

STUDIES ON THE EARLIEST HUNGARIAN HISTORICAL SOURCES.

1. The Lives of St. Gerard.

I.

The Lives of St. Gerard contain some of the most interesting material extant in any form, not only on the history of Hungary in the 11th century, but on the missionary work and organisation of the Church during the same period. We can, however, only make use of this information to the extent to which we are satisfied of its authenticity and antiquity; and on that point, unfortunately, distinguished scholars have expressed grave doubts. The present essay constitutes an attempt to re-examine these disputed questions in the light of certain new considerations. It also suggests what effect the conclusions to which it arrives may have on the answers to be given to certain enigmas in Hungarian history.

The Life of St. Gerard has come down to us in two versions: a *Vita Minor*¹ and a *Vita Major*.² Of these, the *Vita Minor* is a comparatively straightforward piece of work. It mentions briefly Gerard's origin (c. 1); his arrival in Hungary and his detention there by St. Stephen, followed by his retirement for 7 years to the hermitage of Bél (c. 2); his appointment as bishop to Marosvár and foundation there of the Church of St. George (c. 3); the endowment of and ceremonials in that church (c. 4); details of the Saint's holy life (cc. 5—7); his sermon against Samuel Aba (cc. 8—9); his prophecies of coming trouble (c. 10); his martyrdom (c. 11); his subsequent reburial in Marosvár (c. 12) and canonisation under Ladislaus I (c. 13).

¹ *Acta Sanctorum Sept.* VI (Sept. 24th), pp. 722—4.

² Endlicher, *Monumenta Arpadiana* pp. 205 ff. There is also a series of *Lectiones* based on the *V. Minor* (Endlicher pp. 202—4).

All critics accept the *Vita Minor* as an old and authentic work. It must have been composed not before 1083, since it refers to St. Stephen and St. Gerard himself, who were canonised in that year, as saints. It is in any case prior to the 13th century, when the *Lectiones* based upon it were already in use; and Kaindl³ argues from the fact that it shows no acquaintance with the *Life of St. Stephen*, which was composed about 1100 A. D., that the *Vita Minor* was written at roughly the same time. St. Ladislaus, who was canonised in 1192, is mentioned at the very end, under the simple title of „rex”. This, again, is an indication of an early date, since the people held Ladislaus for a saint long before his official canonisation. It seems most probable that the *Vita* was composed during the episcopate of that Laurence, 5th Bishop of Marosvár after Gerard himself, who is mentioned in c. 12, i. e., at the end of the 11th century.

The *Vita Major* is a much more ambitious composition. It begins with an account of the Saint's parentage (c. 1). His father goes on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (c. 2). Gerard passes his youth in a Venetian monastery (c. 3). He is sent to study at Bologna University (c. 4). He is elected abbot (c. 5). He decides to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and his colleague Rasina persuades him to go via Hungary (c. 6). His friends Maurus of Pécs and Anastasius of Várad take him to Fehérvár, where Stephen promises to make him Bishop of Marosvár (Csanád) as soon as he has conquered that city from „his enemy Achtum” (c. 8). Stephen detains Gerard and makes him tutor to the young Emeric; he then spends 7 years in a hermitage at Bél (c. 9; cf. V. Mi. c. 2.). Achtum is defeated and slain, and the Greek Monastery of St. George founded at Oroszlán (c. 10). Gerard is recalled and made missionary-bishop (c. 11; cf. V. Mi. c. 3). Preachers from various districts go to Marosvár. The foundation of Oroszlán is retold. Gerard and his monks put up temporarily of the new monastery of St. George. C. 12 is a further account of the work of conversion and education, in which various monks take part, particularly one Magister Waltherus, who is in charge of the training of the neophytes at the monastery. Cc. 13—14 go back to the words of V. Mi. cc. 4—5, except that they regularly refer to the church and not the monastery. Cc. 14—17⁴ cover

³ Studien zu den ungarischen Geschichtsquellen, XIII (1902) p. 26.

⁴ In Endlicher's text there is no c. 16 or c. 18, while the first sentence of c. 19 belongs properly to the previous chapter.

the same ground as V. Mi. cc. 7—10, but with long independent passages. Against this, a long pious interlude in the V. Mi. c. 10 is omitted. There follows another short independent passage, after which comes in cc. 19—20 an account of Gerard's martyrdom, in which the account of the V. Mi. is worked into a different one, much of which is identical, word for word, with that given by the National Chronicle (B 81—4).⁵ In c. 21 comes a fuller account of the Saint's re-interment which, it is emphasised, takes place not in the Monastery of St. George, but in the Church of the Blessed Virgin. c. 22: miracles performed by the corpse; canonisation under St. Ladislaus; cf. V. Mi. c. 12. The V. Ma. gives Ladislaus his title of Saint. C. 23 is a postscript describing the extension of the monastery in 1361 by Elizabeth, widow of Charles of Anjou, and her death and burial in 1381.

The composition and authenticity of the V. Ma. are far more dubious than those of the shorter version. The editor of the Acta SS. described the additional material sweepingly as „plane ridicula et fabulosa”; it has been combined with the authentic Vita Minor, to give a result which is „prorsus monstrosa”.⁶ Kaindl, broadly speaking, agreed, and condemned whole-sale all the early chapters, and much of the later additional material. He thought, however, that c. 10, although interpolated in the 16th century, was itself an old and homogeneous story.⁷ The general view of commentators has, in fact, been to reject all material found in the V. Ma. for which authority cannot be adduced from elsewhere, e. g., from the V. Mi. or the National Chronicle.

From this view there has, in recent years, been one dissentient. M. Müller, in article appearing in 1913,⁸ believed the Achtum story to be the work of a contemporary; firstly on account of its vivid character, and secondly because of its mention of Greek monks, of whom, he said, a later writer would have known nothing; or if he had, he would not have mentioned them. Moreover, the centre of the V. Ma., covering cc. 8—23, must, he argued, be older than the V. Mi. itself, because on the 42 occasion on which the V. Ma., where it is independent of the V. Mi., mentions St. Stephen, it only twice calls him saint. In one of these

⁵ Under „B” will be understood here the text of the Chronicon Budense so described in the edition of Scriptores Rerum Hung.

⁶ op. cit. p 714.

⁷ op. cit.

⁸ A nagyobb Gellért-legenda forrásai és keletkezése: Századok, 1913. pp. 355ff, 419ff.

two passages (the beginning of c. 11) the text is practically identical with that of the V. Mi. while in the other (the beginning of c. 8) the name of the Blessed Virgin occurs, so that a copyist may easily have been led into inserting the epithet independently. So, too, the name of Emeric occurs twice, and only on the second occasion, where the text recalls that of the V. Mi., is the epithet „sanctus” used.

Hence Müller concluded that the passages in question had been composed at a date anterior to the canonisation of Ss. Stephen and Emeric, i. e., before 1083. He believed the author to have been either the Waltherus who figures so prominently in the narrative, or a friend of his.

Contrary to the usual belief, Müller thought that in these passages, which resemble extremely closely the corresponding passages in the V. Mi., the V. Mi. had epitomised the V. Ma. He therefore regarded this central portion of the V. Ma. as containing within itself the original Life of St. Gerard, as composed by a contemporary. The V. Mi. was an independent extract, made up shortly after 1083. The present text of the V. Ma. was the result of an attempt to re-combine this extract with the original. In the earlier portion, the author has tried to reconcile the two where they differed; in the latter, he took one version or the other.

The Achtum story in s. 10 formed a part of the Waltherus narrative. It could not, as Kaindl suggested, be a wholly independent story, because cross-references occur to it in other chapters (c. 8: donec debellabo Achtum inimicum meum; c. 11; c. 15; c. 22: que fuerat quondam de uxoribus Achtum). Cc. 1—3 were the work of a late editor in Venice; cc. 4—7 the result of that editor's working on the „Waltherus” story; c. 23, of course, a late addition.

He believed the author of the Waltherus story to have been also the original source of the account of Gerard's martyrdom in cc. 19—20. The compiler of the V. Ma. then took the story back from the Chronicle. The objection that if B. had known the text at all, he would have quoted more of it, he answered by adducing B' words in his c. 63 „ut acta ne agamus et exposita ne exponamus”.

Müller's article had hardly appeared when it was answered by Madzsar,⁹ who gave it very short shrift. As regards the

⁹ I. Madzsar, Szent Gellért nagyobb legendájáról: Századok, 1913. p. 502 ff.

Achtum story in c. 10, he argued that precisely this episode does *not* bear the marks of contemporary authorship. The tongue *motif* is clearly fabulous; it is a not uncommon legendary episode, occurring *inter alia* in the Tristram Saga. The Oroszlán dream is a familiar type of the onomastic derivation. Moreover, Madzsar denied that the fallure to call Stephen „Saint” meant anything, since in the passages in question he is hardly ever called by his name, but almost always by the title of „rex”, in which, according to Madzsar, the omission of the title „sanctus” means nothing. The Life of St. Stephen itself is not consistent in adding the title. It was, moreover, unfortunate for Müller that to prove that the V. Mi. had summarised the V. Ma. he had chosen precisely a passage (the story of the singing serving-maid in V. Mi. c. 7 V. Ma. c. 14) where Madzsar proved without difficulty that the V. Ma. had on the contrary, been combining two stories. In general, Madzsar objected to the theory of summarisation, that the name of Waltherus would not have been omitted. He thought the general picture of the early life of the Church too rosy; on the other hand, c. 15 hinted at abuses which, he thought, did not become current so early as the 11th Century. In short, the whole of the V. Ma., except where it drew on the V. Mi. or on old chronicles (as in cc. 19—20 and also in c. 10) was a work of pure imagination, not older than the 14th century.

It was unfortunate that Müller did not return to the charge. His theory was not properly thought out, and it is easy to prove that in certain passages he attributes to „Waltherus” material which must have had a different origin. Nevertheless, it is equally certain that he was in fact on the right lines. The V. Ma. is composed of many sources, which have been blended at different stages, and with varying degrees of completeness; but one of them, and a very important one, is certainly an extremely ancient one, and itself the source of the V. Mi. Our main task will be to segregate this source, and to determine its limits.

In company with all other critics, I make a free present to the 14th century of the last chapter, and also of the first three which, as Kaindl showed (and the editor of the Acta SS before him) contain numerous anachronisms. Another passage which is undoubtedly an addition from an entirely different source, is that describing Gerard’s martyrdom. The passage in question begins abruptly (c. 19) with the words „cum ergo”, in which

the word „ergo” is entirely out of place in its context. The essentially secular narrative which opens with these words runs, in my opinion, as far as the words „juxta Visegrád” in c. 21: the point up to which the verbal resemblances with the National Chronicle are close. During this passage, it is quite obvious that the compiler of the V. Ma. is combining two sources, one of which resembles the text of the V. Mi., the other, of B. (cc. 81—6). Thus according to the V. Mi., Gerard and his companions were going towards Alba (Székesfehérvár), presumably from Marosvár, when they were martyred. According to B, they were journeying *from* Alba to meet the new masters of Hungary. The V. Ma. adopts B's version, but adds a sentence, which is neither in that version nor in the V. Mi.: „qui convenerant ad Albam regalem cum multitudine Christianorum”, which thus explains away a difficulty which would not have arisen unless he had the text of the V. Mi. before him.

The V. Mi. makes the mob attack Gerard, pull him out of his carriage, and stone him. Meanwhile he prays, „Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do”, until killed by a thrust from a lance. According to B, he was stoned, to which he replied by making over his tormentors the sign of the cross. The mob then threw him out of his carriage, took him up to the top of a hill, and let him run down it in a heathen cart, after which he was stabbed by a lance and his head crushed with a stone. The V. Ma. follows B's version, but adds from the V. Mi. the additional detail of his prayer.

It is sufficiently obvious that the composition of this passage is as we have described it, viz., that the author of the V. Ma. has combined a version of the V. Mi. with a text resembling that of B. B cannot have copied from a source resembling the V. Ma. in its present form, or he would not have omitted precisely those few details which are to be traced to the V. Mi. Moreover, in no other passage does B show any knowledge of the V. Ma., or, for that matter, of the V. Mi. In one passage (B 83 = Kézai 56) he gives a little note on Gerard, and that contains one detail — that Gerard was „de Rosacio” which is precisely absent from either of the Vitae. In c. 75 = Kézai 49 he refers to the massacre initiated by Aba and Gerard's sermon, but again with details different from those of the Vitae. B mentions the number of victims — 50 — and the fact that they were slain unshriven, neither of which facts are in the Vitae, — while omitting the

manner of their death, given by the Vitae. Further, B implies that the massacre took place at Csanád, while the Vitae say that Aba came to Csanád afterwards. Nowhere else does B give any material at all contained in either of the Vitae. On the other hand, he gives in cc. 82 and 100 details intimately connected with the martyrdom, which are not in the Vitae.

