

ETHNOGENESIS,
HISTORIOGRAPHY,
HAGIOGRAPHY

The Basis of Research into Croatian and Slovak Ethnogenesis**

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

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

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

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

We know how difficult it is to connect an archeological culture with a particular ethnic group. One archeological culture can represent more groups, the culture can change with migrations, can be inspired by other cultural environments, and we know that the culture does not have to reflect the real material culture of the whole group or tribe: *"Changes in material culture do not have to mean the change or migrations of population, they can be caused by progress or regress of the whole standard*

*of living, which are liable to internal and external factors."*¹ Traditionally, from Tacitus or Isidore of Seville, language is used as the strongest distinguishing method. Isidore, as a scholar of his epoch, saw the birth of the nations under the Babylonian tower because until that time the nations had had one language. The nations start to differ when they start to have their languages, because for Isidore the nations emerge from languages. He shows the controversy of this approach by himself in the next (previsou, earlier) citation where he writes: *"At the beginning, there where as many languages as gentes, and then more gentes than languages, because many nations from one language sprang."*² One language within the heterogeneous tribal units could not play the unifying, cementing role. Moreover, in the early Middle Ages language borders did not overlap with political borders, as we know it from many centuries later.

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

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

² ISIDOR ZE SEVILLY: *Etymologiae*, vol. 9. Trans.: Irena Zachová, notae: Irena ZACHOVÁ – Hana ŠEDINOVÁ. Praha: Oikoymenth, 1998, p. 17 and than 13.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ GEARY, Patrick J.: *Barbarians and Ethnicity*. In.: *Interpreting Late Antiquity. Essays on the Postclassical World*. Ed.: Glen Warren BOWERSTOCK – Peter BROWN – Oleg GRABAR. Cambridge – Massachusetts – London: Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 108.

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

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

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

as a *rex Sclavorum*; Mislav, Domagoj, Zdeslav are described as *principes* or *duces Sclavorum* in the writings of John the Deacon. The pope wrote the letters to *comes*, *dux*, or *princeps Sclavorum*⁶ until the year 925 and the council in Split, when Tomislav was mentioned as *rex Chroatorum*.

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

In spite of naming the Croats as Slavs in Latin sources, probably due to their language, Croatian identity was not Slavic. They turned away from the Slavs and Avars in their *origo* and the Slavic identity probably existed beside the Croatian identity. In addition, it is not the subsequent evolutionary phase of the development of Illyrian (if there was something like that) identities mixed with Gothic or Slavic identity.⁸ It is something new, created at the time of the changes inside the khaganate⁹ and the transformations in the orbit of Frankish domination in Europe. In the context of the uprising of Louis/Ljudovit in *Pannonia Inferior* the Frankish annals mention his Frankish ally, Borna, who is *dux Dalmaciae*, or *dux Dalmatiae et Liburniae* and *dux Guduscanorum*. *Dux Dalmatiae et Liburniae* was for the Franks a real term from the late antique political geography, according to which those regions were included into the Friulian mark; and *dux Guduscanorum* could be a name for his ethno-political identity. The Croats appear on the scene

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

⁶ BUDAČ, Neven: Identities in Early Medieval Dalmatia. In: *Franks, Northmen and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe*. Ed.: Ildar H. GARIZPANOVA – Patrick J. GEARY – Przemysław URBAŃCZYK. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008, p. 236.

⁷ TŘEŠTÍK, Dušan: *Mýty kmene Čechů*. Praha: Lidové Noviny, 2008, p. 89.

⁸ MUŽIČ, Ivan: Nastajanje hrvatskog naroda na Balkanu. In: *Starohrvatska prosojeta*, a. 35, 2008, nr. 3, p. 31.

⁹ POHL, Walter: Osnove Hrvatske Etnogeneze. In: *Etnogeneza Hrvata*. Ed.: Neven BUDAČ. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1996, p. 95.

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

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

The exact form of the name "Slovak" does not appear until the fourteenth century. In Latin sources the name was simply *Slavus/Sclavus* or *Slavi/Sclavi*.¹⁵ The terms "Slav" and "Slovak" (in Slovak language "Slovan" and "Slovák") acted or were used like synonyms until the eighteenth

century. For example, in Polish and Czech literature of the sixteenth and eighteenth century, the name "Slovak" serves in larger sense, same as the name "Slav".¹⁶ The name *Slovak* is a shorter derivation of the description *Slovjenin, Slovän*, in English "Slav". This original form (*Slovienin, Slovän*) has been preserved in a female form *Slovenka*, as well as in the adjective *slovenský*, or in the name of the country *Slovensko*.¹⁷ We can say that in this sense the Slovak identity is Slavic. Some tribes took or kept the name of a small *gens* which we know from the Byzantine sources from the sixth century. Others became Slavs because they were described like Slavs from the outside, or thanks to later fate of the mission of Constantine and Methodius.¹⁸ There is one text which possibly reflects the ethnic memory of the population of Moravia and it could probably lighten up why the population used the name Slav for a long time. It found its way into the chronicle of monk Nestor from Kiev Monastery of the Caves, through a part called *Skazanie o preložení knig na slavjanskij jazyk* (*Tale about the Translation of the Books into Slavic Language*), which according to some specialists was written in Pannonia. It speaks about the homeland of the Slavs on the Danube river: "There was one Slavic language: Slavs who sat on Danube",¹⁹ it speaks about their dispersion and adoption of new names from the lands where they settled down. Nestor uses their new names in his descriptions of various tribes. For example, he speaks about the leaders of Drevlyans, or the land of Polans. He always uses the regional names except the cases when the groups called themselves simply as Slavs. When he writes about the Hungarian "arrival", he always mentions Slavic dukes, or Slavic land. In the letter to Emperor Michael III, Svatopluk and Rastislav speak for themselves: "We, the Slavs (from Moravia, Nitra, Balaton principality), we are simple

¹⁰ DZINO, Danijel: *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat*. Leiden: Brill, 2010, p. 189.

¹¹ *Annales Xantenses*. In: *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici* (deinde *MMFH*), vol. 1. Ed.: Lubomír HAVLÍK. Praha – Brno: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1966, p. 66.

¹² *Annales Bertiniani*. In: *MMFH* 1, p. 74.

¹³ *Annales Fuldenses*. In: *Ibidem*, p. 112.

¹⁴ *Annalista Saxo, Reginonis Chronicon, Sigiberti Gemblacensis Chronica, Cosmae Chronica...*

¹⁵ MŮCSKA, Vincent: Uwagi na temat etnogenezy Słowaków. In: *Wędrowka i etnogeneza w starożytności i w średniowieczu*. Red.: Maciej SALAMON – Jerzy STRZELCZYK. Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2010, p. 350.

¹⁶ E. g. Hieronim Spiczyński in *O ziołach tutejszych i zamorskich i mocy ich* (1556), in Czech translation of Bible of Kralice (1579–1593), in Dictionary of Linde by the entry "Slav" (1812). Cfr. OTREBSKI, Jan: *Słowianie. Rozwiązanie odwiecznej zagadki ich nazw*. Poznań: Księgarnia Ziemi Zachodnich, 1947, pp. 66–67.

¹⁷ STANISLAV, Ján: *Slovienin – Slovan – Slovák – Tót*. In: *Etnogenéza Slovákov*. Red.: Richard MARSINA – Peter MULÍK. Martin: Matica Slovenská, 2009, p. 120; AVENARIUS, Alexander: *Začiatky Slovanov na strednom Dunaji: Autochtonistická teória vo svetle súčasného bádania*. In: *Historický časopis*, a. 40, 1992, nr. 4, passim.

¹⁸ HOMZA Martin: *Niekoľko téz k počiatkom slovenského etnika*. In: Marin HOMZA – Naďa RÁCOVÁ. *K vývoju slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2010, pp. 9–21.

¹⁹ *Najstarsza kronika kyjowska: Powieść minionych lat*. Trans.: Franciszek SIELICKI. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2005, p. 5.

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

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

other persons. But those efforts were counter-productive and they rather affirm the strong position of Svatopluk's myth in the elite circles and in oral tradition as well.

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

²⁰ P. Magistri Gesta Hungarorum, 36. In: *MMFH* 1, p. 227.

²¹ HOMZA, Martin – RÁCOVÁ, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*, p. 18.

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

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

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

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

The territories of modern northern Croatia and western Slovakia entered Late Antiquity in fundamentally different circumstances. Whereas the northern Croatian area, roughly encompassing the provinces of *Pannonia Savia* and *Pannonia Secunda*, was fully incorporated into the Late Roman administrative and economic system, the area of western Slovakia existed outside the *orbis Romanus*, albeit not totally devoid of Roman presence: there was a *castellum* Gerulata, which existed from the first to the fourth century A.D. and whose remains are located in today's Rusovce in Bratislava, and another *castellum* Celemantia on the left bank of the Danube, at the village of Iža

to the east of Komárno, opposite Brigetio (Szőny), which was operational until the late fourth century A.D. The latter fort was one of the so-called counter-fortresses, military strongholds that the Romans had a habit, strategically and tactically very sound one, of establishing on the soil of *Barbaricum* along their northern borders as forward defensive outposts (bridgeheads). There were presumably more such military installations on the territory of modern south-western Slovakia along the northern bank of the Danube, as the example of Devín shows, where there was a counter-fortress of Carnuntum (Petronell-Carnuntum / Bad Deutsch-Altenburg).¹

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¹ BARKÓCZI, László: History of Pannonia. In: *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*. Ed.: ALFONZ LENGYEL – GEORGE T. B. RADAN. Lexington – Budapest: Kentucky UP – Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980, p. 103; FITZ, Jenő: Administration and army. In: *Ibidem*, p. 132; FÜLEP, Ferenc: Pannonia research in Hungary. In: *Ibidem*, p. 35; SOPRONI, Sándor: Limes. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 220–221, 223; THOMAS, Edit: Religion. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 200–201. Cfr. also KOLNIK, Titus: Römische Stationen im slowakischen Abschnitt des nordpannonischen Limesvorlandes. In: *Archeologické rozhledy*, a. 38, 1986, pp. 411–434, 467–472; KRASKOVSKÁ, Ludmila: *Gerulata-Rusovce. Římské pohřebisko I. Fontes Archeologického ústavu Slovenského národního múzea v Bratislave*, vol. 2. Martin: Vydavateľstvo Osveta, 1974, pp. 165–166; PIETA, Karol – PLACHÁ, Veronika: Die ersten Römer im nördlichen

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

Simultaneously, the area of south-western and southern Slovakia experienced the movements of peoples when the Marcomanni, the Quadi, and the Vandals, along with the Sarmatians, crossed the Danube into the northern Pannonia and ravaged the area probably in 395.³ They might have been provoked into the action by Alaric's rebellion and presumably a similar stir among the Pannonian federates who, as it seems, failed to check the raiders. The situation was resolved a couple of years later, around 397, when the general Stilicho made a treaty with the Marcomanni who were settled in *Pannonia Prima*. Only in 399 Stilicho managed to pacify the middle Danube area, but the peace did not last for long.⁴

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the disappearance of the Hunnic superpower, the Germanic peoples were left as the true winners, regardless of whether they supported the Huns or rebelled against them in the conflict that arose after the death of the Hunnic king Attila in 453 and climaxed in the battle at the river Nedao. As it seems, the new ethnic situation along the middle Danube was, starting from the west to the east, as follows: the Herulians in the southern Moravia, western Slovakia and northern Austria; the Suevi (who probably incorporated other West Germanic groups that previously disappeared from sources, namely the Marcomanni and the Quadi) in the northern Austria, southern Slovakia, and northern Hungary; the Gepids in the area between the Maros and the Criş (Körös), while by the end of the fifth century A.D. they controlled the area between the Tisza, the Danube, the Olt, and the Carpathians; the Scyri in the middle part

of the region between the Danube and the Tisza; the Sarmatians to the south of the Scyri; and the Ostrogoths in the former Pannonian provinces. The Ostrogoths established three separate settlement groups, stretching from the north-western to the south-eastern Pannonia, and soon proved themselves as power wielders in the region, winning the status of the imperial federates and waging incessant offensive or defensive wars against their neighbours. Probably in 467, the Suevi, under their king Hunimundus, traversed the western parts of Pannonia *en route* to plunder Dalmatia, capturing the Ostrogothic cattle on the way, but were crushingly defeated by the Ostrogoths when they were returning from their successful raid in Dalmatia. In 469/470, the Ostrogoths attacked and plundered the Suevic area north of the Danube, forcing King Hunimundus to flee to the Alamanni who lived in the upper Danube area, while the rest of the Suevi had to submit to the Ostrogoths. Due to these uncertainties, the remaining local Romanized Pannonian population was under a constant pressure, but they nevertheless maintained their distinctive identity.⁷

After the Ostrogoths left Pannonia in 473, the Gepids became a new dominating power in the region. The remaining Suevi used the departure of the Ostrogoths to move into the northern Pannonia and, if the hypothesis is correct, to establish themselves in the former Late Roman province of *Pannonia Savia* since the province was known as *Suavia* in the first half of the sixth century A.D. (as testified in Cassiodorus, Jordanes, and Procopius⁸), which is clearly reminiscent of the Suevic name. It is also possible that these Savian Suevi received a populational influx when the Ostrogothic king Theodoric ordered the Alamanni,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

by the East Roman army, defeated the Gepids probably in modern eastern Slavonia.¹²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

only after the Avar khaganate collapsed under the attacks of the Franks in the late eighth and the early ninth centuries.¹⁷

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The area of the province quickly spread out. Emperor Trajan divided Pannonia into two smaller parts at the beginning of the second century (some time after 103 AD). The first part, called Upper Pannonia (*Pannonia superior*), covered the northern and western regions, whereas Lower Pannonia (*Pannonia inferior*) consisted of southern and eastern regions of the former province. The middle and lower Raba created their border no later than in the third century AD.² The outer border of the province (north, east) had been stabilised on the river Danube for a long time. It also bordered with Dalmatia and Moesia in the south. This border was established according to particular points *Ad Fines*, approximately 30 kilometres south of the river Sava.³ As the location was exposed to neighbouring barbaric tribes, it was necessary to build several garrisons not only along the Danube – so-called *Limes Romanum*, but also in the inland. The most important and archaeologically best

researched are *Sabaria* (Szombathely, Hungary), *Sopiniae* (Pécs, Hungary), and especially *Valcum* (Fenekpuszta, Hungary).⁴ Pannonian provinces became one of the areas with the biggest concentration of armed forces within the Roman Empire. Such development was naturally accompanied by development of infrastructure of communication arterial roads as well as the places on these roads which ensured their operation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Carpathian mountains. Slavs, who had not left the region, managed to find a way of coexistence with them. Some of them were ruled directly by the Avar Khaganate, some became dependant on it. However, others became their *foederati* and took part also in the Avar expansion.

