Überlieferungen aus der Frühzeit des Bistums von Nitra liegen jedoch Besonderheiten verborgen, die bisher von der Forschung nur wenig in Betracht gezogen wurden. Im 12. Jahrhundert ist nämlich der Oberpriester von Nitra der einzige ungarische Bischof, der im Dignitäts – und Zeugenverzeichnis der Königsurkunden nicht vorkommt. Dies ist besonders bemerkenswert, wenn man berücksichtigt, dass die obersten Hirten der anderen zehn Diözesen im Schlussakt der königlichen Urkunde, obwohl nicht im gleichen Maße, aber trotzdem regelmäßig, erwähnt werden.[3] Der erste Bischof von Nitra, der im Dignitätsverzeichnis der königlichen Urkunde erwähnt wurde, ist Bischof Everardus. Die Schenkungsurkunde von Bela III. aus dem Jahre 1183 für die Diözese Nitra ist die erste und einzige Urkunde, in der der Kirchenfürst in dieser Form erwähnt wird.[4] Es gibt zwar noch zwei andere Bischöfe von Nitra, derer Namen in den Urkunden am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts auftauchen, es handelt sich dabei aber um Fälschungen.[5] Der Bischof von

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[1] Dieser Aufsatz basiert auf meiner Arbeit: A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte. (Nyitra egyháztörténete a 9–13. században). In: *Századok*, a. 143, 2009, pp. 257–318. Das hier behandelte Thema mit den ausführlichen Anmerkungen wird in dieser Kurzmonographie detailliert präsentiert.

[2] Aus der ungarischen Forschung siehe dazu z. B.: *Magyarország történeti kronológiája* 1. Ed.: Kálmán Benda. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981, p. 102; Kristó, Gyula: *Magyarország története 895–1301*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 1998, p. 141; Török, József: *A 12. század egyháztörténete*. Budapest: Mikes, 2002, pp. 20–21. Von slowakischen Autoren einige Beispiele: Marsina, Richard: Nitrianske biskupstvo a jeho biskupi od 9. do polovice 13. In: *Historický časopis* (deinde *HČ*), a. 41, 1993, p. 537; Steinhübel, Ján: Die Kirchenorganisation in Neutra um die Jahrtausendwende. In: *Bohemia*, a. 40, 1999, p. 78; Steinhübel, Ján: Zánik nitrianskeho kniežatstva. In: *HČ*, a. 50, 2002, pp. 385–406; Ruttkay, Alexander T.: Neutra (Nitra) und Zobor. In: *Europas Mitte um 1000*. Ed.: Alfried Wieczorek – Hans-Martin Hinz. Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 2000, pp. 628–632.

[3] Im 12. Jahrhundert können, wenn man nur die Suffraganbischöfe berücksichtigt, folgende Daten gefunden werden: 1. Pécs/Fünfkirchen 27; 2. Győr/Raab 25; 3. Eger/Erlau 24; 4–5. Csanád/Tschanad und Siebenbürgen 17–17; 6. Veszprém 15; 7. Vác 10; 8. Zagreb/Agram 9; 9. Oradea/Großwardein 7. Das heißt: so oft werden diese Bischöfe im Schlussakt der königlichen Urkunden erwähnt. *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, vol. 1, (1001–1270). Ed.: Imre Szentpétery – Iván Borsa. Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1923, nr. 41–187.

[4] *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek* 1, nr. 136.

[5] 1193: Bischof Obrandus – *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek*, vol. 1, nr. 2532; *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde *CDSl*), vol. 1. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislavae: Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae, 1971, p. 95; 1194: Bischof Ebrandus – *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek* 1, nr. 157; *CDSl* 1, p. 96; 1195: Bischof Eurard – *Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek* 1, nr. 1159; *CDSl* 1, p. 96. Die erwähnten Urkunden wurden nach 1224 gefälscht. Cfr. Szentpétery, Imre: *A borsmonostori apátság árpádkori oklevelei*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia 1916, pp. 9–15.



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Nitra wird damit also in einer authentischen königlichen Urkunde erwähnt, die im Interesse von Nitra herausgegeben wurde, was bedeutet, dass Everardus in der Schlussformel der Urkunde auch aus persönlichen Gründen hätte genannt werden können. Es ist ebenso bemerkenswert, dass im Domkapitel von Nitra kein Propst zu finden war,[6] ganz zu schweigen davon, dass ein sogenannter Archidiakon von Nitra sowohl in Gran, als auch in Nitra nachzuweisen ist.[7] Es wäre hilfreich, uns eine solide Übersicht über die Vorgeschichte, Entfaltung und Frühgeschichte des Bistums von Nitra zu verschaffen, um so auf die Gründe solcher Eigentümlichkeiten zu kommen.

Nitra entstand während der Herrschaft der Arpaden um die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts und scheint ein bedeutsames ungarisches Machtzentrum in der Herrschaftszeit von Stephan dem Heiligen gewesen zu sein. Es wurde zum Komitatssitz gemacht, in seiner Nähe wurde das Benediktinerkloster von Zobor gegründet[8] und die Sankt Emmeram Kirche in der Burg von Nitra mag wohl ebenso zu dieser Zeit errichtet worden sein. In der Epoche der Staatsgründung wurde jedoch das ehemalige mährische Bistum nicht restituiert. In Kirchenfragen wurde das Gebiet dem Esztergomer Erzbistum untergeordnet.[9]

Die Bedeutung von Nitra wurde zur Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts dadurch hervorgehoben, dass es neben Bihar zu einem Zentrum des Herzogtums (ducatus) wurde.[10] Von den zwei Zentren gewann Nitra später an Bedeutung und infolgedessen wurde das herzogliche Stiftskapitel als sakrales Zentrum neben der Sankt Emmeram Kirche errichtet. Seine Bedeutung wurde durch seine Funktion als Kapelle der Herzöge, die sich den Königen Salomon und Andreas entgegensetzten und gleichstellten, nur noch gestärkt. Später wurden diese drei Herzöge (Bela, Geisa und Ladislaus) sogar Könige von Ungarn. Diesen Umständen ist es also auch zu verdanken, dass die zwei Eremiten, Svorad und Benedikt die in der Kapelle begraben lagen, im Jahre 1083 neben Stephan, Emmerich und Gellert heilig gesprochen wurden.[11]

Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts begann König Koloman mit der Beseitigung des Herzogtums, das eigentlich zur Integration der Randgebiete errichtet worden war. Dahinter verbirgt sich die königliche Absicht, die Macht des Bruders des Herzogs, Almos, einzuschränken, der sich um den Thron bemühte.[12] Einen wichtigen Schritt bedeutete auf diesem Weg die Umgestaltung des herzoglichen Kapitels von Nitra, das die Macht von Almos unterstützte und die geistliche Basis seiner Bestrebungen bildete. Dazu kam es im Jahre 1108, als Almos nach Passau, später ins Heilige Land, floh. Das königliche Vorhaben wurde von dem Esztergomer Erzbischof Lorenz unterstützt.[13]

Die Umgestaltung der Kirchenorganisation im Westen Oberungarns war mehr als erforderlich, da die Besiedlung der Gebiete nördlich von Nitra, vor allem um Trenčín (dt. Trentschin) begonnen hatte. Doch lag dieses Land weit von Esztergom entfernt. Überdies erhoben am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts die Bistümer von Praha (dt. Prag)[14] und von Olomouc (dt. Olmütz), vielleicht auch das Bistum von Wrocław (dt. Breslau), Anspruch

[6] Die Kanoniker von Nitra konnten erst am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts erreichen, im Domkapitel auch einen Propst zu haben. Vágner, József: *Adalékok a nyitrai székes-káptalan történetéhez*. Nyitra: Huszár István, 1896, pp. 15 et 71.

[7] Es ist sehr eigenartig für die ungarische Kirchenorganisation im Mittelalter, dass zwei Dechanate die selben Namen getragen haben. Das zu der Diözese Esztergom gehörende Dechanat Nitra wurde das erste Mal 1156 erwähnt, während das zum Bistum Nitra gehörende erst am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts erwähnt wird. *CDSl* 1, vol. 1, p. 79 (1156) und p. 314 (1234); Kristó, Gyula: *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon*. Budapest: Magvető, 1988, p. 347. In der früheren Forschung galt es als zentrales Problem die zu den zwei Dechanaten gehörenden Pfarren voneinander zu unterscheiden. Siehe dazu z. B.: Ortvay, Tivadar: *Magyarország egyházi földleírása a XIV. század elején*, vol. 1. Budapest: s. l., 1891, pp. 91–95; Kniezsa, István: Az esztergomi káptalan 1156. évi dézsmajegyzékének helyiségei. In: *Századok*, a. 73, 1939, pp. 172–181 et 186; Fügedi, Erik: Középkori település és egyházi szervezet az egykori nyugati Felvidéken. In: *Regnum* 6, 1944/1946, pp. 132–133; Kristó, Gyula: *A vármegyék kialakulása*, pp. 347–348; Györffy, György: *Magyarország történeti földrajza az Árpádok korában* 4. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1998, pp. 340–341.

[8] Koszta, László: A zobori bencés apátság kezdetei: morva kontinuitás vagy passaui térítés. In: *Legendák, kódexek, források. Tanulmányok a 80 esztendős H. Tóth Imre tiszteletére*. Ed.: Mihály Kocsis – Henrietta Majoros. Szeged: SZTE BTK Szláv Int., 2012, pp. 147–175.

[9] Über die Bedeutung von Nitra am Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts siehe: Koszta, László: A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte, pp. 277–280.

[10] Kristó, Gyula: *A XI. századi hercegség története Magyarországon*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974, pp. 69–72.

[11] Über die Entstehung des Kapitels der St. Emmeram-Kirche in Nitra, das zum Zentrum der fürstlichen Hofkapelle wurde, siehe: Koszta, László: *A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte*, pp. 284–293.

[12] Kristó, Gyula: *A XI. századi hercegség története*, pp. 108–124.

[13] Über die Umgestaltung des fürstlichen Kapitels Nitra siehe: Koszta, L.: *A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte*, pp. 294–299.

[14] Fügedi, Erik: *Középkori település és egyházi szervezet*, p. 123.



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auf den westlichen Teil Oberungarns.[15] Es drohte die Gefahr, dass die ungarische Kirche die Kontrolle über dieses Gebiet verlieren würde. Diese Situation machte die Präsenz Esztergoms mehr als erforderlich. Auf diese Weise deckten sich die Interessen des Königs und des Erzbischofs und das Stiftskapitel von Nitra wurde in ein Bistum umgestaltet.

Die Kirchenpolitik von Ladislaus dem Heiligen, seine großzügigen Schenkungen und reichen Stiftungen haben jedoch den ungarischen Fiskus überlastet. Koloman machte den Schenkungen seines Vorgängers ein Ende, hatte sogar die Absicht, eine partielle Säkularisation und eine Kirchenreform im Einklang mit den Erzbischöfen von Esztergom durchzuführen.[16] Als Folge musste das neue Bistum auf bedeutende Schenkungen verzichten, bei seiner Gründung wurden die Güter des Stiftskapitels eingezogen.[17] Die Propstgüter wurden dem Bischof zugeordnet, woraus folgte, dass das Stiftskapitel auf seinen Propst verzichten musste.[18]

Im 12. Jahrhundert werden die Oberpriester von Nitra mehrmals erwähnt, das Bistum war also ohne Unterbrechungen aktiv. Trotzdem fällt es auf, dass sie in den Dignitäts – und Zeugenverzeichnissen der Königsurkunden nie vorkommen. Das Schweigen der Urkunde vom Esztergomer Erzbischof Martirius aus dem Jahre 1156, die noch dazu auch über den Zehnten von Dörfern des Bistums Nitra verordnet, ist äußerst bemerkenswert. Als Zeugen der Schenkung werden alle ungarischen Bischöfe, abgesehen von dem Nitraer, aufgezählt.[19] Daraus ist ersichtlich, dass der Oberpriester von Nitra weder vom König, noch vom Esztergomer Erzbischof mit den anderen Suffraganbischöfen gleichgestellt wurde.

Es ist auffallend, dass der Bischof von Nitra im 12. Jahrhundert ausnahmslos im Zusammenhang mit dem Esztergomer Erzbischof erwähnt wird. Am Anfang des Jahrhunderts hält Bischof Gervasius im Auftrag des Erzbischofs Gericht,[20] später wird sein Nachfolger als Mitrichter im Erzbistumsgericht erwähnt.[21] Zur Mitte des Jahrhunderts assistierte Johann, Bischof von Nitra, dem Erzbischof bei der Einweihung einer Kirche in der Barscher Gespanschaft (*comitatus Barsiensis*).[22] Der Oberpriester von Nitra scheint laut der vorhandenen Quellen der Macht des Erzbischofs unmittelbar untergeordnet zu sein.

Es ist nicht weniger auffallend, dass wir im 12. Jahrhundert über keine Informationen hinsichtlich des Kirchenterritoriums des Bischofs von Nitra verfügen. Über den Zehnten aus dem späteren Gebiet der Provinz von Nitra disponierte im 12. Jahrhundert der Esztergomer Erzbischof,

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[15] In der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts wurde das schlesische Bistum neu organisiert mit dem Gebietnamens Trecen, was oft mit Trenčín identifiziert wird. In der an das Bistum Wrocław verliehene Urkunde von Papst Adorjan aus dem Jahre 1155 werden die zu der schlesischen Diözese gehörenden Gebiete erwähnt, so auch „Trecen". *Regesta pontificium Romanorum*, Vol. 2. Ed.: Philippus Jaffé. Leipzig: Veit, 1888, p. 109; Veröffentlichung der Urkunde: Heyne, Johann: *Dokumentierte Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstiftes Breslau*, vol. 1. Breslau: s. l., 1860, p. 105. In der Urkunde sehen viele eine Widerspiegelung der Verhätnisse des 11. Jahrhunderts. Die Identifizierung des Gebiets Trecen mit Trenčín ist aber fragwürdig. Siehe dazu: Fügedi, Erik: *Középkori település és egyházi szervezet*, p. 124; Marsina, Richard: O Nitrianskom biskupstve (Prečo nebolo obnovené biskupstvo v Nitre hneď začiatkom 11. storočia?). In: *Szomszédaink között Kelet-Európában. Emlékkönyv Niederhauser Emil 70. születésnapjára*. Ed.: Ferenc Glatz. Budapest: MTA Töreténettudományi Intézet 1993, pp. 27–32.

[16] Koszta, László: Bencés szerzetesség egy korszakváltás határán. Egyházpolitikai viták a 11–12. század fordulóján. In: *Századok*, a. 146, 2012, pp. 285–288.

[17] Koszta, László: *A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte*, p. 301.

[18] Der Leiter des Kapitels von Nitra wurde der Dekan. Die Mitglieder des Kapitels werden das erste mal im Jahre 1111 erwähnt. In der Urkunde wird jeder Kanonikus, inklusive des Dekans, aufgelistet. „*Lambertus eiusdem ecclesie, ubi rem predictam sacramento sanxerunt, decanus, Willermus gramaticus, Laurentius presbyter, Godefridus presbyter, Martinus filius Mathei presbyteri, Nicolaus filius Pestrei, Hector filius Vlfodi, Daniel et Posco canonici Sanctorum Emerammi, Andree et Benedicti*". Cfr. *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima* (deinde *DHA*), vol. 1. Ed.: Georgius Györffy. Budapestini: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992, p. 383.

[19] *CDSl* 1, p. 79.

[20] In einer Urkunde, die zwischen den Jahren 1105–1110 entstanden ist, wird berichtet, dass Gervasius, Bischof von Nitra, in einem Prozess betreffend Šaľa (dt. Schelle) zwischen dem Stift Pannonhalma und Moyses, dem Gespan von Nitra, als Richter urteilte. Wenn man den Prozess studiert, kann man vermuten, dass Lorenz, der Erzbischof von Esztergom, Bischof Gervasius damit beauftragt hat. Der Bischof von Nitra ist also im Namen des Erzbischofs vorgegangen. *DAH* 1, p. 381.

[21] Der nächste Bischof von Nitra, der erwähnt wurde, war Nikolaus. Im Jahre 1134 hatte er am Konzil in Oradea teilgenommen, wo Felician, der Erzbischof von Esztergom, in einer Causa des Zagreber Bistums betreffend eines Waldes urteilte. Unter den Zeugen des Urteiles wurde Bischof Nikolaus an erster Stelle genannt. *CDSl* 1, p. 70.

[22] Er war anwesend bei der Einweihung der Pfarre Barátka im Jahre 1156. „*Ioannes Nitriensis episcopus*" in *CDSl* 1, p. 80. Die Einweihung bestätigt, dass in der Urkunde von Erzbischof Martirius aus dem Jahre 1156, wo alle ungarischen Bischöfe aufgelistet wurden, der Bischof von Nitra nicht wegen der eventuellen Auflösung des Bistums fehlt. Ibidem, pp. 78–79.



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er verleiht ihn sogar.[23] Die Quellen zeigen, dass das Bistum von Nitra über kein selbstständiges Zehntrecht verfügte, sogar sein Besitzrecht war streng eingeschränkt.[24] Doch ständen einem Suffraganbischof diese Rechte gemäß dem kanonischen Recht zu. Mit Rücksicht auf diese Informationen ist das Bistum von Nitra nicht als Suffragandiözese zu betrachten, in Rechtsstellung und Funktion weicht es von den anderen ungarischen Bistümern ab.

Im 12. Jahrhundert sind jedoch wesentliche Veränderungen hinsichtlich der Situation von Nitra zu entdecken. Im Jahre 1183 werden die Zehnten des Kapitels von Nitra vom Papst bestätigt[25] und in diesem Jahr erhält das Bistum zum ersten Mal eine königliche Schenkung.[26] Von den Veränderungen zeugt schon das Einkommensregister aus der letzten Periode der Regierungszeit König Belas des III., in dem unter den Esztergomer Suffraganen auch der des Bistums von Nitra Erwähnung findet.[27] Seine Rechtsstellung ist der der anderen Bischöfe ähnlich. Am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts wurde die Verselbstständigung des Bistums von Nitra durch Papst Innozenz III. gefördert.[28] Er bestätigte das Besitzrecht. Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts setzten sich die Bischöfe von Nitra für die Verbesserung der finanziellen Lage der nun zu den Suffraganen zählenden Kirchenprovinz ein. Sie kauften Besitztümer, förderten Schenkungen,[29] aber auffälligerweise lassen sie sich fast immer all ihre Besitzrechte von Esztergom bestätigen.[30] In dieser Epoche ist das Bistum von Nitra ein Verbündeter des Königs,[31] unterhält ein unmittelbares Verhältnis zum Papsttum und gleicht in allen Beziehungen den anderen Suffragandiözesen des Königreichs Ungarn.[32]

In der Gründungsepoche des 12. Jahrhunderts verfügte Nitra sicherlich nicht über die selben Rechte wie die anderen ungarischen Bistümer. Die urkundlichen Verweise lassen uns annehmen, dass Nitra in seiner Rechtsstellung und Funktion dem Bistum von Gurk, das von dem Salzburger Erzbischof Gebhard gegründet worden war, sehr ähnlich war. Dieses Bistum kam dem

[23] Über die Zehntverleihung siehe die oben erwähnte Schenkung von Erzbischof Martirius an das Domkapitel Esztergom aus dem Jahre 1156. Die Urkunde von Papst Lucius III. aus dem Jahre 1183 bestätigt auch die Beziehung zwischen der Erzdiözese und dem Bistum Nitra im 12. Jahrhundert. Der Papst hatte auf Wunsch der Kanoniker von Nitra das Zehntrecht des Kapitels in drei Dörfern in Nitra bestätigt. Die Kanoniker wandten sich an Rom, weil Erzbischof Lukas (1158–1181) das Zehntrecht Nitra zuvor weggenommen und sein Nachfolger, Erzbischof Nikolaus (1181–1183) dieses ihnen wieder bestätigt hatte. Der Papst hatte den Wunsch des Kapitels von Nitra erfüllt, aber es soll betont werden, dass er den Schritt des Erzbischofs Lukas als legitim anerkannte. *CDSl* 1, p. 91. Es ist auch bemerkenswert, dass sich die drei erwähnten Dörfer nördlich von Nitra, am Ufer des Flusses Nitra befanden, also auf dem Gebiet, das nach dem päpstlichen Zehntregister im 14. Jahrhundert zum Dekanat Nitra gehörte. Ortvay, Tivadar: *Magyarország egyházi földleírása*, vol. 1, p. 95. Bis 1183 verfügten also die Erzbischöfe von Esztergom über das Zehntrecht, genauso wie 1156. Es ist bei anderen Suffraganbistümern nicht bekannt, dass der Erzbischof über das Zehntrecht der auf dem Gebiet der Diözese liegenden, nicht privilegierten Kirchen verfügt hätte.

[24] Im Jahre 1198 hatte Papst Innozenz III. das Besitzrecht des Bistums von Nitra bestätigt und hatte verboten, in Zukunft in diesem Gebiet Zehnte zu erheben. Vgl. *CDSl* 1, p. 97. Diese päpstliche Urkunde war einzigartig in der ungarischen Kirchengeschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts. In den anderen Diözesen war es ausgeschlossen, fast ein Jahrhundert nach der Gründung das Besitzrecht des Bistums zu bestätigen. Dasselbe galt für das Zehntrecht. In den anderen Bistümern tauchte das Problem nicht auf, dass für die zu den Diözesen gehörenden Gebiete ein anderer Kirchenfürst den Zehnt erhoben hätte.

[25] *CDSl* 1, p. 91.

[26] Ibidem, p. 90.

[27] „*Suffraganei domini Strigoniensis sunt:* (…) *episcopus Nitriensis, habens trecentas marcas*" Vgl. *III. Béla magyar király emlékezete*. Ed.: Gyula Forster. Budapest: Hornyánszky Viktor könyvnyomdája, 1900, p. 139.

[28] *CDSl* 1, p. 97.

[29] Ibidem, pp. 129–130, 116–117, 271 et 321–322.

[30] Koszta, László: *A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte*, p. 310.; *CDSl* 1, pp. 129–130, 116–117, 230–232 et 271.

[31] Das Bistum von Nitra , das z. B. im 12. Jahrhundert keine engen Kontakte zum Königreich hatte, war im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts dem Hof näher gekommen. Im Jahre 1225 hatte Jakob, Bischof von Nitra, Andreas II. in Graz vertreten, als der ungarische König und der österreichische Herzog Leopold VI. den Frieden erneuerten. Jakob hatte also eine diplomatische Mission geleistet. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*), Tom. 3, vol. 2. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: Typis typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829, p. 9.; *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes*, vol. 1. Ed.: Hans Wagner. Graz: Böhlau, 1955, p. 101. Die enge Beziehung zum Königshaus wird auch durch einen kleineren Auftrag im Jahre 1229 bewiesen, den der Bischof von König Bela erhalten hatte. Cfr.. *CDSl* 1, pp. 254–255.

[32] Das Ansehen von Jakob bestätigt u. a. auch die Tatsache, dass am Ende des Jahres 1224 ein Teil der Kanoniker ihn als Erzbischof für das Domkapitel gerne gesehen hätte. Er wurde sogar im Interesse der *Postulation* beim Papst vorgeschlagen. *CDH* 3/2, pp. 80–82; *Vetera monumenta historicam Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis deprompta, collecta ac serie chronologica disposita ab Augustino Theiner*, vol. 1. Romae: Typ. Vaticanis, 1859, p. 66; *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1. Ed.: Ferdinandus Knauz. Strigonii: Ae Horák,1874, p. 253.



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kanonischen Recht entgegen. Gurk war von Erzbischof Gebhard als Eigenbistum des Erzbistums von Salzburg errichtet worden. Seine Funktion war die Vertretung des Erzbischofs und das Aufhalten der Expansion der benachbarten Kirchenprovinzen an den Randgebieten des Erzbistums.[33]

Am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts und am Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts ist das Verhältnis von Esztergom und Salzburg klar nachzuweisen, also war die Rechtsstellung des Gurker Bistums in Ungarn bekannt. Gewiss spielte das Vorbild Gurks eine wichtige Rolle bei der Errichtung des Bistums von Nitra. In Nitra wurde das Bistum von Erzbischof Laurentius ohne selbstständige territoriale Jurisdiktion und Zehntrecht des Oberpriesters geschaffen. Das Bistum war beauftragt, den Erzbischof auf dem Gebiet nördlich von Nitra zu vertreten, die Präsenz der ungarischen Kirche hervorzuheben und die Bestrebungen Prahas oder von anderen benachbarten Diözesen (Wrocław und Olomouc) einzuschränken.

Auf dem Weg zur Selbstständigkeit des Bistums von Nitra wurde im Zuge der Entstehung seines Territoriums das Archidiakonat geteilt. Der stark bevölkerte südliche Teil gehörte fortan zu Esztergom, doch der nördliche Teil fiel unter dem ursprünglichen Namen dem Bistum von Nitra zu. Vom Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts an trugen also zwei Archidiakonate den Namen Nitra. Doch das Domkapitel von Esztergom blieb auch nach der Verselbstständigung der Diözese im Besitz der Zehntrechte, die zum neuen Gebiet Nitras gehörten.

Und zuletzt soll auch die folgende Frage geklärt werden: warum zeigte sich Esztergom am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts dazu bereit, auf einen Teil seines Terrains zu verzichten und die Gebiete – vor allem den nördlichen Teil der Nitraer Gespanschaft (*comitatus Nitriensis*) und die Trentschiner Gespanschaft (*comitatus Trenchiniensis*) – auf die es während der Gründung und während des 12. Jahrhunderts Anspruch erhoben hatte, abzutreten. Dies ist besonders bemerkenswert, da es offensichtlich ist, dass dieses Gebiet am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts wesentlich mehr Einkommen brachte, als am Anfang. Am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts sollte in Esztergom eine Kirchenreform verwirklicht werden. Es ging vor allem um die liturgische Erneuerung, vermutlich auch mit organisatorischen Folgen. Die Oberhirten von Esztergom, die am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts die gregorianische Reform unterstützt hatten, wussten, dass die Existenz eines Bistums in Nitra ohne Suffraganrechte und ohne Gebiet mit den kanonischen Normen schwer in Einklang zu bringen wäre. Wahrscheinlich waren in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts auch die Bischöfe von Nitra bestrebt, die Suffraganrechte zu erwerben. Wir verfügen dafür zwar über keine konkreten Belege, aber das Gurker Beispiel lässt es uns vermuten.[34] Unsere Vermutung bestätigt auch die Tatsache, dass die Oberhirten von Nitra am Ende des 12. und in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 13. Jahrhunderts ziemlich intensiv daran gearbeitet haben, den erworbenen Suffraganrang mit Inhalt zu füllen und für das Wirken der neu organisierten Diözese die finanzielle Basis zu schaffen.