But neither, as Kaindl justly remarked, can the V. Ma. have copied from B in its present form. This contains one detail — the disposition of the stone stained with Gerard's blood — which the V. Ma. could not have failed to reproduce, had it known it. Again, the details relating to the sermon against Aba are different. The complex argumentation adduced by Müller is quite unconvincing. He believes that the date of 1047 given for Gerard's martyrdom is derived from the statement in B 86 that Andrew's coronation took place in that year; but the sentence is obviously a late addition (it breaks the thread of the narrative, and contains an unique description of Gerard as „gloriosus martyr Christi"). Secondly, he says that the statement that the martyrdom occurred in the 11th year after Stephen's death is derived from the calculation in B 91 = Kézai 58. This is possible; but this calculation belong to a very old core of K's and B's work, and knowledge of it does not involve knowledge of B as a whole.

Fortunately, the dilemma which appears to confront us is not a real one. The view most widely held today of the composition of the National Chronicle is that all our versions of it derive from a single archetype, which closely resembles the text of B. In another essay I show that while it is true that all our existing texts go back to a lost archetype, the text of that original resembled, in general, that of Kézai much more closely than that of B. Large parts of B's text are quite clearly the result of interpolation of an archetype resembling K's text with additional material; and nowhere is this process more apparent than precisely in the passages dealing with the pagan reaction, in the course of which St. Gerard met his end. In the course of his story B actually quotes his own source: „antiqui libri de gestis Hungarorum". All our difficulties vanish if we draw the natural conclusion that both B and the author of the V. Ma. drew on the same lost source; B combining it with the archetype, and with other scraps of his own knowledge (including the sentence about the blood-stained stone), while the author of the V. Ma. combined it with a text resembling that of the V. Mi.

Before leaving this passage, we must point out that St. Stephen is mentioned in it twice, each time with the predicate of „Saint”, while Gerard himself appears under the following descriptions: sanctus Gerardus (4), beatus Gerardus (3), sanctus vir (1), gloriosus martyr (2). The name „Ungaria” occurs twice, „Ungari” once. „Pannonia” comes once, but in the sentence inserted from the V. Mi. This in itself, as we shall see, differentiates it from the bulk of the narrative.

It is, incidentally, fairly clear that this second source itself consists of two elements; the main body of the narrative, drawn from the „ancient books of the deeds of the Hungarians”, and comments by a later editor. The latter comprise the sentence „sicque gloriosus martyr... quadragesimo septimo” which, as we said, breaks the thread of the narrative, and the last two sentences of c. 20. These two passages, which contain the description (nowhere given elsewhere) of Gerard as „glorious martyr” are quite clearly reflections by some monk on the events the record of which he has transcribed.

So far the processes of the composition of the V. Ma. have been comparatively easy to follow; but we now come to much more difficult questions. One of the elements in the V. Ma. is quite obviously a text of the V. Mi.; but what text?

We today possess the V. Mi. only in a single, and late MS.; but some centuries ago, it was much more widely distributed. Wion of Flanders, who first published the Vita Major, tells us that he used three MSS, one of which was lent him by the Bishop of Torcella and two by the Prior of St. George's Monastery in Verona. These various MSS almost certainly displayed certain variations between one another; and it is essential for our understanding of the composition of the V. Ma. to realise that our present text of the V. Mi. cannot have been that used by the compiler of the V. Ma.; or if he used it, he also had at his disposal other MSS. of the V. Mi. containing variants of some importance. To take one obvious example, the V. Mi. printed in the Acta SS. contains a considerable passage in c. 10 (Novo signo... et Christi ejus) of which the V. Ma. has no trace. This is, perhaps, not very important; it is a mere pious reflection which any copyist may have felt himself authorised to add. Other passages are more important. I draw particular attention to the following passage in the V. Ma. c. 14, V. Mi. c. 7, in which the V. Ma. is indisputably following the text of a version of the V. Mi., but not of our MS. thereof; since it preserves words which

are not contained in our text, but must, from the context, have been in the original V. Mi.

V. Mi.

Quamvis episcopalem dignitatem nimia prudentia gubernaret, tamen heremum non deservit. Verum juxta urbes, ad quas praedicare veniebat, cellulam sibi silvarum secretiori loco construxerat, in qua ligatus pernoctasse multasque passiones sustinisse quae soli Deo sunt cognitae memoratur

V. Ma.

Quamvis autem episcopalem dignitatem magna prudentia gubernaret,

erat tamen ei magna sollicitudo pro comissa grege. Nam quociens aliquos filios suos, quos genuerat, beatus rex Stephanus virga equitatis pro scelere voluisset corripere, hos pater zelo pietatis ad miserecordie lacrimis defendebat.

Tempore quodam, cum pro cuiusdam defensione ad eundem regem properaret...

Accidit autem quodam tempore, ut pro defensione cuiusdam ad regem properaret...

It is obvious here that both texts have omitted something. The V. Mi. has kept the necessary antithesis between the Saint's private life and his public activities; on the other hand, the passage peculiar to the V. Ma. is necessary to the V. Mi., both to introduce what follows and to give meaning to the word „eundem” (which the V. Ma. perversely omits).

Thus the text which the V. Ma. used to interpolate his other material was not identical with that of the V. Mi. but a different version, in places, it may be, shorter (the pious reflection in c. 10 was probably not in it) and *in places undoubtedly fuller*.

We can, of course, only describe the characteristic peculiarities of the lost *V. Mi. on the basis of those of the existing V. Mi., but these are distinct enough, and Müller pointed the way, quite correctly, towards distinguishing them. The chief of them are these: 1. St. Stephen is regularly described with his saintly

prefix, 2. St. Gerard himself is, after c. 1, where he is introduced, never once mentioned by name, but is invariably described by some periphrase, e. g. „servus dei”; 3. he has an almost uncontrollable tendency to weep, even where the profane mind sees no particular occasion for tears; 4. Hungary is usually described as „Pannonia”; 5. ordinary proper names are never given.

If we take the chapters in the V. Ma. where it agrees with the V. Mi. (including, as we are already entitled to do, the short passage in c. 14 (erat ei... defendebat) we find the following:

St. Stephen is described as „beatus rex Stephanus” (Stephanus rex) 4 times: „sanctus rex Stephanus” once; „regem” once. The last-named passage is that in c. 14 which precedes the story of the singing woman, and we shall presently show that this is the exception which proves the rule.

St. Gerard is described as vir dei (4), servus dei (1), sanctus vir (1), sanctus pater (1), pater bonus (1), episcopus (1) and in c. 17 as beatus Gerhardus (1), beatus Gerhardus pontifex (1), episcopus (1). In the corresponding passages in the V. Mi. itself, the name beatus Gerhardus does not occur. We shall see presently that c. 17 occupies a somewhat special position.

St. Gerard weeps in c. 13 and c. 14, and is filled with remorse in c. 14. Hungary figures under the name of Pannonia three times, and its inhabitants once each as Pannonienses and Ungarorum generacio.

The V. Mi. itself does not even give the name of the king against whom Gerard preached his famous sermon, describing him only as „one of the Hungarian magnates”. Nor does it give the names of the bishops martyred with Gerard.

Now having recognised the existense of this lost V. Mi., we are surely entitled to assign to it the passages where these characteristics occur in very pronounced form. The most pronounced of these is the passage at the beginning of V. Ma. c. 19 cumque vir dei... ad martirium accessit. Two other passages are strongly probable on the same grounds: these being the second and fourth episodes of c. 15 (erat autem consuetudo... nunquam mutavit; quodam autem tempore... omnia evenerunt). It is possible that there may be other passages also.

We must now turn back to the V. Ma.

We have already segregated one source of the latter, with which the V. Mi. has nothing to do: the second account of the pagan rising and the Saint's martyrdom in cc. 19 and 20, with the

earliest sentences of c. 21. Cc. 1—3 and 23 may equally be set aside. The remainder calls for much more detailed consideration.

The heart of the V. Ma., as Müller quite justly remarked, consists of a series of chapters especially concerned with the organisation of the Diocese of Csanád, and in particular, with the work of the monk Waltherus. The passages in question contain very strongly marked stylistic peculiarities. These are most apparent in those parts of cc. 11—15 which are not taken from the V. Mi., to wit, c. 11 (after the first sentence), c. 12, the passage in c. 14 *admirans autem episcopus... quis posset tolerare*, and the first and third episodes of c. 15. All these quite obviously form part of a single narrative. In them, Gerard is referred to 22 times, always as „episcopus” (the people address him once as „pater sancte”, and St. Stephen as „homo dei”). St. Stephen himself figures 10 times, always as „rex”. The style is light, dry, flowing and humorous, and the narrative extremely vivid; we can hardly doubt that we have here the work of an eye-witness, or someone, at least, very closely connected with the events described. The use of the terms „episcopus” and „rex” makes it very strongly probable that the narrative was composed before the canonisation of the persons concerned.

But the most important point of all is, that this narrative was undoubtedly used as a source by the author of the *V. Mi., who, however, touched it up in the process and made it more pious. In the story of the singing serving-maid at the end of c. 4 *Madzsar* is quite right in saying that the Waltherus episode has been interpolated into the narrative of the V. Mi.; but it is equally certain that the V. Mi. itself was composed from a narrative the text of which closely resembled that of the V. Ma. This the author copied so faithfully as even to allow himself to describe St. Stephen as „rex”. He permits himself the same liberty at the beginning of his c. 3, which again answers closely to the opening of V. Ma. 11. Again, the second and fourth episodes of c. 14, which differ from the first and third only in their diction, were indubitably taken from this source, which may be described as the „Csanád narrative”.

In all these passages, then, we find a double relationship. The *V. Mi. is constituent of the V. Ma.; but part of the text which reappears in the V. Ma. was itself a constituent, and in fact the main original source, of the *V. Mi. The present text has certainly arisen out of a re-

collation of the *V. Mi. with a version (not necessarily quite identical with that used by our V. Ma.) of the original source.

We must now try to define the the limits of this source, both within the longer and the shorter text. It was certainly combined with some other material, even by the author of the *V. Mi.

One passage of the *V. Mi., taken over by the V. Ma., which does not belong to the Csanád Narrative, is the story of Gerard's sermon against Aba (V. Mi. cc. 8—9, V. Ma. c. 17), which is quite distinctive, both in tone and in diction. The event, wick was well-known and is told by the National Chronicle (K and B) also, although in a different connection and with different detail,¹⁰ is concerned, not with ecclesiastical organisation, but with secular history, on which the author of the Csanád Narrative does not, as a rule, feel himself called to dwell. Further, the wording is different: the V. Mi. describes Gerard once as „episcopus”, once as „pastor”, once as „pontifex”, and also refers to the other bishops as „pontifices”. The V. Ma. adds, twice, „beatus Gerhardus”.

The source is presumably some old lay Chronicle, and the episode was interpolated into the Csanád Narrative by the author of that original Life of Gerard from which the *V. Mi. was compiled. It is, indeed, clear that the original Csanád narrative ran from the words at the end of c. 15 „juxta propheciam ejus omnia evenerunt” straight on to the words at the end of c. 17, „nam et eidem genti, etc.” There are therefore no chronological difficulties; we need only date the prophecy back to the 6th year before the autbreak of the pagan reaction.

The Aba Sermon is, then, an early interpolation. The last episode in c. 15, the last sentence in c. 17 and the first in c. 19 of the V. Ma. are taken from the *V. Mi., which has in this case copied out the Csanád Narrative faithfully enough. The succeeding sentences of V. Ma. c. 19 stand on a rather different footing. As we said, they must come direct from the *V. Mi.; but the author of the V. Mi. has here not been copying the Csanád Narrative, but summarising it. This paragraph may be regarded as a summary by the author of the *V. Mi. of that part of the

¹⁰ For differences in detail, see above, p. 461. Further, the Chronicle makes the massacre occur in 1044, after Aba has discovered a conspiracy against his life, and just before his defeat and end. The Vitae put it before his coronation, and two full years before his fall.

Csanád Narrative which he did not desire to copy out in full. It corresponds well enough to those parts of cc. 12, 12 and 15 which are not elsewhere reproduced by the *V. Mi. This accounts for the reappearance of St. Stephen in this late connection.

Another, and even more important case of interpolation, is c. 10 of the V. Ma. — the famous episode of Achtum. Apart from its legendary traits rightly noted by Madzsar — traits from which the Csanád Narrative is absolutely free — it is written in a romantic, semi-Biblical style which is quite unlike that of the Csanád Narrative. Further, there are several unmistakable signs of interpolation. Thus, c. 10 says that Marosvár is to have its name changed to Csanád (urbs Chanadinus), while c. 11 goes back to the original name. Finally, Anonymus was acquainted with a version of the story of Achtum's greatness and his destruction at the hands of Csanád which, as we show later, was in places couched in the identical words of the present chapter; while he shows no knowledge whatever of any other part of the V. Ma.; least of all, of the Csanád Narrative.