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

⁵ WOLFRAM, Herwig: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, p. 68.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Great Moravia is concerned. When the young emperor Otto III started with his plan of *renovatio imperii* at the end of the millennium, he had to count with strong counterparts that had grown on the ruins of Great Moravia – the Kingdoms of Hungary (Pannonia) and Poland.

Pannonia in the ninth century

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

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

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

¹² EGGERS, Martin: *Die Verwendung und Bedeutung des Begriffes „Pannonien“ in „westlichen“ (fränkischen) Quellen des Frühmittelalters*, p. 2

¹³ WOLFRAM, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 68.

¹⁴ REIMITZ, Helmut: *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen im karolingischen Mitteleuropa*, p. 149–151.

¹⁵ EGGERS, Martin: *Die Verwendung und Bedeutung des Begriffes „Pannonien“ in „westlichen“ (fränkischen) Quellen des Frühmittelalters*, p. 30.

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

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

Even despite the above mentioned facts, it can be concluded that according to usual ideas of the second half of the ninth century, the Upper Pannonia was located between the Enns and Raba, while the Lower Pannonia lay between the Raba valley and the Drava. This perception of Pannonia definitely suppressed the perception of Pannonia of the first half of the ninth century when the Drava separated the Upper and Lower Pannonia and the whole region was identical with *Avaria*. Both

were also related with the tradition of Attila’s Hun realm.²² This ideological connection between the Huns and the Avars was renewed at the end of the ninth century when the Old Hungarian tribes arrived in the Carpathian basin (*Hunni* = *Avaros* = *Ungri/Hungari*). The Classical notion of *Pannonia* as well as its early Carolingian equivalent, *Avaria*, had to step aside and create a space for a new term – *Transdanubia* – naturally, with quite a new content as well as meaning.

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

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

¹⁷ REIMITZ, Helmut: *Grenzen und Grenzüberschreitungen im karolingischen Mitteleuropa*, pp. 124–126, 151.

¹⁸ *Ibidem.*, p. 150.

¹⁹ *Ibidem.*, p. 152; WOLFRAM, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 71.

²⁰ ŠTIH, Peter: Die Ostgrenze Italiens im Frühmittelalter. In: *Grenze und Differenz*, p. 26.

²¹ *Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*. In: *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (deinde *SRG*), vol. 6. Ed.: Friedrich KURZE. Hannover: Hahniani, 1895, p. 134.

²² WOLFRAM, Herwig: *Grenzen und Räume*, p. 70.

²³ ENGEL, Pál: Das mittelalterliche Transdanubien als eine geschichtliche Landschaft. In: *Pannonia Regia: Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541*. Ed.: Árpád MIKÓ – Imre TAKÁCS. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994, p. 543.

²⁴ DOPSCH, Heinz: Passau als Zentrum der Slawenmission: ein Beitrag zur Frage des „Großmährischen Reiches“. In: *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, a. 28/29, 1985/1986, p. 25, notae 101–103.

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

The frontier districts organisation and its milestones

The rise of the Carolingian dynasty in the eighth century represents a breakthrough in the military history of the Latin West.²⁵ Charles Martel, Pippin III, and especially Charlemagne reorganised the army system, having laid the foundations of feudalism in Europe. That enabled them to abandon the outdated methods of the Late Roman period and its successive states. They not only applied an offensive approach towards the neighbouring regions, formerly incorporated into the Roman Empire, but penetrated also the areas beyond the *limes*.²⁶ From a military point of view, the decisive turning point was an emergence of possibility to unleash long-term field campaigns in order to force an enemy to capitulate. During Charlemagne's reign, the Franks applied the principle of a stunning supremacy which was based on the ruler's ability to mobilise, collect, send forth,

and sustain numerous armies to enemy countries regularly each year in different places at once. Systematic Frankish raids put their enemies under such pressure that these were unable to renew their resources, which usually resulted into surrender.²⁷ This practice can be illustrated by an account in the *Annals of the Kingdom of the Franks* from 791 concerning a campaign during the wars against the Avars. Charlemagne himself led his army. Troops from all over the empire set out from garrisons along the Enns and were proceeding along both banks of the Danube, supported by boats. The Avars got so scared that they abandoned their fortresses and fled.²⁸ However, even the kings could not send their armies to remote lands without having taken geographical circumstances into consideration. Logistic support of military operations was a primal task of frontier district's administration. Rulers appointed commanders of particular marches, who were responsible for the infrastructure in order to secure roads as well as sufficient food and feed.²⁹ Frankish military commanders during the reign of the above mentioned rulers as well as their successors in the ninth century were preparing military campaigns with the highest caution, having first secured the logistic infrastructure.³⁰

Unfortunately, sources remain silent as far as Charlemagne's motifs for the conquest of the Avar Khaganate are concerned. It is known that the attack started by crossing the Enns, starting positions had been thoroughly prepared. *The Annals of the Kingdom of the Franks* inform (under the year 774) that Charlemagne conquered the Kingdom of Langobards, two years later he suppressed the revolt of Hrodgaud, Duke of Friuli.³¹ By obtaining the north-eastern Italy, the Franks had a comfortable road to Pannonia open. The year 788 turned out to be the milestone when Charlemagne gained control over Byzantine Istria³² (and thus extended

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³² WOLFRAM, Herwig: *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich*, pp. 256–257.

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

A conflict with the Avars

Foundations of the Frankish south-east expansion were already laid during the reign of the Agilolfings in Bavaria (the middle of the sixth century).³⁴ Formally, the Dukedom of Bavaria was a part of the Kingdom of Franks, but up to Tassilo III's deposition, the Agilolfings ruled quite independently, particularly due to their successful *Ostpolitik* – "eastern policy."³⁵ The centre of this dukedom was south-east of the river Inn and west of the Enns. Political orientation was influenced by the course of Danube, as was the direction of the road network (to the south-east).³⁶ In 741, Duke Odilo used a request for help from the prince of Carinthian Slavs, Borut, in his conflict with the Avars as a pretext. The *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* states that Odilo also subdued Carinthian prince after having defeated the Avar armies and took members of Borut's family as hostages. They were supposed to be brought up at Bavarian court in Christian way.³⁷ Despite this fact, the Principality of Carinthia managed to keep some sort of formal independence for the following thirty years. In 772, the Bavarian duke Tassilo succeeded in incorporating Carinthia into the Dukedom of Bavaria. Thus,

the road to the central part of Danubian region was open.³⁸ The first stage of the breakthrough to Pannonia is reflected by the foundation of the monastery in Kremsmünster in 777. In Carinthia, it was the same with the monastery in Innichen in 769 – both located on the traffic artery heading towards the east.³⁹ For instance, Innichen is in Pustertal, directly at the watershed of the Drava and Rienz, by the spring of the Drava and actually by the gate to the whole Carinthia. It was also a strategic point during the revolt of Ljudevit (Louis), prince of the Sava principality. In 822, the monastery was donated the lands between Trixen and Griffen at the crossroads of a road leading from *Traungau* to *Salzburggau* and the one coming from Pustertal along the Drava. The road led even southwards near Trixen, through the low passes to the upper Sava. These properties were supposed to secure the natural gate between Carinthia and Bavaria.⁴⁰ Such a dislocated position of the monastery did not only reflect the religious zeal of its founder but had also its pragmatic and political functions. Establishing monasteries on strategic places in the borderlands as well as the spread of parish network abroad and the import of saints' cults symbolised the first step of a gradual integration of individual lands into the area of the political body that had initiated the process of transition. Similar tendencies are visible in case of Saxony,⁴¹ but also in Moravia and Nitra principalities. Lands on the right bank of the Enns remained for the Bavarians impossible to cross for long. This was a sort of no man's land, separating Bavaria from the Avar Khaganate, though there were traditionally good relations between these two neighbours.⁴²

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 42–56.

⁴⁰ BITTERAU, Theodor: *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, vol. 1. München: M. Rieger'sche Universität, 1905, Nr. 472, pp. 403–404; BOWLUS, Charles R.: Krieg und Kirche in den Südost-Grenzgrafschaften. In: *Der heilige Method, Salzburg und die Slawenmission*. Ed.: Theodor PIFFL-PERČEVIĆ – Alfred STIRNEMAN. Wien-Salzburg: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1987, pp. 75, 80, 85–90; STÖRMER, Wilhelm: Zum Problem der Slawenmission des Bistums Freising in 9. Jahrhundert. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 212–214.

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

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

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

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

The disintegration of the Kingdom of Langobards ended the good relations between this realm and the khagans.⁴⁶ According to Charlemagne's biographer Einhard, the Avar envoys visited Charlemagne concerning the issue of peace (*pacis causa*) in 782. The king granted them an audience, but dismissed them anyway.⁴⁷ The disappointed Avars contracted an alliance with the Bavarians in 787. Therefore, Tassilo's deposition turned out to be the last drop resulting into an open fight. Charlemagne had to face Avar raids in the Danubian region as well as in Italy.⁴⁸ As the *Annals of the Kingdom of the Franks* inform,

he successfully repulsed the attack and Frankish armies commanded by Graman and Otakar managed to suppress the Avars deep beyond the Enns. The Avars suffered the ultimate defeat on the field of Ybbs.⁴⁹ According to one source,⁵⁰ Charlemagne determined *finis vel marcas Baiuvariorum* ("borders of Bavarian March") in Regensburg in order to secure defence of the newly obtained lands.⁵¹ Carinthia was also afflicted by this change of administration. Charlemagne deposed Prince Valtuns, appointed by Tassilo III.⁵² In return, the king's brother-in-law, Gerold I, was chosen to rule the region.⁵³

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

⁴³ DEÉR, Josef: Karl der Große und der Untergang des Avarenreiches. In: *Karl der Große: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, vol. 1. Ed.: Helmut BEUMANN – Wolfgang BRAUNFELS. Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1965, pp. 719–791.

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

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

⁴⁶ ŠTIH, Peter: *Die Ostgrenze Italiens im Frühmittelalter*, p. 36.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵³ MITTERAUER, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 80–81.

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

According to the Frankish annals, the Slavs took an advantage in the weakening of the Avar power. The king was trying to calm down the situation in the east. He even allowed the Avars to settle down in the area between *Carnuntum* (present-day Petronell and Bad Deutsch-Altenburg in

Lower Austria) and *Sabaria*.⁵⁹ He also forbade any export of weapons from the realm to the east. In 811, he even sent an army to stabilise the situation and end conflicts between the Slavs and the Avars. These attempts turned out to be useless and the name *Avaros* appears in 822 for the last time.⁶⁰

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

⁵⁴ *Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, p. 86–89.

⁵⁵ SZÖKE, Béla Miklós: Karolingische Kirchenorganisation in Pannonien. In: *Glaube, Kult und Herrschaft: Phänomene des Religiösen im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. in Mittel- und Nordeuropa: Akten des 59. Internationalen Sachsensymposiums und der Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im Mitteldonauraum*. Ed.: Uta von FREEDEN. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2009, p. 395; *Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, p. 98; BOWLUS, Charles R.: Die militärische Organisation des karolingischen Südostens (791 – 907). In: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, a. 31, 1997, p. 52.

⁵⁶ STEINHÜBEL, Ján: *Division of Pannonia among Franconian Marches*, p. 10.

⁵⁷ *Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, p. 98–100.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 99–100.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

⁶⁰ *Ordinatio Imperii*. In: *MGH Capit.* 1/8. Ed.: Alfred BORETIUS. Hannover: Hahniani, 1883, pp. 123, 271.

⁶¹ DOPSCH, Heinz: Zwischen Salzburg, Byzanz und Rom. Zur Missionierung Pannoniens im 9. Jahrhundert. In: *Christentum in Pannonien im ersten Jahrtausend: Internationale Tagung im Balaton-Museum in Keszthely vom 6. bis 9. November 2000*. Zalaegerszeg: Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2002, p. 269.

⁶² MITTERAUER, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 1–6.

⁶³ STEINHÜBEL, Ján: *Vel'komoravské územie v severovýchodnom Zadunajsku*. Bratislava : Veda, 1995, pp. 29–46.

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

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

The revolt of Ljudevit (Louis), prince of the Avar principality

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

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

Ljudevit became its casualties. The latter was betrayed by his own people.

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

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

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

A conflict with the Bulgarians and its consequences

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

⁶⁴ MITTERAUER, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 5–6.

⁶⁵ BOWLUS, Charles R.: *Carolingian Military Hegemony in the Carpathian Basin 791–907*, p. 153.

⁶⁶ TŘEŠTÍK, Dušan: *Vznik Velké Moravy: Moravané, Čechové a střední Evropa v letech 791–871*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2001, p. 94.

⁶⁷ *Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, pp. 152–153.

⁶⁸ *Annales regni Francorum qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, p. 116

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

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

A re-organisation of the administration

At least during the first period of the Frankish dominion, the defence of eastern frontiers consisted of several Slavic tributary principalities (*foederati*) who were enjoying relatively high rate of inner independence. Besides, these principalities were creating outer impact zone of the realm. This structure is obvious in the *Ordinatio imperii* (817). Louis the German was given Bavaria as an enclosed unit as well as a certain number of nations/tribes at its eastern edge. Already in the 820s, the

organisation concept started changing as a result of Ljudevit's rebellion and Bulgarian invasion. The tribal principalities were substituted by counties. Conflicts in the 820s showed unreliability of Slavic princes who had previously declared their loyalty towards the empire. Carinthia (the region which had been the part of Bavaria for the longest time) was given to Count Helmwin. He was succeeded by Count Albgar who was, however, soon deposed as he had compromised himself in mutual conflicts of Louis the Pious' sons. Pabo, probably a member of the Wilhelm dynasty, was elected to the position of Carinthian duke (*dux*). A part of historiography supposes that he was superior to three other counts (according to places mentioned in *Conversio* where the first churches were founded). Another part claims that a source expression *Pabo cum sociis comitibus* rather indicates existence of other counts equal to Pabo and subordinated to a margrave. This group could have included Count Witagowo, whose county was located on the upper Enns, or Guntram, who is a few times mentioned in the context with Kocel' (*Chozil*) and Lower Pannonia region. This indicates he could have been in charge of the Sava region as a successor of Salacho (mentioned in 838).⁷³

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

⁶⁹ Ibidem, pp. 173–174.