Für den Verzicht auf die Gebiete der Nitraer und Trentschiner Gespanschaften und in der Gestaltung der neuen Diözese durch die Erzdiözese könnte eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt haben, dass sie dafür kompensiert wurde. Die königliche Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1183 bestätigt, dass die Umgestaltung auch durch König Bela III. unterstützt wurde. Die ersten wirtschaftlichen Ergebnisse der *Hospites*-Ansiedlungen in der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts waren am Ende des Jahrhunderts, während der Regierungszeit Belas III., erkennbar. Für die königliche Schatzkammer bedeutete die *Hospites*-Steuer eine immer größere Einnahmequelle, die in Bezug auf Süd-Siebenbürgen auch durch das oben erwähnte Einkommensverzeichnis aus der Zeit König Belas III. bewiesen wurde. Neben der in Süd-Siebenbürgen begann auch die Besiedlung der Zips und der mittleren Gebiete von der Slowekei. Eine Folge dieser Ereignisse war der Baubeginn der Zipser Burg am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts.[35] Die Besiedlung dieses Gebietes begann

[33] Obersteiner, Jakob: *Die Bischöfe von Gurk (1072–1822)*. Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereines für Kärnten, 1969, pp. 11–70; Heinemeyer, Walter: Zur Gründung des Bistums Gurk in Kärnten. In: *Historische Forschungen für Walter Schlesinger*. Ed.: Helmut Beumann. Köln: Böhlau, 1974, pp. 495–512; Birnbacher, Korbian: *Die Erzbischöfe von Salzburg und das Mönchtum zur Zeit des Investiturstreites (1060–1164)*. St. Ottilien: Eos, 2001, pp. 53–58; *Geschichte des Christentums in Österreich. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart.* Ed.: Rudolf Leeb et al. Wien: Ueberreuter, 2003, pp. 55–56; Weinfurter, Stephan: *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik im 12. Jahrhundert*. Köln: Böhlau, 1975, pp. 115–120 et 225–228.

[34] Die Bischöfe von Gurk kämpften seit Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts um den Suffraganrang. Als Ergebnis dieser Bestrebungen wurde im Jahre 1124 zuerst das Domkapitel organisiert. 1131 hatte Konrad, der Salzburger Erzbischof, diesem eine kleine Diözese untergeordnet und 1144 hatte Gurk sogar das Zehntrecht erhalten. Die Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen, die am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts wieder aufgeflammt waren, intensivierten sich am Ende der sechziger Jahre des 12. Jahrhunderts. Siehe dazu die Literatur in der vorigen Fußnote.

[35] Koszta, László: Benediktínsky kláštor z 11. storočia na Spiši? In: *HČ*, a. 57, 2009, pp. 348–349.



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aus Richtung Gemer (Gömör) und Torna, also von der Erzdiözese Esztergom aus und beschleunigte sich mit der Ankunft der deutschen Siedler. Der östliche Teil des erwähnten Gebietes gehörte ursprünglich wahrscheinlich zur Borsoder Gespanschaft (*comitatus Borsodiensis*)[36] und der westliche Teil vielleicht zur Gemerer Gespanschaft (*comitatus Gemeriensis*).[37] Am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts zeigte sich bereits, dass die Jurisdiktion über das Zipser Gebiet einen wesentlichen Einfluss und eine wichtige Einnahmequelle bedeuten würde. So ist es verständlich, dass auch die Erzdiözese Esztergom und das Bistum Eger auf dieses Gebiet Ansprüche hatten. Der Ausbau der Kirchen – und Komitatsverwaltung von Zips geschah am Ende des 12. und am Anfang des 13. Jahrhunderts. Die Zipser Gespanschaft (*comitatus Scepusiensis*) wurde in die Erzdiözese Esztergom integriert, der Erzbischof war also auch für die Kontrolle der Zipser Propstei zuständig. Ich vermute, die Erzdiözese zeigte sich bereit, auf das im nordwestlichen Grenzgebiet liegende Territorium zu verzichten, weil sie so, mit der Unterstützung des Königs, die Macht des Erzbischofs über die Zips ausdehnen konnte. Am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts hatte die Erzdiözese die Zips als Kompensation bekommen. Wegen des Entstehens der Diözese Nitra hatte die Erzdiözese nämlich sowohl einiges an Gebiet, als auch an Einkommen verloren. Im Rahmen der Kirchenreform des 12. Jahrhunderts geschah also in Esztergom eine umfassende organisatorische Umgestaltung.

Schlieβlich möchte ich auch auf die kroatischen Bezüge der Konferenz hinweisen. Ich möchte wenigstens kurz erwähnen, dass die Fachliteratur in der Gestaltung der Zagreber (dt. *Agram*) Diözese und der des Bistums von Nitra oft Parallelen aufzeigt. Zagreb wurde nämlich zwischen 1083 und 1091 durch den Heiligen Ladislaus gegründet. Das Bistum Nitra entstand erst zwanzig Jahre später, gegen 1108. Beide wurden am Randgebiet des ungarischen Königreiches gegründet, Zagreb südlich des Flusses Drau (Drava) im südwestlichen Landesteil und Nitra am nordwestlichen. Die ähnliche geographische Lage der Bistümer beweist, dass die ungarische Kirchenorganisation, die sich am Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts verstärkt hatte, zu dieser Zeit auch in den Randgebieten wirken konnte. Damit hatte sie zur Entwicklung der Kircheninfrastruktur der Randgebiete beigetragen und die Präsenz des ungarischen Staates im Grenzgebiet verstärkt. Diese Tendenz war vor allem in der Kirchenpolitik des Heiligen Ladislaus nachvollziehbar, am Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts hatte nämlich auch die am östlichsten liegende ungarische Diözese Siebenbürgen an organisatorischer Gestalt gewonnen. Der König hatte zu dieser Zeit die Residenz des Bischofs von Siebenbürgen in Alba Iulia (dt. *Karlsburg / Weissenburg*) ausgebaut. Auch das Zentrum der Erzdiözese Kalocsa wurde nach Bač (dt. Batsch) verlegt, von wo aus auch das südliche Grenzgebiet besser erreichbar war.[38]

Trotz der Ähnlichkeiten gab es auch grundsätzliche Unterschiede zwischen Zagreb und Nitra, die mit dem Herrscherwechsel und mit der Auswirkung der gregorianischen Reformen auf das Königreich Ungarn in Zusammenhang gebracht werden können. Die Gründung von Zagreb passt nahtlos in die Reihe der ungarischen Bistumsgründungen des 11. Jahrhunderts. Genauso wie damals der Heilige Stephan hatte auch der Heilige Ladislaus das neue Bistum von Zagreb ins Leben gerufen. Der König war also der Initiator. Selbstverständlich wurden auch die ungarischen kirchlichen Würdenträger gefragt, so der Bischof von Veszprém und natürlich die Erzbischöfe von Esztergom und Kalocsa. In der aus dem Jahre 1134 erhaltenen Bekanntmachung werden auch die drei erwähnten Oberhirten aufgelistet, als solche, die bei der Gründung anwesend waren. In der Quelle wird aber die aktive Rolle der königlichen Kapläne hervorgehoben, was bestätigt, dass der königliche Wille entscheidend war.[39]

Nach dem Tod des Heiligen Ladislaus, mit Beginn der Regierung des früheren Bischofs, begann König Koloman hinsichtlich vieler Aspekte eine neue Ära in der Beziehung zwischen König und Kirche. Der neue Herrscher kannte sich – wie

[36] Kristó, Gyula: *A vármegyék kialakulása*, p. 390; Idem: Szepesség. In: *Korai magyar történeti lexikon*. Ed.: Gyula Kristó. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994, p. 637.

[37] Zsoldos, Attila: Szepes megye kialakulása. In: *Történelmi Szemle*, a. 43, 2001, p. 29.

[38] Über die Kirchenpolitik des Heiligen Ladislaus siehe: Györffy, György: A „lovagszent" uralkodása (1077–1095). In: *Történelmi Szemle*, a. 20, 1977, pp. 547–551; Koszta, László: Dél-Magyarország egyházi topográfiája a középkorban. In: *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer*. Ed.: Tibor Kollár. Szeged: Csongrad M. Leveltar, 2000, pp. 44–45.

[39] Die Grenzen der neuen Diözese wurden vom königlichen Kaplan Koppány festgestellt. Die Einweihung des Bischofs Duh wurde durch den königlichen Kaplan Fancika zelebriert. *Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1, p. 85; Hóman, Bálint: A zágrábi püspökség alapítási éve. In: *Turul*, a. 28, 1910, p. 100; Körmendi, Tamás: A zágrábi püspökség alapítási éve. In: *„Köztes-Európa" vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére*. Ed.: Dániel Bagi – Tamás Fedeles – Gergely Kiss. Pécs: Kronosz Kiadó 2012, pp. 329–341.



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von den Zeitgenossen betont wurde – im kanonischen Recht sehr gut aus. Parallel zum Rückgang der Bedeutung des Königs wurde der Einfluss des Erzbischofs von Esztergom auf die kirchenorganisatorischen Entscheidungen immer bedeutender. Seit Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts – im Gegenteil zum 11. Jahrhundert – war der Erzbischof von Esztergom nun auch gegen die königlichen Initiativen oppositionsfähig. Nitra entstand also unter anderen rechtlichen Bedingungen als Zagreb. Koloman initiierte, zusammen mit Lorenz, dem Erzbischof von Esztergom,[40] die Intensivierung der kirchlichen Kontrolle in diesem Gebiet. Der Erzbischof, der mit dem König enge Beziehungen pflegte, wollte aber auf den nordwestlichen Teil seiner Erzdiözese nicht verzichten. Der sehr intelligente König, der sich im kanonischen Recht gut auskannte und auch der sehr hoch qualifizierte Erzbischof Lorenz nahmen das im Gebiet der Salzburger Erzdiözese entstandene Eigenbistum als Vorbild. Zagreb hatte damit eine Ära in der Geschichte der ungarischen Bistumsgründungen abgeschlossen. Die Gründung und die Geschichte Nitras im 12. Jahrhundert bedeutete den Anfang einer neuen Ära, in der die früher entscheidende Rolle des Königs durch den Einfluss des Erzbischofs abgelöst wurde.

Auch die kirchentopographische Situation von Nitra und Zagreb war verschieden. Die Lage von Zagreb am Ufer der Save (Sava) war wesentlich abgelegener als die von Nitra und seiner direkten Umgebung. Die Erzdiözese Esztergom war ziemlich weit von Zagreb entfernt, genauso wie das Bistum Veszprém, das im Laufe des 11. Jahrhunderts in diesem Gebiet das Jurisdiktionsrecht hatte. Die zwei ungarischen Oberhirten waren also auch wegen der Distanz nicht in der Lage, sich an dieses Gebiet intensiver zu binden. Die Distanz zwischen Esztergom und Nitra war dagegen nicht unüberwindlich. Neben der veränderten rechtlichen und kirchenpolitischen Situation spielte auch die geographische Lage eine wichtige Rolle dabei, dass in Zagreb und Nitra trotz der Analogien grundsätzlich verschiedene kirchenorganisatorische Einheiten entstanden.

Die zwei Bistümer hatten eine andere Vorgeschichte. Für das Bistum Nitra bedeutete eine einflussreiche, am Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts gegründete Kirche die Basis, die schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts über ein Kapitel verfügte. In der Kirche befanden sich die Gräber von den beiden im Jahre 1083 heilig gesprochenen Eremiten Zoerard-Andreas und Benedikt, wodurch das Bistum besonderes Ansehen genoss. Über die Heiligen-Emmeram Kirche verfügte so der Erzbischof hinsichtlich der Jurisdiktion.[41] In Zagreb wurde der im Jahre 1083 heilig gesprochene König Stephan zum Patron des Domes, was bestätigt, dass bei der Gründung des Bistums nicht eine schon existierende Kirche die Basis gebildet hatte. Die Zagreber Kirche wurde parallel zur Gründung des Bistums gebaut, was bedeutet, dass früher kein Oberhirte über Rechte verfügt haben konnte, die ihm ermöglicht hätten, die Rechte des neuen Bischofs zu beschränken, oder selbst die Jurisdiktion auszuüben.

[40] Über Lőrinc, den Ezbischof von Esztergom, siehe Koszta, László: Lőrinc (1105–1116). In: *Esztergomi érsekek 1001–2003*. Ed.: Margit Beke. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2003, pp. 36–42.

[41] Koszta, László: *A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte*, pp. 280 et 286–293.



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MYROSLAV VOLOŠČUK*

# Medieval Slovakia and Croatia as the Second Homeland of Nobility and Peoples from the Rus' in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

## Stredoveké Slovensko a Chorvátsko ako druhý domov šľachty a obyvateľstva z Rusi v 13. a 14. storočí / Srednjovjekovna Slovačka i Hrvatska kao druga domovina plemstva i stanovništva iz Rusije u 13. i 14. stoljeću

*Active processes of migration (on the individual and the group level) were characteristic of Russian-Hungarian relations during the entire Middle Ages. Some communities from Rus' left for the Hungarian Kingdom, including the Balkans and north-eastern counties (in modern Slovakia). There were many such people. Most of them were free settlers, they were often representatives of the nobility and were close to the king and the royal family. For example, the sources mention the following people: Posillo Rusinich (near Zadar), Ladislas Ruthenus* (comitatus Nitriensis), *Maladik Rutenus* (comitatus Thurociensis), *Myculay filius Rutheni* (comitatus Scepusiensis), *Orosz* (Ruthenus) *Jakab* (comitatu Sarusiensis), magister Petrus dictus Orrus (comitatu Posoniensis) *and others. Among these immigrants there were also princes: the sons of Galician prince Vladimir Yaroslavovich (in the late 1180s), Rostislav Mikhailovich – the prince of Galicia (after 1243) and others.*

Keywords: Middle Ages, migrations, population from Rus', nobility, regions of Slovakia and Croatia

Social and political consequences of migration processes of the people from the East Slavic world into the medieval Kingdom of Hungary proved to be very profound. These circumstances were related to many factors. The question of the appearance of the Rus' people in the Carpathian basin before the migration of the Hungarians (at the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century) has still been a politicized topic into a great extent, artificially and thoroughly emphasized by various political and non-political circles in many European countries. This concept is devoid of any serious historical argument and has no relevant support in historical sources. On the contrary, it is based mainly on fictional stories, legends, and other folk materials.

The majority of existing narrative and diplomatic documents, including those that are still stored unpublished in various archives, witnesses the appearance of first compact groups of migrants from Rus' in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom no earlier than the mid-eleventh century. It has been traced that these dynamics continued in the subsequent generations, mainly in connection with the Rus'-Hungarian matrimonial relationships, developing rapidly from the second half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. At the same time, identification of the land and places where the mentioned migrants came from has still been a mystery, since most of them are known only from the realm of the Arpadians, especially as *Rutheni*. Significant historical sources do not report about the location of the former dwellings of the majority of the researched people. Specifically, contemporary Hungarian official documents tended to "generalize" with respect to the identification of people from the East Slavic world as much as possible with the purpose to avoid possible confusion with the later documentation. However, the majority of educated Hungarians, naturally, clearly understood the religious (and likely the ethnic as well) differences among the people from different countries controlled by the Rurik dynasty.

Leaving aside many doubts concerning these people, we can surely assert only the fact that a significant portion of the migrants came from the group of the "Rus'" nobility in the past, or were treated as privileged after their arrival in the Hungarian Kingdom. In this regard, the kings, or their local dignitaries were distributing fairly large land grants in the form of feuds (with the

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right of inheritance for all direct descendants), which led, as clearly proved, to the transformation of the concerned noblemen on a permanent service. They performed military functions, simultaneously were engaged in the protection of the borders of the kingdom and kept middle-ranked posts and small positions at the courts of the king or the queen, among the circles of the representatives of wealthy secular nobility and clergy. Often, they became the *comites*, *jobagiones* (sometimes sons of *jobagiones*) of the royal castles, *magistri* (masters), officers, and others. Those of them who were periodically mentioned in the documents with no posts at all were obviously noble-born and rich as far as their movable and immovable property is concerned.

A wide range of powers, positions, and titles, their influence at the courts of monarchs like the Arpadians and the Angevins, as well as their participation in various military campaigns helped Ruthenians to turn into a fairly prominent and active community of foreign origin in the kingdom during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A part of the newcomers, after being settled in a new place, maintained, at least at a certain level, a clannish identity, which is sometimes visible in the toponymic bindings, demonstrated by the term *Rus*, *Ruska*, *Ruthenus* used for many decades onwards (e.g. the family of Dobeš-Ruska (Dobó-Ruska),[1] well-known in the eastern districts of the Kingdom of Hungary from the fourteenth to the seventeenth/eighteenth centuries[2]). It seems almost futile to try to precisely and accurately identify the majority of the participants of the migration movement either with the noble boyars well-known from the annals, or with the representatives of the lower classes of society. The only exceptions might possibly be seen in the case of Volodislav Kormilichich – *Ladislaus Ruthenus*,[3] with some probability also Sudislav / Sebeslav – *Subislaus* [etc.] *de genere Ludan* (?),[4] Gleb Potkovich (*filius Potkoni*), Zhyroslav (*Gyroslaus*), or Artemy episcopus Galitskiy*.

The absence of chronicle evidence on the majority of our researched people identified in the medieval Hungarian materials may be associated not only with their mediocre influence within the boundaries of some lands from Rus'. As a rule, the chronicle tradition relates the most important events that took place primarily in the centres, less on the peripheries. Therefore, it seems quite possible that some of the noblemen mentioned in the later diplomatic documents lived on the periphery of one or the other country previously and had very limited tools to take a more active part in politics, military affairs, etc. This is the reason why, the percentage of their hypothetical appearance in the annals was rather small as well.

In addition, the representatives of the boyar families, ethnically different from the local population, some time being of nomadic origin, lived particularly within the boundaries of Galicia in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries; for example, Chagrovichi, Haldeevichi, etc. The analysis of the chronicle evidence does not help to determine their ethnic identity after they obtained relevant positions in Galicia, because there is no mention of it. It is likely that many a boyar family in Galicia was of foreign origin. The experience of the Kingdom of Hungary shows that the seizure of Pannonia by the Hungarians in the ninth and the tenth centuries as well as further active processes of internal colonization in the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries strengthened the formation not only of the local noble families of Hungarian or Slavic origin, but also those of Kabarian, Germanic (Saxon, Swabian), Flemish, Walloon, Italian, Czech origin, etc. After moving to the new lands, many a noble family of foreign origin maintained its fairly high social status in the domain of the

[1] Etymology of the family name of *Dobó*, *Dobos* may indirectly indicate the participation of one of its first representatives in the military campaigns of kings in the position of a drummer. We haven't any facts, that Dobeš-Ruska family was from Rus', but the using of Ruthenian etymology is very interesting in the common Hungarian-Slovakian-Ruthenian noble-families research.

[2] *Anjou-kori oklevéltár*, tom. 23 (1339). Ed.: Ferenc Piti. Budapest – Szeged: Országos Tudományos Kutatási Alap, 1999, pp. 130–131; *Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis (Anjoukori Okmánytár)*, vol. 3 (1333–1339). Ed.: Imre Nagy. Budapest: A.M. Tud. Akadémia Könyvkiádó-Hivatala, 1883, pp. 550–552; Deržavnij archiv Zakarpatskoi oblasti (deinde DAZO), f. 10 (Nadžupan berezkoi župi Beregovo), p. 37. etc.

[3] Vološčuk, Myroslav: Voknjaženje galicke Volodislava Kormilčiča (1210–1214 rr., z perervami). In: *Visnyk Prykarpats'kogo universytetu, Istorija*, a. 15, 2009, pp. 38–48; Idem: Nevidomi stopinky biografii Volodyslava Kormilčiča (1214–1232 rr.). In: *Visnyk Prykarpatskogo universytetu*, Istorija, a. 16, 2009, pp. 29–39.

[4] Vološčuk, Myroslav: Sudyslav de genere ludan. Sproba genealogično-biografičnoji rekonstrukcji In: *Zapysky NTŠ*, 2010, tom. 260, nr. 1, pp. 257–273; Idem: Also Dobroslav Suddič: sproba biografičnogo narysu. In: *Karpaty: ljudyna, etnos, cyvilizacija*. Ivano-Frankivsk: Plaj, 2010, vol. 2, pp. 20–31.

* Artemy, the bishop of Galicia, together with Prince Rostislav Mikhailovich set out on a journey from Galicia into the Kingdom of Hungary. This could be related with the fact that Daniel Romanovich took over the city of Galicia several times at the end of the 1230s and the beginning of the 1240s. Cfr. Ipatjevskaja letopis, *PSRL*. In: *Jazyki Slavjanskoj kultury*, vol. 2, 2001, pp. 777, 793).



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Arpadians. The source evidence shows that similar processes took place in Galicia as well. In particular, Yarun, the head of the guards of Przemyśl (Peremyshl), apparently moved to Galicia from Novgorod, Gleb Zeremeevich – from Peresopnitsa. The name of the boyar Derzhikray was possibly of Polish origin. There is abundance of such examples and majority of them is presented in various scientific studies.[5]

Hence, there is a problem with identification of that part of the Galician nobility who did not call themselves "Ruthenians", as far as they hypothetically could be of foreign origin and preserved the knowledge of their ancestral roots. As a result, although the migration of such representatives of the East Slavic world into the Hungarian kingdom could be recorded in historical documents, it was deprived of the element of their ethnic identity. This circumstance, in turn, complicates the research and establishment of their former places of residence. Given that the language of the Slavic peoples of Central Europe was almost identical,[6] a large part of the nobility in Galicia could come from the Slavic territories neighbouring with Poland and Hungary, maintaining their generic relationship together with private possessions there.

The comprehensive studies show that the localization of the new dwellings of the migrants who can very likely be identified as the "East Slavs" was not based on the principles of another *hospites*. For example, within the boundaries of present Slovakia, we can identify several people of "East Slavic" origin, but it is hardly possible to group them on the basis of the community principle. They were individual representatives of the middle-ranking and petty nobility: *Ladislaus Ruthenus* (Nitra – *comitatus Nitriensis*, 1218, 1232),[7] *Hosch filius Ruse* (Spiš – *comitatus Scepusiensis*, 1255–1256),[8] *Maladik Rutenus* (Turiec – *comitatus Thurociensis*, 1262),[9] *Myculay filius Rutheni* (Spiš, 1273),[10] *Ruthen* (Turiec, 1280),[11] *Myculay filius Myculai filii Rutheni* (Spiš, 1298),[12] *Orosz* (*Ruthenus*) *Jakab* (Šariš – *comitatus Sarusiensis*, 1325),[13] *magister Petrus dictus Orrus* (Bratislava *comitatus Posoniensis*, 1331),[14] and many others.

The processes of settlement by the newcomers from Rus' in the Croatian lands were similar, although not that active. Among the population hypothetically of the origin from Rus' in these areas, the following might be listed: *Posillo Rusinich* (Zadar, 1182),[15] *filiis Rusinne* (Split / *Spalatio*, 1208),[16] possibly also *Daniel Galisic* (? / *Fare*, 1 May 1320)

[5] See, for instance, the works of Andrij Petrik. Petryk, Andrij: Do istorji bojarstva ta bojarskych rodiv Peremišlskoji zemli. In: *Drogobyckyj krajeznavčyj zbirnyk*, a. 6, 2002, pp. 105–117; Idem: Do pytannja stanovlennja bojarskych rodiv u period knjažinnja dynastiji Romanovyčiv. In: *Korolj Danylo Romanovič i jogo misce v ukrainskij istoriji*. Lviv: VTS, 2003, pp. 137–142; Idem: Pro formuvannja bojarskych rodiv u period knjažinnja dynastiji Romanovyčiv. In*: Knjaža doba: istorija i kultura*, vol. 1, 2007, pp. 115–122. Cfr. Jusupović Adrian: *Elity ziemi halickiej i włodzimierskiej w czasach Romanowiczów (1205–1269). Studium prozopograficzne*. PhD thesis. Warszawa: Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2011, 294 p.

[6] There are many references to this issue in the documents, in particular, from the Franciscan friars, missionaries. See, for example: *Hrystjanskij mir i Velikaja Mongolskaja imperija*. Materialy franciskanskoj missii 1245 goda. Trans. et ed.: Aleksandr Grigorjevič Jurchenko. S. Peterburg: Evrazja, 2002, pp. 78, 101 (dannyje monaha C. de Brydya); Matuzova, Vera Ivanovna: *Anglijskije srednevekovyje istočniki 9–13 vv. Teksty, perevod, kommentarii*. Moskva: Nauka, 1979, pp. 78, 85–86 (svedenija Bartolomeja Anglijskogo), p. 199, 213 (svedenija Frensisa Bekona); Bacon, Roger: *The Opus Majus*. Ed.: John Henry Bridges. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1897, vol. 1, p. 360. Karpini, Joan de Plano: *Istorija Mongalov*. Rubruk, Vil'gel'm de: *Puteshestvije v vostochnyja strany*. Trans. et ed.: Aleksandr Yustynovych Maleyn, S. Peterburg: Yzdanie A. S. Suvoryna, 1911, p. 101 (svedenija Vil'gel'ma Rubruka). Thank to Mgr. Andrij Stasjuk from Ivano-Frankivsk (Ukraine) for this necessary information.

[7] *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* (deinde *CDSl*), vol. 1. Ed.: Richard Marsina. Bratislava: Sumptibus Akademiae Scientirarum Slovaciae, 1971, pp.180, 281.

[8] *Az Arpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, vol. 2 (1270–1292). Ed.: Imre Szentpétery – Iván Borsa. Budapest: Akademiai kiadó, 1961, p. 195.

[9] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (deinde *CDH*), tom. 4, vol. 3. Ed.: György Fejér. Budae: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829, p. 59.

[10] *Codex diplomaticus patrius. Hazai okmánytár* (deinde *CDP*), vol. 8. Ed.: Imre Nagy. Budapestini: Typis Alexsandri Kocsi, 1880, pp. 156–157, 378.

[11] *CDH* 5/3. Ed.: György Fejér. Budae: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1830, p. 73; *Regesta rerum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*, vol. 2 (1270–1292). Ed.: Imre Szentpétery – Iván Borsa. Budapest: Akademiai kiadó, 1961, p. 276.

[12] *CDP* 8, pp. 156–157, 378.

[13] *Anjou-kori oklevéltár*, vol. 9 (1325). Ed.: László Blazovich. Budapest – Szeged: Országos Tudományos Kutatási Alap – Nemzeti Kulturalis Alap Levéltári Kollégiuma, 1997, p. 202.