Certainly, then, an old episode from a different source has here been worked into the narrative. The important point is to discover how far this extraneous material extended, and when it was incorporated.

Although we have hitherto assigned only cc. 11—15 as belonging quite indubitably to the Csanád Narrative, yet some of the marked characteristics of those chapters appear in other parts of the V. Ma. also; the common characters of Csanád, Waltherus, Maurus, Crato, etc.: the habitual reference to dignitaries of the Church by their titles, rather than their names; certain habits, such as the propensity of Chanad for feasting and of the characters in general for laughing and smiling; tricks of style, such as the use of the word „dominus” and of certain phrases, e. g. „subridens ait”, „respondit dicens”, or some equivalent thereof.

These characteristics begin to appear, rather faintly, in cc. 5 and 6. The hand of the late Venice expander may have been at work here; nevertheless, we have the frequent use of titles, and a „subridens”. In c. 7 Crato appears (cf. cc. 11, 12). Maurus of Pécs is described once as „dominus Maurus episcopus”, once as „Maurus”, 5 times as „episcopus”. „Respondit dicens” occurs twice. In c. 8 comes „respondit dicens” and the phrase „neophycam plantationem irriga”, which anticipates the „provincia exstitit

irrigata", „populus adhuc nove plantacionis existeret" and „neophiti" of c. 12. In the first sentence of this chapter, which is probably taken from the *V. Mi., Stephen figures as „beatus rex Stephanus", but thereafter regularly as „rex". C. 9 opens in the same tone, also introducing a figure — that of Conrad — who reappears in cc, 11, 12. The rest of the chapter is in part taken over from the *V. Mi., in part consists of late additions.

Now, it seems hard to doubt that a special connection exists between these chapters and cc. 11—15. As compared with cc. 1—3 or with cc. 19—20, the two groups appear to form almost a homogeneous whole; or even as compared with the Aba Sermon. It appears to me safe to say that if they are not by the hand which composed cc. 11—15, they are at least by some very early writer, intimately connected with the Diocese of Csanád, who combined them with the Csanád Narrative proper. They may even be by the author of cc. 11—15 himself, who would naturally write a little less vividly of things which he only knew by hearsay, than of events which happened in his own diocese, perhaps in his own presence.

The majority of cc. 21, 22 seems to belong to the same group, although we must allow here for the possibility of later additions. No one, however, reading these chapters can doubt that large parts of them derive from a source very close to the events described.

But these chapters contain certain cross-references to c. 10. In c. 8 we have anticipatory references to Achtum and to the „urbs Morisena"; c. 22 mentions a woman „que fuit quondam de uxoribus Achtum". And c. 10 itself, although parts of it differ sharply from the Csanád Narrative, resembles it in other parts. We have „rex Stephanus" once, „rex" 18 times; „addidit dicens", „stans dicensque", „enarravit dicens", „laudaverunt deum dicentes", „subridens ait", and a feast gives by Chanad, who plays an immensely important part here, as he does in the succeeding chapters. „Provincia Chanadensis" appears as a place-name both here and in c. 12.

Moreover, it is hardly too much to say that cc. 11 ff would be unintelligible without part at least of c. 10.

One is therefore force to conclude that the Life of St. Gerard on which the *V. Mi. was based contained a considerable amount, probably the whole, of the V. Ma. c. 10. This is admittedly not a homogeneous narrative from the pen of the Csanád Narrator;

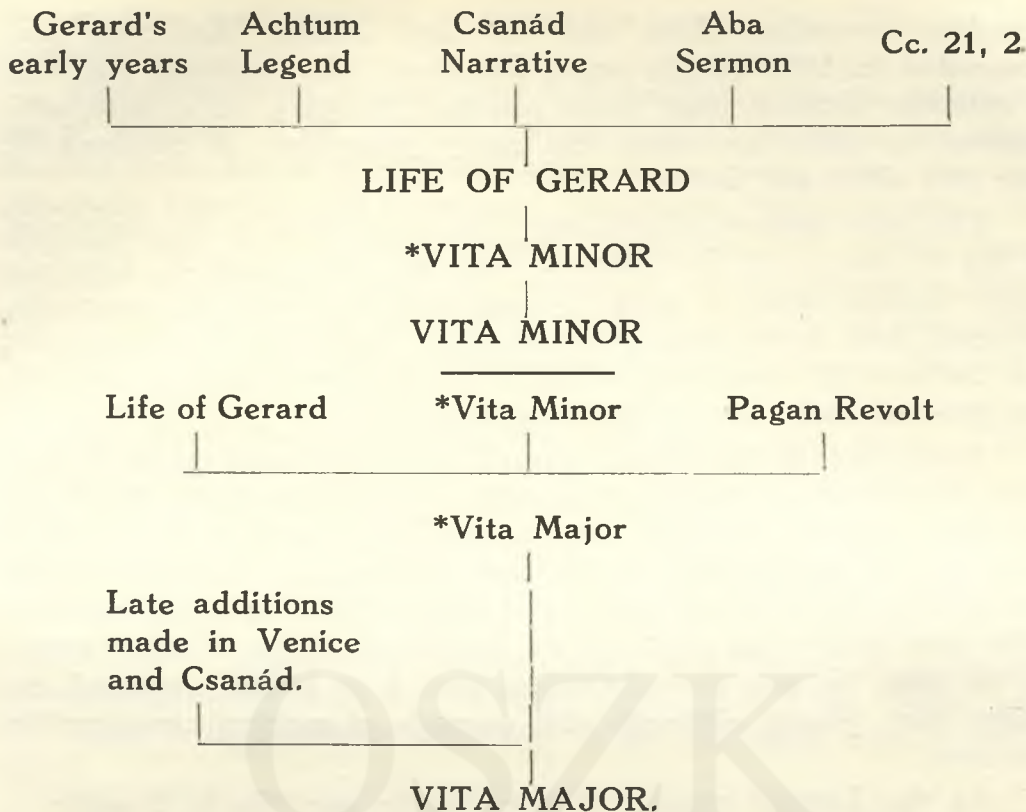
the author inserted the old Achtum Legend from another source. That this work was done somewhat later than the events which it described emerges from the fact that on two occasions the words „at that time” („in diebus illis”, „illis temporibus”) are used. But the legend must have been fitted in very early; it is combined with the rest of the chapter in careful and ingenious fashion, instead of being just slapped in the middle, like the Aba Sermon. Moreover, the Greek monks are spoken of as though still living and working at Oroszlán at the time of writing.

I see no difficulties in the fact that the V. Mi. does not mention the name of Achtum. The V. Mi. is a purely religious compilation, quite uninterested in secular affairs, and it has what amounts almost to a complex against personal names. Thus in the chapter dealing with the Aba sermon, it deliberately omits Aba's name, substituting the phrase „unus ex iis”. The opening words of c. 3 — „interim praefatus rex Stephanus, ut robustissimus Josuae, impietatem gentium delevit, crudelesque paganorum mores superavit” constitute what would, in the eyes of their author, have summarised the story of Achtum quite adequately. They would not be comprehensible unless the author had before him *some* account of victories won by St. Stephen over pagan adversaries.

Thus we must, I think, allow c. 10 also to have formed part of the Life of St. Gerard whence the *V. Mi. was drawn; while admitting that the author of the chapter worked into his text an old story of Achtum's destruction.

Cc. 21, 22 as I said, appear to me to belong, in the main, to the central core of the story, on which the *V. Mi. was based. The abundance of proper names and of vivid detail in them appears to me to indicate great antiquity; and the writer seems still to be not untouched by the emotions arising out of the dispute which he describes over the resting-place of the Sanit's bones. It seems to me likely that the chapters were composed, substantially as they stand in the V. Ma., towards the end of the XIth century. The words of the V. Mi. „ubi multae gratiae Catholicis viris emptae sunt, non tamen evidentiter usque ad tempora Ladislai regis”, summarise these chapters, their antiquity being indicated by their use of the simple term „rex” for St. Ladislaus appears in the V. Ma. with his saintly title, is due to the later transcriber.

On the basis of this analysis, then, the composition of the two Vitae would be as follows:



II.

If, however, this is correct, it follows that the order of events and chronology of the central portion of the V. Ma. are, broadly speaking, correct. We must therefore examine the objections which have been raised thereto.

According to the V. Ma., when Gerard arrived in Hungary, Maurus was Bishop of Pécs, and Anastasius abbot of the neighbouring Monastery of Pécsvárad. Both of these men had been among the early missionaries called into the country by Stephen.¹ Now, a certain number of authentic documents on the early organisation of the Hungarian Church exist. They are not numerous, but we know that the Bishopric of Pécs was founded in 1009, Bonipertus being the First Bishop.² The Abbey of Pécs-

¹ V. Ma. c. 7. Ait Anastasius abbas: auctore namque deo tempore huius venerabilis regis nos venientes in hoc regnum primi predicauimus populo verbum dei, et nunc licet immeriti, facti sumus tu episcopus, ego uero abbas.

² Fejér, Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae I.

várad is somewhat older, and its first Abbot, Ascherik, was succeeded in 1009 by his pupil, Boniface.³ If, therefore, the *Vita* is reliable, Gerard must have reached Hungary at a date subsequent to 1009, but when the early generation of missionaries was still alive and active.

The next episode which may give us a date is the statement in the *V. Ma. c. 9* that Gerard was for some time St. Emeric's tutor. Emeric died in 1031,⁴ young, but married; his marriage, however, had never been consummated.⁵ Some old breviaries say that he was 23 years old when he died; others, that he was 20, but none of these are in the least reliable.⁶

According to the *Vita*, Gerard spent 7 years as a hermit after relinquishing charge of Emeric. During this time, Stephen's campaign against Achtum was carried out, and at the end of this, Gerard was called to the See of Csanád. It is clear from the details which follow that he occupied this for some considerable time before the death of St. Stephen in 1038. When martyred, in 1046, he was already infirm and, it is to be presumed, no longer very young, although still capable of making considerable journeys.⁷

As the *Legend* stands, it is perfectly possible to imagine a very reasonable approximate chronology for these events. Gerard might have come to Hungary at any time, say, between 1015 and 1020; his tutorship of St. Emeric may have extended over any period from about 3 years upward; the war with Achtum may have occurred at any time in the late '20s or early '30s.

But there are two apparent difficulties. The *Annales Posonienses* definitely place the consecration of Gerard at 1036 and of Maurus at 1030.⁸ They further give the death of „Bompertus episcopus”, who should be identical with the first bishop of Pécs, as 1042. If all this is true, then the account of the *Vita* is false. I can, however, see no grounds for the reverence with which the *Annales Posonienses* are regarded by some writers. They are neither particularly old, nor notably accurate; their fragments of lay history, which can be checked, are often at least a year out.

³ H ó m a n, *Magyar Történet*. I, 198.

⁴ *Annales Hildesheimenses ad. ann. 1031*.

⁵ *Legenda S. Emerici c. 6*.

⁶ H ó m a n, *Szent Imre (Magyar Középkor p. 227)*.

⁷ *Vita Major, c. 20*.

⁸ *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricum I. 125*.

It would be most perverse to reject the story of the Vita on this evidence.

The second and greater crux is concerned with the personality of Achtum. It is indeed mysterious that we have no other account from any historical narrative of a person whom we can definitely identify with Achtum. Historians, being unwilling to imagine that each of the various Chronicles, etc. should have recorded an entirely different campaign of St. Stephen's, have therefore made efforts to identify Achtum with one or the other of the persons recorded elsewhere as falling victim to Stephen's military prowess.

The Hungarian Chronicles speak of three such wars. Very early in Stephen's reign — „jam pridem in adolescentia sua” — he is said to have defeated, slain and carved into four pieces his cousin and rival, Cupan of Somogy.⁹ Cupan was obviously an entirely different person from Achtum; but historians, including some of the most distinguished among them, have at times shown a tendency to connect the Achtum story with the other campaign or campaigns conducted by Stephen: those against the Gyula and the Kean. It is therefore necessary to go into their case in more detail.

The National Chronicle makes „Gyula” the third of the „Captains” who conquered Hungary. Kézai's version simply says that „although he entered with the others into Pannonia” (a name which, in the phraseology of the Chronicles, does not mean Hungary west of the Danube, but the whole of Hungary proper), „he settled eventually in Transylvania”.¹⁰ The fuller texts of the Chronicle say that Gyula was „a great and powerful prince, who while hunting found a great city, built long ago by the Romans, in Transylvania” (obviously a reference to the city later named Gyulafehérvár). He had a beautiful daughter named Sarolta, who became Prince Géza's wife. Finally, the third Gyula after the „Captain” was transported to Pannonia by St. Stephen on account of the many vexations which he inflicted upon the Hungarians inhabiting Pannonia.¹¹

Both versions of the Chronicle repeat elsewhere that Stephen transported his uncle (avunculus; Cod. Sambucus, proavunculus) Gyula, with his wife and two sons, from Transylvania into

⁹ K. 43, B. 64.