⁷⁰ *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum Orientalis ad 900*. In: *MGH SRG*, vol. 7. Ed.: Friedrich KURZE. Hannover: Hahniani, 1891, p. 25.

⁷¹ SCHWARCZ, Andreas: Pannonien im 9. Jahrhundert und die Anfänge der direkten Beziehung zwischen dem Ostfränkischen Reich und den Bulgaren. In: *Grenze und Differenz*, pp. 102–105.

⁷² *Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und der Brief des Erzbischofs Theotmar von Salzburg*, pp. 122–123.

⁷³ MITTERAUER, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 206–210.

⁷⁴ BOWLUS, Charles R.: *The Military Organisation of Carinthia and Pannonia (818–846)*, pp. 170–172.

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

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

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

However, this "experiment Pribina" did not turn out well for the Frankish Empire. Pribina was close to Bavarian noble families associated not only with Louis the German but also with former dukes of Agilofing dynasty.⁷⁷ However, he possessed an unbeatable advantage of being a Slav in the Slavic milieu.⁷⁸ When the realm was divided between three grandsons of Charlemagne by the Treaty of Verdun in 843, the pacification and a tighter bind of south-east lands became an essential issue for Louis the German. By this treaty,

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

⁷⁵ MITTERAUER, Michael: *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten*, pp. 86–88, 91–102, 109–120, 125–131, 180–182.

⁷⁶ BOWLUS, Charles R.: *Carolingian Military Hegemony in the Carpathian Basin 791–907*, p. 156.

⁷⁷ TÖNSMEYER, Hans Dieter: [...] in castro Chezilonis noviter Mosapurc vocato [...]: Die Beziehungen des panonischen Fürsten Kozel zu Bayern und der Beginn der Ethnogenese der Slowaken. In: *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte*, a. 76, 2007, p. 37–77.

⁷⁸ STANISLAV, Ján: *Slovenský juh v stredoveku*, vol. 1. Bratislava: Národné literárne centrum, 1999, passim.

⁷⁹ KUČERA, Matúš: *Slovensko po páde Veľkej Moravy: Štúdie o hospodárskom a sociálnom vývine v 9.–13. storočí*. Bratislava: Veda, 1974, passim.

⁸⁰ Szűcs, Jenő: *Tri historické regióny Európy*. Trans.: Vincent MÚCSKA. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2011, p. 136.

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

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

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

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

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

synonymical variants such as *Sclavana*, *Sclavonia*, *bilād as-Saqāliba*, *Slavyanskaya zemlya*, etc.

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

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

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

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

Almost as a rule, the earliest historical mentions of a particular topic are rather dubious. So it is in the case of *Sclavinia*, where the first mention is ascribed to Theofylaktos Simokattés.² However, the translation of the Greek text has served as a fertile soil for scholarly debates. Theofylaktos mentions the toponym of *Sclavinia* only once in his *Oikumeniké historia* to describe or point out to the territory of the *Sclavins* on the Lower Danube beyond the boundary of the Byzantine Empire, i.e. somewhere in the ancient province of Dacia. This particular mention of *Sclavinia* is connected with

the Byzantine attack of 602 against the Slavs and its description is very vague, lacking the proper territory definition. Within this first mention, we have also analysed the other historical sources of the fifth–seventh centuries supporting Theofylaktos' references, however, not making use of the toponym of *Sclavinia* (Pseudo-Cesarius, Jordanes, Procopius, Moses Chorenaci, Ananius Shirakaci).

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

The following concept, presented in the works of such authors and historians as Theofanes the Confessor,³ Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos,⁴ Ibn Hurdābih⁵ or in *Hodoeporicon* of Saint Willibald,⁶ is much better and more comprehensively defined as the previous one. In this case we move from the vague areas beyond the Danube to the very specific, little autonomic Slavic tribal territorial units on the Balkans. These *Sclavinias* were to be found on the territories officially belonging to the Byzantine Empire, however, in fact they

¹ For a better orientation in the topic, before we start describing the concepts of *Sclavinias*, we will briefly list the selected historical texts on *Sclavinias*:

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

² For more detail, see – TEOFYLAKT SIMOKATTA: *Historia*. Ed.: Wincenty SWOBODA, trans.: Alina BRZÓSTKOWSKA. In: *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian: Seria grecka 2*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1989, pp. 254–257. See also – TEOFYLAKTOS SIMOKATTES: *Na přelomu věků*. Ed. et trans.: Václav BAHNÍK. Praha: Odeon, 1986, pp. 261–270. Also – TEOFYLAKT SIMOKATTA: *Istoria*. Ed. et trans.: Sergej Arkad'evich IVANOV. In: *Svod o drevnejših pismennykh izvestij o slavjanach*, vol. 2. (VII–IX st.). Ed.: Gennadij Grigor'evich LITAVRIN et al. Moskva: Vostochnaja literatura, 1995, pp. 10–64; also – TEOFYLAKT SIMOKATTA: *Istoria*. Ed.: Anatolij Ivanovich UTKIN, trans.: Sergej Petrovich KONDRATJEV. Moskva: Arktos, 1996, 268 p.

³ For more detail, see – TEOFAN ISPOVEDNIK. Ed. et trans.: Gennadij Grigor'evich LITAVRIN. In: *Svod drevnejših*, t. 2, pp. 248–318. Also – TEOFANES: *Kronika*. Ed.: Wincenty SWOBODA, trans.: Alina BRZÓSTKOWSKA. In: *Testimonia najdawniejszych dziejów Słowian: Seria grecka 3*. Warszawa: Sławistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 1995, pp. 35–37; as well as – BIBIKOV, Mihail Vadimovich: *Istoricheskaja literatura Vizantii*. Sankt-Peterburg: Aleteja, 1998, pp. 80–88.

⁴ More comprehensively, see – CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS: *De administrando imperio*. Ed.: Gyula MORAVCSIK, trans.: Romilly J. H. JENKINS. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985, pp. 7–11. Also – *Konstantin Bagrjanorodij: Ob upravlenii imperiej*. Ed. et trans.: Gennadij Grigor'evich LITAVRIN – Anatolij Petrovich NOVOSEL'CEV. Moskva: Nauka, 1991, pp. 10–31.

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

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

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

3. *Sclavinia* as the Carpathian Basin

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

Considering this “Slavic” concept, we witness the phenomenon of interjection of the Byzantine tradition, since the sixth century systematically connecting the Slavs with the Danube, with the own Slavic Moravian-Pannonian tradition of the ninth-tenth centuries. This concept, having originated in the Slavic world, influenced all other following ideological streams about the common origin and the homeland of the Slavs. Reviving the Great

Moravian tradition, it spread into the other parts of the Slavic world, where it left its mark for long.

4. *Sclavinia* as Great Moravia

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ The detailed analysis of the chronicle, see DANILEVSKIJ, Igor' Nikolaevich: *Povest' vremennykh let: germenevticheskie osnovy istochnikovedenija letopisnykh tekstov*. Moskva: Aspekt-Press, 2004, pp. 85–111. Also – SHAHMATOV, Aleksej Aleksandrovich: *Istorija russkogo letopisanija 1. Povest' vremennykh let i drevnejšie russkie letopisnye svody, kn. 1. Razyskanija o drevnejših russkikh letopisnykh svodah*. Ed.: Viktor Kuz'mich ZIBOROV – Vasilij V. JAKOVLEV. Moskva – Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2002, pp. 309–328.

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

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

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



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

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

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

Another interesting moment to be noticed and highlighted in connection with the fourth concept

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



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

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

¹⁰ The concept of St. Adalbert’s *Sclavinia* researched in detail in FRIED, Johannes: *Ottón III. i Bolesław Chrobry*. Trans.: Elżbieta KAŹMIERCZAK – Witold LEDER. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 2000, *passim*.

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

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

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

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

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

The concept of *Sclavinia* as the Volga Bulgaria has just an additional character as it appears only in

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

9. *Sclavinia* as the whole Europe

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

Sclavinia as the whole of Europe, or

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

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

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



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

¹¹ *Puteshestvie Ibn-Fadlana na Volge*. Ed.: Ignatij Julianovich KRACHKOVSKIJ, trans.: Andrej Petrovich KOVALEVSKIJ. Moskva: Izd-vo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1939, pp. 7–53.

concerning the topic of *Sclavinia*. Analysing and interpreting the rich sample of miscellaneous historical sources we have come to a conclusion that a very large complex of the historical sources of the Slavic origin fixes several concepts of *Sclavinia* – these concepts origin from and reflect the three basic Slavic traditions: 1. Moravian-Pannonian tradition, 2. South Slavic tradition, 3. Latin West Slavic tradition. The most striking result, however, is the assumption that they all have one common nominator – Great Moravia and its ideological-territorial legacy. The testimony and experience of this strong and in all directions important Slavic state stamped the history of all its further Slavic

descendants. Subsequently, they preserved, adapted, modified, and spread further, as a sign of their own legitimacy, the memory concerning the common Slavic land, called *Sclavinia*. Simultaneously, there were many attempts to utilize this example and revive its legacy of the famous past, as it was demonstrated in many a concept of *Sclavinia*. However, these particular concepts never crossed the boundary of the planned and stayed preserved in the sphere of visions and projects only. Nevertheless, all that bears priceless witness of the Slavic history in general, its oral and written traditions and historical memory, which were all in the various ways embraced in the term of *Sclavinia*.

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

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

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

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

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

Bohemia or Hungary, or in the tenth century as in the case of Poland. A century or two later, the first chronicles were written to legitimize the existence of states and to create the canon of their history.²

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

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

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

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

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

We will start our analysis from the first South Slavic chronicler, called conventionally the Priest

of Duklja. He noted that in the time of King Svetimir: “*floruit, ut rosa, ex civitate Thessalonica quidam philosophus Constantinus nomine, filius cuiusdam Leonis patricii, vir per omnia sanctissimus atque in divinis scripturis profundissime a pueritia edoctus*”.⁵ We read further that the holy man went to Khazaria, which he converted to Christianity. Afterwards he converted *totam gentem Bulgarorum*.⁶ The chronicler wrote in the next chapter that after Svetimir’s death: “*accepit regnum [filius – ed.] eius Svetopelek nomine*”.⁷ Constantine-Cyril⁸ was called to Rome by Pope Stephen, who heard a lot about his missionary and translation activity.⁹ He crossed the territories of King *Svetopelek*, whom he also baptized and firmed in the faith. In the following passage of the story, the chronicler concentrates on the acts of the ruler, who let the Latin speaking Christians rebuild the towns¹⁰ and decided to organize the state anew. The congregation of all inhabitants of the Kingdom on the Dalma Plain with participation of the papal and imperial (Byzantine) legates was devoted to this purpose. The regular Church organization with two metropolises, in Salona (Split) and in Diokleia, as well as the administrative organization and the rules of the state administration served to this purpose. “*Multas leges et bonos mores instituit, quos qui velit agnoscere, librum Sclavorum qui dicitur Methodius legat, qui reperiet qualia bona instituit rex benignissimus*”.¹¹ The chronicler finishes the narration about King *Svetopelek* with the information

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

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

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

⁶ Ibidem.

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

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

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

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

¹¹ Ibidem, cap. 9, p. 56.

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

And now it is time for a story of the *Primary Chronicle*, which belonged to the Slavic-Greek culture circle. We read about the course of the Hungarians near Kiev, who went through the Hungarian Mountains and fought against the settled Slavs and the Vlachs.¹⁴ It was in the year 6406 of the Byzantine era, which is the year 898 AD. They expelled the Vlachs and started to reign over the Slavs living amongst them. Therefore this territory was called the Hungarian land. The Hungarians started to fight against the Greeks and they conquered the land of the Franks and Macedonia even to Thessalonika. They started to fight against the Bohemians and Moravians. Only one Slavic language existed at that time. It was used by the Danubian Slavs, who accepted the Hungarians, as well as by the Moravians, Czechs, Ljaks and the Polyanians, “*which are now called Rus’*.” There were books which were translated in Moravia and written in the Slavic script, which was used by the Ruthenians and the Danube Bulgars.¹⁵ Then we learn that the princes of the Slavs, Rastislav, i Svjatoplk, i Kocelj,¹⁶ sent a legacy to Emperor Michael after their baptism with a request to send

them teachers who could explain the holy books to them in an understandable language. They understood neither Greek nor Latin.¹⁷ The emperor asked two sons of Leo of Thessalonika, clever philosophers, *Mefodija i Konstantina*, after the consultations.¹⁸ They both went to the Slavs, they composed the Slavic script and translated the *Acts of the Apostles*, the *Gospel*, afterwards the *Psalter*, the *Octoich* and other books. The Roman pope¹⁹ supported their work and excommunicated their opponents. Constantine went afterwards to Bulgaria, and Methodius stayed in Moravia, where he was proclaimed a bishop of the see of St. Andronicus, St. Paul’s disciple, by Prince Kocelj. The chronicler adds that St. Paul Apostle taught also in Moravia, a territory identical with Illiricum, where he was present and it was the primary territory of the Slavs. Therefore, St. Paul taught in Slavic, and because Rus’ descended from this language, St. Paul was the Apostle of Rus’. He designated Andronicus as a bishop of the Slavs.²⁰

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

¹² Ibidem, cap. 9, pp. 56–57.

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

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

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

¹⁶ PVL 1, p. 21.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 22: “*Не разумѣмъ бо ни гречьску языку, ни латыньску.*”

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Ibidem: “*папѣжь римьскій*”.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 23: “*В Моравы бо ходилъ и апостоль Павелъ училъ ту; ту бо есть Илюрикъ, его же доходилъ апостоль Павелъ; ту бо бѣша словене первое. Тѣм же и словенску языку учитель есть Павелъ, от него же языка и мы есмо Русь, тѣм же и нам Руси учитель есть Павелъ, понеже училъ есть языкъ словѣнскъ и поставилъ есть епископа и намѣсника по себѣ Андроника словенску языку.*”

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

founded the Church of St. Clement, pope and martyr, in Gradic. Afterwards we read about the rebellion of Strojmir, who was supported by the Germans, about Borivoj's escape to Svatopluk and, after his return, about the building of Virgin Mary's Church in Prague.²⁵

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

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

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

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

²³ Ibidem, p. 189.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 190.