[14] *Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor*, vol. 1 (1199–1345). Ed.: Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki. Bucurescĭ: Publicate sub auspiciile Academieĭ Komâne şi ale Ministeriuluĭ Cultelor şi Ibstrucţiuniĭ publice, 1887, p. 618.

[15] *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 2 (1101–1200). Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagrabiae: Ex officina societatis typographicae, 1904, p. 180.

[16] *CDCr* 3 (1201–1235). Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagrabiae: Ex officina societatis typographicae, 1905, p. 80.



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and many others, especially called *dictus Orrus*.[17] In fact, a large number of the names carrying the root of *Rus* – and *Ruth* – occurring in diplomatic materials of Croatia is not necessarily related to the migrants from "Rus'" in this land. In neighbouring Italy in the period of the twelfth–fourteenth centuries, there lived many families with similar names, though we cannot say in all probability that we are talking about Italians.[18]

The most well-known settler of the Arpadian territories in the Balkans was Rostislav Mikhailovich, Prince of Galicia, who owned the land of Machva in the period of 1247–1264.[19]

Undoubtedly, the majority of the researched people could have previously lived in the foothills of the Galician Carpathians, and thus belonged to the subordinates of the Galician princes. This thesis finds support in the medieval Hungarian historical sources bringing information about the later land donations, which from the viewpoint of ownership and geographical location were very much similar to those in the East Carpathian border territory (modern Vizhnitskiy district of Chernivtsi region, Bohorodchany, Verkhovyna, Dolinsky, Kolomyia, Kosiv, Nadvirna, Rozhnyativ districts of Ivano-Frankivsk region, Samborski, Skolivsky, Stryj, Turka district of Lviv region, Subcarpathian Voivodeship of Poland, Bukovina region in Romania – and especially the territories that were included in the sphere of influence of the Galician rulers from the twelfth until the first half of the fourteenth century). Obviously, similar practice was not innovative, as it allowed them to settle the lands of the kingdom more intensively. Simultaneously, it enabled them to make use of natural resources more efficiently, and so on. Accordingly, the possessions of the new settlers in the counties of Liptov, Turiec, Spiš, Šariš, Zemplín, Maramureş (*Marmatia*), Cluj in Transylvania, and others. In our opinion, this situation can be regarded as a completely natural phenomenon in terms of economic feasibility of a single family and the economic policies of the ruling dynasty as a whole.

As a matter of fact, a part of the migrants remained permanently in the coastal lands of the kingdom (Croatia and Dalmatia), as reflected in the local diplomatic material. We have repeatedly carried out research tours over the mentioned territories in 2007, 2009, 2011–2012, which together with a micro-toponymic analysis, photo-documentation, mapping, etc. only confirmed the previously expressed opinions and hypotheses.

Compact communities which gradually began to be called *Rusyn*[20] lived in particular in the territories of modern Slovakia, Romania, partly eastern Hungary, *in terra maritima*; however, as we believe, they lost the knowledge of how their ancestors found themselves in the Hungarian Kingdom.

However, an attempt to re-estabilish at the level of the micro-toponymic research the particular details of the economic activities of Ruthenians new settlers in the territory of Hungary, their social status and property relations is in fact a more than difficult task. Despite the presence of the micro-toponyms of Slavic origin, their phonetic and lexical context is no different from the analogical examples from the rest of the Slavic world. Accordingly, coming across one or another Slavic toponym or micro-toponym in the pages of documents, or in the course of the field research without its clearly visible "Russian / Ruthenian" content, we have no basis to accurately determine

[17] *CDCr* 8 (1301–1320). Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagrabiae: Ex officina societatis typographicae, 1910, p. 559.

[18] See for instance: *CDCr* 2, pp. 39, 127, 143, 157, 246; Ibidem 3, p. 75; Ibidem 6 (1272–1290). Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagrabiae: Ex officina societatis typographicae, 1908, p. 371; Ibidem 8, p. 274; Ibidem 9. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagrabiae: Ex officina societatis typographicae, 1911, pp. 54, 503, 526; Ibidem 10 (1332–1342). Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagrabiae: Ex officina societatis typographicae, 1912, pp. 87, 472, 545, 563; Ibidem 11 (1342–1350). Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagrabiae: Ex officina societatis typographicae, 1913, pp. 67–68, 83, 157, 159; Ibidem 12 (1351–1359). Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagrabiae: Ex officina societatis typographicae, 1914, pp. 167, 537.

[19] The most comprehensive research concerning this topic has been recently carried out by a Serbian scholar, Djura Hardy. For instance, see – Hardy Djura: O veri prvgo gospodara Mačve. In: *Srpsko-madarski odnosi kroz istoriji*. Novi Sad: Filozofski fakultet, 2007, pp. 43–49; Idem: O poreklu mačvanskog „bana" Rostislava Michajloviča. In: *Spomenica Istorijskog Archiva „Srem"*, a. 2, 2003, pp. 15–32; Idem: Rostislav Michajlovič «Dominus de Machou» In: *Studia Balcanica Bohemo-Slovaca*, a. 6, 2006, nr. 1, pp. 59–70; Idem: Čy Rostyslav Mychajlovyč buv banom Mačvy. In: *Actes testantibus*. Lviv: Nacional'na akademija nauk Ukrajiny. Instytut ukrajinoznavstva imeni Ivana Krypjakevyča, a. 20, 2011, pp. 197–204; Idem: Ostannja zustrič Danyla Romanovyča i Rostyslava Mychajlovyča. In: *Knjaža doba: istorija i kultura*, a. 4, 2011, pp. 193–207.

[20] In particular, we carried out calculations on the basis of the *Geographical Dictionary of Hungary*, written in the mid-nineteenth century by a founder of the Hungarian statistical sciences, a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Elek Fényes. These have shown that in today's Transcarpathia there were no more than 10 communities that were directly related to Ruthenian/Russian toponymy Fijneš, Elek: *Geografičnij slovnik Ugorštini. Opis naselenich punktiv Zakarpattja seredyny XIX. st.*. Užgorod: TOV, 2011, pp. 12–13, 15–16, 56, 64, 67, 71, 78–79. Other towns and villages arose on the basis of Slavic, Hungarian, and German names.



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who the place names were related to – one of the migrants from Rus' or a local Slav? As far as the toponymic issue is concerned, the Kingdom of Hungary was, for objective reasons, a territory formed mainly by the Slavic toponyms. As a result, to display the difference in social or property status of "Rus' / Ruthenian people" in various parts of the kingdom, and in particular in present-day Slovakia and Croatia, seems to be an almost impossible mission.

In general, up to today all known persons of our interest can be divided into the following four groups:

1. The persons of undoubtedly Ruthenian origin, which is clearly visible from their names (*Rutenus, Ruthen, Oros, Wruz, Urus, Vrwz*, etc.), or from their generic or patronymic predicate (*genere Ruthenus*, etc.). In this case, the problem for the scholars is to define the particular land belonging to those persons. In most of the cases we simply have no clue of which land or principality they came from; consequently, there is an absolute information vacuum on the extent of linkage of the population from that or another part of Rus'. However, in any case, they can all be with absolute certainty considered the *hospites* of the kingdom, i.e. the free settlers, granted a wide range of various property, economic, and social benefits by the king.

2. Those persons whose ethnic roots could be considered Ruthenians with a high probability (*sic!*), as they appear in the documents as *dictus Ruthenus / Orrus*. The custom to be named or nicknamed "Russian / Ruthenian" could, of course, belong to those who indeed came from the territories east of the Carpathians, but also to those who might have been related with Rus' on the basis of trade or religion, while they themselves were the representatives of the Western world. Similar examples can be observed within the German merchant nobility, who were connected with the Rurikids by their permanent trading operations (e.g. *Henricus von Plawen dictus Ruthenus*, living in the town of Torun and many others, for example, from Poland, Bohemian lands etc.). There were more, than 25 persons, which called *dictus Orrus* in all Hungarian Kingdom during fourteenth century. We know about 18 properties of them in modern Slovakia and 3 lands in Croatia. They were very different social status of them: *comes*, *vicevoievoda Transilvaniae*, *miles aulae regiae*, *homo regis*, *iobagio*, *clericus* etc.[21].

3. The residents of the settlements (*Oroshaza, Kisorosi, Rutheni, Orosi, Oroskap*, etc.) which were founded by the migrants from Rus', as it is clearly understandable from the root parts of these place names and from their phonetic sound, too. However, in this case we cannot be definitely sure that the representatives of the third, fourth, and subsequent generations were able to maintain their own ethnic identity, as there is, firstly, total absence of direct historical source evidence on the general trends, and, secondly, the presence of Hungarian names or names written in a Hungarian style (Ethened, Educh, Othmar, Denklinus, Imre, Kristóf, Máté, Mátyás, Egyed, Batur, Balázs, Baxa, etc.) in the diplomatic material. Those who appear in the documents, such as *Miklos filius Bydke filius Ethened nobiles de Ruska*, or *Janos Orozthoni filius Petri*, or *Ruzka-i Jakab* could be the residents of a village which was associated with the "Ruthenians" founders in an unidentified period, or they could be the civil servants placed there and having no ethnic relationship to the local families. The discussed group of people requires a more comprehensive and detailed interdisciplinary study, which is not the purpose of this work.

4. A separate group are the representatives of the Galician (and possibly the Volynian) nobility, who were of foreign, not local ethnic origin. They set up their homes here thanks to their commercial, military, or craft activities. They cannot be identified as "Russian / Ruthenians" in the chronicles at all, because they did not considered themselves in this way. Accordingly, their hypothetical moving into Hungary in the twelfth–fourteenth centuries is not reflected in the diplomatic materials of the kingdom in terms of ethnic identification, and thus it does not allow us to determine, even approximately, the number of such persons, their place of future residence, social and financial liabilities, etc. This, roughly speaking, could be anyone appearing in the diplomatic material, but not being mentioned in the chronicles, or *vice versa*. Because they have no ethnic predicate, we cannot know the origin of this group of people.

It seems necessary for any study of the dynamics of the increasing number of the "Russians / Ruthenians" in the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries to establish the degree of preservation of the ethnic self-consciousness and self-identification among the migrants on the local toponymic and geographically wider – county (*comitatus*), regional (group

[21] This is a short result of the author's report in the Institute of history of the National Academy of Science of Ukraine (21st June 2013, Kyiv, the Head of the Section of Ukrainian Middle Age history – Prof. Olexij Tolochko).



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of counties) – levels. It also helps to determine and construct the specific forms of their subculture, linguistic characteristics, mentality, etc.

The dwellings of the families moving into the medieval Kingdom of Hungary from Rus', their foundation of a number of notable and middle-stock families, all these were reflected neither in the heraldic or in the sphragistic symbols of the kingdom almost at all. In the armorials and on the images of the seals, we do not find a "Russian / Ruthenian" influence, as compared to the one which was left, for example, by the German colonists. The long-lasting research of Slovak scholars confirms this thesis,[22] thus, leaving many an unresolved question for the future generations of researchers.

The solution of these problems might possibly be hidden in a detailed, meticulous study of the matrimonial binds among the "Russian / Ruthenian" migrants as well as among the representatives of other nationalities living nearby. In this respect, the study of social policy of the rulers appears significant – not only of the monarchs of the Arpadian and Anjou / Angevin dynasty, but also of the Luxembourgs, the Jagiellonians, and the Habsburgs who held the throne of the Hungarian kingdom in the period from the end of the fourteenth to the first quarter of the sixteenth century and had their own visions concerning the place and the role of the non-Hungarian ethnics within the kingdom.

Certainly, there is a strong demand for a "fresh" research of the ecclesiastical policy of the papal curia (the Avignon and the post-Avignon periods, the epoch of the Great Schism) and the Hungarian archbishoprics in their relation towards the non-Catholic communities in the country – especially on the background of the growing influence of the teachings of John Wycliffe, Jan Hus, and of the Protestant ideas of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (in particular those of Martin Luther and John Calvin). The religion and the confessional issues have always been an important attribute, a motivator of the inner world and psychology of some personal settings of the "national" communities caught up themselves, from the variety of reasons, out of their previous native place of residence.

Thus, the spectrum of the researched issues concerning the "Russian / Ruthenian" settlers in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary (especially in the today Slovakia and Croatian lands) is fairly large, but, still, this subject leaves a lot of problems to be resolved in the future. This study is an introduction to the problem which is to be resolved through direct historical research. The further task is to determine not only the obstacles and the trends of the so-called first relocation of the national "diaspora," but also, in particular on the background of current critical scholarly and political debates, to answer the question about the ethnic origin of the communities and some individuals who clearly and categorically identify themselves as the Ruthenians today.*

[22] Novák, Jozef: *Pečate miest a obcí na Slovensku*. Second volume. Bratislava: FiF UK, 2008, passim.

* Translated by Nora Malinovská (Verešová).



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MARTIN ŠTEFÁNIK*

# Die Dalmatische Route als Transportweg slowakischer Metalle in den Mittelmeerraum im 13.–14. Jahrhundert**

## Dalmátska cesta ako trasa transportu slovenských kovov do Stredomoria v 13.–14. storočí / Dalmatinska cesta kao transportni pravac slovačkog metala do Mediterana u 13. i 14. stoljeću

*When talking about the relations of northwestern Hungary (present-day Slovakia) with the Mediterranean area in the Middle Ages, we have to consider two important routes: so-called Viennese or Semmering route and so-called Dalmatian route. Especially at the end of the Middle Ages, they both played an important role for the commercial contacts with Italian city states and with the Levant. We can suppose that the gold (perhaps from Kremnica) was being supplied via these roads already in the first half of the fourteenth century. In the last decades of the fourteenth century, copper from Slovakia (Banská Bystrica) was being transported in large quantities via northern Dalmatia, especially Senj, to Venice (and further to the western Mediterranean) and also directly to the Levant – Syria and Egypt. These supplies were financed especially by Tuscan merchants and bankers, among others by the famous Medici company of Florence. With the help of records from Italian, Slovak and Hungarian archives, in this paper I attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of this trade.*

Keywords: Middle Ages, commercial relations, precious metals, the Mediterranean

Der auswärtige Handel des Königreichs Ungarn im Mittelalter war durch eine passive Handelsbilanz geprägt: für die Einfuhr verschiedener ausländischer Endprodukte bezahlte man hauptsächlich mit Rohstoffen. In diesem Kontext spielten die sich vorwiegend auf heutigem slowakischen Gebiet befindenden Edel – und Buntmetallvorkommen eine bedeutende Rolle. Die Edelmetalle im Münz – oder Rohzustand stellten die wichtigsten Handelswaren dar, welche das Land als Gegenwert für die ausländischen Waren anbieten konnte. Die Slowakei als ein an solchen Vorkommen besonders reiches Gebiet spielte infolgedessen eine besonders wichtige wirtschaftliche Rolle in den Handelskontakten mit dem Ausland.

Eine der bedeutendsten Routen des auswärtigen Handels war der Weg in Richtung Mittelmeer – nach Venezia, von wo die ausgeführten Handelswaren weiter exportiert wurden. Tatsächlich gab es zwei Routen, die das ungarische (und darunter auch das slowakische) Gebiet mit Venezia verbanden: die sog. Festland – oder anders als Wiener-Route bezeichneter Weg und die zweite, die sog. *via maris*, anders auch als dalmatische Route bekannt. Was die Metalle aus der Mittelslowakei betrifft, wurden diese in der ersten Phase entlang des Flusses Hron (dt. *Gran*) transportiert. Falls sie in Richtung Wien weiterbefördert werden sollten, zweigte der Weg schon nach Nová Baňa (dt. *Königsberg*) bei Hronský Beňadik (dt. *Sankt Benedikt*) ab und führte westwärts über Nitra (dt. *Neutra*) und Bratislava (dt. *Pressburg*) in die österreichischen Gebiete. Falls die Metalle durch das ungarische Binnenland bis zum Meer weiter transportiert wurden, führte der Weg bis zur Mündung des Hron in die Donau und weiter entlang dieser bis in die Hauptstadt Buda (dt. *Ofen*), von wo sie dann weiter durch das Binnenland über Székesfehérvár (dt. *Stuhlweissenburg*) und Zagreb (dt. *Agram*) nach Südwest (Richtung Hafen Senj/dt. *Zengg*), bzw. nach Süden (Mittel – und Süddalmatien: Zadar, ital. *Zara*, Šibenik),

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[1] Štefánik, Martin: Počiatky obchodných stykov Uhorska s Benátskou republikou za dynastie Arpádovcov. In: *Historický časopis*, a. 50, 2002, nr. 4, pp. 556–557.



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gelangten.[1] Für die Metallausfuhr aus der Slowakei in den Mittelmeerraum ist am häufigsten der Transportweg in Richtung Senj belegt.

Für die früheste Phase der belegten Metallgewinnung verfügen wir nur über indirekte Hinweise. In der Zeit von 1222 bis 1223 kam es zu einem bemerkenswerten Ereigniss, welches sogar auf internationaler Ebene Aufsehen erregte. Drei venezianische Kaufleute wurden in Ungarn durch eine vom Thronprätendenten Bela (sog. „jüngere König") geführten Militärtruppe überfallen und beraubt: die Venezianer erlitten beträchtlichen Schaden, bei zwei von ihnen wird nur der Gesamtschaden, beim Dritten der Schaden spezifisch und detailliert beschrieben. Es ging um eine nicht spezifizierte Gold – und Silbermenge und Kleinode (*tantum inter aurum et argentum et zoias*) im Wert von 800 venezianischen Mark bei den ersten beiden (Pietro Alberti und Donato Olivo), beim Dritten (Vito Pentulo) sprach man genauer von 14 Silbermark und 4 Goldmark. Es scheint also so gewesen zu sein, dass die Kaufleute mit einer großen Ladung von Edelmetallen zurück nach Hause zogen. Nach dem im venezianischen Protokoll verzeichneten Eintrag geschah der Vorfall auf ungarischem Staatsgebiet (*in terra regis Ungarie*) und am Überfall waren auch die Soldaten des österreichischen Herzogs beteiligt (in dieser Zeit war Leopold VI. Babenberg der österreichische und steirische Herzog). Dieser Umstand deutet auf die nordwestlichen Grenzgebiete Ungarns in der relativen Nähe der Slowakei hin. Mit Blick auf die üblichen, oben beschriebenen Handelsrouten zwischen Venezia und dem Königreich Ungarn kommen tatsächlich zwei Möglichkeiten in Betracht: entweder die kroatisch-dalmatinische Route, welche über Zagreb nach Senj weiterführte, oder der steirische, über Ljubljana (dt. *Laibach*) und Friuli (dt. *Friaul*) nach Venezia führende Weg. Es ist schwierig festzustellen, auf welchen Strecken sich die Venezianer während ihrer Reise durch das Königreich Ungarn genau bewegten: In Hinsicht auf die Typologie ihrer Einfuhr in Ungarn (die sog. Überseewaren: Seide und Gewürze, preiswerte Textilwaren, Edelsteine) aus dem im Jahre 1217 geschlossenen Handelsvertrag, besuchten sie wahrscheinlich den König bzw. die Höfe der bedeutendsten Würdenträger und Magnaten.[2] Dies würde dann auf den erwähnten, von der Mündung des Hron in die Donau bei Esztergom (dt. *Gran*) und weiter über Buda und Székesfehérvár nach Zagreb und Senj führenden Weg hinweisen, wo sich die wichtigsten Zentren befanden und wo sich auch die reichsten Adeligen oder Mitglieder der königlichen Familie – d.h. Abnehmer solcher Waren, üblicherweise aufhielten. Weil die Venezianer groβe Mengen von ungemünztem Gold und Silber transportierten, ist auch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass sie direkt die relativ nahegelegenen Bergbauregionen besucht hatten. Wenn man die geographische Position der damals bekannten Edelmetallvorkommen beobachtet, kommt in diesem Zusammenhang in erster Linie die wichtigste ungarische Bergstadt im 13. Jh, Banská Štiavnica (dt. *Schemnitz*), als Ursprungsort der erwähnten Edelmetalle in Betracht. Das zweitwichtigste Zentrum des Edelmetallabbaus in dieser Zeit, die siebenbürgische Stadt Rodna (dt. *Altrode nau*), befindet sich nämlich am direkt gegenüberliegenden Ende des Königreichs und verfiel außerdem allmählich.[3] Im Jahre 1270 wurden in venezianischen Zollvorschriften der Land – (*per terram*) sowie Seeweg (*per aquam*) als Transportrouten für das aus dem Königreich Ungarn eingeführte Silber erwähnt.[4] Dabei ist vorauszusetzen, dass es sich auch in diesem Fall um das aus Banská Štiavnica stammende Silber handelte, welches in einem Fall (= Festland-Route) über Wien und im anderen Fall über die See-Route über Senj in Richtung Venezia ausgeführt wurde.

Indirekte Andeutungen auf die dalmatische Route als Ausfuhrweg der slowakischen Metalle findet man ebenso in der Boom-Epoche des Goldexports in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 14. Jhs. Im Jahre 1315 werden in der Verpfändungsurkunde des Zagreber

[2] Listine o odnošajih izmedju južnoga slavenstva i mletačke republike, vol. 3, Ed.: Simeon Ljubić. In: *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* (deinde *MSM*), vol. 3. Zagreb: Fr. Župan (Albrecht et Fiedler), 1872, pp. 393–395 (nr. 8: 19. 3. 1224, nr. 12: 1224): „(…) *in illo loco scilicet in terra regis Ungarie, ubi rex Bella filius domini Andree regis Ungarie cum suis militibus et quidam milites ducis Austrie per violentiam rapuerunt* (…)". Andere Detailles zum internationalen Kontext des Vorfalls cfr. Štefánik, Martin: Benátky ako možný odberateľ banskoštiavnického striebra v 13. storočí. In: *Európsky význam slovenského baníctva v stredoveku a novoveku*. Ed.: Adriana Matejková – Miroslav Kamenický. Banská Štiavnica: Slovenské banské múzeum v Banskej Štiavnici 2010, pp. 15–17.

[3] Paulínyi, Oszkár: The Crown Monopoly of the Refining Metallurgy of Precious Metals and the Technology of the Cameral Refineries in Hungary and Transylvania in the Period of Advanced and Late Feudalism (1325–1700) with Data and Output. In: *Precious Metals in the Age of Expansion. Papers of the XIV.international Congress of the Historical Sciences*. Ed.: Hermann Kellenbenz. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981, p. 29. Hóman, Bálint: Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria 1290–1403. Roma: Reale Accademia d´Italia, 1938, p. 191.

[4] *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio* vol. 2. Ed.: Roberto Cessi. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1931, nr. 11, p. 282: 16. 9. 1270: „(…) *de argento, quod veniet de Hungaria tam per terram quam per aquam* (…)".



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Kapitels 260 florentinische „aus ungarischem Gold" geprägte Florene erwähnt.[5] Diese unnötige und atypische Bemerkung über den, in dieser Zeit bereits weltbekannten und weltweit genutzten florentinischen Gulden deutet darauf hin, dass der Verfasser sehr gut die Herkunft des Münzmetalls kannte. In der Stadt Zagreb, welche an der dalmatinischen Transportroute liegt, war man sich wohl bei den intensiven und regelmäβigen Goldlieferungen nach Italien dieser Herkunft völlig bewusst.

Unter den venezianischen Finanzdokumenten finden sich die Vorschriften aus dem Jahre 1338, nach denen man für das Gold aus dem adriatischen Gebiet– *dentro da lo colfo* (d. h. das aus den gegenüberliegenden kroatischen und dalmatischen Häfen über das Meer transportierte Edelmetall)[6] einen niedrigeren Kaufpreis zahlen sollte – damit stieg der Gewinn der Münze auf zirka 2%, wobei für das Gold aus anderen Quellen, d. h. aus dem außeradriatischen Gebiet (*de fuora da lo colfo*) der Münzgewinn nur etwa 0,8% des abgegebenen Goldes betrug.[7] Ein solch unterschiedlicher Preis weist auf eine gewisse Abhängigkeit des Königreichs Ungarn vom venezianischen Staat als Abnehmer hin.

Die erhaltenen venezianischen Quellen aus den Jahren 1342–1343 erwähnen wiederholt, dass das Gold nicht nur von den Deutschen, sondern auch „über das Meer" (*per mare*), und zwar als Fracht auf den Handelsgaleeren, in groβen Mengen nach Venezia geliefert wurde.[8] Dies deutet neben dem aus Übersee stammenden Gold auch auf die ungarische Herkunft des über das, als „venezianischer Golf" bezeichnete Adriatische Meer transportierten Edelmetalls.[9] Es gilt als höchstwahrscheinlich, dass die in der Quelle genannten erhöhten Mengen direkt aus der neugegründeten mittelslowakischen Goldproduktion in Kremnica (dt. *Kremnitz*) stammten, woran u. a. auch die florentinischen Finanzierer aktiv mitwirkten.[10]

Unter der Regierung von Ludwig dem Groβen aus dem Hause Anjou entstand ein Projekt mit dem Ziel, nach dem militärischen Sieg über Venezia, nach dem Abschluss des sog. Friedens von Zadar im Jahre 1358 und der Besetzung dieses höchstwichtigen Hafens, die dalmatische Route als direkten Konkurrenzweg zur Ersetzung der venezianischen Seehandelsverbindungen für die Einfuhr der preiswerten Kolonialwaren zu nutzen. Im Jahre 1361 verbat der König alle Mauten und Zölle für solche Waren (*res et merces marittimae*), mit Ausnahme der Grunddreiβigstgebühr, von den über diesen Weg reisenden ungarischen Kaufleuten zu erheben. Im Privilegium werden die Kaufleute aus Bratislava genannt: sie sollten aus Dalmatien, besonders von Zadar, direkt bis nach Bratislava, diese Handelsartikel transportieren dürfen. 1370 wurde das Privilegium wiederholt auch für die siebenbürgischen Kaufleute und für den in ihre Gebiete gerichteten Handel ausgestellt.[11] Das ungarische Kokurrenzprojekt gegen

[5] *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 8 (1301–1320). Ed.: Tade Smičiklas. Zagreb: Officina societatis typographica, 1910, pp. 391–392 (nr. 320: 21. 5. 1315): „(…) *pro 260 florenis puri auri ungaricalis veri et iusti ponderis* (…)".