¹⁰ K. 29.

¹¹ B. 30.

Pannonia, and annexed Pannonia.¹² The fuller versions add the date, 1002 A. D. This is a certainly taken from the *Annales Altahenses*, which (borrowing in its turn from the *Ann. Hildesheimenses*) gives the episode in the same words, except that it puts the event a year later. Both versions go on to relate a war waged against the „Kean, ruler of the Bulgars and Slavs”, from whom Stephen acquired great wealth of gold and precious stones; this Stephen used to endow his church at Székesfehérvár. Kézai only summarises this chapter; the other versions give it much more fully, while adding certain further information relating to Transylvania; Stephen entrusted the government of Transylvania to an aged relative of his, named Zoltán, to whom he wished to do a good turn. This is obviously an additional note, from a different source, which was probably first written in the margin, or between the lines; at all events, it has got out of place, and the author of B. has, in consequence, somewhat confused the properties of the Kean and the Gyula.¹³

Anon. does not give Gyula as one of his 7 Principle Persons; but he does include among them Tuhutum, father of Horca, who conquers Transylvania, which his descendants hold until the time of St. Stephen, who disposes them owing to their unruly conduct. He adds a genealogy; Horca begat Geula and Zubor; Geula had two daughters, Caroldu and Saroltu, of whom the latter was St. Stephen's mother; Zumbor was the father of the „lesser Geula” dispossessed and taken captive by Stephen.¹⁴

Both of these Gyulas are well authenticated from outside sources. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, who quite rightly notes that Gyula is a title and not a name, says that it is the title of the second dignitary in the Hungarian State¹⁵ and refers to a visit recently payed to Constantinople by the Gyula of his day, who must, by the dates, be Stephen's grandfather and the discoverer of Gyulafehérvár. Skylitzes¹⁶ (and following him Zonaras) also mention the visit, which must have taken place in 948 or soon

¹² K. 43, B. 65.

¹³ The Zoltán story is inserted awkwardly into the middle of the other; and towards the end of the chapter the name Gyula occurs where that of Kean would obviously be in place.

¹⁴ Anon. c. 27.

¹⁵ De Administrando Imperio c. 40.

¹⁶ Cedrenus ed. Bonn II, 631. A careful collation of the text is given by G. Moravcsik, *Görögnyelvű monostorok Szent István korában* (Szent István-Emlékkönyv. Budapest, 1938. p. 392).

after.¹⁷ The Gyula then embraced the Christian faith (the Orthodox branch thereof), in which he remained firm; taking back a monk with him as Bishop of Hungary, and making many converts. The *Annales Altahenses* and *Hildesheimenses*, as we said, record the downfall of the younger Gyula ad ann. 1003, adding that Stephen then converted his (the Gyula's) kingdom to Christianity. The Chronicist Thietmar has some details, not all very complimentary, about Sarolta.¹⁸

If, then, we can attach any credence at all to our sources, we are safe in concluding the following: that the elder Gyula occupied Transylvania. He also visited Constantinople and accepted Christianity. The younger Gyula — probably his nephew — (we have no record of the intermediate holder of the title) was attacked by Stephen in 1003 and interned in Inner Hungary on account of his rebellious and anti-Christian activities.

The war against the Kean is also authenticated. The Kean can hardly be other than the contemporary Tsar Samuel of Bulgaria. An old and clearly authentic document, the *Fundatio Eccl. S. Alb. Namucensis*, mentions that the Emperor of Constantinople, being engaged in war with „barbarians”, called in the help of St. Stephen. with whose aid he captured a city called „Cesaria”. Now, the Emperor Basil II was engaged during a large part of his reign in a war against Samuel of Bulgaria; and F e h é r¹⁹ has shown a strong probability that „Cesaria” is to be identified with Skoplje, which Basil took in 1004. The war against the Kean must, then, refer to this campaign. It is to be noted that Basil took Vidin a few weeks earlier in the same year.

We must be grateful to F e h é r for his excellent reasoning in respect of Cesarea; but he follows it up with a very curious piece of argumentation. He rightly points out the connection between the Achtum story in the *V. Ma.* and Anonymus' account of Ajtony (clearly the same person as Achtum). Anon. does not bring Ajtony himself into his story of the Conquest, but he does bring in his alleged ancestor, Glad, on whom much of the Ajtony story is then hung. In c. 11, which enumerates the peoples found in Hungary by the invading Magyars, we read: „Terram vero, que

¹⁷ M o r a v c s i k, op. cit. pp. 396—7; M a c a r t n e y, *The Magyars in the 9th Century* (Cambridge, 1930. p. 116).

¹⁸ Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VIII, 3.

¹⁹ *Ungarisch-Bulgarische Beziehungen in den V—XI. Jahrhunderten: Keleti Szemle XIX, 2, pp. 152—5.*

est a fluvio Mors (Maros) usque ad castrum Urschia (Orsova) preoccupavisset quidam dux nomine Glad de Bundyn (Vidin) castro egressus adiutorio Cumanorum, ex cuius progenie..." (follows a summary of the defeat of Ajtony by Csanád).

In c. 44 Zuard and Cadusa ask leave of Árpád to do battle against Glad, „qui dominium habebat a fluvio Morus usque ad castrum Horom”.²⁰ They cross the Maros and reach the Temes, where Glad comes out against them „cum magno exercitu equitum et peditum adiutorio Cumanorum et Bulgarorum atque Blacorum". He is defeated after a fierce battle in which „duo duces Cumanorum et tres kenezy Cumanorum" fall and himself escapes to a „castrum Keuee", where he surrenders. The paladins afterwards take Orsova and enter Greece, where they conquer Macedonia.

F e h é r quite rightly remarks that the story of Glad is really, in the main, a reproduction of that of Ajtony, but he goes on to the entirely unwarranted assumption that Anon. „held Glad himself to be a Bulgarian”.²¹ On the strength of this completely personal idea, he rejects the statement of the V. Ma. that Achtum „received his authority from the Greeks", as anachronistic and makes him, instead, into an ally of the Bulgars. Following this up by the equally incorrect statement that the Hungarian National Chronical (Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense) mentions a war by St. Stephen against Ajtony after his war against the Gyula and before that against the Kean²² (whereas the Chronicon Pictum never mentions Ajtony at all), he puts the Ajtony-Achtum campaign back in 1003 which would, of course, if correct, mean throwing overboard the greater part of the V. Ma.

As the entire premises on which this theory is built up are demonstrably false, we need not, perhaps, linger further over it. We must, however, discuss more fully the other theory, or theories advanced by Professor H ó m a n, since that author's great learning and authority cause his views to be accepted by all historians who have not the time to think the questions out for themselves.

Hóman identifies the Gyula with Achtum-Ajtony. In an

²⁰ According to the Scr. R. H. I. 89, n. 6, on the site of the present Palánk, near Fehértemplom (= Weißkirchen).

²¹ Op. cit. p. 148.

²² Id. p. 155.

early essay²³ he argued in favour of this supposition on the following grounds:

Kézai tells us that the Gyula first settled in Inner Hungary, afterwards moving to Transylvania. The fuller Chronicles contain a reference to a 13th Century family in which the name of Gyula was current.²⁴ Anon.'s story also goes to show that Transylvania was not conquered immediately on the entry of the Magyars into Hungary; but he makes Tuhutum enter it by the valley of the Szamos. All that the common source of Anon. and the Chronicle can have known was, according to Hóman, *a)* that Gyula was one of the Seven Captains, and *b)*, that Stephen conquered and deported a Gyula from Transylvania. Neither Anon. nor the author of the Chronicle knew what part of Transylvania; and they located the possessions of the Gyula according to the conditions of their own day: Anon. placing them in the valley of the Szamos, where the Gyula-Zsombor family had its seat, the Chronicle, round the residence of the Kan family, to which the various thirteenth century Ladislaus' and Gyulas belonged.

The conquest of Transylvania was not carried out by the original Gyula, but by a second bearer of that title, St. Stephen's grandfather. But he must first have had other possessions. Hóman now turns to the story of Skylitzes, of how the Gyula visited Constantinople and entered into political and religious relations with the Empire. This, he says, could only have had a purpose for the Empire if the Gyula's lands had adjoined Bulgarian territory. Moreover, the Gyula accepted Christianity, and spread it among his people. But traces of the Greek persuasion, are later found in Achtum's domains, and nowhere else. These also adjoined Bulgaria. Therefore the Gyula's territory, in the middle of the 10th century, is identical with Achtum's, at the beginning of the 11th. Ajtony was, in fact, the last Gyula.

In the essay summarised above, Hóman appears to date the Bulgarian campaign against the Kean at about 1018, and suggests that Stephen „was given a free hand against Ajtony, who had previously been under Greek protection” as price for

²³ A honfoglaló törzsek megletelepedése. Originally printed in „Turul”, 1912. Reprinted Magyar Középkor, pp. 63ff. I quote from the latter, more easily accessible edition.

²⁴ B. 39. Tertius vero capitaneus Gyula fuit, unde Gyula filius Ladizlai derivatur. This famous family produced three Gyulas, sons of various Ladislaus', in the 13th Century. Hóman, op. cit., p. 192 (where genealogy is given).

his help against Bulgaria.²⁵ He does, indeed, mention the awkward fact that the *Annales Hildesheimenses* date the campaign against the Gyula at 1003; but does not dwell upon it, or attempt to explain it away. By this somewhat drastic method he is able to accept, in broad outline, the chronology of the V. Ma. (although at the price of setting St. Emeric's birth back to an unprecedentedly early date). In his later work, however,²⁶ he accepts the dating of the Annals, as also the revised dating of the Bulgarian war, but maintains the identification of the Gyula with Achtum. And if this is accepted as correct, then practically the whole Life of St. Gerard has to go. Not only is it, of course, quite impossible for Gerard to have had the past history ascribed to him in both versions before his appointment to the See of Csanád; but there are serious incompatibilities even within c. 10 of the V. Ma. itself. For the very beginning of this chapter, which is certainly of very old date, says that Achtum „accepted his power from the Greeks”, and „was baptised in Vidin”. Now, the Emperor Basil took Vidin only in the autumn of 1004. It is therefore clear that if c. 10 is worthy of any credence, it must refer to a period subsequent and what is more, subsequent by some years, (to give Achtum time to build the monastery of Marosvár), to 1004. But the Gyula was already defeated in 1003.

We must therefore consider whether H ó m a n's arguments in favour of the identification are indeed so strong as to force us to discard the whole general course of events as described in both the V. Ma. and the V. Mi. (for both alike make Gerard arrive in Hungary and spend some years in waiting before Stephen defeats his enemies and gives Gerard the job of organising the diocese of Csanád).

I admit that I cannot find them very convincing. It may be true that Anon. places Tuhutum's conquests in a different part of Transylvania from that indicated by B's reference to Gyulafehérvár and to the domains of the Ladislaus-Gyula family of the 13th century. But both versions speak quite definitely of Transylvania; B clinches the matter by his little anecdote of „Erdélyi Zoltán” whom, he says, Stephen wished to place „super gentes opulentas”. This seems a clear reference to the gold-bearing rivers of Transylvania, to which the previous chapter had alluded, and to indicate that Zoltán's principality included the chief gold-washing areas.

²⁵ Op. cit. p. 107.

²⁶ Magyar Történet, I, pp. 178—9.

But the description in the V. Ma. c. 10 of Achtum's dominions²⁷ indicates clearly enough that Transylvania lay outside them.

Further, we are told that Achtum set up customs barriers and levied toll on the King's salt which was brought down the Maros. But this, of course, implies that the salt-mines further up the Maros belonged to the King of Hungary. In any case, the war against Achtum is conducted down in the plain, where also his capital is situated.

The domain of the last Gyula and that of Achtum are thus undoubtedly different, although probably they were contiguous. Nor is it correct that „it is on the territory afterwards found in Achtum's possession, and there only, that we find traces of Greek Christianity". The traces of Greek culture and Greek religion in early Hungary are not inconsiderable in number;²⁸ nor are we justified in sweeping aside the statement of the V. Ma. that it was Achtum himself who founded the Monastery of Oroszlán. Neither, for that matter, does there seem much in the argument that an alliance between Constantinople and the Gyula would only have a point if the latter's territory was contiguous with that of the Bulgars. In the first place, the actual alliance, or truce, was not concluded with the Gyula at all, but with the Karchas, or third dignitary of the Hungarian realm; who, however was accompanied on his mission by a young prince of the house of Árpád.²⁹ The Gyula's appears to have been an independent action. His own motives are apparent enough. If he was not attracted by the Christian religion, the dignity of patrician and the rich gifts conferred on the Karchas would have been ample reason for him to undertake the journey; and the Emperor could not well refuse to the second dignitary of the land what he had granted to the third.