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

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

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

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

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

It is time to summarize all the information collected here. We have analyzed the chronicles which were written in several countries and in different time periods. The *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* originated in the second half of the twelfth century in Bar (Antibari) in present-day Montenegro. The *Primary Chronicle* was the work of several anonymous writers, but it was the monk of the Cave Monastery in Kiev, Nestor, who played an important role during its redaction in the second decade of the twelfth century. I have already mentioned that *Legenda Christiani* was written at the end of the tenth century and the *Chronicle of Cosmas* ca. 1125, both in Bohemia. Finally, the Hungarian chronicles which I mentioned were written in the thirteenth century, the *Gesta* of the Anonymous Notary at the very beginning of this century, and the work of Master Simon in the years 1282–1285. These sources are independent. Nevertheless, we find the motifs and persons which show the political and cultural reality. It was the

Moravian state. We learn about the mission of St. Constantine (the Priest of Duklja, the *Primary Chronicle*) – Cyril (The Priest of Duklja, Christian) and of his brother Methodius (the Priest of Duklja, the *Primary Chronicle*, Christian and Cosmas). We learn about their role in the development of the Slavic culture. The *Primary Chronicle* deserves a special attention because it tells a long account about the invention of the Slavic script, which was used after the time of its composition in Rus' and in Bulgaria.³¹ We read about the ethnogenesis of the Slavs. The chronicler adds splendour to the Slavic culture by connecting it to St. Paul's activity.³² This story is known as *Povest' o prelozhenii knig*, the *Story of the Translation of the Books*, in historiography. It is generally connected with the oldest stage of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Moravia.³³ It is understandable that the Bohemian sources pay great attention to Borivoj's baptism. They stress that the Czech Christianity rooted in the Moravian one and in St. Methodius' activity.

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

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

³⁰ *Ibidem*, cap. 26, pp. 80–81.

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

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

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

is a story about the constitution of the state by *Svetopelek* (The Priest of Duklja³⁴), about the fights of the Hungarians against Svatopluk and about the marriage of Menumorot's³⁵ daughter with Zulta (the Hungarian chronicles), the tradition about Svatopluk's resignation from the power and about the decline of Moravia (Cosmas).

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

Let us summarize our analysis:

1. The Moravian state, known in historiography, thanks to Constantine Porphyrogenitus,

as Great Moravia, left cultural and political heritage.

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

³⁴ HOMZA, Martin – RÁCOVÁ, Naďa: *K vývoju slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*, p. 58 describes the motif of *rex iustus*; p. 71–72: Svätopluk of the *Priest of Duklja* as a *rex iustus*.

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

³⁶ SZEGFÜ, László: Regös. In: *Korai magyar történelmi lexikon* (9. –14. század). Ed.: Gyula KRISTÓ. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994, pp. 573–574.

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Thinking about history” (a term of Bohemian historian Dušan Třeštík) in the Central-East Europe (but not only there) throughout the twentieth century was influenced by “thinking about history” in the nineteenth century, when the strongest inducement was to create a history as perfect as possible for every single European nation. *Historicism* was making up a tradition. On the one hand, this tradition legitimated the right of a revived nation for life (e. g. the Bohemians/Czechs). On the other hand, it served as a tool to indoctrinate other nations (e. g. the Hungarians/Magyars), creating an ideological base of the modern *etatisms* and justifying the right to control others. In such a simplified logic, however still lingering, a number of problems emerge for a contemporary historian. What to do with the nations “without history”? Understood in the sense of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, some nations of East-Central Europe cannot boast with their

medieval statehood (the Slovaks, Slovenes, Romanians, Ruthenians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, Latvians and from the certain point of view the Croats, as well) and their history became a part of the official histories of their mightier neighbours. Purely theoretically, these nations are either later products and were established no sooner than the nineteenth century, or there is something dubious in the theory of the smooth transition of the medieval statehood into the modern nation (for instance, see the disputation between Jenő Szűcs¹ and Benedikt Zientara² in the 1980s).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hungarian oppression" – *magyarisation*. Slovaks suffer from both the lack of history and the complex of an ahistoric nation.

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

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

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

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

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

The mutual mockery had had its place before as well as then. However, nobody put the folk forms on a pedestal of the reputable “academic theory.” The Slovaks and the Hungarians, as the pillars of the estate “*natio Hungarica*” – the political estate nation, had rather been united than separated in their common battle against the “non-Hungarians.” To illustrate this, for instance, the *Articles 13* from 1608 and *44* from 1609⁴ provided for the parity representation in the mayor and judge election, freedom to build houses in the town squares for both Slovaks and Hungarians. Among all above-mentioned factors that cemented the feeling of closeness of the Hungarian ethnic entities, we have to include, paradoxically, also the Ottoman danger,⁵ and the estate uprisings of the Hungarian nobility against the Habsburg centralising and re-Catholicisation policy. In 1722 it was all over. The treatise of M. Bencsik, casting doubts upon the equality of the Hungarian nations within the country, brought about turmoil into the air of the “sudden peace” that came after 200 years of civil wars (since Mohács onwards). Paraphrasing Austrian Professor Herwig Wolfram, rather *religio* – religion than *origo* – origin should have prevailed in the Kingdom

of Hungary. The Renaissance and Reformatory interest in folk languages had been present in “homogeneous” Latin medieval culture a long time ago. However, the ideas of the last ideological integrator of Hungary, Peter Pázmaň (Petrus Pazmanus/Péter Pázmány), and his Jesuits had not lost their weight yet. For instance, in 1744 Sts. Constantine and Methodius are on one page and, simultaneously, St. Stephen is juxtaposed on the opposite page of the Latin edition *Acta sanctorum Hungariae* (“Deeds of the Hungarian Saints”).⁶ After Michal Bencsik had published his treatise in 1722, it was more and more obvious that the scope of the common interests of the Hungarian Magyars and the Hungarian Slovaks would be diminishing. Both these groups would look through the different optics of the symbols (becoming more and more complicated), which would flow into the new ideological structure. Two sets of identification signs of Magyars and Slovaks, definitely deconstruct the Hungarian kingdom earlier than it would come to its own disintegration under the stirrs of the First World War.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is highly probable that already the Nitra branch of the Arpadian played with the legend of Svätopluk. When Cosmas, canon of Vyšehrad, stops in the *ducatus* of Nitra when travelling from *Strigonium* (Esztergom / Ostrihom / Gran) to Prague, he is told a story about a ruler who does not die, but disappears in the midst of his soldiery. Due to his sin, the ruler gives up not only his control over the country but also the attributes of his power: he kills his horse and buries his sword. Unknown he enters the Benedictine monastery on Zobor, which he founded himself, and there, he unrecognised makes penance. Only when he is dying he reveals to his brethren who he really is. In a succinct form, the myth captures some essential information (some of them have already been fairly clearly named in the Slovak historiography⁸). Particularly, Svätopluk's empire – *Regnum Sclavorum*, came to its end owing to his sin. The ruler was great and the Great never dies, but disappears in the midst of his soldiery (similarly like Arthur⁹). The messianic trace enciphered in the legend has two sides. The first one is a frequent hagiographic element of *ruler-monk*. The other one: the one who finds the sword of Svätopluk will become – the successor. A renewal of the power and the fame of the Nitra principality, the original land of Svätopluk, is then only a question of time. The legend reveals its own creators at the point when Svätopluk lying on the deathbed says who he really is. The authors and the propagators of the legend were the Benedictines of Nitra themselves. The Nitra Benedictine Abbey, however, more than anything else, is the oldest seat of the Nitra branch of the Arpadians in the country.

Due to this it might have been necessary to dishonour the name of Svätopluk in the “official” Hungarian doctrine. The anonymous notary P. of King Bela (*rex iunior*, future Bela IV ?) does not remember any Svätopluk at all. Instead he uses

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

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

⁸ For instance, KUČERA, Matúš: O historickom vedomí Slovákov v stredoveku. In: *Historický časopis* (deinde HČ), a. 25, 1977, pp. 227–230.

⁹ STEINHÜBEL, Ján: Veľkomoravská historická tradícia zadunajských Slovákov. In: HČ, a. 33, 1990, pp. 693–705.

¹⁰ ANONYMI Bele Regis Notarii: *Anonymus Deeds of the Hungarians*. Ed., trans. et notae: Martyn RÁDY – László VESZPRÉMY. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2010, *passim*.

¹¹ SIMON OF KÉZA: *The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Ed. and trans.: László VESZPRÉMY – Frank SCHAEER. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999, pp. 75–76.

¹² See quotation from TIBENSKÝ, Ján: *Chvály a obrany slovenského národa*, p. 47.

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

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

Traditional equality of various ethnic groups within a single Hungarian political nation was, however, against the conviction of M. Bencsik and a part of the Hungarian aristocracy represented by his treatise. The professor of law at Trnava University brought the blackening of Slovaks to its very peak by his labelling of the Slovaks as strangers, foreigners (*hospites*) in a land belonging to them. He deduced this argument from the *Article nr. 80* of King Coloman dating back to the beginning of the twelfth century. To all counter-arguments gathered [autochthonous theory of the Slovak roots, that is, their ancientness; the other authorities of law as Peter *de Reva*,

Martin Svätójánsky (Sentiváni/Szentiváni, etc.); an example of St. Paul, who was a Jew by origin but a Roman citizen, etc.] J. B. Magin added one more: "As the Romans in those ancient times were entering the wedlock with the Sabine women and the virgins of the neighbouring towns, similarly, the Magyars marry the Slovak maidens or women and the other way round the young Slovaks, many a time even the puerile greybeards, marry the Magyar women."¹⁵ From the very beginning, equality, equality, of the nations of Hungary was to be guarded by interfusion of the inhabitants of Hungarian kingdom, by their intermarriage. *Exogamy* was a guaranty of peace in the country. The cult of Svätopluk (who accepted the Magyars in a hospitable manner and a good will), together with the cult of the Greek brothers St. Constantine and St. Methodius; then referring to the autochthony, ancientness of the Slovaks in the kingdom (often derived from the Biblical Japheth); intentional replacing of the ethnonym Slovak for Slav (besides others it compensated for low numerousness of the Slovaks); pointing to the deeds of the Slovaks in their protection of the Hungarian country and that way of the Western civilisation too; the cult of the national language; the feminine referent – the mother of the Slovaks...¹⁶ All the listed elements and many others formed an ideological range within which the mind of the contemporary Slovak scholar of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was moving.¹⁷ Neither the first acts sustaining the dominance of Hungarian over Latin at the Hungarian Diet in the twilight of the eighteenth century, nor gradual beginnings of the Magyarisation policy in the first half of the nineteenth century, nor the tempting ideas of Panslavism managed to question a feeling of the Hungarian compatriotism, especially of the Catholic branch of the Slovaks.¹⁸ A practical implementation of the achievements of the revolutionary years of 1848/1849 shook up the mutual relationship of the Slovaks and Magyars more than the monarchy itself. Bench war-rants of the spring of 1848 on Ľ. Štúr, J. M. Hurban and M. M. Hódža, the then leaders of the Slovak revival process, their participation in the Prague

¹³ MAGIN, Ján Baltazár: *Obrana slávnej župy Trenčianskej a mesta tohože mena*, p. 118.

¹⁴ TIBENSKÝ, Ján: Problémy výskumu vzniku a vývoja slovenskej feudálnej národnosti. In: *HČ*, a. 9, 1961, pp. 397–419. See also the polemical work by RAPANT, Daniel: K pokusom o novú historicko-filozofickú koncepciu slovenského národného obrodzenia. In: *Slovenská literatúra*, a. 12, 1965, pp. 493–506.

¹⁵ MAGIN, Ján Baltazár: *Obrana slávnej župy Trenčianskej a mesta tohože mena*, p. 112.

¹⁶ See HOMZA, Martin: „Večneženské“ ako súčasť konceptu slovenského mesianizmu. In: *Literárny archív*, nr. 36–37. Ed.: Terézia KAŠŠAYOVÁ. Martin: Slovenská národná knižnica, 2002, pp. 128–139.

¹⁷ See TIBENSKÝ, Ján: Predhovor. In: MAGIN, Ján Baltazár: *Obrana slávnej župy Trenčianskej a mesta tohože mena*, passim.

¹⁸ ELIÁŠ, Štefan: *Uhorské vlastenectvo a Slováci*, vol. 1, part 1–2. Košice: krajská knižnica, 1991, pp. 34–35.

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

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

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

Let us get back to the hospitable theory at last. Adoption of this theory actually equalled the reluctance against participation in the aforementioned mainstream Slovak movement. These changes can be observed at least from the 1840s on. Štefan Launer, a former friend of Ľudovít Štúr and later one of his fiercest critics, wrote: "As long as the Arpadians were occupying the Hungarian throne, they could not do without the Slavs' blood, the Slavic way of life, the Slavic customs and manners; the Slavhood is the mother of the Arpadians;

it was the Slavic women who taught them to speak. Let no one stand in my way either with anger or foolishness and say that a woman has no influence upon her child at all."²² Another significant Slovak historian of the second half of the nineteenth century and a founder of the Slovak critical historiography, Jozef Hložanský, argues in *An Introduction to the Cognition of the Hungarian History* in 1871 that one of few historically trustworthy pieces of information in *The Anonym's Chronicle* is: "the reign of Zoltas and his marriage with the only daughter of Mojmir II of Belegrad." Once again, he proclaims the following continuation of the Hungarian history: "The present-day Hungarian Kingdom with the so-called Marahani empire, that is the Great Moravian Empire, is one and the same..."²³ The historical question of the arrival of the Old-Hungarian tribal federation into the Carpathian basin gradually becomes a question of the future of this part of Europe. The course of the further controversy chose a discontinuity slant – and therewith condemned the ancient Hungarian Kingdom to doom. In coherence with this, it is fairly useful to cite another essential statement of the Slovak branch of the Hungarian historiography from the twilight of the eighteenth century, namely Juraj Sklenár,²⁴ a favourite of the Esztergom archbishop Alexander Rudnay: "The one who arouses hatred against other peoples in Hungary, calls for the doom of this state. Similarly, everything therewith connected heads towards destruction of all the keystones Hungary has been standing on – therefore such citizen is dangerous for the country."²⁵

Nowadays, it is of no importance whether this prophetic sentence was or was not heard. Nor does it matter that the Slovaks finally decided to "divorce" the Magyars after 1000 years. However, the question of the evolution of the historical-legal theory that argued for the rights of the non-Magyars, particularly the Slovaks, and for their equal standing within the Hungarian statehood, is relevant. Samuel Timon, quoted above, formulated this theory in his book *Imago antiquae Hungariae* before 1733²⁶ in a slightly different manner than Ján Baltazár Magin. "Those Slovaks, I have mentioned

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

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

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

²² LAUNER, Štefan: *Povaha Slovanstva se zvláštním ohledem na spisovní řeč Čechů, Moravanů, Slezanů a Slováků*. Leipzig 1847.