[6] *Colfo*, der Golf, bedeutet im venezianischen Kontext das Gebiet des Adriatikums auf der Linie Dubrovnik (ital. *Ragusa*) – Ravenna bzw. Ancona. In den venezianischen Quellen wird er oft auch als „unser Golf" – *noster culphus* oder einfach *culphus* bezeichnet. Später wurde diese Bezeichnung für das ganze Adriatische Meer anstelle von *mare venetum* verwendet. Tadić, Jorjo: Venezia e la costa orientale dell'Adriatico fino al secolo XV. In: *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, vol. 1. Civiltà veneziana, Studi 27. Ed.: Agostino Pertusi. Firenze: Olschki, 1973, p. 695. Lane, Frederick C: *Storia di Venezia*. Torino: Einaudi, 1994, p. 29. Luzzatto, Gino: *Storia economica d´Italia. Il medioevo*. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni editore, 1963, p. 137. Stahl, Alan M.: *Zecca. La Zecca di Venezia nell´età medioevale*. Roma: Veltro editrice, 2008, p. 92.

[7] *Problemi monetari veneziani (fino a tutto il sec. XIV). Documenti finanziari della Repubblica di Venezia*. Ed.: Roberto Cessi. Padova: CEDAM, 1937, pp. 79–80 (nr. 93: 8. 3. 1338). Stahl, Alan M.: *La Zecca*, p. 92, 311. Lane, Frederick C. – Mueller, Rheinhold C.: *Coins and Moneys of Account. Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, vol. 1. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985, pp. 502–503.

[8] Cessi, Roberto (ed.): Problemi, p. 81 (nr. 96: 18. 3. 1342): „(…) *totum aurum, quod venit cum galeis* (…)"; *Venezia – Senato. Deliberazioni miste. Registro XXI (1342–1344)*. Ed.: Azzara, Claudio – Levantino, Laura. Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006, pp. 143–144 (nr. 276: 10. 5. 1343): „(…) *ordo in adducentibus aurum Venetias per mare* (…)"; Cessi, Roberto (ed.): Problemi, p. 82 (nr. 99: 12. 5. 1343): "(…) *aurum ducatur Venetias per mare in maxima quantitate* (…)"; Ibidem, p. 83 (nr. 100: 9. 6. 1343): „(…) *aurum per mare Venetias aportantes* (…)".

[9] Cfr. nota 6.

[10] Štefánik, Martin: Podoby ekonomickej spolupráce pri počiatkoch stredovekej Kremnice. In: *Stredoveké mesto ako miesto stretnutí a komunikácie*. Ed.: Ján Lukačka – Martin Štefánik. Bratislava: HÚ SAV, 2010, pp. 170–176. Über die Rolle von kremnitzer Gold im europäischen Währungsystem und Wirtschaft cfr. Štefánik, Martin: Úloha kremnického zlata v európskej finančno-hospodárskej kríze 14. storočia. In: *Slovenská Numizmatika* 19. Nitra: Archeologický ústav SAV, 2011, pp. 57–78.

[11] *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus et civilis* (deinde *CDH*), tom. 9, vol. 7. Ed.: Georgius Fejér. Budae: Typis Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1842, pp. 198–199, nr. 128: 23. 1. 1361). Archív mesta Bratislavy (Archiv der Stadt Pressburg), Urkunde nr. 179: 23. 1. 1361. *CDH* 9/4, pp. 227–229 (nr. 129), pp. 234–235 (nr. 134); *CDH* 9/7, pp. 297–301 (nr. 193). Mehrer Detailles zu Ludwig's Projekt in meiner Studie: Štefánik, Martin: Benátky ako obchodný protivník Uhorska za dynastie Anjouovcov. In: *Historický časopis*, a. 51, 2003, nr. 2, pp. 228–230.



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Venezia in der Importrichtung, d. h. für die Einfuhr der Kolonialwaren, scheiterte zwar, jedoch ist der aus der Slowakei über das ungarische Binnenland führende Handelsweg in der Gegen-, d. h. Ausfuhrrichtung bis an die adriatische Küste, mehrmals durch zahlreiche direkte Belege in der Zeit vom Ende der Regierung Ludwigs bis zum Anfang derer Sigismunds bezeugt. Es geht diesmal um die Ausfuhr eines anderen Metalls aus dem dritten wichtigen mittelslowakischen Bergbauzentrum, und zwar um das Kupfer aus Banská Bystrica (dt. *Neusohl*). In diesem Fall scheint der Weg relativ lange und erfolgreich als Konkurrenzroute bei der direkten Kupferausfuhr in die Levante fungiert zu haben. Die bestehende und prosperierende direkte Verbindung des Königreichs Ungarn mit der Levante besorgte die venezianische Regierung auf lange Zeit und zwang sie auch, ernste Gegenmaβnahmen zu unternehmen.

Auch wenn es scheint, dass Kupfer im Vergleich mit Gold oder Silber eine weniger lukrative Ware war, offenbart ein genauerer Blick genau das Gegenteil. Kupfer wurde im 14. Jh. neben Gold und Silber zu einem außerordentlich gefragtem Artikel im Warenaustausch zwischen Europa und dem Nahen Osten. Es diente hauptsächlich den venezianischen Kaufleuten als Gegenwert für die in Europa eingeführten Gewürze und Baumwolle.[12] Hauptabsatzmarkt für Kupfer stellten dabei Ägypten und Syrien dar, wo man das Buntmetall als Abdeckungsmaterial für Gebäudedächer, im Schiffbau, für Schmuck – oder Kesselherstellung, Hausgeschirr, als Grundkomponente in der Bronze – und Messinggieβerei und aller aus diesen Legierungen hergestellten Gegenständen und nicht zuletzt auch für die Prägung der Inflationsmünzen benutzte.[13] Ein beträchtlicher Teil des im Rahmen des internationalen Handels in die Levante verschifften Kupfers stammte aus dem heutigen slowakischen Gebiet.

Für den Kupferhandel in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jh. sind wir nicht mehr auf indirekte Belege oder Hypothesen angewiesen; es sind zahlreiche Dokumente aus den venezianischen sowie toskanischen Archiven vom über den Transithafen Senj nach Venezia sowie direkt in die Levante gerichteten Handelsverkehr erhalten.

Der bekannteste und zugleich auch bedeutendste Beleg über die Kupferausfuhr aus der mittelslowakischen Region von Banská Bystrica in den Mittelmeerraum stellt der Vertrag der im Bergbau aktiven florentinischen Medici-Gesellschaft aus dem Jahre 1385 dar. Da nach dem vernichtenden Brand im Jahre 1500 im Archiv von Banská Bystrica keine Dokumente zur Tätigkeit der Florentiner auf unserem Gebiet erhalten geblieben sind,[14] muss man die Informationen vor allem in den venezianischen Senatsprotokollen und in den Missiven der florentinschen Signoria suchen.[15] Das Kupfer aus der "Neuen Hütte" gehörte in dieser Zeit nämlich zu den Hauptsorten des nach Venezia eingeführten Kupfers und wird in den Senatseinträgen direkt auch als „Neusohler" identifiziert (*Ramum de Xolio sive de fuxina noua*).[16] Es wurde nach Venezia sowohl über den Festland – als auch über den Seeweg transportiert.

Mehrere Senatsbeschlüsse aus den achtziger und neunziger Jahre des 14. Jhs bezeugen ein vor allem nach dem Jahr 1381 (Kriegsende und Turiner Frieden) gestärktes Bestreben der venezianischen Regierung, in Venezia den ganzen Mittelmeer-Kupferhandel zu konzentrieren.[17] Einen

[12] Archivio di Stato di Venezia (weiter als ASVE zitiert), Senato, Deliberazioni, *Misti*, reg. 42, f. 20r–21r: 22–31. 8. 1391.

[13] Ashtor, Eliyahu: *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages*. Princeton – New Jersey: Princeton university press, 1983, pp. 126, 156. Idem: *Storia economica e sociale del vicino Oriente nel Medioevo*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1982, pp. 320, 338–339. Idem: *Les métaux précieux et la balance des payements du Proche – Orient à la basse époque*. École pratique des Hautes Études, VI Section. Monnaie-prix-conjoncture X. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. École pratique des Hautes Études, 1971, p. 56. Labib, Subhi Y.: Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517). In: *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial – und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* Beiheft nr. 46. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1965, pp. 268, 270, 424. Shoshan, Boaz: From Silber to Copper. Monetary Changes in Fifteenth Century Egypt. In: *Studia islamica*, a. 56, 1982, pp. 98, 103–106, 108–114. Denzel, Markus A.: Metalle im Levantehandel im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Forschungsstand und Forschungsfragen. In: *Der Tiroler Bergbau und die Depression der europäischen Montanwirtschaft im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*. Ed.: Rudolf Tasser – Ekkehard Westermann. Innsbruck – Wien – München – Bozen: StudienVerlag, 2004, pp. 47, 49, 57.

[14] Kassa, Milan: Mestský archív. In: *Banská Bystrica. Sborník prác k 700. výročiu založenia mesta*. Martin: Osveta, 1955, p. 200.

[15] Zur Tätigkeit der florentinischen Gesellschaft sowie zum internationalen Kupferhandel cfr.: Štefánik, Martin: Uhorské kovy a kremnická komora ako predmet záujmu talianskych podnikateľov do konca vlády Žigmunda Luxemburského. In: *Baníctvo ako požehnanie a prekliatie mesta Kremnice*. Kremnica: Občianske združenie SOS Kremnica, 2007, pp. 100–102. Idem: Kupfer aus dem ungarischen Königreich im Spiegel der venezianischen Senatsprotokollen im 14. Jahrhundert. In: *Der Tiroler Bergbau und die Depression der europäischen Montanwirtschaft*, 2–221. Štefánik, Martin: Pramene k stredovekým dejinám Uhorska a Slovenska v benátskom archíve. In: *Slovenská archivistika*,a. 39, 2004, nr. 1, pp. 48–52.

[16] ASVE, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, reg. 38, f. 160r (159r): 26. 8. 1384.

[17] Ibidem, reg. 37, f. 82r: 30. 5. 1382: „(…) *Rame quod hactenus conduci consuevit Venetias* (…) *deferratur per alias vias ad loca et partes levantis in damnum evides nostri communis et bonum sit super hoc providere… ut dicte vie rumpantur ut dictum rame more solito hunc conducatur*."



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wichtigen Bestandteil der Senatsmaβnahmen stellten die Lieferungen des Kupfers aus Banská Bystrica *Rame fuxine nove* aus dem Königreich Ungarn dar, welche von der florentinischen Medici-Gesellschaft organisiert wurden. Das Kupfer aus dem ungarischen Königreich nahm laut dem Beschluss aus dem Jahre 1382 nämlich oft andere Routen anstelle des traditionellen, nach Venezia führenden Wegs.[18] Drei Jahre später wurden Beschwerden über ungarische Kupferlieferungen behandelt, die direkt von Senj nach Syrien verfrachtet wurden, was zu jedem Preis zu verhindern war: „*Quia exquirenda est omnis via abilis et honesta de cessando traficum et nauigare quod sit in partibus Segne et Sclauonie de Ramine quod conducitur de Hungaria et portatur ad partes Syrie*".[19]

Wenn die Venezianer ihr Monopol erhalten, oder zumindest die führenden Kupferhändler im Mittelmeerraum bleiben wollten, mussten sie mit den in Banská Bystrica aktiven florentinischen Bergbauunternehmern unter der Leitung von Vieri de´Medici einen Zusammenschluss eingehen. So wurde am 3. April 1385 ein bis Februar 1388 geltender Vertrag über die Lieferung des Kupfers ausschließlich nach Venezia abgeschlossen.[20] Aufgrund der im Vertrag enthaltenen Angaben und den Senatserlassen aus den späteren Jahren kann man ausrechnen und statistisch feststellen, dass das slowakische (= Banská Bystrica) Kupfer Ende des 14. Jhs. durchschnittlich zirka die Hälfte aller Kupferimporte Venezias darstellte.[21]

Auch nach Ablauf des Vertrags setzte sich das aktive Engagement der florentinischen Gesellschaft in Banská Bystrica fort: wir verfügen über mehrere schriftliche Belege aus den toskanischen Archiven von der durch sie weiter betriebenen Kupferausfuhr in der Folgezeit.

Im Jahre 1389 wurde nach den Einträgen der florentinischen Signoria auf der Insel Krk (dt. veraltet *Vegl*, in der unmittelbaren Nähe des erwähnten Hafens Senj auf der „dalmatischen Route") eine nicht näher spezifizierte Vieri de´Medici gehörende Kupfermenge konfisziert. Mit Blick auf den gerade abgelaufenen Vertrag handelte es sich wohl um Kupfer aus Banská Bystrica.[22] Zusätzliche bedeutende Informationen gibt uns das Archiv des toskanischen Groβhändlers Francesco Datini aus Prato (eine Stadt zirka 20 Kilometer nordwestlich von Firenze entfernt). Nach den Berichten seiner in den Osten entsandten Faktoren verkaufte man im ägyptischen Alexandrien 1386 das aus dem (damals ungarischen) Hafen Senj eingeführte Kupfer (*Rame da Signa*).[23] Acht Jahre später fand sich das „ungarische Kupfer" (*rame unghero*) auf dem Markt in Damaskus (Syrien).[24] Diese Angaben deuten auf eine weiterlaufende direkte Kupferausfuhr des slowakischen Kupfers über Senj zu den Märkten im Osten hin.

Alle erwähnten Angaben und Fakten belegen die groβe Bedeutung der slowakischen Metalle im europäischen Fernhandel im Mittelalter und auch die Wichtigkeit der Transitroute über Slawonien und Senj. Es handelt sich dabei um die Produkte aller drei wichtigen Bergbauzentren in der Mittelslowakei: Silber aus Banská Štiavnica, Gold aus Kremnica und Kupfer aus Banská Bystrica.

[18] ASVE, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, reg. 37, f. 82v: 30. 5. 1382: „*Cum Rame fuxine nove ceperint alium caminum. Et sit bonum et utile quod ponat caput in Venetiis…*".

[19] Ibidem, reg. 39, f. 58r (54r): 16. 3. 1385.

[20] Ibidem, f. 61v (57v): 24. 3. 1385. *I Libri Commemoriali di Venezia,* vol. 3. Ed.: Riccardo Predelli. Venezia: Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria, 1883, p. 173, nr. 199–201: 3. 4. 1385–25. 5. 1385.

[21] Štefánik, Martin: Pramene k stredovekým dejinám, p. 51.

[22] Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Signori, Carteggi, Missive I, Cancelleria 21, fol. 131v–132v: 28. 9. 1389.

[23] Archivio di Stato di Prato (deinde ASPO), Busta 1171–I, Valute di mercanzia 1, Alessandria d´ Egitto (24. 7. 1386). Die Quelle wurde von Melis publiziert: Melis, Federigo: *Documenti per la storia economica dei secoli XIII – XVI*. Firenze: Olschki, 1972, p. 320, nr. 94: 24. 7. 1386.

[24] Unter den Posten befindet sich sowie ungarisches als auch venezianisches Kupfer im Verhältnis 750 : 700 (Silberdirham pro Kantar). ASPO, Busta 710, lettere Venezia – Firenze, 27. 11. 1394. Die Quelle wurde von Melis publiziert: Melis, Federigo: *Aspetti della vita economica medievale*. Siena: Monte dei Paschi di Siena, 1962, nr. 209, p. 384.



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STANISŁAW ANDRZEJ SROKA*

# Poles in the Chapter of Zagreb in the Middle Ages

## Poliaci v Záhrebskej kapitule v stredoveku / Poljaci u Zagrebačkom kaptolu u srednjem vijeku

*This paper shows the Poles who in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries held benefices in the Chapter (*capitulum*) of Zagreb. Despite many restrictions, it was quite common for foreigners to fill posts in the Hungarian Church in the Middle Ages. In the Kingdom of Hungary, Poles held benefices mainly in the Chapter of Spiš and in Eger, and also, though rarely, in the territories distant from Polish borders. Although there were not many Polish priests in Zagreb, some of them had canonries there. The most famous priest among them is Martin Bylica of Olkusz, an outstanding Polish astronomer and a professor of the University of Bratislava as well as an astrologer at the court of Matthias Corvinus.*

Keywords: Chapter of Zagreb, high Middle Ages, Polish priests, Martin Bylica

The prosopographic analyses of medieval chapters (both cathedral and collegiate) have recently been quite popular in the historiography of Central European countries. Such analyses are part of historical research on the de-anonymisation of the medieval society. Many Hungarian chapters have already been described in monographs, which usually provide descriptions of the members of the chapter's milieu as well.[1] The historical research became even more popular with the publication of Josef Köblös' archontology of four medieval chapters: Buda, Székesfehérvár, Bratislava, and Győr.[2] The author, however, focused only on the Late Middle Ages (1458–1526). Other works worth mentioning include Josef Udvardy's book on the medieval history of the Chapter of Kalocsa[3] and Tamás Fedeles' monograph on the Chapter of Pécs with significant biographies of the chapter members.[4] The Polish historical research into the history of medieval chapters seems to be enjoying a revival at the moment. Many prosopographic works on chapters (both cathedral and collegiate) as well as broad monographs are being published.[5] There are new projects which are to result in publishing the lists of members of all Polish chapters in the Middle Ages. Recently, the prosopographic

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[1] Kiss, Gergely: Contribution á l'évolution des chapitres dans la Hongrie médiévale. In: *Specimina Nova*, a. 1, 2001, pars prima, sectio mediaevalis, pp. 133–145.

[2] Köblös, József: *A budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan archontológiája 1458–1526.* Budapest: Magyar Országos Leveltár, 1987. Idem: Külföldi javadalmasok a középkor végi magyar egyházi társadalom középrétegében. In: *Történelmi Szemle*, a. 32, 1990, pp. 53–100; Idem: *Az egyházi középréteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában. (A budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi adattárával).* Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1994 (Társadalom – és müvelődéstörténeti tanulmányok, 12).

[3] Udvardy, József: *A kalocsai főszékeskáptalan története a középkorban.* Budapest: METEM, 1992.

[4] Fedeles, Tamás: *A pécsi székeskáptalan személyi összetétele a késő középkorban (1354–1526).* Pécs: Története Alapítvány, 2005 (Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből, 17).

[5] Dola, Kazimierz: *Wrocławska kapituła katedralna w XV wieku.* Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego 1983; Radzimiński, Andrzej: Prałaci i kanonicy kapituły katedralnej płockiej w XIV i poł. XV. Studium prozopograficzne, nr. 1–2. Toruń 1991–1993; Idem: *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych w Polsce XIV i XV w. na tle porównawczym. Studium nad rekrutacją i drogami awansu.* Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK 1995; Gerlic, Henryk: *Kapituła głogowska w dobie piastowskiej i jagiellońskiej (1120–1526).* Gliwice: Nota, 1993; Kowalski, Marek D.: *Prałaci i kanonicy krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej od pontyfikatu biskupa Nankera do śmierci biskupa Zawiszy z Kurozwęk (1320–1382).* Kraków: TMHiZK, 1996; idem: *Uposażenie krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej w średniowieczu.* Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe „Societas Vistulana", 2000; Czyżak, Marta: *Kapituła katedralna w Gnieźnie w świetle metryki z lat 1408–1448.* Poznań: UAM WT, 2003; Glauert, Mario: *Das Domkapitel von Pomesanien (1284–1527).* Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2003; Poniewozik, Leszek: *Prałaci i kanonicy wiśliccy w okresie średniowiecza.* Lublin: TN KUL, 2004; Idem: *Prałaci i kanonicy sandomierscy w okresie średniowiecza.* Toruń: Dom Wydawniczy DUET, 2004; Kowalska-Pietrzak, Anna: *Prałaci i kanonicy kapituły łęczyckiej do schyłku XV wieku.* Łódź: Wydaw. Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2004; Jabłońska, Anna: *Kapituła uniejowska do początku XVI wieku.* Kielce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej, 2005; Biskup, Radosław: *Das Domkapitel von Samland (1285–1525*). Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2007.



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research on the history of chapters has also been common for Slovak literature. What would be of great help is an up-to-date elaboration on both the history and prosopography of the Chapter of Spiš, which could be an alternative for Josef Hradszky's book published over a century ago and still used by historians.[6] Apparently, such research undertaken by Peter Labanc is heading in the right direction.[7] In 2011 at the University of Trnava, Peter Labanc defended his PhD thesis on the Scepusian (Spiš) provosts up to the year 1405. Perhaps he will be the one to write a desired prosopographic work on the Chapter of Spiš. Moreover, similar research is conducted by Czech historians, which might be illustrated by the most recent, yet unpublished, study of the membership of the Metroplitan Chapter in Prague.[8]

The Chapter of Zagreb has not been described in any prosopographic study yet. In 2001, Ante Gulin's book was released in Zagreb. The book is devoted to medieval Croatian chapters, including the Chapter of Zagreb, but described as a credible place (*locus credibilis*).[9] The problem of foreigners in the Chapter of Zagreb was investigated by Hungarian researcher Tamás Fedeles, who published an article on foreigners in the Hungarian Church in the Late Middle Ages (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) in 2007.[10] According to his study, the Chapter of Zagreb had 415 members at that time, among whom there were 48 foreigners (which amounted to 11.5% of the whole chapter membership).[11] The author briefly described a few most important members of the chapter who were foreigners.[12] Poles, however, were not mentioned there. In comparison, J. Köblös counted as many as 8% of foreign prebendaries in four Hungarian chapters in the Late Middle Ages.[13] On the other hand, in the Chapter of Kalocsa in the Middle Ages only 12 out of 250 prelates and canons, i.e. 4.8%, were foreigners. They all held their prebends in the fourteenth century, whereas a century later none of the foreigners managed to become a member of the chapter.[14]

Since the pontificate of Pope John XXII, assigning benefices had been viewed as the papal domain. According to Polish historian Marek Daniel Kowalski, "*theoretically, one could obtain the papal provision to a benefice in any place, but the possibility to take it was reduced* de facto *to one's own country and ecclesiastical province*".[15] In the fifteenth century in Poland, and also in Silesia, the access of foreigners to the chapters was greatly limited. In 1430, Wladislaus Jagiełło issued the privilege for the nobility in Jedlnia, which practically eliminated foreigners from holding both secular and ecclesiastical offices.[16] For instance, in the fourteenth century (1320–1382) the Chapter of Cracow had 26 foreigners (13% of the chapter membership),[17] and in the next century there was only one foreigner there, the ennobled Hungarian Thomas de Dyaco.[18] The situation in the Kingdom of Hungary, however, was quite specific in this respect. Despite the decisions made at the diet in Temesvár (1397) and other edicts forced by the nobility upon the king, which prohibited endowing foreigners with any benefices, the fifteenth-century Hungarian chapters gathered many foreign clergymen. It is widely known that prebends in cathedral chapters used to be an important form of the rulers' reward to their supporters.[19]

My research on the number of Polish and Silesian clergymen in the Hungarian Church in

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[6] Hradszky, Josephus: *Initia, progressus ac praesens status Capituli ad sanctum Martinum E.C. de Monte Scepusio.* Szepesváralja: Typis. Dionysii Buzás, 1901.

[7] Labanc, Peter: *Spišští prepošti do roku 1405.* Kraków. Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2011.

[8] Budský, Dominik: *Kanovníci Metropolitní kapituly pražské 1378–1390.* Praha 2006 (unpublished work). Doležalová, Eva: *Svěcenci pražské diecéze 1395–1416.* Praha: HÚ AV ČR, 2010, 273 pp.

[9] Gulin, Ante: *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni kaptoli. Loca credibilia sjeverne i središnje Hrvatske.* Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2001.

[10] Fedeles, Tamás: "Quod tales, omnes, et singuli (…) ad aquam projiciantur". Külföldiek a késő középkori Magyar Egyházban. In: *A pécsi egyházmegye vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Timár György tiszteletére.* Ed.: Tamás Fedeles – István Horváth – Gergely Kiss. Budapest: Metem, 2007, pp. 23–67; Idem: Egyházi kapcsolatok Pécs és Zágráb között. (Pécsi kanonokok a zágrábi székeskáptalanban, 1345–1526). In: *Egyháztörténeti Szemle*, a. 6, 2005, nr. 2, pp. 59–79.

[11] Fedeles, Tamás: "*Quod tales, omnes, et singuli*", p. 35.

[12] Ibidem, pp. 41–42.

[13] Köblös, József: *Külföldi javadalmasok*, p. 53.

[14] Udvardy, József: *A kalocsai főszékeskáptalan története*, passim.

[15] Kowalski, Marek: O rzekomej wojnie beneficjalnej we Wrocławiu pomiędzy Kazimierzem Wielkim a Karolem IV. In: *Cracovia – Polonia – Europa.* Ed.: Waldemar Bukowski et alios. Kraków: Secesja, 1995, p. 296.

[16] Radzimiński, Andrzej: *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych*, p. 94.

[17] Kowalski, Marek: *Prałaci i kanonicy*, p. 73.

[18] Koczerska, Maria: Le chapitre de Cracovie dans les années 1423–1462. In: *I canonici al servizio dello Stato in Europa secoli XIII–XVI.* Ed.: Héléne Millet. Ferrara: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1992, p. 212.

[19] Radzimiński, Andrzej: *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych*, p. 41.



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the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth century shows that 44 beneficiaries were endowed with prebends there[20]: 25 of them were of Polish origin, whereas 19 were Silesian. In the fourteenth century, 19 people were endowed with prebends, and 25 persons in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the light of the aforementioned legislative regulations on holding secular or ecclesiastical offices by foreigners in Hungary, this disproportion seems to be surprising. This might be explained by the low efficacy of legislative restrictions in this respect at the time when the ruling monarch descended from a foreign dynasty. This disproportion might also result from the irregularity of the source material – the fifteenth-century source material is much richer than the fourteenth-century one.[21]

The range of endowed benefices was quite wide: from archbishoprics to bishoprics,[22] prelatures, canonries in chapters (the most frequently endowed prebends), altar benefices, and parishes.[23] The benefices in Eger and in the Chapter of Spiš were most popular among Poles. A great number of prebendaries in Eger diocese resulted from the fact that Stibor of Stiboricz, who was the bishop there, presented his relatives with various posts.[24] The popularity of the Chapter of Spiš, on the other hand, had its roots both in the geographical proximity and in Poland's claims to have ecclesiastical jurisdiction over a part of Spiš. In addition, Silesians (Jan Kropidło and Jan Stock) were twice in charge of the Chapter of Spiš.[25]

Only four Poles are recorded in the Chapter of Zagreb in the Middle Ages.[26] On 10 March 1358, Peter, the son of Henry of Oleśnica, obtained a provision to a canonry in Zagreb, which was vacated after Wladislaus had been ordained the bishop of Veszprém.[27] However, it is not known whether he assumed this benefice. Before 1426 Andrew of Poland, the son of Peter, was appointed a reader in this chapter,[28] and on 8 February 1429 he supplicated for the canonry there and for the archdeaconate in Gorizia.[29] In December 1440, he asked for the provision to the archdeaconate in Zagreb diocese, which had been vacated since John Bekenstein, doctor of decrees, was deprived of it because he had joined the antipope, Felix V. In the next year, Andrew took hold of the prebend,[30] and in 1447 this benefice led to a serious dispute with Bricius, the son of Anthony, which even reached the pope. Andrew was supported by Benedict, Bishop of Zagreb, who excommunicated Bricius. The reason for this dispute might have been the fact that Bricius usurped the status of archdeacon which legally belonged to Andrew of Poland. On 30 August 1447, Pope Nicholas V ordered the bishop of Pécs to solve the dispute between the quarrelling clergymen and informed that Andrew had stolen Bricius' archdeaconate.[31]

The most famous Pole who obtained a benefice in the Chapter of Zagreb in the Middle Ages is Martin Bylica *de Ilkusz*, the famous astronomer and humanist, a lecturer at the University of Istropolitana in Bratislava.[32] Having graduated from the university in Cracow in 1459, Bylica left (in 1463) for the University of Padua where he met the outstanding German astronomer Johannes Müller of Königsberg, known as *Johannes Regiomontanus*.[33]

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[20] Sroka, Stanisław A.: Węgierskie beneficja polskich i śląskich duchownych w XIV–I połowie XV wieku. In: *Nasza Przeszłość*, a. 85, 1996, pp. 75–96.