Finally, there is no reason to assume any particularly close connection between the Gyula and Kean. The Chronicles recount the one campaign as having been undertaken immediately after the other; but post hoc is not necessarily propter hoc. The refer-

²⁷ *Serviebat namque eodem viro terra a fluvio Keres usque ad partes Transylvanias, et usque in Budin et Zeren, que omnia sub sua concluderat potestate.* Of these, the Körös certainly lay outside his domains, or at best formed their extreme frontier, according to Anon.'s ideas. Budin (Vidin) was Greek; Zeren (Szörény) seems in this period regularly to have belonged to the territory lying east of it.

²⁸ Moravcsik, op. cit.

²⁹ Constantine, *De Administrando Imperio* c. 40.

ence in B. to another Kan is altogether too obscure to allow us to build upon it. We are told that Géza married Sarolta, the first Gyula's beautiful daughter, „on the advice and with the help of Beliud, who had inherited Kulan's land". There follows an explanatory note to the effect that Kulan had given his daughter in marriage (and thus made him his heir) in return for help against „his brother Kean" (ut contra fratrem suam Kean debellaret). So obscure is the Latin, that we cannot even be sure whether Kean was Beliud's brother, or Kulan's; and as we have no notion who either of them was, we shall never be able to decide this question. But the connection with the Gyula family does not seem a close one; and considering that „Kean" is no more than the ordinary word „Kagan", regularly used by all the Turkish-speaking peoples to denote their chiefs, there is no particular reason to assume any connection between the Kean attacked by Beliud and Kulan, and the later enemy of St. Stephen.

There is another point which seems to me to constitute strong evidence of the reliability (speaking broadly, and admitting the addition of legendary touches) of the V. Ma. c. 10. The hero of this story is Csanád, who according to Anon. was a relative of Stephen's own (nepos regis) and son of a certain Dobuca.³⁰ He had been Achtum's commander in chief, but deserted from him to Stephen's camp.³¹ The V. Ma. also speaks of a companion of arms of Csanád's named Gyula. According to H ó m a n, the name of Gyula came into the story because the people remembered vaguely that a Gyula was connected with the business; did not realise that he was identical with Achtum (the one being the title, the other the personal name) and so brought him in as a separate person.³² It is, however, surely more probable that both Csanád and perhaps this Gyula also were members of the family connected by marriage with St. Stephen; perhaps members of a cadet branch, who had taken service with the neighbouring prince.

According to some theories — e. g., that of Melich³³ — there would be another difficulty in supposing Achtum-Ajtony to be the personal name of the Gyula; since we have another candidate for that position in the person of the Proci senior, an „avunculus" of St. Stephen's, who, Thietmar tells us, was expelled

³⁰ Anon. c. 11.

³¹ V. Ma. c. 10.

³² H ó m a n, op. cit. p. 108.

³³ A honfoglaláskori Magyarország, p. 253.

from his estates by Stephen, given back his wife (since he was unable to ransom her) and afterwards made warden of a frontier fortress by Boleslav of Poland.³⁴ I do not, however, lay weight on this point, since that circumstances of the careers of the Gyula and of Procuï seem to have been very different; Anon. tells us specifically that the former was kept in prison all his life. We may as well face the fact that Stephen had a very large number of relatives, and began his reign with something like a round-up of them.

The letter written by Bruno on 1006, where he says that he has heard „that all the Black Hungarians have been converted to Christianity”³⁵ of course proves nothing as to the identity or otherwise of Achtum and the Gyula. Müller's combinations in respect of this question rest on far too slender foundations to be in the least convincing.

It can, I think, in any case be fairly stated that neither Hóman's nor Fehér's arguments give us any cause to doubt the substantial accuracy of the story as told in the V. Ma. We may admit, that is, that c. 10 contains legendary details, and represents the fall of Achtum in the form taken by the story some half century after the event; but there is no reason whatever to doubt that Gerard did spend some years in Hungary before his consecration, and was then consecrated Bishop of Csanád after St. Stephen had successfully made war against a local „king” of the name of Achtum or Ajtony.

Thus the story as it is given in the V. Ma. (deducting its late beginning and end, and allowing for possible smaller interpolations also by a late hand) is freely to be accepted. The Achtum story contains certain legendary elements; but even this chapter is not only very old, but was also incorporated at a very early date into the narrative. It is impossible to say when the alternative account of the martyrdom was interpolated; but this point is not of great importance, since the antiquity and authenticity of this narrative are universally accepted. The „Csanád Narrative”, from which the bulk of the V. Mi., and hence of the V. Ma. is drawn, is almost if not quite contemporary with the events which it describes. It is not only absolutely reliable, but it throws a

³⁴ Thietmar Chron. VIII. 3.

³⁵ Bruno Querfurtensis, Epistola ad Henricum II. Imperatorem.

most invaluable light early conditions, both ecclesiastical and lay, in Hungary.³⁶

III.

I may perhaps suggest here my own theory as to the identity of Achtum. Long ago I pointed out the fact — which has also struck Hóman³⁷ — that the description of the Magyar territory given by Constantine Porphyrogenetos covers precisely those areas of Hungary which are not given by any version of the National Chronicle as settled by Magyars.³⁸ Constantine lists certain „monuments and names” along the Danube: Trajan’s Bridge, Belgrade, Sirmium; and goes on:

„But what is above this, where is the whole settlement of the Turks, they now call after the names of the rivers flowing there First river, the Temes; second river, Tut(?); third river, the Maros; fourth, the Kőrös; and again, another river, the Theiss.”³⁹

In other words, we have an excellent description of the later Banat and the southern half of what is now called the Tiszántúl, or the land between the Theiss and the Transylvanian mountains. All versions of the Hungarian Chronicle, on the other hand, people with their heroes the land west of the Danube, the plain

³⁶ It is unnecessary here to criticise in detail M. Beliczky’s essay (A törzsfői hatalom elsorvadása és a fejedelmi hatalom kialakulása) in the „Emlékkönyv” issued in 1938 in honour of St. Stephen, since the author does not go into the question of the composition of the Vita, and accepts its broad lines as correct. He appears to combine part of M. Fehér’s theories with some from other sources: to suppose that Ajtony was allied with the Bulgarian Tsar because he was christened in Vidin, but afterwards allied with Constantinople, and conquered about 1019. I can see no particular reason for the former supposition, although it appears to me unnecessary. I can see no force in M. Beliczky’s argument that Ajtony „must have been a Magyar, because his family still possessed estates on the Lower Maros in the 14th Century” (op. cit. p. 589). Even if the evidence of place-names adduced proved that the family did possess such estates, this would be no proof whatever that Ajtony was a Magyar, rather than a Kavar or a Petcheneg or other „guest”. In his remarks about the Kean, M. Beliczky, like M. Melich, is misled by his failure to understand that the sentence „et locavit... gentes opulentas” in B. 66 has been interpolated, and the name of Kean changed to that of Gyula in error in the sentence beginning „et quia pecunia”. Thus the impossible conclusion is reached that the Kean lived in Transylvania.

³⁷ op. cit. p. 69.

³⁸ The Magyars in the Ninth Century, pp. 120ff.

³⁹ De Administrando Imperio c. 40.

east of Pozsony (Pressburg), the southern slopes of the Mátra and the Eastern Carpathians, and Transylvania. One tribe of what Anonymus calls „Cumans” settled with headquarters at Csongrád, a little to the north of the territory described by Constantine;⁴⁰ but that area itself is represented by a great blank in the narrative Chronicles, while Anon. peoples it with the figures of Mén-Marót in the north and Glad, the ancestor of Achtum, in the south: both of them according to him, non-Magyars.

Hóman, as we said, has noticed this fact, and gets round it by suggesting that the territory in question was the original home of the Gyula's tribe; that both Anon. and the National Chronicle place the Gyula in Transylvania is due to their following later traditions: to their confusing the land held by the „younger Gyula” with that occupied by the older bearer of the title. This result, however, can only be obtained by ignoring flatly what the sources have to say; since those are quite explicit that it was the elder Gyula, Stephen's grandfather, who settled in Transylvania. Moreover, it still fails to touch the difficulty that Anon. at least, considered Glad to be a non-Magyar.

In the work to which I have referred, I gave what still appears to me a far more convincing explanation. I pointed out that the chapter of the *De Administrando Imperio* which contains this odd description of the Magyars' habitats is also that⁴¹ which — quite suddenly — introduces the Kavars, of whom, it would appear, Constantine had not previously heard. It is, moreover, almost certainly from a Kavar source, since it contains laudatory remarks about the Kavars which it is hard to believe could have come except from one of themselves. They are described as „the most efficient in war and the most manly of the eight tribes, and leaders of war”, and therefore „elected to be the leading tribes”; and in the list of the tribes then given, they are placed first, and that of Magyar only third. These words could not possibly have come from a true Magyar. They could only have come from a Kavar. And when we find the same chapter giving a description of the Magyar territory which, again, is utterly at variance with all Magyar tradition, is it not reasonable to suppose that it comes from the same source, and describes the homes of the Kavars?

⁴⁰ Anon. c. 40.

⁴¹ c. 40 is a simple continuation of c. 39, and integrally connected with it; the present chapter-division of the *D. A. I.* is almost certainly not that which Constantine himself gave it.

I admit that I myself fell into error in supposing this information to have come from the Gyula, and deducing in consequence that the Gyula was a Kavar. I now see this conclusion to have been erroneous, as it was unnecessary; a Kavar can very easily have accompanied one or both of the missions to which Constantine refers, or even have come to Constantinople on some quite different errand.

The present fashion is to identify Anon.'s „Cumans” with the Kavars; but this rests on mere presumption: one can find no other explanation for them. In my opinion, the word „Cuman” in Anon. is simply a translation of an original word „Kun”, which was very generally used by the Magyars of old to denote peoples of Turki stock. The Chronicle almost certainly describes the Uz under that name; and for that matter, while learned circles called the Cumans „Cumani”, the voice of the people called them, and calls them to this day, „Kuns.” Anon.'s „Cumans” were most probably small Turki tribes, of uncertain origin, which attached themselves to the Magyars at some stage in their wanderings, but were more intimately connected with the national life than the Kavars ever were.

There are certain other considerations which suggest that my theory is correct.

a) Cinnamus in two passages⁴² speaks of a people of *Χαλινοί* who assisted the Magyars in their wars against the Empire. In one passage he seems to indicate that they are Jews, in the other, Mahomedans. In any case, they lived among the Magyars, and practised a different religion from that of the Magyars. A recent writer⁴³ has made it more than probable that these are identical with the Kavars. But in this case, they still practised their peculiar religion in the 12th century. But we hear no word that Anon.'s „Cumans” differed in religion from the Magyars, although there is every reason that we should have heard it, had it been the case. Samuel Aba, who was put up as the „national” king against the

⁴² Ioannis Cinnami Epitome, ed. Bonn pp. 107, 247.

⁴³ M. Gyóni, Kalizok, kazarok, kabarok, magyarok: Magyar Nyelv, 1938, pp. 86 ff., 159 ff.

⁴⁴ Anon. c. 8: Tunc hii VII duces (Cumanorum), quorum nomina hec duerunt; Ed, Edum... d. c. 32, K. 22, B. 20 give Aba's descent from this alleged pair of brothers.

⁴⁵ Cinnamus, p. 247.

Christian Peter, was descended from one of the families described by Anon. as Cumans.⁴⁴

In one of the two passages where Cinnamus mentions them they figure as the garrison of Syrmium, just across the way from the old haunts of Achtum's men.⁴⁵

b) Another, and to my mind most convincing argument is, I believe, new.

One of the most interesting features of Anon.'s treatment of his sources is the way in which he divides the characteristics of his originals among more than one of his own characters. It is, of course, patent that he treats incidents in this way. Thus the battle-scenes are used over and over again. The description of how the Magyars are bought off outside the gates of a Russian city is given three times, in connection with Kiev (cc. 9, 10), Lodomer (c. 11) and Galicia (ibid.) respectively and so carelessly that the Duke of Kiev, in c. 9, is made to request the Magyars to leave the land of Galicia. The same incident, in fact, is applied with slight variations, to three characters. In other words, what is really one person appears in three guises.

A rather more complicated example is the case of Salanus and Mén-Marót, whose alleged histories repay detailed examination. Their ancestors are introduced in c. 11 as neighbours; Kean, the ancestor of Salanus, has occupied the Danube-Theiss plain, and Morout, ancestor of Mén-Marót, the land between the Theiss, the Maros, the Szamos and the Bihar Mountains. In c. 12 the Magyars occupy land belonging to Salanus, the inhabitants submitting spontaneously. In c. 14 they capture one of his frontier fortresses after a short siege and throw the garrison into chains. Salanus „does not dare to raise his hand”, but sends envoys who insult the Magyars „Bulgarian fashion”, threatening to come against them with Greek and Bulgarian allies. The Magyars answer peaceably, Árpád invoking his historic rights as descendant of Attila and asking „de mea justitia” for gifts; in return for which, he sends other gifts. Two heroes are sent on this embassy.