²³ HLOŽANSKÝ, Josef: Úvod k poznání historie uhorskej. In: *Letopis Matice slovenskej*, vol. 8, part. 2, 1871, pp. 56 and 61.

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

²⁵ TIBENSKÝ, Ján: *Chvály a obrany slovenského národa*, p. 130.

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

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

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

The further story of dissension and misapprehension sounds like a fairy tale. As if by waving a magic wand, another historic text appears on the scene. H. Kownacki published a Latin transcription together with a Polish translation of the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* (further on as *HPC*) in Poland in 1823.²⁹ Virtually no one took notice of this moment in Hungary. Ludovít M. Šuhajda, however, makes use of some of its arguments in his well-known defence, *Magyarisation in Hungary* (Lipsiae 1834), citing Samuel Timon therein.

Stanisław Pilat published the critical edition of the chronicle in 1861 within the first volume of

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

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

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

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

²⁸ HLOŽANSKÝ, Josef: *Úvod k poznaniu historie uhorskej*, p. 51.

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

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

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

The *HPC* presents a different concept: By stressing the importance of the marriage between Aquila (Attila) and an unknown Slavic princess as well as by emphasizing the role of the Divine Providence in the settling of the Hungarian tribal confederacy in the Carpathian Basin [Attila/Aquila could settle in the Slavonic country – *Slavonia* – only thanks to the fact that the domestic magnates (Slavs and Croats) murdered their own God’s anointed King Casimir],³⁵ the *HPC* creates

an atmosphere of reconciliation and equality of the nations within the Hungarian state (*pax gentium*), which is the essential pre-condition for the formation and duration of the Hungarian statehood as such. This way the *Chronicle* becomes indirectly, forasmuch as it was unknown for the Hungarian historiography until as late as the year 1823, a medieval variant and a direct forerunner of the theory about the contractual, hospitable reception of the Hungarian tribal confederacy in the Carpathian Basin. The same theory was formulated among the most important representatives of the Slovak and Hungarian historiography (Martin Sentiváni, Ján B. Magin, Samuel Timon, etc.) at the end of the seventeenth century at the latest, without their knowing of the content of the *HPC*. Thanks to this theory, no later than in the eighteenth century the Slovak historiography managed to separate itself from the originally homogenous Hungarian historiography.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The marriage between Alexander the Great and the Persian Roxana or Trojan Aeneas and Latin Lavinia, seems to have served as a direct model for the author of the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle*. At the same time, the analogical marriage constituted a legal frame for a host of the similar acts in the European and world history, one of the most

vivid examples being the marriage of the Norman Henry I, the grandson of William the Conqueror, and Edith (Matilda), the daughter of St. Margaret of Scotland, from the subjugated Saxon-Danish dynasty, at the beginning of the twelfth century.

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

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

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

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

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

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

King Ladislav was embroiled in the Investiture Controversy in part as a result of his political approach to Croatia. Two specific political interests exacerbated the king's conflict: his desire to obtain papal consent; and, related to the first reason, the coronation² which would assure him legitimacy to the throne.

Upon his entry into Croatia in 1091, due to the claims of succession to the throne after the death of king Zvonimir, Ladislav sent a delegation to Pope Urban II. The king recognized the importance of obtaining papal support not only to improve his

political position with the Croats but also to foster diplomatic relations with Byzantium and Venice. Pope Urban II maintained a strong relationship with *Basileus* Alexios I Komnenos until 1096 and he was troubled by the fact that the Arpadian dynasty was settling the affairs of the Church in Hungary single-handedly. For these primary reasons, the pope refused to sway his support to Ladislav. It appears that the papal legate urged Ladislav to give up investiture³ and that he was unwilling to comply. So he aligned with Emperor Henry IV (1056–1106) and antipope Clement III, acting as a popularizer of Christianity, and the foundation of the Bishopric of Zagreb around 1094 could be considered part of this work.

Many sources discuss the arrival of Ladislav in Croatia and its impact. The oldest source and also the most trusted account is the document from Zadar of 1091.⁴ Essentially, it states that King Ladislav, *Chroacie invadens regnum*,⁵ established his nephew Almos as king.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the letter Ladislav wrote⁷ in 1091 to Oderisio, the abbot of Montecassino, we get to know that they were or were to be neighbours. But from the twelfth-century *Chartularium Tremiense*, it is evident that Byzantium sent *sebastos* Count Guifredo di Melfi (son of Amico) into Dalmatia in 1093 during the period when Ladislav was attempting to settle the Croatian coastal region.⁸ The most plausible conclusion is that Guifredo's mission in Dalmatia was to secure the loyalty of the cities and islands of Zadar, Trogir, Split, Krk, Osor and Rab, which he probably managed to do. Evidence of this theory's probability is found in a document, dated March 7, 1095.⁹ Then we have an account of the Cumans' attack of Hungary in agreement with Byzantium.

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

King Coloman I, who was exceptionally cultured, had a conciliatory attitude towards the *regnum Croatiae et Dalmatiae*.¹⁰ There could have been many reasons for this. Having been educated in an ecclesiastical environment and also having

been appointed as a bishop, Coloman wanted to please the pope, and to honour his ancestor, King Saint Stephen, whose motto was that a kingdom was weak and fragile if it spoke only one language and if there were customs of only one people. Coloman also wanted to continue Ladislav's work and devoted himself to the reorganization of the Hungarian "state." Led by the ecclesiastical element, he respected the rights and customs of the subjected populations. Coloman inherently understood the power of being aligned with the Church.

To reconcile the ongoing argument between the Hungarian kings and the Roman pope¹¹ (from the leadership of Solomon, then Geza, and finally Ladislav), and in order to begin the campaign of conquest in Croatia, Coloman launched a series of strategic actions.

The abbot of St. Gilles, Odile, was put in charge of the mediation between the Hungarian king and Urban II as the pope was interested in the creation of a political force favourable to the papacy and geographically placed between the Germans and the Byzantines. When the pope gained confidence and was sure of the return of Coloman and Hungary into the sphere of his Church's influence, he sent a letter of this acknowledgement to Coloman, dated July 27, 1096.¹² But by the time Coloman received the pope's letter, the spring, typically the crucial period for opening a military campaign, had passed. The problem of Crusaders had escalated. During the First Crusade (1096–1099), the positive relationship between the pope and *basileus* had been severed. Byzantium was concentrating all its forces (both diplomatic and military) on issues related to the Crusaders.

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

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

⁶ CDCr 1, pp. 164–165.

⁷ Ibidem, p. 197.

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

⁹ CDCr 1, pp. 203–205.

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

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

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

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

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

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

between the Croats and Hungarians. Under any circumstances, an army of knights of this size would have been viewed as a threat.¹⁷

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 374–375; MALATERRAE, Gaufridi: *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardii ducis fratris eius*. In: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* 2, vol. 1, cap. 25. Ed.: Ernesto PONTIERI. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1928, p. 199.

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

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

¹⁹ BUDAK, Neven: *Prova stoljeća Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994, pp. 48–50; ZELIĆ-BUČAN, Benedikta: *Članci i rasprave iz starije hrvatske povijesti*. Zagreb: HKD Sv. Jeronim, 1994, pp. 106–108.

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

²¹ THOMAE ARCHIDIACONI: *Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Salonitanorum Pontificum*. Ed.: Damir KARBIĆ – Mirjana MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL – James ROSS SWEENEY. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, 2006, pp. 94–95; LUCIO, Giovanni: *Storia del regno di Dalmazia e di Croazia*, p. 291.

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

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

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

The facts presented herein are relevant and offer a better understanding of the circumstances which determined the events that followed. Five

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

²² AGUILERS, Raimondo di: *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*. On the web <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/ramond-cde.asp#raymond1>

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

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

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

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

²⁷ BUDAČ, Neven: *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske*, pp. 48–50.

RADU MÂRZA*

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

Sedmohradsko a Uhorsko alebo Sedmohradsko v Uhorsku očami rumunskej historiografie / Transilvanija i Ugarska ili Transilvanija u Ugarskoj u očima rumunske historigrafije

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

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

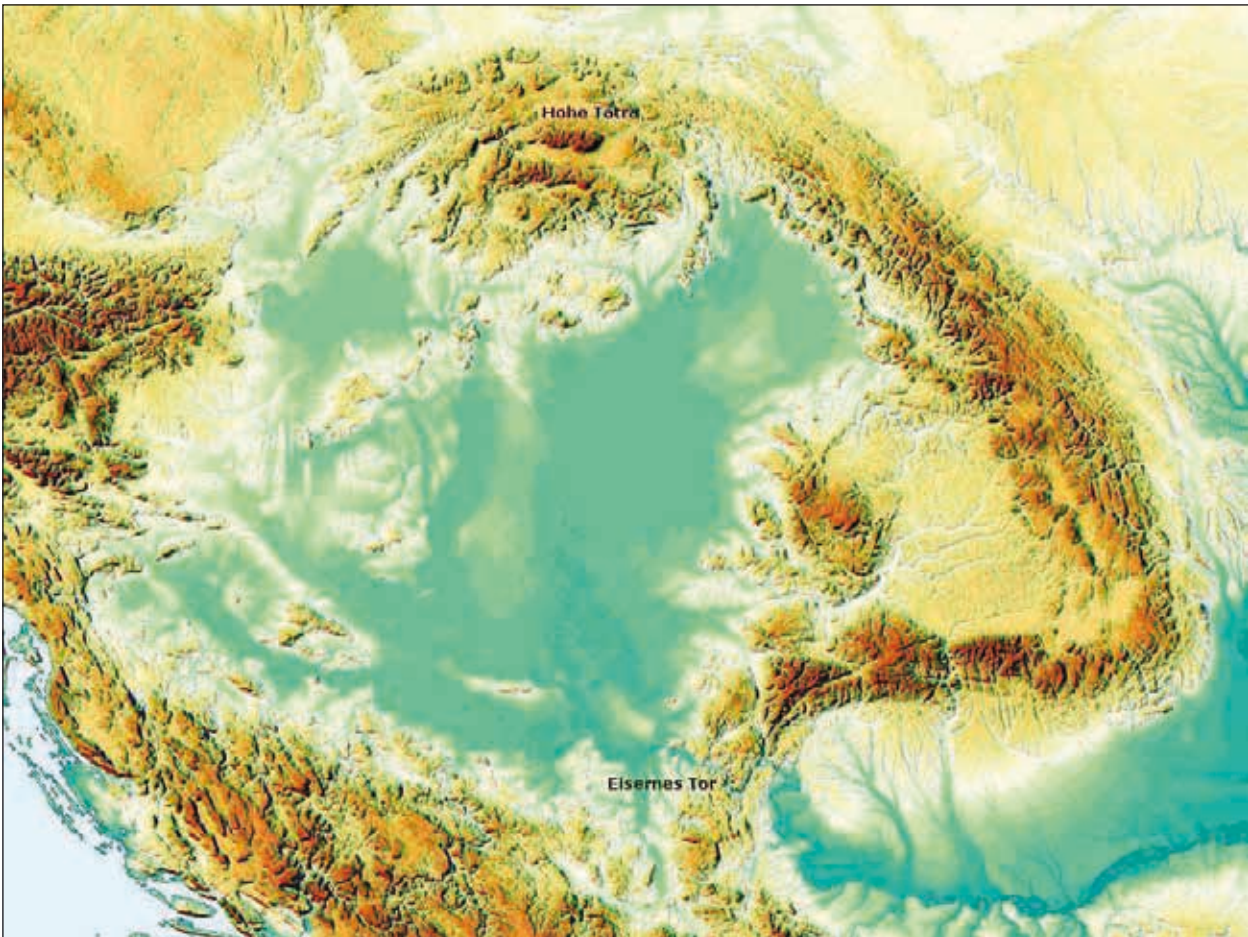
For over ten years, my teaching obligations bring me close to the medieval history of Transylvania and the dialogue with my students forces me to return, in the beginning of every semester, to the structural issues raised by the topic. This is even more significant considering the fact that first-year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

Since the public of my presentation held at the conference *Slovakia and Croatia: Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)* (Bratislava – Levoča, June 2011) is less familiarized with the history of Transylvania, I will mention it briefly here. Transylvania is the inner Carpathian territory established as the Hungarian Kingdom conquered and took over (eleventh century – beginning of the thirteenth century) several power centers belonging to the Slavs (and Romanians), Bulgarians, and Pechenegs. It was a historical process on which

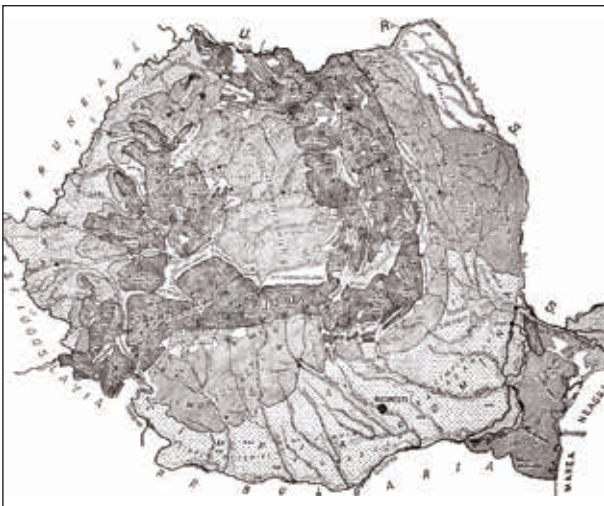
the views of Romanian and Hungarian historians diverge. The term "Transylvania" has two uses: in the strict sense, it is the inner Carpathian area [governed by voivodes appointed by the king and consisting of seven counties, the King's Land inhabited by Saxon colonists (*Fundus Regius, Universitas Saxonum*) and the Szekler seats], while in a wider sense, it is the inner Carpathian area together with the so-called *Partium* (the counties of Maramureş, Sătmar, Bihor, Zarand, Arad, and, optionally, the counties in Banat). After the disaster at Mohács (1526) and the civil war between kings Ferdinand I and John Zápolya, Transylvania became increasingly individualized, becoming an independent principality in the middle of the sixteenth century. At the end of the seventeenth century it was occupied by the imperial army and annexed by the Habsburg Empire. In 1848, Transylvania was joined to Hungary, while in 1867 it became part of the Hungarian half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1918 Transylvania and Banat were occupied by the Romanian army and the local population expressed, through a national assembly, their choice of joining Romania.