[21] Ibidem.

[22] Sroka, Stanisław A.: Polen auf Bischofsstühlen in Ungarn zur Zeit Sigismunds von Luxemburg. In: *Das Zeitalter König Sigmunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich.* Ed.: Tilmann Schmidt – Péter Gunst. Debrecen: Debrecen University Press 2000, pp. 173–180.

[23] Sroka, Stanisław A.:*Węgierskie beneficja polskich*, pp. 75–96.

[24] Dvořáková, Daniela: *Rytier a jeho kráľ. Stibor zo Stiboríc a Žigmund Luxemburský.* Budmerice: Rak, 2003, p. 325.

[25] Sroka, Stanisław A.: Ján Stock – prepošt Spišskej Kapituly 1433–1466. Idem: *Epizódy z dejín Spiša a Šariša v neskorom stredoveku.* Kraków: Homini, 2001, pp. 25–33; Labanc, Peter: *Spišskí prepošti*, pp. 114–115.

[26] We can find them in the sources of papal origin. During the preparation for this article I was using the Archive of Zagrebian Chapter (Acta antiqua, Acta loci credibilis), which is available on the websites of The National Archives of Hungary in Budapest (www.mol.gov.hu). Sign.: DF 255506–256093 (Acta loci credibilis) and DF 256094–256521 (Acta antiqua).

[27] *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 2. Ed.: Sułkowska-Kurasiowa, Irena. Roma: École Française de *Rome,* 1985, nr. 862; *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*, vol. 2. Ed.: Ján Novák. Prague: Typis Gregerianis 1907, nr. 729.

[28] *XV. századi pápák oklevelei*, vol. 1 (1417–1431). Ed.: Pál Lukcsics. Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1931, nr. 891.

[29] Ibidem, nr. 1120.

[30] *XV. századi pápák oklevelei*, vol. 2 (1431–1455). Ed.: Pál Lukcsics. Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia, 1938, nr. 709, 713, 747.

[31] Ibidem, nr. 971, 974.

[32] Domonkos, Leslie S.: The Polish Astronomer Martinus Bylica de Ilkusz in Hungary. In: *The Polish Review*, a. 13, 1968, nr. 3, pp. 72–78; Sroka, Stanisław A.: Polacy u początków węgierskiego humanizmu. In: *600–lecie Grzegorza z Sanoka.* Ed.: Leszek Puchała – Stanisław A. Sroka. Sanok: Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna 2008, pp. 50–53.

[33] Markowski, Mieczyslaw: Martin Bylica aus Olkusz als Vermittler zwischen Johannes Regiomontanus und der krakauer astronomischen Schule in der vorkopernikanischen Zeit. In: *Studia Mediewistyczne*, a. 26, 1989, nr. 2, p. 126.



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Since 1464 he had been at the court of Pope Paul II, who was an astrologer. There he met Johannes Pannonius of Hungary, who encouraged him to come to Hungary as the professor of astronomy at the university in Bratislava. On the occassion of the new university foundation, Bylica and Regiomontanus prepared a horoscope which included the date of 20 June 1467. While working at the university, Bylica focused on practising astrology as well as casting horoscopes and prognoses based on the appearance of comets. Bylica's astrological activity in the Kingdom of Hungary provided him with measurable profits in the form of the endowment of ecclesiastical benefices. The first benefice which he obtained was the archdeaconate in Gorizia in Zagreb diocese. He used this title as early as 1468, only a year after he came to Hungary.[34] Around 1470, Bylica obtained a canonry in the Chapter of Zagreb and after the university in Bratislava had collapsed, he settled down in Buda as the king's astrologer. There he prepared a horoscope for John Corvinus, the illegitimate son of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary.[35] In the same year he took part in Corvinus' war campaign for Vienna and witnessed the community of the University of Vienna paying homage to the King of Hungary. Although Bylica foretold a long life to King Matthias Corvinus, the king died shortly after in Vienna on 6 April 1490. After the king's death, Bylica stayed in Hungary, where he died, probably in 1493. He did not leave behind many works on astronomy, except for *Tractatus de astrologia*, but in the last will he bequeathed his collection of books and the astronomical instruments he owned to the University of Krakow. The instruments were brought to Cracow on 10 September 1494 and were so praised that the rector of the university gathered the whole university community to admire them.[36]

The last Pole who obtained a benefice in the Chapter of Zagreb in the Middle Ages was Stephen of Wiślica, which is recorded in a single document. In 1478 he went to Rome where he gave annates for the benefices that Martin Bylica de Ilkusz was supposed to obtain. The files of the Apostolic Camera mention him as a canon of Zagreb, and this is the only information about him.[37]

To conclude, let us emphasize that Poles held many benefices in the Hungarian Church in the Middle Ages. Four of them were endowed with the benefices (mainly canonries) in the Chapter of Zagreb, which, however, was not many in comparison to the number of foreigners in the same chapter in the Middle Ages. This might have been caused by a considerable geographical distance between Zagreb and Poland. Nevertheless, Poles held most of their benefices in the nearby Chapter of Spiš, in Eger, or in Transylvania, where they had a strong supporter – the family of Stiboricz – the powerful family in Hungary at that time.

[34] Domonkos, Leslie S.: *The Polish Astronomer*, p. 75.
[35] Kraków, Jagiellonian Library, manuscript 3225, p. 16; Domonkos, Leslie S.: *The Polish Astronomer*, p. 77.
[36] Birkenmajer, Alexander: Bylica Marcin. In: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 3. Kraków: PAU, 1937, p. 168; Domonkos, Leslie S.: *The Polish Astronomer*, p. 78; Zathey, Jerzy: Marcin Bylica z Olkusza. In: *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, Prace Historyczne, a. 42, 1973, p. 100.
[37] *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 10: *Acta Camerae Apostolicae*, part. 4: *Annatae e regno Poloniae saeculi XV (1421–1503).* Ed.: Marek Daniel Kowalski. Cracow: PAU, 2002, nr. 771.



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PETAR ROKAI*

# Ein Vergleich der Feudalisierung der Regalienrechte im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei und in der Vojvodina vom 11. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert

## Regálne práva. Porovnanie feudálnej štruktúry na územiach súčasného Slovenska a Vojvodiny od 11. do 14. storočia / Usporedba feudalizacije kraljevskih prava na području današnje Slovačke i u Vojvodini od 11. do 14. stoljeća

*The paper deals with a comparison of the king's rights (so called regal rights) on the territories of the modern Slovak Republic and Vojvodina between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. The rights we will pay most attention to are those concerning tolls and those concerning the holding of fairs. As far as tolls are concerned the most important ones were tolls on bridges, roads, as well as tolls for ships, i. e. trafficking and transporting tolls. In the following centuries the social development of the two regions has changed, but during the period between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries the feudal structure and the development of Slovakia and Vojvodina were very similar. According to the author's research the two aforementioned royal rights (tolls and fairs) were the most important and representative in this period and were almost equally developed in the regions of modern Slovakia and Vojvodina.*

Keywords: Middle Ages, similarities in law history, king's rights, Vojvodina, present-day Slovakia

Diesen Beitrag begrenzen wir auf den Vergleich der Feudalisierung nur einer der Kategorien der Regalienrechte (Königsrechte) im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei und der Vojvodina vom 11. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert. Unsere Auswahl fiel auf die Vergabe von Zollrechten für den Bereich Verkehr (Fähren-, Straßen – und Brückenzölle) und Marktzölle seitens des Herrschers (Königs) für die Feudalherren. Wir haben uns für die Untersuchung dieses Prozesses entschieden, weil er in der untersuchten Periode die bedeutendste Erscheinungsform der Feudalisierung in diesen Gebieten darstellte. Wir können sogar sagen, dass er ihr wichtigstes Merkmal war.

Die Regalienrechte in den untersuchten Gebieten, die in der hier behandelten Periode innerhalb der Grenzen des Königreichs Ungarn wie auch in anderen mittelalterlichen Staaten existierten, gehörten zum Eigentum des Herrschers. Die ungarischen Könige, wie bekannt, übten ihre Macht durch die Gespane aus. Das Einkommen durch die Regalien wurde ursprünglich zwischen ihnen in bestimmten Prozentsätzen, hauptsächlich zwei Drittel zu einem Drittel verteilt. Diese ursprüngliche Ordnung änderte sich aber mit der Zeit. Die Herrscher des Königreichs Ungarn, gleich den Herrschern anderer Länder, wählten den Weg der Veräußerung der Regalienrechten. So haben sie auch in Teilen ihres Staates, den heutigen Gebieten der Slowakei und Vojvodina gehandelt.

Die frühesten Beispiele für die Veräußerung der aus den Verkehr – und Marktzöllen entstandenen Regalienrechten sind für die beiden Gebiete schon im 11. Jahrhundert bekannt. Nach einer späteren Angabe hatte König Stefan I. der Heilige angeblich noch im Jahre 1037 das Einkommen der Fähren-, Straßen – und Marktzölle in Komárno (dt. *Komorn*) der Benediktinerabtei des heiligen Mauritius in Bakonybél gegeben. Auf gleiche Weise handelten auch seine Nachfolger. König Geisa I. hatte der Abtei des heiligen Benedikt am Hron (dt. *Gran*) die Hälfte des königlichen Anteils (2/3) von Straßen – und Marktzoll in Starý Tekov (dt. *Bersenberg*, *Altbarsch*, *Altbersenburg*) geschenkt. Sein Bruder, der heilige König Ladislaus I., hatte 1086 die Einkommen des Marktes von Bátovce (dt. *Frauenmarkt*), und der Fähre auf dem Fluss Váh (dt. *Waag*) der erwähnten Abtei von Bakonybél gegeben. Nach der Bestätigungsurkunde vom König Andreas III. aus dem Jahre 1293, hatte

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Ladislaus I. die Zölle in der Stadt Starý Tekov und der Gespanschaft Barsch (*comitatus Barsiensis*) dem Kloster in Klíž (heute Veľký Klíž) geschenkt.

Wie bei Schenkungen im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei, handelte dieser Herrscher auch in jenem Gebiet, das heute die Vojvodina bildet. Er hatte den Zoll im Dorf Bačko Petrovo Selo (dt. *Batschko Petrovo Selo*) am Ufer der Theiss im Jahre 1092 dem Benediktinerkloster in Tihany überlassen. Ein Jahr später, 1093, schenkte er die Bodroger Fähren-, Straßen – und Marktzölle der Abtei in Pannonhalma. Der Vorgänger von Ladislaus I., König Salomon, schenkte irgendwann in den sechziger-siebziger Jahren des 11. Jahrhunderts dieser Abtei die Fähre an der Theiss (*Tisa*, *Tisza*) bei Kanizsa. Obwohl uns diese Angaben aus etwas verdächtigen Urkunden bekannt sind, d.h. auch wenn es sich um Fälschungen handelt, ist für die Beispiele beider Gruppen eine chronologische Übereinstimmung charakteristisch.

Wenn aber auch die zitierten Beispiele für die Veräußerung der Zollrechte aus der Frühzeit stammen, verfügen wir ab Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts schon über ganz zuverlässige Angaben, die von dieser Form der Feudalisierung zeugen. König Bela III. veräußerte zum Beispiel im Jahre 1183 in der Stadt Nitra (dt. *Neutra*) den Fährenzoll,1/3 des „*tributum fori*" und auch den Fährenzoll am Fluss Nitra in dem Ort Nyarhid (heute ein Teil von Nové Zámky/dt. *Neuhäusel*). Diesmal hatte er auch den Straßenzoll in Turiec (dt. *Turz*) veräußert. Zehn Jahre später, 1193, hatte dieser Herrscher dem griechischen Kloster in Sremska Mitrovica (dt. *Syrmisch Mitrowitz*) den Fährenzoll in diesem Ort geschenkt.

Die Nachfolger von Bela III. haben die Politik der Feudalisierung der Zölle weiter verfolgt. Sein älterer Sohn, König Emerich, hatte die Veräußerung der Markt – und Fährenzölle in Osijek in der Nähe der heutigen Vojvodina anerkannt. Sein jüngerer Bruder König Andreas II. hatte im Jahre 1206 den Markt im Dorf Gerla in der Gespanschaft Barsch Johann, dem Erzbischof von Esztergom (dt. *Gran*) geschenkt. Dieser Herrscher hatte im Jahre 1215 dem Kapitel von Esztergom das „*tributum regale in villa Kokat*", das im Gebiet von Štúrovo lag, gegeben.

Wenn wir die Struktur der ältesten Inhaber der Zölle vergleichen, stellen wir sofort die Ähnlichkeit der zwei Gebiete fest. Die neuen Besitzer der Zölle sind in beiden Fällen in erster Linie kirchliche Personen und Institutionen – Erzbistümer, Bistümer, Kapitel und Klöster. Außer den schon erwähnten gehören auch die Abtei von Cikador im Gebiet von Südungarn und der Bischof von Nitra in der Slowakei dazu.

Außer den kirchlichen Besitzern haben die Herrscher die Zölle auch den weltlichen Feudalherren gegeben. Sie haben sie in erster Linie den Gespanen der königlichen Festungen geschenkt. Die Gespanen haben schon früher 1/3 der Einkommen der Zölle im Gebiet als Belohnung für ihre Dienste genossen. Der König konnte ihnen dazu auch mehrere Prozente der Zölle inner – oder außerhalb des Gebietes ihres Dienstes überlassen. Dafür verfügen wir vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts über Beispiele aus beiden betrachteten Gebieten. Bela III. hatte so im Jahre 1192 die Zollrechte an der Donaufähre bei Sonta dem Gespan Macharias und seinen Nachkommen gegeben. Der Sohn Belas, Andreas II., schenkte im Jahre 1206 den „*proventus fori*" in Spišský Štvrtok (dt. *Donnersmarkt*) seinem Gespan Alexander.

Neben den Gespanen haben die Herrscher in diesen Gebieten die Zölle auch anderen weltlichen Feudalherren überlassen. Von diesen erwähnen wir hier nur die Träger der Hofämter. So kam im Jahre 1209 Sebes (slow. *Sebeslav*), der Erzmundschenk (*magister pincernarum regalium*), in den Besitz des Marktes in Svätý Jur (dt. *Sankt Georgen*), der königliche Türhüter (*magister janitorum regalium*) Andreas 1267 in Besitz des Fähren – und Marktzolls in Petrovaradin (dt. *Peterwardein*).

Die Feudalisierung der Zollregalien in diesen Gebieten wurde auch nicht wesentlich von der Verordnung der *Goldenen Bulle* von König Andreas II. nach der „*tributa rex obtineat*" beeinflusst. Andreas II. verstärkte auch nach 1222 die Veräußerung der Zölle. Das hat er zum Beispiel 1226 im Falle des Zolls von Voznica (dt. *Woßnitz*) und 1231 des von Sonta getan. Dieser Prozess wurde auch nicht von der Restaurationspolitik der königlichen Besitzümer und Regalienrechte, welche Bela IV., der Sohn und Nachfolger von Andreas, seit den dreißiger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts führte, aufgehalten. Mit seinem Urteil im Prozess zwischen dem Abt des Klosters des Heiligen Benedikt am Hron und dem Gespan von Zvolen (dt. *Altsohl*) im Jahre 1237, hat er die Veräußerung der Zölle annerkannt. Im nächsten Jahr bestätigte er der Abtei von Pannonhalma den Besitz der Zölle in Bodrog.

Bela IV. hatte den Inhabern nur Besitz jener Zölle bestätigt, welche schon in der Zeit seines Großvaters Bela III. bestanden, die anderen Zollrechte verordnete er zu beenden. Es ist aber nicht bekannt, ob diese Verordnung je durchgeführt wurde. Im Gegenteil, wir wissen, dass Bela IV. nicht bei der Bestätigung der neuen Besitzer der einmal veräußerten Zölle blieb, sondern auch selbst diese Art Regalienrechte veräußerte. Davon zeugt, dass er im Jahre 1238 die Bečejer (dt.



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*Betsche*) Fähre und den Marktzoll im Čurlak (heute Čurug) dem Konvent der Kreuzritter (Hospitaliter) in Székesfehérvár (dt. *Stuhlweissenburg*) schenkte, und der Prämonstratenserpräpositur in Jasov (dt. *Joss/Jossau*) erlaubte, die Zölle in ihren Besitztümern selbst einzuziehen.

Die Veräußerung der Zölle an die Feudalherren hatte in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, in erster Linie dank der in dieser Periode häufig gewordenen dynastischen Zusammenstöße neue Impulse bekommen. Während der Kämpfe um die Krone verteilten die Thronprätendenten die Regalien als Belohnung an ihre Parteigänger. So hatte der jüngere König Stefan, der spätere Stefan V., der sich gegen seinen Vater Bela IV. erhoben hatte, die Einkünfte der Petrovaradiner Fähre und des dortigen Marktes seinen Parteigängern, zuerst dem Kumanen Batschkolda und später im Jahre 1267 dem schon erwähnten königlichen Türhüter Andreas, Sohn Ivans, erteilt. An der anderen Seite schenkte Bela IV. im Jahre 1266 die Brücke am Fluss Ipeľ (dt. *Eipel*) in Šahy (dt. *Eipelschlag*) der dortigen Präpositur, die ihm treu geblieben war. Ihre Nachfolger auf dem Thron haben die Politik der Veräußerung der Zollregalien in beiden betrachteten Gebieten fortgesetzt. Königin Elisabeth, die Witwe von Stefan V., hatte 1273 die Almaser (Almaš) Fähre an den Flüssen Donau und Drau Dominik *de genere Chak* / Čák / Csak gegeben. Drei Jahre später schenkte Ladislaus IV., der Sohn von Elisabeth, den Zoll in Plachtince (dt. Plachtintz), in der Gespanschaft Hont, der bereits erwähnten Präpositur von Šahy.

Die Politik der Feudalisierung der Zollregalien setzte sich auch nach dem Aussterben der Arpaden-Dynastie im Jahre 1301 fort. Anfangs hatte auch der erste König des Anjou-Hauses, Karl I. Robert, diese Politik verfolgt. Er hatte gleich nach seiner Ankunft im Land in den beiden hier betrachteten Gebieten mit der Verteilung der Zollregalien an seine Getreue angefangen. Karl I. hatte zum Beispiel im Jahre 1302 Johann, dem Bischof von Nitra, alle noch nicht veräußerten königlichen Zölle im Gebiet seines Bistums geschenkt. Ein Jahr später, 1303, hatte er Dionysius, Stefans Sohn und späterer Gespan von Bihor, die Fähre von Futog (dt. *Alt Futak*) an der Donau (bei Novi Sad) gegeben. Wenn wir jetzt aufgrund der vorgestellten Beispiele die Form und Intensität der Feudalisierung der (Zoll-)Regalienrechte in den Gebieten der heutigen Vojvodina und der Slowakei in Grundrissen zu vergleichen versuchen, könnten wir feststellen, dass dieser Prozess in beiden betrachteten Gebieten ähnlich war.

Die Wirkung des Mongolenzugs im Jahre 1241 auf die ökonomischen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse des Königreichs Ungarn hatte aber das Gleichgewicht verändert. Wie bekannt, haben die ungarischen Könige nach der Verwüstung des Landes den Feudalherren erlaubt, auf ihren Besitzen Steinburgen und Schlösser zu bauen. Der Bau der Festungen war auch ein Regalienrecht. Die Veräußerung dieses war eine neue Form der Feudalisierung der Regalienrechte. Diese hatte also, schon dank ihres Bestehens, im Bedeutungsverlust der Zollregalien im Feudalisierungsprozess eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt.

Der Bau von Festungen war aber nicht nur eine, sondern, so könnte man sagen, die wichtigste Komponente im Prozess der Feudalisierung. Diese Komponente wirkte auf verschiedene Weise. Die Burgherren konnten durch ihre Festungen den Prozess der Feudalisierung der Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft antreiben. Das manifestierte sich neben der gewaltsamen Ausbildung der Feudalgesellschaften (Familien) auch in der ungesetzlichen Inbesitznahme der Regalienrechte. Darunter den waren auch die Zollregalien.

Die ungesetzliche und gewaltsame Inbesitznahme der Verkehrs – und Marktzölle war auch zuvor nicht unbekannt gewesen. Der Gespan von Zvolen hatte sich schon im Jahre 1237 die Zölle in Hliník nad Hronom (dt. *Limbach an der Gran*), Hostie und Voznica, die vorher der Abtei des Heiligen Benedikts am Hron gehörten, angeeignet. Die Bodroger Zölle, das Eigentum der Abtei von Pannonhalma, hatte der Bodroger Gespan zweimal, in den Jahren 1225 und 1238, für sich in Anspruch genommen. Mangels sicherer Zufluchtsorten mussten sich die Gewalttäter jedoch vor dem königlichen Willen beugen und die enteigneten Zölle ihren rechtmäßigen Besitzern zurückgeben.

Mit dem Bau sicherer Festungen in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts entstand für die eigenwilligen Feudalherren die Möglichkeit der königlichen Gewalt zu trotzen und die Machtbereiche des Staates zu privatisieren. Die Basis der Politik der Territorialherren bildeten ihre Burgen und Schlösser. Man hat bemerkt, dass die Mongolen die Orte auf den höheren Punkten nur schwer erobern konnten, deswegen wurden die neuen Festungen in erster Linie an solchen Stellen gebaut. Da die Slowakei im Bereich der Karpaten liegt, bauten die Besitzer in diesem Territorium viele Burgen und Schlösser. Mittels dieser konnten sie dann die angrenzenden Gebiete in ihre Gewalt bekommen.

Die größten Territorialherren haben reges Interesse für die Einteignung von Zöllen gezeigt, egal ob von der Krone oder den schwächeren Grundbesitzern. Die Zölle bildeten ohne Zweifel eine sehr bedeutende Einnahmequelle. Zur



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Illustrierung unserer Behauptung haben wir ein charakteristisches Beispiel ausgewählt. Eine der führenden oligarchischen Familien, das Geschlecht der Čáken, hatte, wie das die Geschichtsforschung schon länger festgestellt hatte, schon früh die Bedeutung der Zollregalien erkannt. Dieses Geschlecht hatte in seinem Gebiet dreizehn Zölle des Bistums von Nitra enteignet. Unter den Zöllen, die in die Hände der Čáken geraten sind, waren, neben dem in Klíž und der Abtei des Heiligen Benedikts am Hron, auch gespanschaftliche, das heißt königliche Zölle.

Im Gebiet der Vojvodina, das der Karpatenbogen in Richtung Nordwest bis Südost im großen Bogen umschließt, gibt es für den Bau von Burgen sehr wenige geeignete Plätze. Hier wurden tatsächlich nur einige Festungen gebaut. Der größte Teil dieses Gebietes ist nicht unter die Herrschaft der Territorialherren gekommen, sondern blieb unmittelbar unter der königlichen Gewalt. Dies hatte Karl I. Robert ermöglicht, in diesem Gebiet, das seine Basis im Kampf um die Krone bildete, die Regalienrechte, unter ihnen auch die Zölle, effektiv zu kontrollieren.

Als Zeugniss unserer Behauptung erwähnen wir, dass uns, nach der Verschenkung der Futoger Zollrechte im Jahre 1303 lange keine Angaben von der Enteignung eines Zolls im Gebiet der heutigen Vojvodina zur Verfügung stehen. Wir können also behaupten, dass der König diese für sich selbst behalten und die Einkommen der dortigen Zölle im Kampf um die Krone verwendet hat. Somit bildeten sie eine bedeutende Basis für seine Macht. Damit ist aber der Prozess der Feudalisierung im Gebiet der heutigen Vojvodina im Vergleich zur Slowakei langsamer geworden. In der wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung der beiden Gebiete sind somit Unterschiede entstanden.

Weitere Erwähnungen der Zölle hören wir erst nach dem Erstarken von Karl I. Robert auf dem Thron im zweiten Jahrzehnt des 14. Jahrhunderts. Diese zeigen einige Unterschiede im Vergleich zum vorigen einheitlichen Handeln des Königs im Bezug auf diese Art der königlichen Rechte im Gebiet der Vojvodina und der Slowakei. Im Territorium der Vojvodina hatte Karl I. Robert einfach die Praxis der Politik der Enteignung von Zollrechten fortgesetzt. Ab 1314 vefügen wir über neue Berichte über Schenkungen von Zollrechte. In diesem Jahr enteignete Karl I. Robert den Tribut in Bačinci in der Gespanschaft Sirmien. In der Batscher Gespanschaft schenkte er im Jahre 1320 den Brückenzoll dem schon erwähnten Dionysius, Sohn Stefans. Drei Jahre später, im Jahre 1323, überließ der König den Zoll der Donaufähre bei Borovo den Söhnen von Emerich und Füle. Etwas später, 1329, enteignete er das Recht des Markthaltens in Novi Kneževac (dt. *Neu Kanischa*). In den dreißiger Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts wiederholte er dies mit dem Zoll von Čente in der Gespanschaft Bodrog.