In c. 16 they return with the objects which they had requested and with envoys bearing other gifts. Salanus does not re-enter the story until c. 30, but it is noteworthy that at that point Árpád sends to inform him of victories won by Thos and Zobolsu who, according to the story, had been campaigning againsts Mén-Marót. This is, however, considered sufficient cause to demand of Salanus a further grant of land, which is duly conceded, Salanus being overcome with terror. In c. 38 Salanus sends for help to the

Emperor of the Greeks and the Duke of the Bulgars and at last faces up to the Magyars. In c. 39 he is defeated after a battle in which most of his auxiliaries are slain, he himself taking refuge in Belgrade.

The circumvention of Mén-Marót begins in c. 19, when Árpád sends messengers to him, asking for a grant of land „de justitia atthavi sui Atthyle regis”, with gifts. Mén-Marót, after referring to Salanus' behaviour, refuses the cession, invoking his position as a vassal of the Emperor of Constantinople. He bestows, however, gifts on the two emissaries. On receiving this reply, the Magyars occupy land belonging to Mén-Marót, the inhabitants submitting spontaneously. In c. 21 they capture one of his frontier fortresses after a short siege, and throw the garrison into chains. C. 22: they proceed further; Mén-Marót „does not dare to raise his hand”. In c. 28 he prepares to flee to Greece, but his soldiers defend the fords of the Kőrös. In c. 51 he prepares at last to resist, but his soldiers are defeated and he sues for terms, explaining that he, who at first refused from his proud Bulgarian heart to give them even a fist-full of land, is now ready to submit. His daughter then marries Árpád's son, and all ends happily.

Now, it will be clear that these two stories contain one large common factor. The central theme of the advance, the missions, the capture of a fortress, the further advance, the original peaceful reception and the final hostilities, is used in each, although mingled in each case with extraneous matter. If, however, we allow for a slight difference in the order of events, the first mission being placed in the case of Salanus after the first conquests, and in that of Mén-Marót before them, the parallelism is almost exact. Making that adjustment, we get:

Occupation of outlying district; voluntary submission of inhabitants	Sal. c. 12	Mén-M. c. 21
Capture of frontier fortress; garrison cast into chains; enemy does not dare raise his hand	c. 14	cc. 21, 22
Comparatively peaceable mission, with exchange of gifts; Árpád invokes his rights as descendant of Attila; enemy retorts with mention of Greek help available and uses Bulgarian insults	c. 14	c. 20 ⁴⁶

Expedition by Thosu and Zobolsu, inspiring fear enemy	cc. 28—30	c. 28
Final resistance and defeat	c. 38	c. 51

Even the verbal echoes are frequent; so close, indeed, is the parallelism that Mén-Marót refers to Bulgarian insults which he never uttered.⁴⁶

This central story seems to belong rather to Salanus than to Mén-Marót. That is to say, it is an adaptation of the story of the fraudulent purchase of Hungary which the National Chronicle introduces in connection with Sviatopluk; but it is followed more closely in the case of Salanus than in that of Mén-Marót. The story seems to have been transferred bodily to Salanus, and bits of it borrowed to fill out the history of Mén-Marót. But each of the two figures has other characteristics also, which are drawn from other sources.

It is not my purpose here to investigate the origin of Salanus. The central fact of his personality: that he was a ruler over Slavs and Bulgars, and occupied the land between the Danube and the Theiss, may be genuinely his. It is even possible that the story of the purchase of Hungary really belongs to him, and not to Sviatopluk. The battle against him in c. 38 is, however, compounded almost entirely from two sources; the earlier battle outside Kiev (c. 8) and the battle against a person ingenuously described as „a relative of Salanus”, told in c. 41. More important, for the purposes of the present article, are the further components of Mén-Marót.

Some of these, again, may be properly his: notably the fact that his daughter married Árpád's son (a fact of which, oddly enough, Hungarian historians take no notice). But there are certain attributes of his which are undoubtedly taken from the Achtum-Ajtony story. For just as the Sviatopluk (or Salanus) story is used both for Salanus and for Mén-Marót, so the Ajtony story is utilised both for Ajtony's ancestor, Glad, and for Mén-Marót.

The passages where this influence is undoubted are the following:

1. His appeals to his master in Constantinople, notably that

⁴⁶ The fact that Bulgarian insults were used on this occasion is not mentioned until c. 51.

in c. 20: „*terram hanc... per gratiam domini mei imperatoris Constantinopolitani nemo potest auferre de manibus meis*”; cf. V. Ma. c. 10: *accepit autem potestatem a Grecis*.

2. When Mén-Marót is introduced (c. 11) he is described thus: (*dux Morout, cujus nepos*) *dictus est ab Hungaris Menumorout, eo, quod plures habebat amicas, et terram illam habitarent gentes, qui dicuntur Cozar*.

Once we know that „*mén*” in Hungarian means a stallion, it is impossible not to connect this passage with the description of Achtum in the V. Ma.:

Habebat autem septem uxores... equorum eciam indomitorum multitudinem habebat innumerabilem, exceptis his, quos pastores in domibus sub custodia servabant.

We go a step further. From the appearance of the word „*mén*” Anon. appears to be using a version of his source, part of which, at least, uses Magyar terms, while the V. Ma. sticks to Latin. But now we come to the second word: *Cozar*. In the V. Ma.'s version this is represented by the word „*pastores*”, and it is a fact that there is in Slavonic an old word *kozár* = a goatherd. But it is not at all likely that Anon. would have translated the Latin word „*pastores*” back into the vernacular; but rather that he is using the original, with the vernacular terms — *mén*, *kozár* — which the V. Ma. translates into Latin. But then, to go further still, is it not possible that the translation is mistaken: that the original said that the people of the country, or some of them, were Khazars; of which statement the author of the V. Ma., who knew the Slavonic word but not the race-name, evolved the odd passage about horses kept by „*shepherds*” in stables?

Anon. connects this passage with „*Mén-Marót*”, the V. Ma., with Achtum. It is, of course, just possible that the former is right; but since we have shown that Anon. frequently transfers the characteristics of one of his figures to another, or splits them up among two, the presumption is strongly in favour of the V. Ma.'s attribution being the correct one. In that case, we have written and ancient testimony that Achtum's people were Khazars, i. e., the Kavars.

Everything, it seems to me, favours this identification: the curious fact that the territory in question is left unmentioned by the Hungarian Chronicles, but is given by Constantine as constituting „*the whole territory settled by the Turks*” — in the same passage in which he mentions, in terms so laudatory, the Kavars; the independent policy which its ruler is found pursuing

in the 11th century; his powerful position, with more soldiers at his disposal than Árpád himself — could any individual tribal leader reach such heights? his polygamy — far although a Christian, he continued to practise this pagan habit, which was not, however, so far as we know, customary among the pagan Magyars; and finally, the relics of the Kavars whom we find in the same district, a century later, under the name of Chalisés.

This identification seems to me far more satisfactory than that proposed in a recent article by P. V á c z y.⁴⁷ By means of arguments not unlike those used in the present article, M. Váczy argues that Achtum could not have been identical with either Gyula or Kean; indeed, the impossibility is, on his line of argument, even more absolute, since he accepts unquestioningly the identity of the Gyula with Procuí. He also draws from the sources the correct conclusion that the „Gyula of the Conquest” did not settle in Transylvania.⁴⁸ He goes on to infer on precisely the same grounds that appealed to me 9 years ago, that the description of the Magyars' territory given by Constantine must have come from the Gyula. He suggests that the Gyula's tribe gradually spread thence up the valley of the Maros into Transylvania; making the rather surprising suggestion that the valley of the Maros is „definitely steppeland” (kimondottan steppetáj), and that the Magyars must therefore have advanced up it. The tribe, according to him, then split into two. The Transylvanian branch replaced into heathendom, while the Banat branch remained Christian.

This argument, however, overlooks the strong probability that the description in Constantine came from a Kavar source, as well as the other consideration which I advance above in favour of the Kavar character of Achtum's kingdom. I find it today impossible to believe that the Gyula was a Kavar, and am therefore driven back on the solution which I have outlined above. That solution seems to me to meet all difficulties.

If an earlier dwelling-place is required for the Gyula's tribe, before he entered Transylvania, I do not see why this should not be the area which Anon. makes his ancestor, Tuhutum,

⁴⁷ V á c z y, Gyula és Ajtony: Szentpétery-Emlékkönyv, pp. 475 ff.

⁴⁸ As to this, I hope to show in another article that the original list of the 7 heroes of the Conquest did not include the Gyula at all; but of that later.

conquer: viz., the area immediately to the north of the later Achtum country.

C. 10 of the V. Ma., then, gives us a precious account of the final destruction by the centralising Magyar power of those powerful — perhaps too powerful allies whom they brought with them from the steppes of the Volga. Herefter the Kavars lingered on only in diminished numbers, as fighting troops and frontier guards.

2. The composition of the Zágráb and Várad chronicles and their relationship to the longer Narrative Chronicles

It is unnecessary to recall the attention of any scholars interested in the problems of the Hungarian historical sources to the learned studies with which Professor Dománovszky has illuminated the subject. The central point of his work is perhaps the essay in which he investigates the relationship between Kézai's Chronicle and the longer Narrative Chronicles (the B. group);¹ and his conclusions may be summarised in the paragraphs on pp. 126, 127 of that work, in which he decides that K and B are alike derived from a common source, which must have „resembled very closely the text of the fuller Chronicles”, which Kézai „without doubt shortened very greatly”.²

I hope to have an opportunity in a later essay to go more fully into the whole of this question. Here I propose only to say that as regards the bulk of the text, I fully accept the view that K and B derive from a common source; but that I believe the conclusion that most of the variants are due to K's having summarised, or omitted material, rather than to B's having interpolated, to be hasty and untenable. In the present essay I propose to show one source where B undoubtedly interpolated an original closely resembling K's text from an independent source not used by K. This independent source is one of the components of the so-called Várad Chronicle.

The Zágráb and Várad Chronicles form a little separate group of their own. The Zágráb Chronicle (Z) is a short history of

¹ Kézai Simon Mester Krónikája; Budapest, 1906.

² op. cit. p. 127: A közös ősforrást, mely mind Kézainak, mind a bővebb szövegnek forrásul szolgált, Kézai kétségtelenül *nagyon rövidítette*, kivonatolta... Annak a szövegnek pedig, amelyet Kézai kivonatolt, *nagyon közel kellett állnia a bővebb szövegezéshez*.

Hungary which has been written into the book containing the Statutes of Zágráb. It was written, apparently, in 1334, and copied in 1354.³ The Várad Chronicle (W), apparently written in 1374,⁴ is contained in the same way in the book of the Statutes of Várad.

The two Chronicles are identical in arrangement, and to a large extent even in words. They consist, broadly speaking, of a list of the dukes and kings of Hungary, from the time of the Conquest onward, with, as a rule, the lengths of their reigns, the dates of their deaths and their places of burial; the names of their sons; and here and there a brief note on important events occurring in their reigns. This sort of material is common to all the extant narrative chronicles; but there are a number of points on which Z and W, while agreeing with each other, differ from all the fuller Chronicles. These include:

1. The statement that Andrew, Bela and Levente were the sons of Vazul — an assertion against which K and B protest strongly, in identical terms.⁵

2. The name of Zar Ladislaus' son, Bonuzlo, not given elsewhere.

3. The statement that St. Emeric was St. Stephen's only son (also in Albericus, Kn. & T, but not in K or B) and several other minor points.

From this it is clear that these two Chronicles cannot have been derived directly from any of the other texts known to us.

The differences between the two texts are as follows:

1. Z has one, W several additional notes relating to the domestic affairs of the Zágráb and Várad foundations respectively.

2. There are a very considerable number of verbal variants, e. g. the one text will write „nominabatur” where the other has „vocabatur”, or „in legenda continentur” against „in legenda sunt descripta”.

3. In the historical portions, W is fuller. It contains a number of statements not found in Z: the date of St. Stephen's birth, the statements that Peter was Stephen's nephew, that Aba was his brother in law, that Aba was killed by the Magyars, that Andrew I's burial place was on the Balaton, that Pola is in

³ E. Szentpétery in Scr. R. H. 1. 197. Text, with that of W., id. pp. 203 ff.

⁴ Szentpétery, l. c.

⁵ K. 55, B. 87.

Istria; several dates for the 12th and 13th century reigns; the word „blind” for Béla II; the name of Andrew II's daughter Elisabeth; a mention of the Tatar invasion under Béla IV; material relating to the reigns of Ladislaus IV and Andrew III. Z has only one such statement of his own (the words „mensibus VII” in Emeric's reign).