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

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



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

and several interesting presentations delivered on the incorporation of the Principality of Nitra and the Croatian Kingdom into the Hungarian

Kingdom gave me the opportunity to systematize some ideas on the historical identity of Transylvania, as an interesting case-study not only in itself but also in comparison to the territory of Slovakia and the Kingdom of Croatia. On this occasion, I chose to refer to the point of view expressed in the Romanian historiography on the topic (i.e. the medieval period, until the creation of the Principality of Transylvania in the middle of the sixteenth century). The title of my presentation paraphrases a famous statement expressed by the Hungarian historian László Makkai in 1944.¹ I will therefore not approach the case of "Transylvania and Hungary" or "Transylvania in Hungary" *per se*, but I will present the reflection of Romanian historiography of this topic. I will not attempt to make polemic comments on either the Romanian or the Hungarian historical points of view, keeping my personal observations to a minimum.

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

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

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

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

a) Historians in the first group did not pay much attention to Transylvania. It was considered a Romanian historical province, inhabited by a Romanian majority that preserved, even after the Hungarian conquest, its traditional units (the *voivodeship* – a typical Slav-Romanian creation, the *country* – Rom. *țară*), a fact noted by historians such as A.D. Xenopol and Nicolae Iorga.²

They had no interest in constructing an image of Transylvania in direct relation to the Romanian countries or Hungary. According to Nicolae Iorga, the structure of the territory itself favored human contacts across the Carpathians. Nicolae Iorga even states that after the Roman retreat from Dacia “the precise notion of the state vanished, but the territory demanded it”, since the institution specific to Romanians in that time was the voivodeship.³ Such arguments were massively used after 1918 by Romanian historians in Transylvania, as I will show below.

b) Before 1918, Transylvania was an integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary and Romanian historians there could not develop a proper historical discourse on Transylvania.⁴ They had to maintain, more or less, the official discourse of that kingdom on that matter (a fact obvious in Romanian school books, which, if not along the line of the official perspective imposed by the Hungarian Ministry for Public Instruction, would not have received the printing authorization). Anyway, Romanian historians – such as Ioan Lupaș, whom I will discuss below, Augustin Bunea and Silviu Dragomir⁵ – avoided the topic, publishing on other, more neutral subjects.

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

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

² XENOPOL, Alexandru Dimitrie: *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană*, vol. 1. Ed.: Alexandru ZUB. București: Enciclopedică, 1985, p. 311–326; IORGA, Nicolae: *Istoria românilor*, vol. 3, *Cititorii*. Ed.: Gheorghe BUZATU – Victor SPINEI – Virgil CHIRICĂ. București: Enciclopedică, 1993, p. 31–32. (Iorga maintains that the Romanian variant of the notion was that of “*ducat*” – duchy, derived from the Latin *ducat*); IDEM: *Istoria poporului românesc*. Ed.: Georgeta PENELEA. București: Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1985, p. 196–198; Cfr. IDEM: *Sate și preoți din Ardeal*. București: Institutul de Arte Grafice “Carol Göbl”, 1902 and *Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, vol. 1, *Până la mișcarea lui Horea (1784)*. București: Editura Casei Școalelor, 1915.

³ IDEM: *Istoria românilor*, vol. 3, pp. 15–21, 24, quote on page 15. See also ȘIPOȘ, Sorin: *Silviu Dragomir istoric*. Foreword by Ioan-Aurel POP. Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane-Fundația Culturală Română, 2002, pp. 150–161.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 152.

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

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

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

Ioan Lupaș⁶ is the most important ideologist of Transylvania. He was one of the most prestigious Romanian historians of his age, a theoretician of history, one of the creators of the University in Cluj in 1919, professor of the same University and the director of the National History Institute in Cluj. Ioan Moga and Silviu Dragomir must also be mentioned. Ioan Lupaș published numerous books on the history of Transylvania and was especially interested in its historical status. He already expressed his interest in such matters during the opening conference of the History of Transylvania course, held at the University in Cluj on November 11, 1919, and later took it up again on numerous occasions (in the summer of 1941, for example, just a few days before Romania, together with Hitler’s Germany, attacked the USSR)⁷.

Ioan Lupaș’s discourse on Transylvania,⁸ representative for the conception of Romanian historiography, starts from three theses that ground the entire discourse on Transylvania:

- a) the institute of voivodeship, a true Romanian identity mark
- b) the physical unity of the territory and the indissoluble connection with the Romanian lands beyond the Carpathians
- c) the historical individuality of Transylvania, its long autonomist tradition and separation from Hungary.

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

⁶ On Ioan Lupaș and his views see: ARDELEAN, Radu: *Istoricul Ioan Lupaș*. Teză de doctorat. Universitatea “Babeș-Bolyai” Cluj-Napoca: Facultatea de Istorie și Filosofie, 1999; LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Scrieri alese*, vol. 1. Ed.: Ștefan PASCU – Pompiliu TEODOR. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1977, pp. 7–28; IDEM: *Scrieri alese. Studii asupra istoriei Eoului Mediu și istoriei bisericăști*. Ed.: Nicolae EDROIU. București: Academiei Române, 2006, pp. VIII–XXII.

⁷ IDEM: *Româniile dela Miazănoapte*. Conference broadcast by Radio-București in the evening of June 11th 1941. In: *Transilvania*, a. 72, 1941, nr. 4, pp. 255–262.

⁸ LUPAȘ, Ioan: Factorii istorici ai vieții naționale românești. Written in 1919. In: LUPAȘ Ioan: *Studii, conferințe și comunicări istorice*, vol. 1. București: s. l., 1927, pp. 3–33; IDEM: Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei. From 1920. In: LUPAȘ Ioan: *Studii, conferințe și comunicări istorice*, vol. 1. București: Casa Școaleror, 1927, pp. 49–72; IDEM: Voievodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII. In: *Academia Română. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, seria 3, vol. 18, 1936, pp. 83–114.; IDEM: Realități istorice în voievodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI. Excerpt from *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională din Cluj*, nr. 7, 1936–1938; IDEM: Fazele istorice în evoluția constituțională a Transilvaniei. In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională din Cluj*, a. 10, 1945, p. 1–54. Cfr. EDROIU, Nicolae: Cercetarea istorică privind Voievodatul Transilvaniei. In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca. Series Historica*, a. 42, 2003, pp. 155–156.

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

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

the Hungarian expansion” and to win the full independence of the voivodeship of Transylvania.¹⁰

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

1. The institution of the voivode
 - The institution of the voivode is of Slavic or Slav-Romanian origin – Romanian historiography has demonstrated this already at the end of the nineteenth century (Nicolae Iorga, A.D. Xenopol), but Ioan Bogdan was the author presenting the most solid argumentation, already in 1902.¹¹ The historiography consistently took over this argument, starting with Ioan Lupaș, Ioan Moga, Silviu Dragomir, Ștefan Pascu and, more recently, Ioan-Aurel Pop.¹²
 - The voivodeship of Transylvania is the continuation of the ancient pre-Hungarian conquest voivodeships.¹³
 - The Hungarian conquest did not manage to eliminate the traditional institutions of the autochthons, the voivodeship in particular, an indication of the strong establishment of this institution (and others such as *cnezate*, *judecii*, *obști*)¹⁴ in Transylvania. A *Mercurius princeps* is attested in documents dated to 1111 and 1113. This prince did not exert *de facto* the attributes of a prince of Transylvania and probably resided at the royal court. *Leustachius Wayvoda Transilvaniae* is then mentioned 63 years later, in 1176, indicating that the Hungarian crown did not conquer Transylvania and, due to the resistance of the autochthons, had to preserve their traditional institution, the voivodeship.¹⁵

⁹ PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, 4 vols. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1971–1989; IDEM: *A History of Transylvania*. Trans.: Robert D. LADD. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982.; IDEM: *Făurirea statului național unitar român*, vol. 1. București: Academiei R.S.R., 1983.; IDEM: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizația transilvană în cadrul civilizației românești*. Romanian-German bilingual edition. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1983.; IDEM: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc și leagăn al poporului român*. Cluj-Napoca: Vatra Românească, 1990. Ștefan Pascu also coordinated two significant general works on the history of Transylvania: Constantin DAICOVICIU – Ștefan PASCU – Victor CHERESTEȘIU: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. 1. București: Academiei R.P.R., 1960.; *Istoria României*, vol. 2. Ed.: Andrei OȚETEĂ – Mihai BERZA – Barbu T. CÂMPINA – Ștefan PASCU. București: Academiei R.P.R., 1962.

¹⁰ *Istoria militară a poporului român*, vol. 1. Ed.: Constantin OLTEANU – Ștefan PASCU – Ilie CEAUȘESCU. București: Militară, 1984, pp. 251–285, 288–290, 339–342.

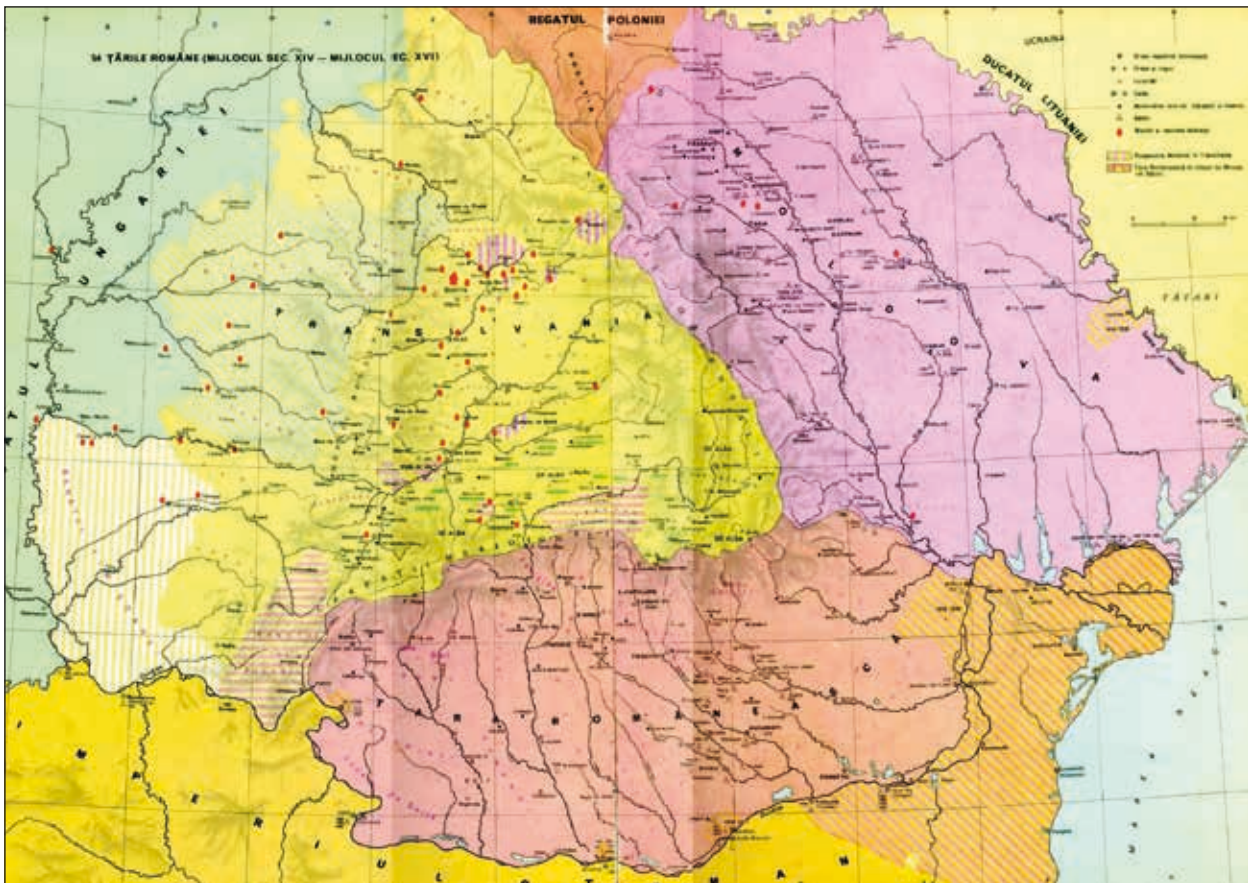
¹¹ BOGDAN, Ioan: Originea voievodatului la români. In: *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, a. 24, seria 2, 1902, pp. 191–207; ȘIPOȘ, Sorin: *Silviu Dragomir istoric*, pp. 172–174.

¹² LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Fazele istorice în evoluția constituțională a Transilvaniei*, pp. 11–13; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*. Sibiu: Tipografia „Cartea Românească din Cluj”, 1944, pp. 7–10, 13, 42; PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1972, pp. 28–32; ȘIPOȘ, Sorin: *Silviu Dragomir istoric*, pp. 174–179; Silviu Dragomir believed that the institution of the voivodeship had been of pure Romanian origin, see p. 175.

¹³ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Realități istorice în voievodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 50–51; IDEM: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, p. 42; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*, pp. 10–14. Cfr. Constantin DAICOVICIU – Ștefan PASCU – Victor CHERESTEȘIU: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, p. 83; *Istoria României*, vol. 2, pp. 94–95.

¹⁴ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Istoria unirii românilor*. București: Fundația Culturală Regală “Principele Carol”, 1937, p. 38, 41.

¹⁵ IDEM: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, p. 40, 42; IDEM: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 257; IDEM: *Fazele istorice în evoluția constituțională a Transilvaniei*, pp. 11–13; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*, pp. 10–14; Constantin DAICOVICIU – Ștefan PASCU – Victor CHERESTEȘIU: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, pp. 83–84; *Istoria României*, vol. 2, pp. 94–95. According to Ștefan Pascu, “the Romanian autochthonous population (...) was against the replacement of her ancient institutions, created and developed on this very soil”, cfr. PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 98–99 (quote on page 99).