Eine kompliziertere Aufgabe wartete auf Karl I. Robert im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei. Hier sollte er zuerst die Zölle von den besiegten Territorialherren einziehen, ohne Unterscheidung, ob sie sie von der Krone oder von anderen Besitzer enteignet hatten. So müssten die Söhne von Aba Amadeus im Jahre 1311 dem König die Zölle von Košice (dt. *Kaschau*) zurückerstatten. Der Herrscher hat später einen Teil von diesen zurückgegebenen Zölle nochmals enteignet. Einige von diesen, wie zum Beispiel den von Klíž oder die der Abtei des Heiligen Benedikt am Hron, hat er im Jahre 1329, beziehungsweise 1324, dem rechtmäßigen Inhaber zurückgegeben. Andere hatte er neuen Besitzern geschenkt, natürlich aus dem Kreise seiner Getreuen. So machte er es im Jahre 1321 mit den Fährenzöllen von Slivník und Kalša, die er Michael, dem Sohn von Lampert und Kastellan der Burg Füzér, schenkte. Ein Jahr vorher, 1320, gab er die Teile der Barscher Zölle, die der gleichnamiger Gespanschaft gehörten, dem Erzbischof von Esztergom, für die Gespanschaft Komárno.

Mit diesem differenzierten Benehmen von Karl I. Robert ist in Hinblick auf die Feudalisierung der Zölle das ehemalige Gleichgewicht zwischen der Vojvodina und der Slowakei wiederhergestellt worden. Es ist aber fraglich, ob sich diese Konstatierung auf die gesamte Entwicklung dieser Gebiete ausweiten lässt. Es sollte zugleich betont werden, dass in der wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklung nach der Festigung der königlichen Macht und dem Ausgleich der Position der Zollregalien im dritten Jahrzehnt des 14. Jahrhunderts, die Burgen weiterhin einen bestimmenden Faktor darstellten und von diesen gab es – aus offensichtlichen Gründen – in den Gebieten der heutigen Slowakei mehr.

Da sich die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung auch in der nächsten Periode in erster Linie in der Feudalisierung der Burgen manifestiert, ist der Hauptschauplatz dieses Prozesses eben in diesen Gebieten zu finden. Mit anderen Worten, die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung wurde in diesem Gebiet intensiver, während sie auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Vojvodina langsamer wurde. Die Rolle der Burgen in der Feudalisierung dieser Gebiete ist schon lange bekannt. Weniger Aufmerksamkeit hat die Geschichtsforschung der Rolle der Zollregalien in diesem Prozess geschenkt. Darum



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hat sie ihre Aufmerksamkeit nicht auf die ohne Zweifel bestehende Tatsache gerichtet, dass in der Periode vom 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert, deren wichtigstes Merkmal die Feudalisierung war, die Gebiete der heutigen Vojvodina und Slowakei auf der gleichen Stufe ihrer gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung standen. In diesem Beitrag wollten wir auf diesen vernachlässigten Umstand hinweisen.



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SILVIJA PISK*

# Mittelalterliche Paulinerklöster im Gebiet des heutigen Kroatien (mittelalterliches Slawonien) und der Slowakei

## Stredoveké paulínske kláštory na území dnešného Slovenska a Chorvátska / Srednjovjekovni pavlinski samostani na području današnje Slovačke te Hrvatske

*The Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit emerged in the mid-thirteenth century. The order spread rapidly, especially after its recognition in 1308, and during the Middle Ages it was one of the most popular major religious orders in the Hungarian Kingdom. This paper will deal specifically with Pauline monasteries in medieval Slavonia, their establishment (before or after 1308), characteristics and activities (for example, selection of patrons, relations with the local community and ecclesiastical institutions, economic conditions). I will present similarities and differences in relation to Pauline medieval monasteries on the territory of present-day Slovakia and Croatia as well, comparing examples of some Slavonian and Slovakian medieval monasteries.*

Keywords: Middle Ages, religious orders, monasteries, Slavonia, Slovakia

Der *Ordo sancti Pauli primi Eremitae*, welcher im 13. Jahrhundert im Gebiet des Königreichs Ungarn entstanden ist und im Mittelalter zu den bekanntesten und wichtigsten Kirchenorden des Königreichs Ungarn zählte, wurde am 7. Februar 1786 durch das Patent von Josef II. aufgelöst.[1]

Den neueren wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen nach sollte man das Erscheinen des ersten Eremitenordens in Mitteleuropa mit der „ersten Generation" der Eremiten im Königreich Ungarn im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert in Verbindung bringen. Die Eremiten sind jedenfalls sicherlich Vorgänger der Pauliner, die zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts in den ungarischen Gebirgen Mecsek und Pilis auftauchten.[2]

Allerdings sind sich bezüglich des Entstehungsortes und der Entstehungszeit der ersten Eremitengemeinschaften der späteren Pauliner sogar die Chronisten des Paulinerordens nicht einig. Im Jahre 1225 versammelte Bischof Bartholomäus von Pécs (dt. Fünfkirchen) die Eremiten im Kloster des hl. Jakobus bei Irig (ung. Ürög/Patacs) und gab den dort lebenden Mönchen die erste Regel.[3] So entstand im Gebirge Mecsek die erste organisierte Gemeinschaft.[4] Als Vater und Gründer des Paulinerordens wird jedoch auch der selige Eusebius von Esztergom (dt. Gran) erachtet. Domherr Eusebius von Esztergom versammelte im Jahre 1250 die Eremiten im Heilig-Kreuz-Kloster auf dem Berg Pilis[5] und mag angeblich auch

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[1] Über die Auflösung in: Sekulić, Ante: Pregled povijesti pavlina. In: *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj, 1244–1786*. Ed.: Đurđica Cvitanović – Vladimir Maleković – Jadranka Petričević. Zagreb: Globus: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1989, p. 38; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 8. Ed.: Josef Höfner – Karl Rahner. Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1963, pp. 206, 207; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 7. Ed.: Walter Kasper. Freiburg – Basel – Wien: Verlag Herder, 2006, pp. 1488–1489.

[2] Miladinov, Marina: *Margins of Solitude, Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West*. Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008., pp. 177–178 et 195; Elm, Kaspar: Eremiten und Eremitenorden des 13. Jahrhunderts. In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*. Berliner Historische Studien, vol. 32, Ordensstudien, nr. 14. Ed.: Kaspar Elm. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2000, pp. 12–14.

[3] Cfr. Mallechich, Gasparus: *Quatripartitum Regularium*. Viennae: Typis A. F. Voigtin, 1708, p. 25; Swidzinski, Stanislaw: Die bischöflichen Regeln des Pauliner Ordens. In: *Ungarn Jahrbuch*, a. 10, 1979, p. 32.

[4] Gyöngyösi, Gregorius: *Vitae fratrum eremitarum Ordinis sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*. Ed.: Ferenz Levente Hervay. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988, cap. 3–4, pp. 37–38. Über das Enstehnungsjahr der ersten organisierten Eremitengemeinschaft sind die Meinungen geteilt, obwohl die meisten Historiker glauben, dass es sich um 1225 handelt. Einige (Eggerer, Orosz, Dočkal, Chmielewski, Swizdinski, Sekulić, Pleše) erwähnen doch 1215. Dieses Dilemma erläutert Hervay. Nämlich, bei Gyöngyösy steht wirklich 1215, aber Bartol war Bischof von Pécs. Diese Ehre trug er nur seit 1219. Deswegen handelt sich doch um das Jahr 1225. Cfr. Gyöngyösi, Gregorius: *Vitae fratrum*, p. 207.

[5] Hier lebte er bis zu seinem Tod im Jahr 1270; Gyöngyösi, Gregorius: *Vitae fratrum*, cap. 13, p. 47.



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eine Verbindung mit dem Kloster in Patacs hergestellt haben haben.[6]

Laut der bekannten offiziellen Ordenstradition ging Eusebius, der als erster Prior galt,[7] im Jahre 1262 zusammen mit den Mönchen zu Papst Urban IV. und bat ihn, seinem Orden Regeln zu erteilen. Mit der Unterstützung des hl. Thomas von Aquin bat er Papst Urban IV., dem Orden den päpstlichen Segen und die *Regel des hl. Augustinus* zu geben. Diese Bitte wurde nach Empfehlung des Bischofs Paulus von Veszprém nicht angenommen. Dieser besuchte sieben Eremitenklöster und entschied, dass sie nicht genug Mittel zur Verfügung hätten, um sich erhalten zu können.[8] Trotzdem gab er den Eremiten die neuen Regeln.[9] Hatten die Klöster wirklich nicht die nötigen Mittel dazu oder war das nur ein Versuch des Bischofs, um sie unter seiner Gewalt zu halten? Das sind Fragen für eine weiterführende Diskussion.[10]

Die offizielle Anerkennung des Ordens stand in enger Verbindung mit der politischen Lage im Königreich Ungarn am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts, beziehungsweise bei der Ablösung der herrschenden Dynastie. Die Wahl der Anjous auf den Thron wurde von den Päpsten unterstützt, so dass sie ihre Abgesandten ins Königreich Ungarn schickten, um den Adel für sich zu gewinnen.[11] Die wichtigste Rolle für die Geschichte des Paulinerordens spielt das Handeln des päpstlichen Abgesandten – des Kardinals Gentilis de Montafiore.[12] Am 13.12.1308 stellte Kardinal Gentilis den Eremiten in Buda (dt. *Ofen*) die Bulle über die Nutzungserlaubnis der Regeln des hl. Augustinus aus,[13] weil die Hindernisse aus dem Jahr 1263 (nicht genug Geldmittel zur Selbsterhaltung) jetzt beseitigt wurden.[14] Von diesem Zeitpunkt an nennen sich die Eremiten/Einsiedler offiziell die *fratres sancti Pauli primi eremite*, obwohl sie später auch die *fratres eremitae sanctae Crucis* (Verbindung mit dem Kloster von Eusebius) oder die *fratres sancti Augustini* genannt werden. Gerade wegen dem letztgenannten kommt es oftmals zu Missverständnissen, so dass die Pauliner oft den Augustinern zugeschrieben werden und umgekehrt.[15] Einen Monat später, am 15. Januar 1309, stellte Gentilis eine Bulle aus, mit welcher er den

[6] Ibidem, cap. 8, p. 42.

[7] Sekulić schreibt laut dem Buch *Sacra Concilia Ecclesia Rom. cath. in regno Hungariae*, vol. 1. Ed.: Carolus Péterffy (S. J.). Posonii: Michael Kochberger, 1742, I, a. 88, dass 1256 Euzebius in Esztergom auf der Synode als *prior prov. Ord. S. Pauli primi Eremitae, magister Porse Canonicus Strigoniensis, archidiaconus Nitriensis* unterzeichnet wurde. Auch Tamasz Guzsik erwähnt dasselbe; Cfr. Sekulić, Ante: Pregled povijesti pavlina, p. 32; Guzsik, Tamas: Kritische Fragen zur frühen Paulinerarchitektur in Ungarn. In: *Der Orden der Pauliner OSPE: seine Geschichte – seine Aufgaben – seine Stellung*. Wissenschaftliche Reihe aus dem Burgenland, a. 70. Ed.: Julius Dirnbeck – Rudolf Kropf – Wolfgang Meyer. Eisenstadt: Burgenländische Landesmuseum, 1984, p. 136.

[8] Von 1250 bis 1262 entstanden neue Eremitengemeinschaften (7 waren in der Diözese Weißbrunn), aber es ist unmöglich zu wissen, wieviele es wirklich gab; Katona, Stephanus: *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis mixtae,* vol. 6. Budae: Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1782, pp. 398–401; Gyöngyösi, Georgius: *Vitae fratrum*, cap. 10, pp. 43–45.

[9] Cfr. Mallechich, Gasparus: *Quatripartitum Regularium*, p. 29; Swidzinski, Stanislaw: Die bischöflichen Regeln des Pauliner Ordens, pp. 32–34.

[10] Cfr. Holler, Laszlo: A new interpretation on the formation-process of the Pauline order. Some remarks on a charter of Paul, bishop of Veszprem from 1263. In: *Der Paulinerorden: Geschichte, Geist, Kultur*. Ed.: Gábor Sarbak. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010, pp. 94–101.

[11] Darüber mehr in: Bak, János M.: Die Heimat der frühen Pauliner. Ungarn zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts. In *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*. Ed.: Kaspar Elm. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2000, p. 137; Budak, Neven – Raukar, Tomislav: *Hrvatska povijest srednjeg vijeka*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2006, pp. 186–190; Klaić, Nada: *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku.* Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1976, pp. 503–505; Idem: *Povijest Hrvata u srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: Globus, 1990, p. 333; Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephan, a History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*. London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001, pp. 128–130; Šanjek, Franjo: *Povijest Hrvata: prva knjiga: srednji vijek*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2003, pp. 214–218.

[12] Vor Kardinal Gentilis (Franziskaner) war in Ungarn von 1301 bis 1303 Kardinal Nikolaus Boccasini (Dominikaner) als der Abgesandte vom Papst Bonifacius VIII tätig. Nikolaus Boccasini hat mit den Eremiten nicht Kontakte aufgenommen. Cfr. Sarbak, Gábor: Die Anfänge des Paulinerordens und die Entwicklung der Ordensgesetzgebung. In: *Studia claromontana*, a. 27, 2009, pp. 18–19.

[13] Über die Regel des heiligen Augustinus in: Swidzinski, Stanislaw: Die Augustinusregel im Pauliner-Orden. In: *Augustiniana,* a. 18, 1968, pp. 29–38; Pavlović, Augustin: Pravilo sv. Augustina (prijevod i komentar). In: *Redovnička pravila.* Ed.: Hadrijan Borak. Zagreb: Vijeće franjevačkih zajednica – Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1985, pp. 181–202.

[14] *Monumenta Vaticana historiam Regni Hungariae illustrantia*. Series prima, vol. 2, Budapest: Szent István társulat, 1885, pp. 180–182. (deinde *Monumenta Vaticana*); Sarbak, Gábor: *Die Anfänge des Paulinerordens*, p. 22; Stanislaw Świdziński ist völlig überzeugt, dass das Dekret von Kardinal Gentilis eine Fälschung aus dem 15. Jahrhundert ist. Kaspar Elm bemerkt richtig, dass Świdziński für diese Behauptung jedoch keine Begründung liefert. Cfr. Swidzinski, Stanislaw: Die Augustinregel um Pauliner-Orden, p. 29; Elm, Kaspar: Quellen zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens aus Kloster Grünwald im Hochschwarzwald in der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Paul im Lavantal. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, a. 120, 1972, p. 111.

[15] Fülöpp-Romhanyi, Beatrix: Die Pauliner in mittelalterlichen Ungarn. In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*. Ed.: Kaspar Elm. Berlin: Duncker und Humbolt, 2000, p. 145.



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auf dem Hauptkapitel in Buda versammelten Mönchen die Erlaubnis erteilte, Konstitutionen abzufassen, die nicht den *Regeln des hl. Augustinus* entgegen gesetzt waren.[16] Gentilis gab noch eine Bulle aus, die sich auf die Pauliner bezog, und zwar am 1. April 1311 in Bratislava (dt. *Preßburg*). Damit gab er den Provinzialen das Absolutionsrecht über die Mönche, die miteinander in Streits gerieten. Dieses Recht konnten die Prioren nutzen, während härtere Streitfälle in Rom zu lösen waren. Mit dieser Bulle zeigte der Kardinal, dass der Orden schon eigene Regeln besaß (*iuxta ipsius ordinis instituta*).[17] Papst Johannes XXII. bestätigte am 16. November 1328 festlich den Paulinern die Augustinerregel. Das haben später auch seine Nachfolger durch zahlreiche Privilegien getan.[18]

Laut den Forschungen von Beatrix Fülöpp-Romhányi gab es bis zum Jahr 1541 in Ungarn (einschließlich aller Klöster, die im Mittelalter auf dem Kronland des hl. Stephan existierten) 97 Paulinerklöster.[19] Um einen Vergleich zu geben, kann man anführen, dass im 18. Jahrhundert, als der Orden aufgelöst wurde, nur fünf Klöster mittelalterlichen Ursprungs existierten.[20] Die Blütezeit im Mittelalter erlebte der Orden zu Herrschaftszeiten des Königs Ludwig I. (1342–1382). Zu dieser Zeit wurden die meisten Klöster gegründet, König Ludwig alleine gründete vier Klöster (Gönc, Marianka/*Maria Thal*, Remete/Tecsö und Nosztre).[21] Auf Bitten König Ludwigs im Jahre 1368 bekam der Orden endlich die kanonische Anerkennung durch die Bulle *Apostolice servituis nobis* von Papst Urban V. Im Jahre 1377 erbat er vom Papst Gregor XI. die direkte Zuständigkeit des Heiligen Stuhls für den Orden, womit der Paulinerorden außerhalb der Jurisdiktion einzelner Bischöfe gestellt wurde.[22] Er setzte sich auch dafür ein, dass die Leichenreste des hl. Paulus von Theben, des ersten Einsiedlers und Wüstenvaters, nach Buda versetzt wurden.[23]

Zu Herrschaftszeiten König Ludwigs entstanden im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei die ersten Paulinerklöster. Das erste von ihnen war das Kloster Elefant (heute *Lefantovce*), welches sich etwa zwanzig Kilometer entfernt von der Stadt Nitra (dt. *Neutra*) befindet (der Ort trägt den Namen nach dem damaligen Besitzer Elephant). Im Jahre 1369 wurden unter dem Paulinergeneral Peter III. die ersten Mönche dorthin geschickt, die eine prachtvolle, Johannes dem Täufer gewidmete Kirche errichteten.[24] Einige Jahre später

[16] Mallechich, Gasparus: *Quatripartitum Regularium*, p. 41; *Monumenta Vaticana*, series prima, vol. 2, pp. 256–257.

[17] Cfr. Sarbak, Gábor: *Die Anfänge des Paulinerordens*, p. 23; Über die Entwicklung des Paulinerordens siehe: Ibidem, pp. 15–26; Swidzinski, Stanislaw: Organisation und Verfassung des Paulinerordens, ein geschichtlicher Überblick (ca 1250–1986). In: *Beiträge zur Spiritualität des Paulinermönchtums, Archivum ordinis sancti pauli primi eremitae* II, *Dissertationes*, a. 4, 1999, pp. 216–224. Die ältesten erhaltenen Konstitutionen sind im Kloster Grünwald um 1370 entstanden. Es sind auch Konstitutionen erhalten geblieben, die um 1500 entstanden. Um 1520 verfasste Gyöngyösi *Declarationes constiutionum* und fügte hinzu seine Bemerkungen. Es wird angenommen, dass er im römischen Kloster alle früheren Konstitutionen zur Verfügung hatte. Über die mittelalterlichen Paulinerkonstitutionen in: Elm, Kaspar: Quellen zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens, pp. 91–124; Gyöngyösi, Gregorius: *Declarationes constitutionum ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Pauli primi heremite*, Roma 1520; Constitutio ordinis sancti Pauli primi eremitae iuxta textum ante anum 1643 conscriptum. In: *Archivum ordinis sancti Pauli primi eremitae 2, Fontes*, vol. 1. Ed.: Stanislaw Swidzinski. Augustae Trevirorum: Typ. ad S. Paulinum, 1973; Constitutiones antiquiores Fratrum Sancti pauli primi Heremitae ordinis Sancti Augustini et Informatio religiosi. In: *Archivum ordinis sancti Pauli primi eremitae 2, Fontes*, vol. 6. Ed.: Stanislaw Swidzinski – Lorenz Weinrich. Coesfeld: Verlag Barmherziger Bund, 2009.

[18] Über die päpstlichen Bullen betreffend die Pauliner in: *Constitutio ordinis sancti Pauli*, pp. 18–22; Elm, Kaspar: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*, pp. 120–124.

[19] Cfr. Fülöpp-Romhanyi, Beatrix: Die Pauliner in mittelalterlichen Ungarn, pp. 143–156.

[20] Ibidem, p. 151.

[21] Ibidem, p. 145.

[22] Elm, Kaspar: *Quellen zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*, p. 124; Swidzinski, Stanislaw: *Die Augustinusregel im Pauliner-Orden*, p. 30.

[23] Die Reliquien wurden in die Klosterkirche versetzt, die zu Reliquienkapelle wurde. Deswegen wurde eine neue Kirche gebaut. Bencze, Zoltán: Das Kloster St. Lorenz bei Buda (Budaszentlörinc) und andere ungarische Paulinerklöster. Archäologische Untersuchungen. In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*. Ed.: Kaspar Elm. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2000, p. 174; Über den hl. Paulus von Theben e. g. in: Brunert, Maria Elisabeth: Der hl. Paulus von Theben als Vorbild für das christliche Mönchtum. In: *Beiträge zur Spiritualität des Paulinermönchtums, Archivum ordinis sancti pauli primi eremitae 2, Dissertationes*, vol. 4, 1999, pp. 21–31; Rebenich, Stefan: Der Kirchenvater Hieronymus als Hagiograph. Die vita Sancti Pauli primi eremitae. In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*. Ed.: Kaspar Elm. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2000, pp. 23–40; Šanjek, Franjo: *Crkva i kršćanstvo u Hrvata*, p. 58; *Vita divi Pauli primi eremite* (Reprint der Ausgabe 1511). In: *Archivum ordinis sancti Pauli primi eremitae 2, Fontes*, vol. 10, 2009; Wehli, Tünde: Die Fahrt des heiligen Antonius des Eremiten zu Paul dem ersten Eremiten. In: *Der Paulinerorden: Geschichte, Geist, Kultur*. Ed.: Gábor Sarbak. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010, pp. 465–474.

[24] Packa, Vojtech: Die Pauliner im Gebiet der heutigen CSSR. In: *Der Orden der Pauliner OSPE: seine Geschichte – seine Aufgaben – seine Stellung*. Ed.: Julius Dirnbeck – Rudolf Kropf – Wolfgang Meyer. Eisenstadt: Burgenländische Landesmuseum, 1984, p. 43; Über dieses Kloster auch in: Fülöpp-Romhanyi, Beatrix: *Die Pauliner in mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, p. 146; *Documenta artis Paulinorum*, vol. 1. Ed.: Nóra Aradi. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1975, pp. 99–133. (deinde *DAP*).



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gründete König Ludwig im Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei das Kloster in Marianka und angeblich soll der König selbst den Stellplatz des Klosters ausgesucht haben.[25] Mit dem Gebiet der Slowakei verbinden wir auch die Entstehung von zwei mittelalterlichen Paulinerklöstern zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts. Der ungarische Palatin Emmerich von Perín (Perényi) errichtete 1502 zu Ehren der Seligen Muttergottes das Kloster in Trebišov. Nachdem die Familie zum Protestantismus überging, mussten die Mönche das Kloster räumen (sie sind unter König Ludwig II. wieder zurückgekehrt).[26]

Im Jahre 1512 wurde angeblich das Kloster Mariánska Čeľaď in Veľké Lovce gegründet. Die Pauliner befanden sich dort nur sehr kurz, da sie nach dem Jahre 1540 wegen den Osmanen in das sicherere Kloster von Horné Lefantovce umzogen und erst 240 Jahre danach zurückkehrten.[27]

Im mittelalterlichen Slawonien (das heutige Kroatien) gab es mehr Klöster, beziehungsweise gab es hier im Mittelalter zehn Klöster, mit nur kurzzeitigen Unterbrechungen. Hier entstanden die Klöster viel früher als im Gebiet der Slowakei.

Nach der Entstehungszeit der Klöster in Slawonien können wir sie in zwei Gruppen einteilen: Klöster, welche vor der offiziellen Ordensanerkennung im Jahre 1308 entstanden, und solche, die danach errichtet wurden. Vor dem Jahr 1308 waren im mittelalterlichen Slawonien ganze fünf Paulinerklöster tätig.

Das älteste slawonische Kloster ist wahrscheinlich das Kloster der Seligen Muttergottes in Dubica. Es gibt Thesen, dass dieses Kloster im Jahre 1244 auf Wunsch des Herzogs Koloman errichtet worden ist, aber die Eremiten schon früher in dieser Gegend ansässig waren.[28] Herzog Koloman soll angeblich die Eremiten dorthin gebracht haben, damit sie beim Kampf gegen die bosnische Kirche halfen.[29] Allerdings fand man später heraus, dass dies nicht die Aufgabe der Eremiten gewesen sein konnte, weil die Pauliner/Eremiten sich zu dieser Zeit nicht mit dem Verkünden beschäftigt haben, so dass es sich wahrscheinlich um Rekonstruierungen späterer Autoren handelt.[30]

Das Kloster von Dubica war bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts tätig, dann wurde es durch die Attacken der Osmanen vernichtet. Das mobile Klostereigentum wurde von den Paulinern vor den Angriffen teilweise im Kloster am Gebirge Moslavačka gora verwahrt und teilweise im Kloster in Remete.[31] Das Kloster von Dubica wurde bisher nicht einmal von den Archäologen detailliert beschrieben, so dass sein Standort immer noch unbekannt ist.[32]

Nach dem Kloster von Dubica entstand das Paulinerkloster der Seligen Muttergottes auf dem Gebirge Moslavačka gora als das Paulinerkloster Garić, welches schon 1257 als Eremitorium bezeichnet wurde, was es zum ältesten Paulinerkloster auf dem Gebiet des heutigen Kroatien macht.[33] Das Kloster wurde im Laufe der kommenden Jahrhunderte neben dem Kloster in Remete zum

[25] Packa, Vojtech: *Die Pauliner im Gebiet der heutigen CSSR*, p. 44; Fülöpp-Romhanyi, Beatrix: *Die Pauliner in mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, p. 145; DAP I, pp. 278–364.

[26] Packa, Vojtech: *Die Pauliner im Gebiet der heutigen CSSR*, p. 45; *DAP*, vol. 3. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1978, pp. 2–25.

[27] Ibidem, pp. 45–46; *DAP* 1, pp. 33–48.

[28] Cfr. Adamček, Josip: Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi. In: *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj. 1244–1786.* Ed.: Đurđica Cvitanović – Vladimir Maleković – Jadranka Petričević. Zagreb: Globus: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1989, p. 42; Kruhek Milan: Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana. In: *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj. 1244–1786.* Ed.: Đurđica Cvitanović – Vladimir Maleković – Jadranka Petričević. Zagreb: Globus: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1989, p. 73; In der Urkunde vom König Stephan aus 1270 steht Text aus 1244; *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (deinde *CDCr*), vol. 4. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb, 1906, p. 264; *CDCr* 5. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb, 1907, p. 581.

[29] Cfr. Dočkal, Kamilo: Samostan Blažene Djevice Marije u Dubici 1244 (Archiv der Kroatischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und Künste, deinde AHAZU); Pleše, Tajana: *Arheološki kontekst srednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj* (Doktorarbeit). Zagreb: Filozofski Fakultet, 2010, p. 15.

[30] Cfr. Sekulić, Ante: Prinosi Ivana Krstitelja Tkalčića povijesti hrvatskih pavlina. In: *Život i djela Ivana Krstitelja Tkalčića*. Ed.: Stjepan Razum. Zagreb: Tkalčić, društvo za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije, 2006, p. 231.