4. There are also a number of points on which the two texts differ. These include: the date of the Conquest (889 Z, 888 W), the length of Peter's reign (7 Z, 12 W); the nickname of Béla I (Z Begon, W Belyn); the dates of the deaths of Ladislaus I, Coloman I, Stephen II, Emeric, Ladislaus III; the lengths of the reigns of Stephen II and Andrew II; the burial-place of Stephen V; the scene of Ladislaus IV's death; the title of Princess Maria's husband.

Professor Szentpétery, in a recent study,⁶ has examined these points of difference exhaustively. He has shown that practically all of them are to be ascribed, either to mere copyists' errors (frequent in both texts) or — often — to what appears to be deliberate correction by W of an original text represented by Z. When to this is added the fact that the statutes of Várad were undoubtedly copied (with modifications and additions to suit local circumstances) from those of Zágráb, it is reasonable to suppose that the W Chronicle is also based on the Z Chronicle: but altered and supplemented from another source.

We have, therefore, two components to consider: the source of Z, copied by W, and W's second source.

As to the former, Hóman⁷ considers it to be based on an extract from a „Gesta” compiled in St. Ladislaus' day and distributed to the monasteries founded by him. We need not enter into this question here; here we shall say only that Z's source appears to be ancient and, on the whole, reliable.

It is more important for us to get a clear idea of the nature of W's second source.

Szentpétery points out that in the great majority of the cases when W appears to have used a second source, either to alter or to supplement Z, he agrees with the fuller Chronicles, and in particular with B. He therefore concludes that W used a copy

⁶ In Századok, 1934, pp. 410—24., cf. also his introduction to the texts in Scr. R. H. I. 1937 ff.

⁷ A Szent László-kori Gesta Ungarorum p. 93.

closely resembling B's text of „the National Chronicle”.⁸ Hóman accepts the same view.⁹

It is this conclusion on which I now wish to comment.

If W had in fact been borrowing from B. it would be reasonable to suppose that he would spread his borrowing evenly. There is no reason, that is, why he should have attached special importance to any one part of B's work. Above all, there is no reason why he should have selected to reproduce precisely those parts of B which are not also in K.

But this is what he has done.

This is shown least tediously where the texts are shortest; and I therefore append the four texts for the reigns of the kings from Coloman I to Stephen V inclusive. To save space, I give for Z only those passages where it differs factually from W.

Coloman and Stephen II

B	K	W
Post ipsum regnavit Colomannus filius regis Geyse	Ladislao autem migrato filius Geichae regis Colomannus annis X et octo, cuius corpus jacet Albae	Post hoc regnavit Colomannus rex

(In cuius temporibus multa mala sunt propterea. Ipse enim Belam filium Almus ducis, filii Lamperti ducis, filii Bele regis dicti Gelen adhuc infantem de quorundam consilio tractatum de matris gremio excavit. Set quia sibi consanguinitate attinebat, ideo ipsum non interfecit, sed privavit lumine, ut non sit dignus portare coronam sancti regis.)

⁸ Scr. R. H. I. 200 „textu quodam Chronico Budensi arctissime conjuncto”.

⁹ See the genealogical table at the end of the „Gesta”.

B

K

W

Iste Colomannus fuit
episcopus Waradiensis

—

Qui fuit episcopus Wa-
radiensis (de quo su-
pra in proximo)
(primogenitus regis
Geysse, de quo supra)

sed quia fratres, quos Hic quidem praesul
habebat, morte sunt erat et exinde trans-
preventi, ideo summo latus in regem coro-
pontifice cum eo di- natur.
spensante regnare con-
pellitur.

—

Qui ab Hungariae Cu- Qunwes enim Kalman
nues Calman appela- est vocatus, quam li-
tur, eo quod libros ha- bros habebat, in qui-
bebat, in quibus horas bus ut episcopus lege-
canonicas ut episcopus bat suas horas.
persolvebat.

—

Campaigns in Dal-
matia and Italy.

Campaigns in Dal-
matia and Italy

—

Regnavit autem annis (above: Annis X et annis XVIII mensibus
XVIII, mensibus VI, octo) Széchényi Könyvtár VI, diebus V
diebus V

A. D. MCXIII tertio
Nonas Februarii, feria
tertia migravit ex hoc
seculo

—

obiit autem A. D.
MCXIII (Z. MCXIII)
tertio Nonas Februa-
rii, feria tertia

Cuius corpus Albe
quiescit.

—

cuius corpus Albe
quiescit.

—

—

Hic habuit filium Ste-
phanum ducem, qui ei
successit in regno

Cui subcessit Step-
hanus filius eius qui re-
gnavit annis decem et
octo, mensibus quin-
que. Migravit autem
ad Dominum A. D.
MCXXXI. Cuius cor-
pus Uaradini quiescit.

—

Huic successit Step-
hanus rex secundus filius
Colomanni et regnavit
annis XIII (Z. XVIII)
mensibus quinque, obiit
autem A. D. MCXXXI,
cuius corpus quiescit
Waradini.

B

K

W

Post ipsum regnavit
Bela Cecus.
(Impletum est in ipso
etc.)

Post Kolomannum vero
regnavit Bela annis
IX, duobus mensibus,
Albae tumulatur.

Post hec regnavit se-
cundus rex Bela Cecus
(Z. omits „cecus”)

filius ducis Almus, de
quo supra, annis IX,
mensibus XI et diebus
XII.

Obiit autem A. D.
MCXLI Idus Februarii,
feria quinta, cuius
corpus Albe quiescit.

Hic habuit filios qua-
tuor ducem scilicet
Geysam, tandem regem,
ducem Ladislaum et
ducem Stephanum et
Almus (Z. 3 sons only)

(See below)

Genuitque quatuor fi-
lios, scilicet Geysam,
Ladizlaum, Stephanum
et Almus.

(Quo regnante, etc.)
Regnavit igitur ipse
Bela Cecus annis IX,
mensibus XI diebus
XII et fuit pius rex.
Migravit autem ad Do-
minum A. D. MCLI
Idus Februarii feria
quinta. Cuius corpus
Albe quiescit.

(See above)

Regnavit autem post
eum Geysa filius eius,
qui coronatus est IIIIo
Kalendas Martii, in
Dominica Invocavit me,
transactis duobus die-
bus post mortem pa-
tris

Post Belam autem re-
gnavit Geicha

Post hoc regnavit
Geysa rex secundus,
de quo supra,

Regnavit autem annis XX annis
20, mensibus 3, diebus
15. Et genuit quatuor
filios: Arpad et Gey-
sam, Stephanum et
Belam.

annis 20, mensibus 3,
diebus 15. Obiit autem
A. D. MCXI secundo
Kalendas Iunii, cuius
corpus Albe quiescit.

B

Migravit autem ad Dominum A. D. MCLXI pridie Kalendas Iunii, feria quarta. Cuius corpus Albe quiescit.

Loco eius coronatur Stephanus filius eius et regnavit annis XI, mensibus novem, diebus tribus.

Quo quidem imperante Ladislaus dux sibi usurpat regnum et coronam anno medio.

Migravit autem ad Dominum A. D. MCXXII Kalendas Februarii feria prima. Cuius corpus Albe quiescit.

Post hunc autem Stephanus frater eius usurpavit sibi coronam mensibus quinque et diebus quinque. Coronatus est autem tertio Idus Februarii in Dominica Exsurge, devictus est autem in festo Sanctorum Geruasii et Protasii feria tertia,

ubi multi nobiles Hungarie corruerunt.

K

Tandem moritur et

Albae sepelitur

Post hunc regnavit Stephanus annis XI, mensibus VIII

In cuius imperio dux Ladizlaus filius regis Bele ceci usurpavit sibi coronam dimidio anno.

Albae sepelitur

Post istum Stephanus frater suus coronam usurpat mensibus V et diebus V

tandemque devincitur

In quo praelio plures regni nobiles occidunt,

W

(Hic habuit filios quatuor. Quorum primus fuit dux . Stephanus, tandem rex; secundus fuit rex Bela; tertius fuit dux Arpad; quartus fuit dux Geysa.)

Huic successit rex Stephanus eius filius (de quo supra in proximo) et regnavit annis X(I), mensibus IX diebus tribus. (Sub cuius imperio dux Ladislaus filius Bele regis Ceci usurpavit sibi coronam anno dimidio.)

Obiit autem idem Stephanus A. D. MCLXXIII tertio Februarii Cuius corpus Albe humatum est

Post hunc autem usurpavit sibi coronam Stephanus filius Bele ceci, de quo supra, per menses quinque.

B

K

W

Post hec expulsus est
de regno.

idem vero de regno et expulsus obiit in
expulsus, demum venit Zemphlyn
in Zemlu,

Obiit in castro Zem-
len A. D. MCXXIII
tertio Idus Aprilis, fe-
ria quinta.

ubi et finivit vitam A. D. MCLXXIII ter-
suam. tio Idus Aprilis

Cuius corpus Albe
quiescit.

Albae requiescit

cuius corpus Albe
quiescit

Idem vero rex Steph-
anus filius Geyse mi-
gravit ad Dominum A.
D. MCLXXIII, quarto
Nonas Martii, feria
prima.

Cuius corpus Strigo-
nii quiescit.

Postea regnavit Bela
frater eius qui fures et
latrones persecutus est
et petitionibus loqui
traxit originem, ut Ro-
mana habet curia et
imperii.

Sed post hunc regna-
vit Bela Graecus, quem
Becha et Gregor apud
imperatorem Graeco-
rum diutis tenuerunt
His quidem fures et
latrones persecutus est
petitionibusque loqui
traxit originem, ut Ro-
mana habet curia et
imperii.

Post hunc regnavit
Bela tertius filius Gey-
sa, de quo supra.

Qui coronatus est Idi-
bus Januarii feria pri-
ma. Regnavit autem
annis XXIII, mense
uno, diebus XIX. Ob-
dormivit autem in Do-
mino anno eiusdem
MCXCIX Kalendas
Maii, feria tertia.

annis XXIII, mense I,
diebus XIX. Obit au-
tem A. D. MCXC nono
Kalendas Maii,

Cuius corpus in Au-
bum ecclesia tumula-
tur.

Albae jacet tumulatus cuius corpus Albo
quiescit.

Hic reliquit filios
 quatuor Primus fuit
 dux Henricus, qui suc-
 cessit ei in regno; se-
 cundus fuit dux An-
 dreas, postea rex, pa-
 ter regis Bele quarti;
 tertius fuit dux Salo-
 mon et quartus fuit
 dux Stephanus.

B has one fact given by neither W nor Z: the name and qualities of Emeric's wife. Z gives the date of Ladislaus death as May 2 1211; W and B agree an May 7, 1201.

Huic successit Andreas Sed post hunc regna- Post hoc regnavit rex
 filius Bele tertii vit Andreas Andreas, filius regis
 Bele tertii (ut supra)

(see below)

XXX, mensibus tribus
 diebus XXVI.

qui Andreas coronatus
 est vicesimo septimo
 die post obitum regis
 Ladislai, quarto Kalen-
 das Junii in Penthe-
 costes.

Cuius uxor fuit domi-
 na Gertrudis de Ala-
 mania, de qua genuit
 Belam, Colomannum,
 Andream et Beatam
 Elyzabeth.

(See below)

(Story of Bank)

Post hec Andreas Ter- rex potens et illustris.
 ram Sanctam visitavit Iste etiam Terram
 ad mandatum pape... Sanctam visitavit, ubi
 Et ibi in Terra San- per omnes principes
 cta super exercitum Christianorum capita-
 Christianorum contra neus ordinatur et
 soldanum Babilonie exercitum soldani Ba-

capitaneus et dux preficitur et mox victor efficitur gloriosus. Mansit autem tribus mensibus.

biloniae cum Hungaris et Zaculis effugavit et honore multiplici cum gente sua per Assirios et alias nationes praevenitur indeque cum summa gloria revertitur in Hungariam.

(Follows a long paragraph on presentations of holy relics made by Andrew to various churches)

Hic multa meritoria opera exercuit in edificandis et dotandis ecclesiis secularibus et regularibus

et introducendis religionis diversis victoriaque habita ad sepulchrum Domini.

(Marriage of St. Elizabeth)

Migravit autem rex Andreas ad Dominum A. D. MCCXXXV

Obiit A. D. MCCXXXV, undecimo Kalendas Octobris

tricesimo anno regni sui

(see above)

Cuius corpus in monasterio de Egrus feliciter requiescit.