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

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

- The importance of the voivode of Transylvania among the Hungarian dignitaries: it was one of the most important offices, beside that of palatine and ban of Croatia and Slavonia.¹⁸
 - The institute of the voivodeship was imported from Transylvania south and east of the Carpathians.¹⁹
2. There is no record in Hungary of geographical

and political realities similar to the institution of the voivodes from Transylvania, who are a specific Romanian product, not to be found with any neighboring population²⁰ and that the Hungarian conquest could not eliminate. According to Ioan Lupaș, “(...) [the voivodeship organization] *must be considered a specific Romanian product, which the penetration of Hungarian rule was unable to eliminate from its natural soil, neither was it capable to stop its subsequent development, despite all efforts [...]*”²¹

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

¹⁶ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Realități istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 67; IDEM: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 257; *Istoria României*, vol. 2, p. 73, pp. 94–95; PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 99–100.

¹⁷ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Realități istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 24–25.

¹⁸ IDEM: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, p. 42–43; IDEM: *Epocile principale în istoria românilor*. Edițiunea a II-a. Cluj: Institutul de Arte Grafice „Ardealul”, 1928, p. 47; IDEM: *Realități istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 53.

¹⁹ IDEM: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, pp. 84–85; IDEM: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 257; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*, pp. 91–99.

²⁰ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Realități istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 51.

²¹ IDEM: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, p. 3, 85.



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



Map 5. Transylvania between the tenth and twelfth century.

of complex political, social, cultural, and defense considerations. Transylvania was foremost a border province of Hungary, located in a military

and strategically difficult area, which due to this reason benefited from certain freedom from the crown.

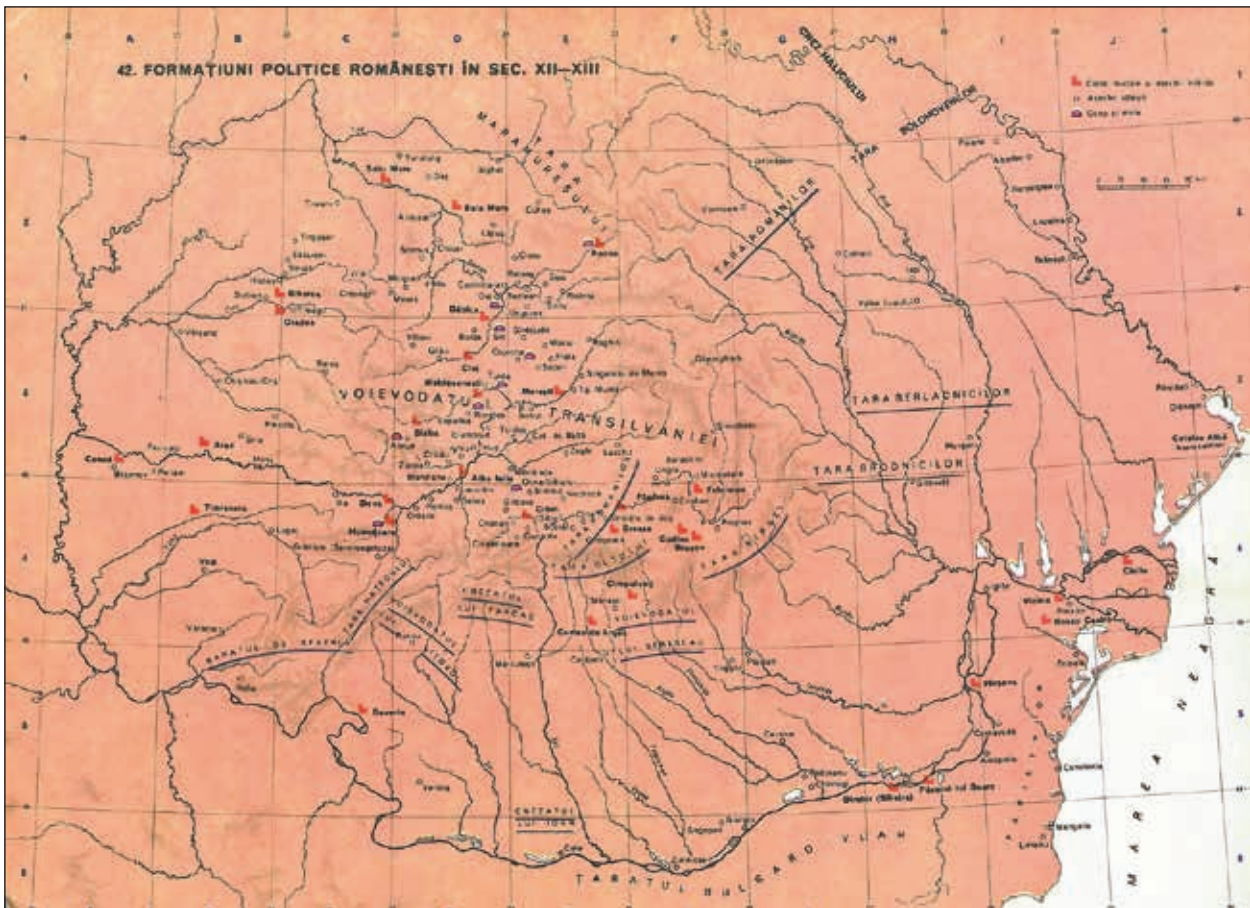
3. The institutional connection between Transylvania and Walachia and Moldavia. The traditional orientation of Transylvania towards the other Romanian countries.

This is a fundamental aspect, later on stressed upon, forming the basis of the “three Romanian countries” thesis, countries united by the Carpathians – backbone of the Romanian area, unitary from the point of view of their relief, population, economy, culture²² (see map 2, 4–7).

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

²² IDEM: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 255–258; PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 6–11, 17.

²³ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, p. 84.



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

- Transylvania’s historical individuality and of its separation from the Hungarian Kingdom.²⁴
- There was no structural difference between the voivodes of Transylvania and those of Wallachia and Moldavia other than the first answering to the king of Hungary.²⁵
 - The traditional orientation of Transylvania towards the other two Romanian countries, due to its autonomist tendencies, the Romanian ethnic element homogenously spread in the three Romanian countries, and economic and cultural relations.²⁶ The argument was less employed in the inter-war historiography and more between 1970 and 1980 (according to Ștefan Pascu, while Hungary rather turned to the West, Transylvania turned to the East, to the other two Romanian countries).
 - Following Hungary’s fall after Mohács, in particular, Transylvania was able to fulfill one of



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

its older desires, that of joining the other two Romanian countries (maps 3–7). Supporting

²⁴ MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*, pp. 76–99; PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 83–84.

²⁵ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Fazele istorice în evoluția constituțională a Transilvaniei*, p. 13; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*, pp. 91–99.

²⁶ PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, p. 83; IDEM: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizația transilvănească în cadrul civilizației românești*, p. 51.

this idea, the traditional cooperation among the “three Romanian countries” was stressed under two aspects: a) on the anti-Ottoman front – the example of John Hunyadi and his anti-Ottoman cooperation with Stephen the Great of Moldavia and Vlad the Imparler (Vlad Țepeș) of Walachia²⁷ and b) under the suzerainty of the sultan (during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries).²⁸ Ioan Lupaș showed that during the sixteenth century becoming a principality saved it (Transylvania) from Turkish suzerainty, thus (becoming) entirely *independent from the Hungarian Crown*” [Ioan Lupaș’s emphasis].²⁹

- Historical moments when the Saxons and Szeklers of Transylvania rather cooperated with the rulers of Moldavia (Stephen the Great) and Walachia (Michael the Brave) than with their own Hungarian kings, voivodes, or princes.³⁰
- 4. The geographical argument: the organic unity of the Romanian land
 - The Romanian ethnic land is an “impressive geographical unit” that the variation mountain – hill – plain does not weaken at all.³¹ (map 2)
 - The Carpathians are not a frontier between the countries inhabited by the Romanians (as various foreign historians tried to demonstrate), but a backbone of the Romanian element, an axle in the middle of the Romanian land.³² This thesis was taken to extremes during the 1940s

and especially during the 70s and 80s. According to Ioan Lupaș, if Egypt was the gift of the Nile, Romania could be rightfully labeled as the gift of the Carpathians and the Danube,³³ while Nicolae Iorga showed that “The Wallachian Carpathians open towards Transylvania and one finds no obstacle towards the Moldavian valleys whose waters flow into the Danube that is close to the place where the river Dniester flows into the sea. The Tisa (Tisza) collects and brings back to the same Danube the Transylvanian waters flowing westwards”.³⁴ (map 2)

- The western border of the Romanian element is not the Carpathians but the marshy valley of the Tisa (Tisza)³⁵ that hindered its relations with Hungary. On the contrary, the Carpathians are fragmented mountains, with numerous passes and valleys that make their crossing easier³⁶ [*sic*]. The argument was repeatedly used by the historians of that era and features even in more recent historiographic productions.³⁷ Somewhere else, Lupaș mentioned ancient Dacia (later on Transylvania) as being “crowned by mountains” and indicated (citing from Hungarian historians) that Transylvania is divided from Hungary by mountains as by “a natural frontier wall”,³⁸ being a “natural fortification”.³⁹

²⁷ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Realități istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 69–78 (The Transylvanian voivodeship preferred Stephen the Great, the ruler of Moldavia, to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, p. 72); IDEM: *Fazele istorice în evoluția constituțională a Transilvaniei*, p. 14–15; IDEM: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 82–84; IDEM: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 258; *Istoria României*, vol. 2, pp. 432–446, 503–530; PASCU, Ștefan: *Făurirea statului național unitar român*, pp. 20–24. Also cfr. *Istoria militară a poporului român*, vol. 2. Ed.: Constantin OLTEANU – Ștefan PASCU – Ilie CEAUȘESCU. București: Militară, 1986, pp. 148–434.

²⁸ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 258; *Istoria României*, vol. 2, pp. 776–817; *Istoria poporului român*. Ed.: Andrei OȚETEĂ. București: Științifică, 1970, pp. 149–156, 162–164. Also cfr. ANDRESCU, Ștefan: *Restitutio Daciae*, 3 vols. București: Albatros, 1980–1997.

²⁹ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Realități istorice în voevodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 51.

³⁰ IDEM: *Fazele istorice în evoluția constituțională a Transilvaniei*, pp. 15–16.

³¹ IDEM: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 9–13; IDEM: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, p. 256; *Istoria poporului român*, pp. 10–12; PASCU, Ștefan: *Făurirea statului național unitar român*, pp. 12–18.

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

³³ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Istoria unirii românilor*, p. 11.

³⁴ IORGA, Nicolae: *Istoria românilor*, vol. 3, p. 19.

³⁵ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Românii dela Miazănoapte*, pp. 255–258.

³⁶ PASCU, Ștefan: *Făurirea statului național unitar român*, p. 13.

³⁷ FENEȘAN, Cristina: *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei*. București: Enciclopedică, 1997, p. 59.

³⁸ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, pp. 39–40.

³⁹ PASCU, Ștefan: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc și leagăn al poporului român*, p. 7

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

- The difficulty with which the Hungarian crown conquered and subdued Transylvania: the conflicts with the tenth- and eleventh-century duchies (*ducats*) and voivodeships (lead by Gelu, Glad, Menumorut, Ahtum, and Gyula's Transylvanian voivodeship.)⁴¹ (maps 4–5)
- Voivodes with political ambitions (Roland Borșa, Ladislav Kán, Thomas Szécsényi, Stephen Mailat), often more powerful than the Hungarian kings of the time, frequently arbiters of the political situation in Hungary.⁴² All historians writing on Transylvania's traditional autonomist tendencies used this argument and discussed in detail those moments in Transylvanian history that were marked by centrifugal tendencies and by attempts to gain autonomy from the Crown of St. Stephen: from the episode when future Stephen V was proclaimed *dux Transylvanus* to the *regnum Transilvanicum* from the time of oligarchs Roland Borșa and Ladislav Kán, Thomas Szécsényi, to Stibor of Stiboricz, John Hunyadi, and Stephen Mailat.
- The kings of Hungary took various measures to weaken the power of the voivodes: they created new counties and, most importantly, brought foreign colonists to Transylvania, in order to weaken the voivodes' power and even in order to prevent the formation of a Transylvanian state distinct from the Hungarian one.⁴³

- Sentimental, almost messianic arguments: Transylvania belongs to the ethnical Romanian area and its “*deep life (...) clearly ascribes to the Romanian historical rhythm*”; Transylvania went through an “*un-natural and forced situation as long as it was trapped in the artificial body of the Hungarian Kingdom and of the Habsburg Monarchy (...) and could only fulfill its destiny as natural part of the Romanian State, as most essential part of the ethnic area, on which this state founds its existence and its future.*” [emphasizes mine]⁴⁴ Hungary never managed to subdue Transylvania's consciousness as separate country.⁴⁵ On the other hand, “*(...) as long as its territory [that of Transylvania, note mine] was missing from the political body of Romania, the kingdom looked un-natural, as two arms extended in tender expectation.*”⁴⁶
- In its turn, the Romanian element in Transylvania always remained indifferent to historical hardships, united in the Carpathian area, following the rhythms of *foreign* historic development only superficially [emphasis mine].⁴⁷
- Hungarian historians admitted the autonomist tradition of Transylvania throughout the centuries: “*Hungarian historians enjoying a good reputation admitted the fact that Transylvania never fully merged with the Kingdom of Hungary and that it succeeded in maintaining its political, cultural, and economic peculiarity unchanged along the centuries.*”⁴⁸ The fact that Ioan Lupăș (and his followers) sometimes cites the statements of some Hungarian historians (often taken out

⁴⁰ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, p. 40; IDEM: *România dela Miazănoapte*, p. 256; IDEM: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 39–40; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*, p. 42; PASCU, Ștefan: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc și leagăn al poporului român*, pp. 22–25; FENEȘAN, Cristina: *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei*, p. 46, pp. 50–79.

⁴¹ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, pp. 41–42; Constantin DAICOVICIU – Ștefan PASCU – Victor CHERESTEȘIU: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, pp. 64–73; PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 24–32, 61–88; IDEM: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc și leagăn al poporului român*, p. 19.