[31] Malyusz, Elemer: A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban. In: *Levéltári közlemények,* a. 8, 1980, fasc. 1–2, pp. 68–69.

[32] Dočkal, Kamilo: *Samostan Blažene Djevice Marije u Dubici 1244*, pp. 97–98; Über die Geschichte des Klosters Dubica auch in: Tkalčić, Ivan Krstitelj: Pavlinski samostan u Dubici. In: *Vjesnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva,* a. 1, 1895, pp. 189–202; Pleše, Tajana: *Arheološki kontekst srednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana*; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije na Gariću (Moslavačka gora) i njegova uloga u regionalnoj povijesti* (Doktorarbeit). Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 2011, pp. 30–31.

[33] *CDCr* 5, p. 54: *„inde rivulus idem ducit superius versus orientem ad heremitas…"*, p. 73: *„…ibi est meta terra Tyburcio commetaneo existente. Deinde vadit ad partem septemtrionalem per magnam viam et ibi sunt mete terre successive castrensibus commetaneis existentibus et venit ad heremitas."*; Cfr. auch Pisk, Silvija: *Topografija Garića, Gračenice i Moslavine od 1163. do 1400* (Magisterarbeit). Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 2007, pp. 131–139; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije,* pp. 37–39.



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wichtigsten Paulinerkloster im mittelalterlichen Slawonien. Das Kloster war bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts tätig, dann wurde es im Zuge der Osmanenangriffe verlassen. Obwohl es im 18. Jahrhundert einige Restaurierungsversuche gab, wurde es niemals erneuert.[34] Im Jahr 2009 begannen systematische archäologische Erforschungen in diesem Gebiet unter der Leitung von Tajana Pleše, die noch heute im Gange sind.[35]

Nach diesen beiden Klöstern wurde auch das dritte Kloster – der Seligen Muttergottes – bei Zagreb (dt. *Agram*) errichtet. Dieses Kloster ist besser bekannt unter dem Namen Remete. Obwohl auch über die Entstehungsgeschichte dieses Klosters verschiedene Geschichten bestehen, wurde es doch am wahrscheinlichsten um das Jahr 1272 oder 1280 errichtet.[36] Sein Begründer war vermutlich der Mönch Iskvirin, der das Land vom Zagreber Domkapitel erhielt, um dort ein Kloster zu erbauen. Das Kloster wird zum ersten Mal in schriftlichen Quellen aus dem Jahre 1288 erwähnt.[37] Im 14. Jahrhundert wurde das Kloster von Remete in den Rang eines Vikariats erhoben. Als das Kloster von Garić zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts ebenso den Rang eines Vikariats erhielt, teilten sich die beiden Klöster die Jurisdiktion über die anderen slawonischen Paulinerklöster,[38] da Vikare eigentlich Prioren größerer Klöster sind, welche höchstens fünf Klöster kontrollieren können.[39] Das Paulinerkloster in Remete war bis zur Ordensaufhebung im Jahre 1786 tätig.[40]

Vor der offiziellen Anerkennung des Paulinerordens wurde auch das Kloster in Bakva gegründet. In den Schriftquellen wird ausdrücklich erwähnt, dass es 1328 errichtet wurde,[41] aber wahrscheinlich existierte es schon im Jahre 1301 und wurde von dem Adeligen Salomon gegründet.[42] Er versprach angeblich, falls er einen Bärenangriff überlebe, würde er an dieser Steller ein Kloster bauen.[43] Das Kloster des hl. Benediktus in Bakva wurde im Zuge osmanischer Angriffe im 16. Jahrhundert vernichtet und trotz späterer Versuche niemals wieder erneuert. Bis heute ist unbekannt, wo sich das Kloster genau befand.[44]

Der Orden *Domus sancti Petri de monte Zlath* wird zum ersten Mal in Dokumenten des Jahres 1328 erwähnt und wurde wahrscheinlich auf dem Gebiet Steničnjaks 1303 oder 1304 erbaut.[45] Wegen Plünderungen seitens osmanischer Truppen mussten die Pauliner von Zlati das Kloster am Ende des 15. oder zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts verlassen. Sie schlossen sich Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts dem Kloster in Kamensko an. Es gibt jedoch auch Andeutungen, dass die Pauliner in das Kloster des hl. Petrus zurückkehrten und dort bis Ende des 15. oder bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts aktiv waren.[46] Anders als viele andere Klöster, die meistens in Bach – oder

[34] Cfr. Bedić, Marko: Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije pod Garićem. In: Lepoglavski zbornik, Zagreb: Kajkavsko Spravišče, 1995, pp. 97–110; Dobronić, Lelja: Svetište Majke Božje Garićke i plemići iz Paližne. In: *Kaj*, a. 31, vol. 1, 1998, pp. 69–78; Dočkal, Kamilo: *Samostan Blažene Djevice Marije u Gariću*. (Archiv des Domkapitels Agram = Kaptolski arhiv Zagreb, deinde KAZ); Dočkal, Kamilo: Srednjovjekovna naselja oko Dobre Kuće. In: *Starine*, a. 48, 1958, pp. 85–167; Kovačević, Dražen: Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije pod Garićem. In: *Zbornik Moslavine*, a. 2, 1991, pp. 57–69; Idem: Pavlinski samostan u Gariću. In: *Muzejski vjesnik*, a. 15, 1992, pp. 87–90; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije*; Sekulić, Ante: Pavlinski samostan Bl. Djevice Marije na Gariću. In: *Croatica christiana periodica*, a. 14, vol. 25, 1990, pp. 49–65.

[35] Pleše, Tajana: *Arheološki kontekst srednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana*, pp. 28–37.

[36] Über die Entstehung der Klöster cfr. e. g.: Adamček, Josip: *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, p. 42; Kruhek, Milan: *Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana*, p. 79; Szabo, Gjuro: Spomenici kotara Ivanec. In: *Vjesnik hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, a. 14, 1919, pp. 22–23; Tkalčić, Ivan Krstitelj: O stanju više nastave u Hrvatskoj prije a osobito za Pavlinah. In: *Rad JAZU*, a. 23, 1888, p. 85.

[37] *CDCr*, vol. 6. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: JAZU, 1908, pp. 618, 619.

[38] Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije*, pp. 60, 61.

[39] Cfr. *Codices Latinae medii aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestiensis*. Ed.: Laszlo Mezey. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1961, p. 12.

[40] Über das Kloster Remete auch in: Barle, Janko: *Remete: pov[i]jesni podaci o samostanu, crkvi i župi*. Zagreb: M. Mileusnić, 1914; Dočkal, Kamilo: Samostan Blažene Djevice Marije u Remetama; Sekulić, Ante: *Remete: pavlini u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1986; Über die archäologischen Untersuchungen e. g.: Mašić, Boris: Istraživanje uz južno pročelje crkve BDM u Remetama. In: *Hrvatski arheološki glasnik* 4, 2008, pp. 206–207; Mašić, Boris – Pleše, Tajana: O dijelu numizmatičkih nalaza otkrivenih uz crkvu Blažene Djevice Marije u Remetama. In: *Numizmatičke vijesti*, vol. 61, 2008, pp. 223–230.

[41] *CDCr*, vol. 9. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb: JAZU, 1911, p. 396.

[42] Cfr. Adamček, Josip: *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, p. 44.

[43] Egerrer, Andreas: *Fragmen panis corvi proto – eremitici seu Reliqiae annalium eremi-coenobiticorum Ordinis Fratrum Eremitarum s. Pauli primi Eremitae*. Viennae: s. l., 1663, p. 97.

[44] Cfr. Dočkal, Kamilo: Povijest pavlinskog samostana sv. Benedikta u Bakvi (AHAZU); Idem: Kruhek, Milan: *Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana*, p. 70; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije*, p. 32.

[45] *CDCr* 9, pp. 396, 397.

[46] Adamček, Josip: *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, p. 46; Kruhek, Milan: Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana, pp. 74, 77; Cfr. auch: Dočkal, Kamilo: Samostan sv. Petra na Zlatu (AHAZU); Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije*, p. 32; Sekulić, Ante: Pavlinski samostani u karlovačkom kraju. In: *Tkalčić: godišnjak Društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije*, a. 11, 2007, pp. 79–101.



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Flusstalmulden erbaut wurden, hatte das Kloster des hl. Petrus einen ungewöhnlichen Standpunkt für ein Paulinerkloster. Es befand sich nämlich auf dem höchsten Gipfelpunkt des Gebirges Petrova Gora (Zlat, Slatska, *Patur gozdia*). Die Besonderheit dieses Klosters liegt aber auch darin, dass es sich hierbei um ein komplett archäologisch erforschtes slawonisches Paulinerkloster handelt.[47]

Das Allerheiligenkloster in Streza wurde zur Herrschaftszeit des Königs Ludwig I. um das Jahr 1364 gegründet. Ivan Bissen, Kastellan in Bijela Stijena,[48] wird 1379 zum ersten Mal erwähnt.[49] Das einzige erhaltene mittelalterliche Urbarium eines Paulinerklosters wurde in Streza zusammengestellt.[50] Das Kloster wurde wegen den Osmanen vor der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts aufgehoben und die Pauliner sind wahrscheinlich zusammen mit ihren Wertgegenständen und Urkunden in den sichereren Ort Lepoglava gezogen.[51] Die Lage des Klosters war bis 2006 unbekannt. Dann aber begannen systematische archäologische Erforschungen auf diesem Gebiet unter der Leitung von Tajana Pleše, die noch heute im Gange sind.[52]

Ein weiteres Paulinerkloster in Slawonien entstand zur Zeit des Königs Ludwig I. – das Kloster der hl. Jelena bei Čakovo (sein ursprünglicher Name lautete *Conventus Beate Matris et Omium Sanctorum).* Dieses Kloster wurde 1376 errichtet und bei seiner Errichtung spielte Herzog Stjepan Lacković aus Siebenbürgen eine wichtige Rolle. Das Kloster war bis zur Ordensauflösung aktiv, jedoch wurde es bis zu dieser Zeit öfters beschädigt und renoviert.[53] Es wird angenommen, dass der Kopf von Nikola Šubić Zrinski nach seinem Tode 1566 in diesem Paulinerkloster begraben wurde.[54]

Herman Celjski gründete im Jahr 1400 das heute bekannteste kroatische Paulinerkloster der Seligen Muttergottes in Lepoglava. Dieses Kloster wurde im Zuge der osmanischen Angriffe öfters beschädigt, war aber die ganze Zeit tätig, bis zur Ordensauflösung im Jahre 1786. Der Sohn von Matthias Corvinus, Johannes Corvinus und sein Sohn Christoph, wurden 1504/1505 in der Klosterkirche von Lepoglava begraben.[55] Im Jahre 1503, zur Zeit des Priors Marko von Dubrava, wurde im Kloster von Lepoglava das erste Gymnasium gegründet. Kurz danach bekam das Kloster das Vikariat.[56] Ab dem Jahr 1576 (offiziell verlautbart 1581) wurde Lepoglava wegen der politischen Lage im Königreich Ungarn zum Stammsitz der Generäle des Paulinerordens. Darüber entschied der damalige Ordensgeneral Stefan aus Trnava.[57]

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[47] Cfr. Pleše, Tajana: *Arheološki kontekst srednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana*; Idem: Pavlinski samostan svetog Petra na Zlatu (Petrovoj gori) In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva,* a. 40, 2008, fasc. 1, pp. 126–132; Idem: Petrovac – pavlinski samostan sv. Petra. In: *Hrvatski arheološki glasnik,* a. 3, 2007, pp. 93–195; Idem: Petrovac – pavlinski samostan sv. Petra. In: *Hrvatski arheološki glasnik,* a. 4, 2008, pp. 216–219; Pleše, Tajana – Azinović Bebek, Ana: Pavlinski samostan sv. Petra na Petrovcu. In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, a. 39, 2007, fasc. 1, pp. 98–104.

[48] Adamček, Josip: *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, p. 44.

[49] Kruhek, Milan: *Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana*, p. 83.

[50] Das Urbarium von Streza ist leider nicht ausreichend geschätzt. Cfr. Tkalčić, Ivan Krstitelj: Urbar bivšeg pavlinskog samostana u Strezi. In: *Vjesnik Kraljevskog Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga Zemaljskoga arkiva,* a. 5, 1903, pp. 201–219; Kolar-Dimitrijević, Mira: Urbar pavlinskog samostana u Strezi 1477. godine. In: *Podravina,* a. 2–3, 2003, pp. 103–123.

[51] Über das Kloster auch in: Dočkal, Kamilo: Samostan Svih Svetih u Strezi 1375, (AHAZU); Idem: Srednjovjekovna naselja oko Streze: prilog našoj srednjovjekovnoj topografiji. In: *Starine*, a. 46, 1956, pp. 145–202. Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije*, p. 33.

[52] Über die archäologischen Untersuchungen mehr in: Pleše, Tajana: *Arheološki kontekst srednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana,* pp. 130–141; Eadem: Streza – pavlinski samostan Svih Svetih. In: *Hrvatski arheološki glasnik,* a. 4, 2008, pp. 132–135; Pleše, Tajana – Azinović Bebek, Ana – Karlo, Krešimir: Crkva Svih Svetih pavlinskog samostana u Strezi (Pavlin Kloštar). In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva,* a. 40, 2008, fasc. 1, pp. 114–119; Pleše, Tajana: Pavlinski samostan Svih Svetih u Pavlin Kloštru. In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva,* a. 39, 2007, fasc. 1, pp. 135–141.

[53] Cfr. Adamček, Josip: *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, p. 45; Kruhek, Milan: *Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana*, p. 71.

[54] Egerrer, Andreas: *Fragmen panis corvi*, p. 314; Dočkal, Kamilo: *Povijest pavlinskog samostana sv. Jelene u Čakovcu*, pp. 47–48; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije,* p. 33; Über die archäologischen Untersuchungen in: Laszlowski, Emilij: Zrinski mauzolej u sv. Jeleni kod Čakovca. In: *Hrvatsko kolo*, a. 9, 1928, pp. 244–259; Pleše, Tajana: *Arheološki kontekst srednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana*, pp. 157–162.

[55] Egerrer, Andreas: *Fragmen panis corvi*, pp. 271–272; Smičiklas, Tadija: *Poviest Hrvatska. Dio prvi – od najstarijih vremena do godine 1526*. Zagreb: s. l., 1882, p. 669; Dočkal, Kamilo: *Povijest pavlinskog samostana Blažene Djevice Marije u Lepoglavi*, pp. 44–45.

[56] Dočkal, Kamilo: *Povijest pavlinskog samostana Blažene Djevice Marije u Lepoglavi*, (KAZ).

[57] Cfr. Adamček, Josip: *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, p. 45; Kruhek, Milan: *Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana,* p. 75; Dočkal, Kamilo: *Povijest pavlinskog samostana Blažene Djevice Marije u Lepoglavi*, p. 81; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije,* p. 34; Über die archäologischen Untersuchungen in: Horvat, Zorislav: Gotička arhitektura pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi. In: *Kaj*, a. 15, 1982, fasc. 5, pp. 33–35; Pleše, Tajana: *Arheološki kontekst srednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana*; Eadem: Arheološka istraživanja dvorišta pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi 2003–2004. In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, a. 37, nr. 1, 2005, pp. 123–128; Eadem: Arheološka istraživanja pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi. In: *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, a. 38, 2005, pp. 63–91; Eadem: Klaustar pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi – rezultati arheoloških istraživanja. In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, a. 36, 2004, fasc. 1, pp. 163–171.



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Auf dem Gut Steničnjak hat Katharina, die Witwe von Stefan Frankopan, im Jahr 1404 das Paulinerkloster der Seligen Muttergottes errichtet. Die Pauliner mussten einige Male das Kloster verlassen, und zwar wegen den osmanischen Angriffen. Bis zur Auflösung des Ordens blieben sie aber im Kloster in Kamensko.

Dieses Kloster ist gleichzeitig das erste Kloster in Kroatien, welches 1972 die Pauliner nach dem Wiederaufbau des Paulinerordens in Kroatien bezogen haben.[58] Hier befindet sich auch das provinziale Zentrum für die Paulinerklöster von Kroatien.[59]

Im Jahre 1412 wurde das letzte Paulinerkloster der hl. Ana bei „Dobra Kuća" (dt. *Gutes Haus*), neben dem Ort Donja Vrijeska bei Daruvar errichtet. Es wurde von Benedikt Nelepić gegründet. Schon hundert Jahre nach der Errichtung wurde es aber, genauso wie die anderen Paulinerklöster, von den Osmanen vernichtet.[60] Im Jahre 2008 begannen systematische archäologische Erforschungen auf diesem Gebiet unter der Leitung von G. Jakovljević, die noch heute im Gange sind.[61]

Die Paulinerklöster in Slawonien wurden demnach hauptsächlich durch die Angriffe der osmanischen Truppen vernichtet, und diese Attacken haben schon Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts begonnen. Sie kulminierten in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts.

Die Klöster im Gebiet der Slowakei waren andererseits auch durch die Reformation gefährdet. Das Kloster in Trebišov mussten die Pauliner beispielsweise wegen dem Übertritt der Patronats-Familie zum Protestantismus verlassen. Bekannt ist aber auch, dass die Kirche und das Kloster Elefant während der Hussitenkriege (1420–1434) unter Plünderungen litten.[62]

Sowohl unter den slowakischen als auch unter den slawonischen mittelalterlichen Paulinerklöstern gab es zahlreiche Klöster, die der Muttergottes gewidmet waren. Es gab sogar drei solche Klöster in der Slowakei und die Hälfte der slawonischen Klöster hatten Widmungen an die Selige Muttergottes.[63] Ich möchte besonders das slowakische Kloster von Marianka und das kroatische Remete hervorheben, die in der neuerer Zeit zu Marienkirchen, heiligen Stätten und Wallfahrtsorten herangewachsen sind.[64] Es geht dabei aber nicht um spezifische Gebiete, sondern es handelt sich um Kennzeichen des Paulinerordens, der die Muttergottes lobt und schätzt. Dies kann noch mit der Zeit des hl. Thomas von Aquin in Verbindung gebracht werden.[65]

Die meisten mittelalterlichen Paulinerklöster sind aber auch durch Ähnlichkeiten bezüglich ihrer Lage gekennzeichnet. Sie wurden gewöhnlich an hügeligen Gebieten errichtet, auf einer Anhöhe von etwa 200–300 Metern über dem Meeresspiegel, in Tälern zwischen den Bergen, in Wassernähe oder unweit von regionalen Fahrwegen. Sie befinden sich meistens außerhalb von Ansiedlungen, niemals aber mehr als eine Stunde Fußwegs von Ansiedlungen entfernt (etwa 3–5 Kilometer). Oft befanden sich neben den Klostermauern auch Fischteiche, die womöglich der Wasseraufbewahrung dienten. Die Größe der Klöster war den darin lebenden Mönchen angemessen.[66] Die Anzahl der Mönche konnte nach der Größe der heiligen Stätte der Klosterkirche bewertet werden, so dass im Einklang damit vier Klostergruppen unterschieden werden: die Klostergruppen für vier bis sechs, für etwa zwölf, 18 und 24 Mönche. Die meisten Klöster fielen der zweiten Gruppe zu.[67] Natürlich hingen die Klostergröße und die Anzahl der darin lebenden

[58] Cfr. Adamček, Josip: *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, p. 46; Dočkal, Kamilo: *Samostan Majke Božje Snježne u Kamenskom* (AHAZU); Kruhek, Milan: *Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana*, p. 74; Sekulić, Ante: *Pavlinski samostani u karlovačkom kraju*, pp. 79–101.

[59] Über die archäologischen Untersuchungen in: Azinović Bebek, Ana: Kamensko – pavlinski samostan. In: *Hrvatski arheološki glasnik*, a. 2, 2005, pp. 183–184; Eadem: Kamensko – pavlinski samostan. In: *Hrvatski arheološki glasnik*, a. 3, 2006, pp. 211–212; Azinović Bebek, Ana – Pleše, Tajana: Pavlinski samostan u Kamenskom. In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, a. 38, 2006, fasc. 1, pp. 174–181; Perkić, Domagoj: Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja u Kamenskom uz pavlinski samostan i crkvu Blažene Djevice Marije Snježne. In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, a. 30, 1998, fasc. 1, pp. 74–80.

[60] Cfr. Adamček, Josip: *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, p. 46; Kruhek, Milan: *Povijesno-topografski pregled pavlinskih samostana*, p. 72; Über die Klostergeschichte auch in: Szabo, Gjuro: Dobra kuća. In: *Vjesnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, a. 10, 1908–09, pp. 33–40; Dočkal, Kamilo: Samostan sv. Ane u Dobroj Kući (AHAZU); Idem: Srednjovjekovna naselja oko Dobre Kuće. In: *Starine*, a. 48, 1958, pp. 85–167; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije*, p. 35.

[61] Pleše, Tajana: *Arheološki kontekst srednjovjekovnih pavlinskih samostana*, pp. 204–208.

[62] Packa, Vojtech: *Die Pauliner im Gebiet der heutigen CSSR*, pp. 43–45.

[63] In der Slowakei: Trebišov, Marianka und Mariánska Čeľaď; In Kroatien: Dubica, Garić, Remete, Lepoglava und Kamensko.

[64] Packa, Vojtech: *Die Pauliner im Gebiet der heutigen CSSR*, p. 44; Barle, Janko: *Remete*, pp. 68–82.

[65] Sekulić, Ante: *Pregled povijesti pavlina*, p. 33; Imre, Maria: Die Marienfrömmigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner in der Neuzeit. In: *Studia claromontana*, a. 27, 2009, p. 491.

[66] Anfang 16. Jahrhunderts waren ungefähr einige Hunderte Pauliner tätig. Fülöpp-Romhanyi: *Die Pauliner in mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, p. 156.

[67] Ibidem, pp. 152–156.



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Pauliner auch von der Anzahl und der Größe der dazu gehörigen Klosterhöfe ab. Die Höfe bestanden meistens aus größeren oder kleineren Weinbergen, Obstgärten, Ackerfeldern, Fischteichen sowie Mühlen als wichtige Einnahmequellen.[68]

Wenn man die Wirtschaft der beiden ältesten Klöster des heutigen Kroatiens und der Slowakei (Garić und Horné Lefantovce) miteinander vergleicht, kann man feststellen, dass beide Klöster zu denen mit größeren Höfen gehörten, und dass sie außer den Landgebieten auch größere Geldsummen durch Erbschaften erhalten haben. Die meisten Einnahmen des Klosters Garić stammten aus der Vielzahl an Weinbergen, diese Tätigkeit war die grundlegende Erwerbstätigkeit der Mönche dieses Klosters.[69] Andererseits wird das Kloster von Horné Lefantovce mit einer Vielzahl an Mühlen (etwa zehn) in Verbindung gebracht, so dass die Mühlen die besten Einnahmequellen dieses Klosters dargestellt haben müssen. Außerdem war dieses Kloster auch in Besitz eines Sägewerks. Die Mühlen befanden sich hauptsächlich am Fluss Nitra, man kann aber schwer sagen, wie viele davon gleichzeitig in Betrieb waren. Auch das Kloster Garić besaß wahrscheinlich fünf Mühlen an den Flüssen Gračenica und Kutinica.[70] Aus den schriftlichen Quellen geht hervor, dass die Häupter beider Klöster mit ähnlichen Problemen in Bezug auf ihre Mühlen zu kämpfen hatten. Interessant ist, dass beide Klöster oft Streitigkeiten mit den Nachbarn der Gebiete hatten, auf denen sich die Mühlen befanden. Zu Streitigkeiten führten besonders neue Mühlen, die oft in der Nähe der Paulinermühlen von anderen Menschen gebaut wurden und die ordnungsgemäße Arbeit der Paulinermühlen gefährdeten. Ob es sich dabei wirklich um schlechte Standpunkte der neuen Konkurrenzmühlen handelte, oder ob man damit die Konkurrenz loswerden wollte, kann man nur mutmaßen.[71]

Das Besondere des Paulinerordens waren die guten Verbindungen zwischen einzelnen Klöstern und das kann man auch anhand der Aufnahme von Mönchen und ihren persönlichen Sachen bei Gefahren sehen. So wurden die Mönche aus Dubica in die Klöster Garić und Remete aufgenommen, als das dortige Kloster Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts durch die Osmanen gefährdet wurde.[72] In der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts suchten die Mönche aus dem Kloster von Garić mit ihren Sachen Zuflucht und fanden sie im Kloster in Lepoglava.[73] Auf diese Weise konnten beispielsweise über 500 Originaldokumente des mittelalterlichen Klosters Garić aufbewahrt werden.[74]

Aus verschiedenen Quellen geht auch hervor, dass Mönche vom Gebiet der heutigen südlichen Slowakei und aus Ungarn wegen osmanischer Angriffe (später auch wegen der Reformation) in die Klöster in Marianka und Horné Lefantovce geflüchtet sind. Obwohl der Stammsitz des Ordens aus Buda nach Lepoglava verlegt wurde, haben einige Ordensgeneräle den Orden von Marianka aus verwaltet,[75] und im 18. Jahrhundert, beziehungsweise im Jahr 1721, wurde das Kloster Marianka zum offiziellen Ordenssitz.[76]

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[68] Ibidem, p. 146; Idem: Unterschiede der Wirtschaftstätigkeit zwischen den ungarischen und den polnisch-schlesischen Paulinerklöstern im Mittelalter. In: *Studia claromontana*, a. 27, 2009, pp. 223–234; Idem: Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner im Spätmittelalter (15.–16. Jahrhundert). In: *Der Paulinerorden: Geschichte, Geist, Kultur*. Ed.: Gabor Sarbak. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010, pp. 130–199. Über die Klöster in Kroatien e. g. in: Adamček, Josip: *Pavlini i njihovi feudalni posjedi*, pp. 41–65; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije,* p. 24.

[69] Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije,* pp. 97–100.

[70] Verzeichnis der Mühlen im Besitz der Pauliner: Fülöpp-Romhanyi, Beatrix: *Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner*, pp. 189–193; Nach diesem Verzeichnis von Fülöpp-Romhányi besaß das Kloster Garić nur eine Mühle, aber Garić besaß doch wenigstens 5 Mühlen. Cfr. Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije,* pp. 82, 86, 88, 90, 98, 193–196. Auch in: *CDCr*, vol. 10. Ed.: Tadija Smičiklas. Zagreb, 1912, pp. 2–3, 591–592.; Ibidem, vol. 17. Ed.: Stjepan Gunjača. Zagreb, 1981, pp. 335–336.; DAP 3, 316, 318.; Malyusz, Elemer: *A szlavóniai*, dok. 77, a. 10, fasc. 1–2, 1932; dok. 263, a. 11, fasc. 1–2, 1933; *Monumenta historica Episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, vol. 5. Ed.: Andrija Lukinović. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost; Arhiv Hrvatske, 1992, p. 314, 315; Kroatisches Staatsarchiv, Pavlinski samostan Garić fasc. 5. nr. 98.