Cuius corpus in monasterio suo Egres requiescit

(see above)

Hic reliquit filios tres. Quorum primus fuit dux Bela, tandem rex, qui ei successit. Secundus dux Colomanus. Tertius dux Andreas (et unam filiam, beatam scilicet Elizabeth: not in Z)

B

K

W

Rex Bela post eum filius eius coronatus est pridie Idus Octobris feria prima, qua cantatur, etc.	Post hunc autem regnavit Bela filius eius, apud Fratres Minores Strigonii tumulatur.	Huic Andree regi successit filius eius rex Bela quartus et regnavit annis XXXV, mensibus septem.
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(Description of ceremony)

—

—

Tempore autem istius Bele regis A. D. MCCXL	Istius quidem in diebus	Huius tempore, anno scilicet MCLI
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—

Mangali sive

Mond Lisviae

—

Tartari

Tartari

Tartari

cum quinquecentis armatorum	de tribus partibus regni in Hungariam adeunt cum quinquecentis millibus armatorum	cum multitudine copiosa
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—

habentes adhuc centuriones et decuriones ad milia XL.

—

regnum Hungariae invaserunt
(See below, Hungaria ideo, etc.)

—

regnum Hungariae invaserunt et flebiliter devasterunt.

—

Contra quos Bela rex iuxta flumen Seo praefatus vincitur, in quo prelio fere extinguitur militia regni Hungariae universa.	Quibus in Soio rex a Mong Lis devincitur A. D. MCCVLI. Ubi fere tota regni militia est deleta	
--	---	--

—

Ipso vero Bela rege ad mare fugam faciente Tartari usque ibi ipsum crudeliter insecuntur.	ipso Bela coram eis ad mare fugiente	
---	--------------------------------------	--

—

Manserunt enim ipsi
Tartari in regno Hun-
garie tribus annis.
Hungari, ideo multo
plures post exitum il-
lorum fame perierunt,
etc.

Manserunt enim ipsi
Tartari tribus annis
continuis in regno
(See above, et flebili-
ter devasterunt.)

Post hec autem rex Quo quidem de mari
Bela reversus est de revertente
maritimis partibus et
ducem Austriae per ducem Fridericum
Fredericum de Austria bello impe-
virum bellicosum ante titur. Quem ante Civi-
Novam Civitatem gens tatem Novam Hungari
occidit in prelio Hun- cum lancea in maxilla
garorum et transfixit transfixum pereme-
per maxillam, etc. runt

Obiit autem A. D.
MCCXXV Nonas Maii
feria VI-a, in festo In-
ventionis Sancte Cru-
cis in insula Budensi
et sepultum est

Obiit autem A. D.
MCCLXXV Non. Maii.

corpus eius Strigonii
in ecclesia Fratrum
Minorum constructa,
etc.

Cuius corpus requie-
scit in ecclesia Fra-
trum Minorum Strigo-
nii.

Vir virtutibus plenus,
etc.

Hic habuit duos filios.
Primus fuit dux Ste-
phanus, postea rex.
Secundus fuit dux Bela.

Post ipsum A. D. 1270 Postea regnavit Ste- Post hec regnavit rex
cepit regnare filius phanus rex filius ejus Stephanus
ejus Stephanus super
totam Hungariam

(See below)	—	de quo supra annis 2, mensibus 3, diebus 5
—	—	Hic fuit in vultu au- sterus
Qui Ottocarem, etc. (Campaign against Ot- tocar of Bohemia)	Qui Boemie regem etc. (Campaign against Ot- tocar)	—
Praeterea Budin civi- tatem Bulgarorum	Iste etiam civitatem Budyn suo dominio subjugavit	—
et Bulgaros superans	—	Bulgaris in praelio su- peratis (not in Z)
regem eorum conpulit sibi deservire	dominumque Bulgaro- rum eo vivente sibi compulit deservire	ducem eorum sibi sub- jugavit (Not in Z)
Regnavit autem duo- bus annis	—	(See above)
et mortuus est in anno tertio regni sui in ma- gna insula	Migrans tandem ex hoc seculo et in insula vocata beate Virginis in coe- nobio monialium re- quiescit cumulatus	et obiit A. D. 1278 id. Aug.
et sepultus est in ec- clesia Beate Virginis in insula Budensi in loco Bulgariam.	—	cujus corpus requiescit in insula Budensi in ecclesia Beate virginis (in loco Beginarum.)

This comparison is instructive.

A certain common substratum of course exists, due to the fact that all the texts are constructed in the same way; as lists of kings, padded out with facts. We must necessarily assume that these lists will to some extent coincide. When, however, we turn to anything, in any text, beyond this bare minimum for which we must allow, we find the following result:

1. Some few passages peculiar to B alone
2. One or two common to Z and W only
3. Several common to W and B only
4. Several common to B and K only
5. Only one, and that a very famous one (the making of Bulgaria tributary) found in both W and K.

Generally speaking, B's text equals precisely that of K plus that of the part of W which is independent of Z.

Thus for Coloman, K has his nickname and his campaigns; W, that he was bishop of Várad; B, all three. For Andrew II, K gives his pilgrimage, W his pious acts and place of burial, B the two. For Bela IV, K gives the numbers of the Tatars, the battle on the Sayo, Bela's flight, etc: W gives the one other detail that they stopped in Hungary for 3 years. B has exactly the two combined.

So accurate is this addition sum that we find for Stephen V that B gives with K Stephen's capture of the Vidin, and with W that of the „Bulgars", although immediately after, with both sources, he gives the subjugation of the Bulgarian king.

Hence we may draw the following conclusions:

W cannot have been summarising from B; for it is beyond reason to suppose that he would have excerpted precisely those facts which K had not thought fit to mention.

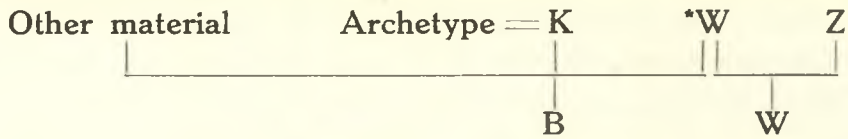
Neither can K have been summarising from B, since he would not have omitted precisely what W had recorded.

Therefore B's text has been composed by combining a text practically identical with K's with some other source connected with W.

This cannot have been W in its present form, since W has certain passages common to Z which B has not taken over. Moreover, even where B and W agree in sense, B is often the fuller.

Therefore there must exist another text, lost to us, and used independently by B and by W. B combined it with the archetype copied out also by K; W combined it (in abbreviated form) with Z.

If we call this text *W, we get the following genealogy



As to the exact form of *W, we can only guess, but guess with considerable confidence, that it was similar to that of Z, of the Knauz and Toldy Codices, viz: a list of kings, padded out with a few details, and going back to the time of the Conquest. Broadly speaking, wherever W differs from Z, this is due to the influence of *W.

Let us now apply these conclusion to the other passages where B's text may have originated in similar fashion.

I begin¹⁰ with the opening of K 43, B 63, to which I add for comparison the corresponding passage in W: —

K	B	W
	Porro Toxun genuit Geycham et Michael- lem,	Hic (sc. Toxun) habuit duos filios, quorum prius fuit dux Gey- sa, pater beati Ste- phani regis, Secundus vero fuit Michael. Dux
	Michael vero genuit Calvum Ladizlaum et Vazul,	iste Michael habuit duos filios, ducem vi- delicet Wazul et du- cem Ladislaum Cal- vum. Iste dux Vazul habuit tres filios. Ho- rum primus fuit dux Andreas, postea rex. Secundus fuit dux Bela, demum rex, ut infra dicetur. Tertius fuit dux Leunte. Dux autem Ladislaus Cal- vus, de quo supra, ha- buit filium, Bonuzlo vocabatur. Modo re-

¹⁰ In one earlier passage the date of the Conquest (K 25, B 26) B may have altered K's date under the influence of W.

Anno vero dominicae incarnationis 967 Geicha dux divino praemonitus oraculo genuit sanctum regem Stephanum; Michael vero, frater Geichae genuit Wazul et Zar Ladizlaum.

deamus. Dux Geysa, filius Toxu de quo supra, anno ab incarnatione Dei 963 nuto divino cepit cogitare de ritibus paganismis destruendis et de cultu divino ampliando, seque fecit baptizari et tandem in hujusmodi sancto proposito mortuus est, prout plenius in legenda beati Stephani scriptum est, genuit Sanctum Stephanum regem ex Sarolth filia Gyula. continentur, qui scilicet sanctus rex Stephanus natus est anno Domini 969.

This is a particularly fine example of interpolation. Not only has B put in from *W the little line „porro Toxun genuit Geycham et Michaellem”, but he most also have altered the date of St. Stephen's birth under the influence of the same source, as our comparison of the text shows. For in fact, no version of the Legend of St. Stephen gives the date of his birth at all; much less does it place it at 969. W does not ascribe that statement to the Legend; he gives the date independently, while referring to the Legend (quite correctly) for a description of Geza's death. B. however, has telescoped W's text for the purposes of interpolation, thus arriving at his erroneous statement.

In the passages relating to the death and burial of St. Stephen, B's text again exactly equals K+W.

B70

K45

W

Sepultus est autem in basilica Albensi

Sepultus est Albae in ecclesia Beate Virginis gloriosae

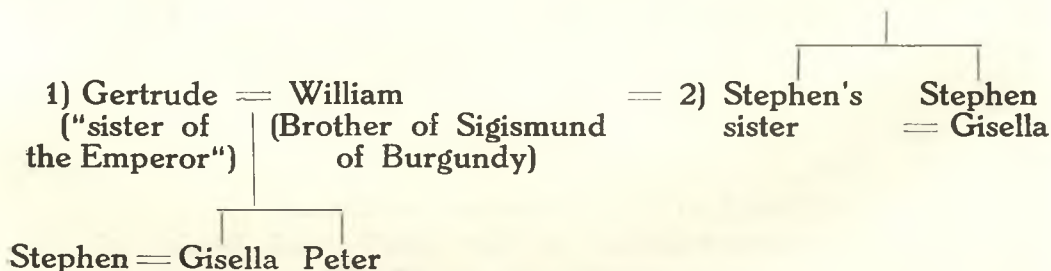
Cuius corpus Albe in ecclesia maiori veneratur, quam ipse fundavit et uberrime dotavit

quam ipse in honorem sanctissime genetricis Dei semper virginis Marie construxerat, ubi multa signa et miracula fiunt interuenientibus meritis eiusdem sanctissimi regis Stephani ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui est benedictus in secula seculorum Amen. Confestim quoque totius Hungariae uersus est in luctum, etc.

Hic quantis a Deo gratiis fuit insignitus et quanta opera exercuerit meritoria uide in sua legenda.

Confestim igitur Hungarorum citara in luctum est conversa, etc.

Immediately after, we have another very fine instance. K calls Peter „Petrum Venetum filium sororis suae”. W has „Petrus Theutonicus, frater Resla Regine consortis Stephani, de sorore sancti Stephani genitus”. B has „Petrus Alamanum, vel potius Venetum, fratrem regine”, and afterwards works out a complicated genealogy justifying W's statement, as follows:



Incidentally, this is incorrect; Peter's father was the Doge Otto Orseolo.¹¹

The Life of St. Stephen makes Peter Stephen's sister's son, and some have supposed this variant in B's text to have come from his trying to reconcile the information in the Vita and the archetype used also by K.¹² There is, however, no evidence that B used the Vita, in any of its forms, at all. The only passages in his text

¹¹ H ó m a n, Magyar Történet I, 242.

¹² Legenda Major c. 15; Hartvic c. 21.

which indicate such use are those which we have quoted and in the first two of these, as we saw, he certainly worked, not directly from the Vita, but through the intermediary of *W. This is equally certainly the case here. The epithet „Alamanum” comes not from the Vita (which in no way suggests a German origin for Peter) but from *W, and B characteristically combines what he found in the two sources into the comprehensive but not very intelligent phrase „Alamanum vel potius Venetum”. It is *W which has imported from the Vita the alternative relationship, which B tries in so complex a fashion to justify.

A small point arises in connection with Andrew I. B and W both mention that Tihany abbey is „juxta lacum Balaton”, which K omits. Similarly, it is B and W only who refer the reader to the Legend (B 140, gesta) of St. Ladislaus. In these passages it is, however, difficult to show the composition of B as clearly as we have done. The passages already quoted should, however, suffice to prove our thesis: to wit, that there once existed the source, now lost, which we have termed *W, which on the one hand was combined with Z to produce the present Várad Chronicle and on the other hand, was unknown to Kézai, but was used by the author of B as one of his sources. Another of his sources was the archetype used by K, and that, in the passages which we have considered, must closely have resembled K's present text; since in most of them, B's text consists of little more than a combination of K's and W's. In other passages the divergence is greater. With these I do not deal in the present essay; but I venture to maintain that the *proof* here adduced that B has, in one important case, interpolated a text resembling K's, should allow a reasonable presumption that he does so in other cases also. In other words, it is probably that in many cases (not necessarily in all), the common archetype of K and B resembled K much more closely than B.