[71] Cfr. e. g. Fülöpp-Romhanyi, Beatrix: Die Wirtschaftstätigkeit der ungarischen Pauliner, pp. 130–199; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije,* pp. 102, 103, 106–106, 145; Auch cfr. e. g. HDA, Pavlinski samostan Garić, fasc. 4. nr. 11–18; Malyusz, Elemer: *A szlavóniai*, dok. 110–118, a. 10, fasc. 1–2, 1932.

[72] Ibidem, (Dubica, dok. 5), a. 8, pp. 68, 69, 1930; Cfr. auch Tkalčić, Ivan: *Pavlinski samostan u Dubici*, p. 202; Dočkal, Kamilo: *Samostan Blažene Djevice Marije u Dubici*, p. 89; Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije*, pp. 30, 169.

[73] Cfr. Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije*, pp. 172–175.

[74] Die Urkunden des Klosters Garić befinden sich im Kroatischen Staatsarchiv in Zagreb (Signatur HR-HDA-647) http://arhinet.arhiv.hr/_Generated/Pages/ArhivskeJedinice; Cfr. auch Pisk, Silvija: *Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije*, pp. 4–7.

[75] Der Generalprior Šimun Bratulić wurde 1593 in Marianka gewählt. Cfr. Packa, Vojtech: *Die Pauliner im Gebiet der heutigen CSSR*, p. 45.

[76] Ibidem, pp. 43–45.



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Es muss hervorgehoben werden, dass das Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei auch bei dem Versuch der Bergung von Reliquien des hl. Paulus von Theben genutzt wurde. Diese wurden bis zum Jahr 1526 im Ordenssitz, im Kloster des hl. Laurentius bei Buda aufbewahrt. Im Jahre 1526 wurde zwar das Kloster im Zuge osmanischer Angriffe vernichtet, jedoch wurden die Leichenreste des hl. Paulus von Theben rechtzeitig gerettet und nach Trenčín überführt, wo sie aber später doch bei einem Feuer in der Festung vernichtet wurden.[77]

Obwohl die Paulinerklöster in Slawonien, beziehungsweise im heutigen Kroatien, sogar mehr als hundert Jahre vor denen in der Slowakei entstanden sind, verweisen die Klosterwirtschaften, die Wahl der Patrone und die Schicksale einzelner Klöster auf viele Gemeinsamkeiten, unabhängig von der geografischen Lage. Leider wurden die meisten Paulinerklöster im Zuge osmanischer Angriffe vernichtet oder verfielen zur Reformationszeit und wurden später nicht wieder erneuert. Viele Klöster aber wurden auch erhalten, wie zum Beispiel die kroatischen Remete und Lepoglava oder die slowakischen in Horné Lefantovce und Marianka und spielten wichtige Rollen in der neueren Geschichte des Paulinerordens.

[77] Gyöngyösi, Gregorius: *Vitae fratrum*, cap. 35, 77, 78; cap. 87, 181, 182; Katona, Stephanus: *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis mixtae*, tom. 3, ordine 10. Budae: Typis Regiae Universitatis, 1790, 680–693.; Bence, Zoltán: *Das Kloster St. Lorenz bei Buda*, pp. 159–160, 163, 174; Engel, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephan, a History of Medieval Hungary*, pp. 171, 336.



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Neven Budak*

# Zaključak

Slovačka i Hrvatska sudjelovale su sedam stoljeća u zajedničkoj povijesti Ugarsko-hrvatskoga kraljevstva, na rubovima ove velike srednjoeuropske kraljevine čiju su sudbinu dijelile do 1918. godine. Brze i dramatične političke i društvene promjene u dvadesetom stoljeću izbrisale su sjećanje na ovo zajedništvo kako u Slovaka, tako i u Hrvata. Ipak, nakon što su prošla previranja kratkog dvadesetog stoljeća i nakon što su se obje zemlje našle ponovno ujedinjene u Europskoj uniji, oživjela je spoznaja da se pod velom povijesti mora skrivati golemo zajedničko nasljeđe. Napori pojedinih znanstvenika, najviše medievista i onih koji se bave ranim novim vijekom, otvorili su putove sustavnijem istraživanju društvenih i kulturnih fenomena zajedničkih objema nacijama. Napokon, postalo je očito da će biti nužno okupiti povjesničare zainteresirane za komparativni pristup razdoblju između devetog i osamnaestog stoljeća, kako bi se takva istraživanja potakla. Uvijek je važno i poticajno upoznati se s kolegama istraživačima i njihovim radom, pogotovo kada je organizacija konferencije tako sjajna kao što je to bio slučaj s ovom održanom u Bratislavi i Levoči. Važan aspekt ovog susreta bilo je i to što su mu nazočili ne samo slovački i hrvatski povjesničari, nego i oni iz nekoliko drugih zemalja (kao i iz drugih disciplina), čime je potaknuto stvaranje buduće mreže znanstvenika koji se zanimaju za uzbudljivu povijest Istočne srednje Europe u predmodernom dobu. Ova je knjiga, nadam se, sjajno svjedočanstvo ne samo o tom događaju, već i o dosadašnjim istraživanjima i primamljivim mogućnostima koje su pred nama.

Prilozi u ovom zborniku pokazuju da su društva u Slovačkoj i Hrvatskoj imala mnogo toga zajedničkog i da su se pripadnici plemstva, građani, pa čak i seljaci mogli osjećati ugodno krećući se od jednog kraja kraljevstva do drugoga, jer bi tamo nailazili na sličan okoliš, usprkos svim lokalnim posebnostima. Suvremeni povjesničari, osvrćući se na daleku prošlost, mogu se osjećati slično odluče li se napustiti na trenutak dobro poznato područje vlastite povijesti i pogledati bolje što se događalo na drugom kraju zemalja koje su pripadale Kruni sv. Stjepana. To je uzbudljiv pothvat i bili bismo sretni ako bi ovaj zbornik uvjerio i druge kolege da ga poduzmu. Sada je red na onima koji se bave modernim razdobljem da sagledaju slovačko – hrvatske paralele i veze poslije 1780.

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# Afterword

Slovakia and Croatia participated for seven centuries in the common history of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, on the fringes of this large Central European realm whose destiny they shared until 1918. The fast and dramatic political and social changes of the twentieth century eradicated the memory of this togetherness from the minds of both Slovaks and Croats. However, as the turmoils of the short twentieth century have passed and both countries have once again been joined in the European Union, the notion that there must be a huge common heritage hidden under the veils of history has been revived.

The efforts of individual scholars, mainly medievalists and early modernists, have opened up the way to more systematic research of social and cultural features shared by the two nations. Finally, it has become obvious that, in order to stimulate such research, it would be necessary to bring together historians interested in a comparative approach to the period between the ninth and the eighteenth centuries. Getting to know colleagues and becoming acquainted with their work is always important and stimulating, especially when the organization of a conference is so superb as was the case with the one that took place in Bratislava and Levoča. An important aspect of this meeting was that it was attended not only by Slovakian and Croatian historians, but also by colleagues from several other countries (and other disciplines as well), thus fostering a future network of scholars interested in the exciting history of East Central Europe in premodern times. The present volume is, hopefully, excellent evidence of the event itself, but also of the research done so far and of the tempting possibilities ahead of us.

The contributions to this volume show that societies in Slovakia and Croatia shared many common features and that members of the nobility, citizens, or even peasants could feel comfortable if moving from one part of the kingdom to the other because they would encounter a similar environment, in spite of local particularities. Modern-day historians, when looking back into the distant past, can feel much the same if they decide to leave the well-known area of their own history for a moment and take a better look at what was going on at the other side of the lands belonging to the Holy Crown of St. Stephen. This is a thrilling enterprise and we would be happy if this collection of papers would convince also other colleagues to take part in it . Now it is the turn of those dealing with the modern period to take a look at the Slovakian-Croatian parallels and connections after 1780.

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# SUPPLEMENTS

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# List of Abbreviations

## Zoznam skratiek / Popis kratica

a. = *annuus*
ca. = *circa*
cap. = *capitulum*
cat. = *catalogus*
cfr. = *confer*
col. = *columna*
deinde
e. g. = exempli gratia
et
et al. = *et alii*
etc. = *et cetera*
fasc. = *fasciculus*
fig. = *figura*
hic
ibidem
i. e. = *id est*
inv.-nr. = *inventarii numerus*
lin. = *linea*
nota
nr. = *numerus*
p. = *pagina*
pp. = *paginae*
sign. = *signatura*
tab. = *tabella*
vol. = *volumen/volumine*
vv. aa. = *varii auctore*

## Archives

ABÚ SK – Archív Biskupského úradu v Spišskej Kapitule
AGAD – Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie
AGAD, ASK-RK – Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego dz. 1 Rachunki Królewskie
ASpB HMSK – Archív Spišské biskupstvo. Fond Hodnoverné miesto Spišská kapitula
ASPO – Archivo di Stato di Prato
ASVE – Archivo di Stato di Venezia
DA – Državni archiv
DAZd, S2B, AR – Državni arhiv u Zadru, Spisi zadarskih bilježnika, Articutius de Riniguano
MOL – Magyar Országos Levéltár
MOL DF – Magyar Országos Levéltár. Diplomatikai Fénykép-gyűjtemény
MOL DL – Diplomatikai levéltár
DALO – Deržavnij archiv Zakarpatskoi oblasti
HAZU (JAZU) – Hrvatska (Jugoslavenska) akademija znanosti i umjetnosti
HMSK – Archív Spišského biskupstva, fond Hodnoverné miesto Spišská kapitula
KAZ – Kaptolski arhiv Zagreb
SNA – Slovenský národný archív
SNA HR – Slovenský národný archív, Urbár hradného panstva Červený kameň
SNA ÚPA – Slovenský národný archív, Ústredný archív rodu Pálffy
ŠA LE – Štátny archív Levoča
ŠA LE SASK – Štátny archív Levoča, Súkromný archív Spišskej Kapituly
ŠA LE SpP – Štátny archív Levoča, Spišské prepoštstvo

## Printed soureces

*AO – Anjou-kori okmánytár*
*AUO – Árpád-kori új okmánytár* [*Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*]
*CDCr – Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*
*CDAC – Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus* [*Árpád-kori új okmánytár*]
*CDHA – Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*
*CDP – Codex diplomaticus patrius*
*CDSl – Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*
*CD Zichy – Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő*
*DHA – Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima*
*DRH – Documenta Romaniae Historica C. Transilvania*
GVC – The Hypathian Codex: Part Two: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle



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*CHP – Chronica Hungaro-Polonica*

*DAP – Documenta artis Paulinorum*

*DRMH – Decreta Regni mediaevalis Hungariae*

*MSM – Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*

*MDE – Magyar diplomácziai emlékek az Anjou-korból*

*MES – Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*

*MGH – Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

*MGH A A – Monumenta Germaniae Historica*: *Auctorum Antiqvisimorum*

*MGH SRG – Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*

*MGH SRG in us. schol. – Monumenta Germaniae Historica*: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*

*MGH SRG NS – Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* : *Nova Series*

*MGH SRM – Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*

*MHEZ – Monumenta historica episcopatus Zagrabiensis*

*MHNC – Monumenta historica nobilis communitatis Turopolje olim "Campus Zagrabiensis" dictae*

*MMFH – Magnae Moraviae fontes Historici*

*Monumenta Vaticana – Monumenta Vaticana*

*MPH – Monumenta Poloniae Historica*

*MPH NS – Monumenta Poloniae Historica*: *Nova Series*

*PSRL – Polnoje sobraňje Russkich l'etopisej*

PVL – *Povesť vremennych let*

*SSrerHung – Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*

*SVT – Sopron vármegye története*

*Tripartitum – The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts Rendere by Stephen Werbőczy (The "Tripartitum")*

*VMH – Vetera Monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*

*ZsO – Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*

## Lexicons

*HBL – Hrvatski biografski leksikon*

*KMTL – Korai Magyar történety lexikon (9.–14. század)*

*Lexma – Lexikon des Mittelalters*

## Miscellaeneous

Cro. = Croatian

Germ. = Germanian

Hun. = Hungarian

Lat. = Latin

Pol. = Polish

Rom. = Romanian

Serb. = Serbian

Slov. = Slovak



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# Picture Credits

## Pôvod obrázkov / Popis ilustracija

### Book cover, Fly Leaf – End Leaf and pp. 7–8.

Martin Homza and Matúš Brilla according to the photos by Vladimír Olejník – Sarcophags of Emericus and Stephan Zápolya in the Cathedral of saint Martin (Spišská Kapitula).

### Ethnogenesis, Historiography, Hagiography

pp. 60–66 Nora Malinovská (Verešová)

Fig. 1: *The Gospel Book of Otto III*, c. 1000, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Manuscript Clm 4453. See – http://historyofinformation.com/images/gospels_of_otto_iii.jpg.

Fig. 2: Saint-Pierre-le-Jeune Protestant Church, Strasbourg.

pp. 85–96 Radu Mârza

Map 1: The Carpathian Basin (Rom. *Bazinul Carpatic*, Hun. *Kárpát-medence*, Germ. *Karpatenbogen*). http://www.boehmwanderkarten.de/kartographie/shading/ib_shading_karpatenbogen.html (accessed February 2012).

Map 2: The Unity of the Romanian Land. Cfr. Pascu Ştefan: *Făurirea statului naţional unitar român*, vol. 1. Bucureşti: Academiei R.S.R., 1983, p. 16.

Map 3: Romanian political units (9th–11th century). Cfr. *Atlas istoric*. Ed: Ştefan Pascu Virgil Arbore; Dumitru Berciu; Ion Cupşa, et al. Bucureşti: Didactică şi Pedagogică, 1971, map nr. 35.

Map 4: Transylvania between the 10th and 12th century Daicoviciu, Constantin; Ştefan, Pascu et Victor, Cheresteşiu et al. *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. 1. Bucureşti: Academiei R.P.R., 1960, map nr. 8.

Map 5: Romanian political units (12th–13th century). Cfr. *Atlas istoric*, map nr. 42.

Map 6: The Romanian Countries (mid 14th–mid 15th century. Cfr. *Atlas istoric*, map nr. 54.

Map 7: The Romanian Countries under Mihai Viteazul's rule (1600). Cfr. Pascu, Ştefan: *Făurirea statului naţional unitar român*, p. 42.

### High Nobility

pp. 162–172 Borislav Grgin and Ivan Botica

Map. 1: The map is created by the authors using Google Maps as a basis.

Fig. 1: Mirnik, Ivan: Zmajski Red u Hrvatskoj i Ugarskoj Heraldici. In: *Grb i Zastava*, a. 3, 2009, nr. 5, p. 6.

Fig. 2: MOL DL 82044; According to mould done by Branko Fučić.

Fig. 3: Radovánszky, Béla and Závodszky, Levente: *A Hédervárycsalád oklevéltára*, vol. 1, Budapest: Kiadó a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1909, nr. 189, p. 255.

Fig. 4: We thank to our colleague Hrvoje Kekez for helping us to draw the maps. We used Google Maps as a basis for this particular map.

pp. 179–194 Daniel Gahér and Suzana Miljan

Map 2: Engel Pál : *Magyarország a középkor végén*.

Fig. 5: Photo see – http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gelre_Folio_52v.jpg, edited by Daniel Gahér and Suzana Miljan.

Fig. 6: Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni, Historica Třeboň, sig. 50, inv.-nr. 54.

Fig. 7: MOL DL 3605.

Map 3: According to map done by Hrvoje Kekez.

pp. 195–204 Vedran Klaužer

Map 4: Engel Pál : *Magyarország a középkor végén* [CD-ROM]. Budapest : Térinfo Bt. and MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2001, sub voce megye.

Map 5: Ibidem, sub voce Abúj.

Map 6: Ibidem, sub voce Sáros.

Map 7: Ibidem, sub voce Trencsén.

Map 8: Ibidem, sub voce Fejér.

Map 9: Ibidem, sub voce Veszprém.



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pp. 258–266 Vladimir Peter Goss

Fig 1–24: The photos come of the Vladimir Peter Goss' and Vjekoslav Jukić's archival collection.

pp. 267–288 Magdaléna Janovská

Fig. 25, 28–31, 33–42, 44–47 and 51–54: The photos come of the author's archival collection.

Fig. 26 – 27: *A Hundred Stones from a lost Paradise*: *Romanesque Sculpture in Museum and Collections between the Sava and the Drava Rivers*. Ed.: Vladimir Peter Goss. Zagreb: Arheološki muzej, 2007, cat. nr. 74, 73, p. 91.

Fig. 32: Goss Vladimir Peter et Vjekoslav Jukić: Rural Romanesque and a Europe without Borders. The Case of St. Mark's Church in Vinica. In: *Hortus Artium Medievalium*. Zagreb: Motovun, 2008, vol. 14, p. 6, fig. 11.

Fig. 37 d: reproduced from the exposition of the Museum in Čazma.

Fig. 37 e: Rostás, Tibor: Három drávántúli emlék a 13. századból. In: *Építésztet a középkori, Dél – Magyarországon*. Ed.: Tibor Kollár. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010, p. 232, fig. 43.

Fig. 43: Photo see: www.terray.sk, Terray Miroslav: *Správa z GPR prieskumu v exteriéri Katedrály sv. Martina v Spišskej Kapitule*, Košice, 2013.

Fig. 48 a) : Plaček, Miroslav – Bóna, Martin: *Encyklópédia slovenských hradov*. Bratislava: Slovart, 2007, p. 203, fig. 280.

Fig. 49 b, c): Ibidem, p. 248, fig. 336, 335.

Fig. 50: Photo cfr. – http:// hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fájl:Bánd.jpg.

pp. 291–305 Ivan Gerát

Fig. 55: Photomontage Vladimír Plekanec and *Historia Scepusii* : *Dejiny Spiša*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin Homza a Stanisław A. Sroka. Bratislava – Kraków : Etc, 2009, p. 162.

Fig. 56: Photo Vladimír Plekanec and Archive of Ústav dejín umenia Slovenskej akadémie vied.

Fig. 57–58: Photos Ladislav Székely.

Fig. 59: Photo Vladimír Plekanec.

Fig. 60: Photo Ivan Gerát.

Fig. 61: Photo Archive of Ústav dejín umenia Slovenskej akadémie vied and Vladimír Plekanec.

Fig. 62: Photo Ladislav Székely.

Fig. 63–64: *Historia Scepusii* : *Dejiny Spiša* 1, p. 163.

Fig. 65–66: Photo Archive of Ústav dejín umenia Slovenskej akadémie vied.

Fig. 67: Photo Ivan Gerát.

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Fig. 68–73: Fig. The photos come of the athor's archival collection.

Map 1: Madas, Edit – Horváth, György Zoltán: *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról*. *San Ladislao d' Ungheria nella predicazione e nei dipinti murali*. Budapest : Romanika Kiadó, 2008.

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Fig. 74: Photo by the author, with the permission of the Budapesti Történeti Múzeum.

Fig. 75: a) Photo from the author's archival collection; b) Polla, Belo: *Bratislava, západné suburbium*. Bratislava: Slovenské Národné Múzeum, 1979, p. 149, fig. 80.5; c) Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*. Osijek : Muzej Slavonije, 2004, p. 255, cat. 536.

Fig. 76: a.1) Photo from the author's archival collection; a.2) Photo from the author's archival collection; a.3) Holl, Imre: Spätgotische ofenkacheln. In: *Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, a. 50, 1998, p. 196, fig. 51; b.1) Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, cat. 611; b.2) Ibidem, p. 257, cat. 539; b.3) Ibidem, p. 269, cat. 56; c) *Županija varaždinska u srednjem vijeku/Die Gespanschaft Varaždin im Mittelalter*. Varaždin : Tiva Tiskara, 1999, p. 54, cat. 110.

Fig. 77: a) Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 268, cat. 559; b) *Medieval Visegrád*: *Royal Castle, Palace, Town and Franciscan Friary*. Ed.: József Laszlovszky. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 1995, p. 141, fig. 167.

Fig. 78: a) Ilijanić, Mira: *Urbanizam Graditeljstvo Kultura. Zbornik radeva*. Varaždin: Gradski Muzej Varaždin, 1999, p. 263, fig. 1; b) Hackenbroch, Yvonne: Stove Tiles from Austria. In: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* a. 9, 1964, fig. 4.

Fig. 79: a) Photo from the author's archival collection; b) Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 296, cat. 622.

Fig. 80: a) Mašic, Boris: *Kasnogoticki pecnjaci s Nove Vesi*, p. 35, fig. 22; b) *Županija varaždinska*, p. 58, cat. 141; c) Stopar, Ivan: Poznogotske pecnice s celjskega obmocja. In: *Varstvo spomenikov,* a. 20, 1976, p. 199, fig. 5.



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Fig. 81: a) Radić, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 289, cat. 610; b) Prister, Lada: *Susedgrad ili nedovršena priča o jednom gradu. Katalog izložbe.* Zagreb : Hrvatski Povijesni Muzej, 1998, p. 39, fig. 20; c) Bregant, Tatjana: *Pecnice s Starega Gradu Celje.* Ljubljana – Celje : Filozofska Fakulteta v Ljubljani, 1984, cat. 17.

Fig. 82: a) Holl, Imre: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon, vol. 4. In: *Archeologiai Értesítő*, a. 117/1, 1990, p. 85, fig. 35; b) Ušiak, Peter: Formy na výrobu kachlíc z Banskej Bystrice a Slovenskej Ľupče. In: *Archaeologia historica*, a. 29, 2004, p. 626, fig. 7.1.

Fig. 83: a) Kémenes, Mónika: *Kályhacsempék Csik-, Gyergyó – és Kászonszékből 14.–18. század*. Kolozsvár : Entz Géza Foundation for Cultural History, 2005, p. 114, cat. 1, plate 8, fig. 3; b) Drawing from on-site presentation panels.

Fig. 84: a) Egyház-Jurovská, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice*: *Katalóg.* Bratislava: Slovenské Národné Múzeum – Archeologické Múzeum, 1993, cat. 121, fig. 21; b) Kahoutek, Jiří: Výzkum středověkých hradů v oblasti Vsetínských vrchů. In: *Archaeologia historica*, a. 16, 1991, p. 245, fig. 6.

## The Modern Age

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Fig. 1 – 2: Cetto Ignatius Fransciscus Xavierius: *Virtus coronata divi Ladislai I. Hungariae regis, inclytae nationis Hungaricae tutelaris, triginta novem orationibus panegyricis celebrata*. Viennae : Typis Andreae Heyinger, Univ. Typogr., 1693. (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Digital, www.bsb-muenchen.de).

Fig. 3: *Arcanum feliciter imperandi consilium, in Sacræ Hungariæ Corona redimito D. Ladislao per religionem feliciter gubernante, Inclytæ Nationis Hungaricæ Patrono, sub auspiciis augustissimis Apostolici in Corona Angelica Successoris, Leopoldi Romanorum Imperatoris, In Principe D. Stephani Proto-Martyris Basilica, coram Senatu Populoque Academico, Nomine Inclytæ Nationis Hungaricæ, Panegyrica Dictione Collaudatum Ab Illustrissimo ac Reverendissimo Oratore, Neo-Electi Hungariæ Palatini Filio*, Ladislao Ignatio Comite Esterhasi de Galantha, Perpetuo de Frakno & c. Præposito B. M. V. de Rator, AA. LL. & Phil. Magistro, SS. Theol. Auditore. Deferente R. P. Martino Czeles è Soc. Jesu, SS. Theol. Doctore, ejusdemque in Moralibus, & Controversijs Fidei Ordinario Professore, Inclytæ Nat. Hungar. p. t. Clarissimo Procuratore. Anno QVo LeopoLDo IMperante, HVngarIæ PaLatInVs SopronII InstaVratVr. Viennæ Austriæ : Typis Joannis Christophori Cosmerovij, Sac. Cæs. Majest. Typographi Aulici 1681.

Fig. 4.: *Calendarium Academicum Celeberimmæ et Antiquissimæ Universitatis Viennensis ad multos annos*. Vienæ Austriæ : apud Susannam Christinam, Matthæi Cosmerovij, Sac. Cæs. Majest. Typographi Aulici Viduam, 1693. (The depiction of St Ladislaus is inserted between pages 138 and 139).

Fig. 5: *Ungaricæ Sanctitatis Indicia, Sive Brevis quinquaginta quinque Sanctorum, Beatorum, ac Venerabilium Memoria Iconibus expressa, Qui Vel à Sede Apostolica, vel ab immemorabilis temporis communi populi consensu, vel Scriptorum probatorum Authoritate a Divi Stephani Primi Regis Tempore ex Ungaris, vel in Sanctorum Syllabum relati sunt, vel Sanctitate floruerunt. Editio Secunda, Priore auctior*. Tyrnaviæ: Typis Academicis per Leopoldum Berger, 1737. (The depiction of St Ladislaus can be found between pages 14 and 15).

Fig. 6: Tarnoczi, Stephanus (SJ): *Rex Admirabilis, Sive Vita S. Ladislai Regis Hungariæ Historico-Politica, Ad Christianam Eruditionem Elogijs Theo-Politicis Illustrata*. Viennæ Austriæ: Typis Joannis Christophori Cosmerovij, Sac. Cæs. Maj. Typographi Aulici, 1683. (University Library, Bratislava, shelf mark XVII G 2108. Left: frontispice, right: page 448.)

Fig. 7: Crosnensis Ruthenus, Paulus: *Panegyrici ad diuum Ladislaum Pannoniæ regem uictoriosissimum: & sanctum Stanislaum præsulem: ac martyrem Poloniæ gloriosissimum: & pleraque alia connexa carmina non sine magna suauitate condita*. Viennæ : Diligentia Ioannis Winterburger Viennensis impressum est impensis Hyeronimi doliarii de Libental, 1509.

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Fig. 8: Bell, Matthias: *Notitia Hvngariae Novae Historico-Geographica*: *Divisa In Partes Qvatvor, Qvarvm Prima, Hvngariam Cis-Danvbianam; Altera, Trans-Danubianam; Tertia, Cis-Tibiscanam; Qvarta, Trans-Tibiscanam: Vniuersim XLVIII. Comitatibus Designatam, Expromit* (…) *Tomus Secvndvs*. Maps and engraving: Samuel Mikovíni. Vienna: Paul Straub 1736, p. 171. Copy of the portrait of Johannes Pálfy come Ivan Mrva's archival collection.



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# Slovakia and Croatia
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