⁴² LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, pp. 43–47; IDEM: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, pp. 93–111; IDEM: *Epocele principale în istoria românilor*, p. 48; IDEM: *România dela Miazănoapte*, p. 257; IDEM: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 64–65; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*, pp. 15–43; Constantin DAICOVICIU – Ștefan PASCU – Victor CHERESTEȘIU: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, pp. 83–84; PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 172–179, 186–202, 247–252; IDEM: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizația transilvană în cadrul civilizației românești*, pp. 50–51; POP, Ioan-Aurel: *România și maghiarii în secolele IX–XIV. Geneza statului medieval în Transilvania*. Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română, 1996, p. 187; FENEȘAN, Cristina: *Constituirea principatului autonom al Transilvaniei*, pp. 50–57; SĂLĂGEAN, Tudor: *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislav Kán (1294–1315)*. Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2007, 224 p.

⁴³ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Individualitatea istorică a Transilvaniei*, pp. 43–44, 49–50; LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Realități istorice în voievodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 26–38, 42–50; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*, p. 42; Constantin DAICOVICIU – Ștefan PASCU – Victor CHERESTEȘIU: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, pp. 73–75; *Istoria României*, vol. 2, pp. 75–81; PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 169–172.

⁴⁴ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *România dela Miazănoapte*, pp. 255–256.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 258.

⁴⁶ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Istoria unirii românilor*, p. 11.

⁴⁷ IDEM: *România dela Miazănoapte*, p. 256.

⁴⁸ IDEM: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, p. 87, 89.

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

- The focus is placed on traditional Romanian forms of organization (associated to specific relief units: valleys favoring the creation of “countries / țări”)⁴⁹ that survived in Transylvania after the Hungarian conquest (voievodships, *cnezate*, countries / țări, seats / *scaune*, districts, *juzi* / Lat. *judices*, *crainici*). The western-type institution imposed by the crown – the county / *comitatus* – was only partially able to replace such institutions.⁵⁰ The insistence is placed on the voivodeship of Maramureș, the “countries” in Olt, Făgăraș, Hațeg, Maramureș, Amlaș, Zarand, Bârsa, and Severin.⁵¹
- The peak of tendencies towards autonomy developed in the voivodeship of Transylvania was reached in the middle of the sixteenth century, when, after the battle of Mohács, Transylvania “turned its soul away” from the Kingdom of Hungary and broke free from its “previous political ties” to Hungary and becomes an independent or autonomous state under Ottoman suzerainty, but completely independent from the Crown of St. Stephen.⁵² Lupaș’s discourse became obsolete during the 1970s–1980s, in line with the ideologist tendencies of Ceaușescu’s regime (the obsession for independence, the role played in global politics, the obsession of gaining international recognition). Thus, for Ștefan Pascu the Principality of Transylvania was a kind of peak of the centuries-long tendency towards autonomy and separation, while the dependence on

the Ottoman Empire was a major institutional and political progress. Due to its geographic and strategic location and its tradition of anti-Ottoman struggle, Transylvania received a privileged status compared to other vassals and it was often allowed to play an important role in European politics.⁵³

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

Conclusions

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

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

⁴⁹ PASCU, Ștefan: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc și leagăn al poporului român*, pp. 18–19.

⁵⁰ IDEM: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 99–100.

⁵¹ DRAGOMIR, Silviu: Câteva urme ale organizației de stat slavo-române. In: *Dacoromania*, a. 1, 1921, p. 147–161; FILIPAȘCU, Alexandru: *Istoria Maramureșului*. București: Tipografia ziarului “Universul”, 1940; MOGA, Ion: *Scrieri istorice: 1926–1946*. Foreword by Ștefan Pascu. Ed.: Mihail DAN – Aurel RĂDUȚIU. Cluj: Dacia, 1973, p. 37–88; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Maramureșului. Probleme istorice și chestiuni de metodă științifică*. In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională din Cluj-Sibiu*, a. 10, 1945, p. 522–576; Constantin DACOVICIU – Ștefan PASCU – Victor CHERESTEȘIU: *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, p. 75, pp. 81–83; PASCU, Ștefan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. 1, pp. 24–40, 146–148, 203–222; IDEM: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizația transilvană în cadrul civilizației românești*, pp. 51–52; IDEM: *Transilvania, inimă a pământului românesc și leagăn al poporului român*, p. 48; POPA, Radu: *Țara Maramureșului în veacul al XIV-lea*. București: Ed.: Academiei R.S.R., 1970; POPA, Radu: *La începuturile Evului Mediu românesc: Țara Hațegului*. București: Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1988; ȘIPOȘ, Sorin: *Silviu Dragomir istoric*, pp. 175–182.

⁵² LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Realități istorice în voievodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, p. 74; IDEM: *Fazele istorice în evoluția constituțională a Transilvaniei*, pp. 16–17; MOGA, Ion: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei: fapte și interpretări istorice*, p. 44.

⁵³ PASCU, Ștefan: *Ce este Transilvania? Civilizația transilvană în cadrul civilizației românești*, p. 70.

⁵⁴ LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, pp. 6–9; IDEM: *Realități istorice în voievodatul Transilvaniei din sec. XII–XVI*, pp. 54–60.

⁵⁵ IDEM: *Epocele principale în istoria românilor*, pp. 52–53; IDEM: *Voievodatul Transilvaniei în sec. XII–XIII*, pp. 6–9; IDEM: *Istoria unirii românilor*, pp. 22–25.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 25; LUPAȘ, Ioan: *Factorii istorici ai vieții naționale românești*, pp. 21–24.

⁵⁷ IDEM: *Istoria unirii românilor*, p. 25.

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

presentations to dissemination texts or those obviously written on political requests.

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

* Translated by Ana Maria GRUIA.

The Slavic World in French Historical Writings of the Eleventh Century

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

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

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

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

By that time there was a rather long tradition of writing about the Slavs in Western European, mainly Frankish, historical literature.¹ Historically, since the Carolingian Age, Franks regarded

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

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

² *Annales regni Francorum* (741–825), a. 809. In: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (deinde MGH), vol. 6. Ed.: Friedrich KURZE – Georg Friedrich PERTZ. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1895, p. 213; ADEMAR OF CHABANNES: *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*. vol. 2. In: *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, vol. 129. Ed.: Pascale BOURGAIN – Richard LANDES – Georges PON. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999, p. 21.

Perhaps, this old imperial vision was taken into consideration when a marriage was arranged in 1051 between the French king Henry I and Anna, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, grand prince of Kiev. True, it was the only matrimonial union between a member of the Capetian dynasty and a Slavic princess. It is likely that the very idea of such a marriage was proposed by the Polish king (or prince) Casimir I the Restorer who after the death of his father, King Mieszko II, in 1034 was forced into exile and spent some time in the Abbey of Cluny where he even became a deacon under the name Charles until about 1041 when the Poles called him back.³ He married Yaroslav's younger sister, Maria Dobronega (Dobrogniewa),⁴ while his own sister, Elisabeth (Olisava in Russian sources), married Yaroslav's second son, Izyaslav, the future grand prince of Kiev.⁵ Thus, the prince

of Poland, presumably close to the French court and a relative of Yaroslav the Wise, would have been in a good position to arrange the matrimonial negotiations.⁶ At the same time, the niece of Matilda, the late first wife of Henry, was married to Anna's brother Svyatoslav, third son of Yaroslav the Wise. Thus, political contacts between the French Kingdom and the two largest Slavic states, Rus' and Poland, were quite active, and it is disappointing that the French chronicles contain little information about them. Perhaps most stunning of all, Raoul Glaber does not mention Casimir at all though he was closely connected to Cluny and lived there for quite a while. True, in the late 1030s when Casimir found refuge in Cluny Raoul had already left it with some scandal and settled in the Abbey of Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, where he remained until his death about 1050.

* * *

The name *Sclavania* as a designation for the Slavic lands is used only by Ademar of Chabannes, who employs it nine times in his chronicle though five of them concern Carolingian times and that part of his work is a compilation of the *Annales Regni Francorum*. Unlike the German chronicler Adam of Bremen who considered *Sclavania* a part of Germany⁷ Ademar regards it as an independent country. The Polish king Boleslas I, whose name he transmits as *Botesclavus*, underlining his Slavic origin, is called the king of *Sclavania* twice.⁸

However, Ademar applies this place-name also to one of the Slavic territories on a par with *Polliana* (Poland), *Cracovia*, and *Waredonia*. These

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

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

⁴ PCHELOV, Evgeny: *Polskaya knyaginya Maria Dobronega Vladimirovna*. In: *Drevniaja Rus' v sisteme etnopoliticheskikh i kulturnykh svyazey*. Moskva: Nauka, 1994, pp. 31–33.

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

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

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

⁸ ADEMAR OF CHABANNES 3, 31.

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

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

¹¹ LELEWEL, Joachim: *Géographie du moyen âge*, tom. 3. Bruxelles: J. Pilliet, 1852, p. 15.

¹² MACIEJOWSKI, Waclaw A.: *Essai historique sur l'église chrétienne primitive des deux rites, chez les Slaves*. Berlin: A. Ascher, 1846, p. 274.

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

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

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

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

The geographic position of the Russian state was relatively well-known in the West.¹⁷ It seems also that Russians were not rare guests in Western lands. For example, Ademar was aware of Russian mercenaries in Byzantine service; describing Byzantine victory over the Normans in Italy in 1018, he specifies that the latter had been defeated and destroyed by *Russi*.¹⁸ Though it is quite possible that some of these "Russian" warriors were of Scandinavian origin, it is the use of the ethnonym which is most important in this case. The anonymous chronicle of the abbey Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in

Sens (twelfth century), speaking of the embassy of King Henry I to the Grand Prince Yaroslav, calls him "the king of the land of Russia which stretches to the borders of Greece".¹⁹ The Annals of Vendôme, written between 1057 and 1060, without giving the name of Queen Anne, call her *scythica* and *rufa*,²⁰ obviously referring to the description of her homeland in the writings of ancient authors. Apparently, Yaroslav's name seemed too difficult and strange to the French authors, so they either distorted it or omitted it altogether. In the "History of the Normans" Guillaume of Jumièges (ca. 1000–1070) speaks of *Juliusclodii regis Rugorum filiam*,²¹ in the twelfth-century French sources he is referred to as *Juriscloth*,²² *Bullesclot*,²³ or *Bulflesdoc*,²⁴ sometimes also by his baptismal name, *Georgius Sclavus*.²⁵

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

¹⁴ ADEMAR OF CHABANNES 3, 31.

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

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

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

¹⁸ ADEMAR OF CHABANNES 3, 55: "Quarto congressu a gente Russorum victi et prostrati sunt et ad nichilum redacti, et innumeri, ducti Constantinopolim, usque ad exitum vite in carceribus tribulati sunt."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Southern Slavs are hardly distinguished in the French chronicles of the eleventh century. There are a few meager references to Bulgarians whereas Serbs and Croats are not mentioned at all. It is important to note that even for the ninth century there are surprisingly few reports about Croats (as allies of Charlemagne in his wars

against the Avars and immediate neighbours of his empire).²⁷ As for the Bulgarians, we have only one short note by Ademar of Chabannes, in connection with the wars of Emperor Basil II in 1001–1018. Ademar mentions that the Bulgarian tsar Samuel did not perish in a fair battle but was murdered by Greek cunning.²⁸ In fact Samuel died of a heart attack upon seeing 15 000 blinded Bulgarian soldiers sent out to him by Basil II.²⁹ Ademar does not indicate that Bulgarians belong to the Slavic world nor gives any other meaningful details about them.

* * *

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

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

Writing about the mission of Saint Adalbert to Poland and Prussia, Ademar wrongly asserts that it was Otto III who had sent him to baptize the eastern heathens. He puts the following

phrase into the emperor's mouth: "A bishop like you should go to preach to the Slavic tribes."³⁰ Georges Pon, the modern French editor of Ademar's chronicle, sees in this phrase a mockery of the Slavic peoples because of the ambiguity of the word *sclavus*, which had already acquired the meaning "slave".³¹ Pon has obviously in mind Adalbert was Czech by birth. However, neither Raoul Glaber nor Ademar mention that Adalbert was of Slavic origin nor give his Slavic name Vojtěch.³² On the other hand, the form *Sclavus* was used at that time on a par with the form *Slavus*, so in fact nothing in Ademar's text points to a mockery of any sort.

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

²⁶ RADULFUS GLABER, I, 4, 10: "...gens Leuticorum barbara omni crudelitate ferocior; cuius vocabulum a luto dirivatur. Est enim omnium illorum habitatio circa mare aquilonare in paludibus sordentibus, et iccirco Leutici quasi lutei vocantur."

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

²⁸ ADEMAR OF CHABANNES 3, 32: "...nequaquam publico prelio, sed astucia greca interfectis..."

²⁹ IOANNIS SCYLITZAE: *Synopsis historiarum*. Ed.: Hans THURN. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973, p. 348–349. Cfr.: STEPHENSON, Paul: *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, passim.

³⁰ ADEMAR OF CHABANNES 3, 31: "Talis episcopus sicut vos estis debuisse pergere ad predicandum sclavorum gentes."

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

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

³³ "Pedibus nudis abiit in Polliam provinciam, ubi nemo Christi nomen audierat, et predicare cepit evangelium." ADEMAR OF CHABANNES 3, 31.

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

The most impressive of Ademar's reports about the Slavs, though just as erroneous, concerns the conversion of Russia. According to Ademar it was Saint Bruno of Querfurt who was the first Christian missionary and baptizer in this land as well as in Hungary and that after his martyrdom in Prussia in 1009 the Russians "bought his body for a great price and built a monastery in his honor in Russia." Afterwards, a Greek bishop arrived

in Russia and "converted a half of that land which still worshiped idols, so that they began to grow beard in the Greek fashion and adopted other Greek customs."³⁵ Bruno who was consecrated as the bishop of pagans by Pope Silvester II indeed visited Kingdom of Hungary and Russia, where in 1007 he met Grand Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavovich (who accepted Christianity from Constantinople in 988), and with his assistance set out to preach the gospel to the Pechenegs.³⁶ Perhaps Ademar heard that Otto I sent to Kiev Saint Adalbert of Magdeburg (the tutor of Adalbert of Prague whose name he took), allegedly at the request of Princess Olga (though he arrived there probably in 961, long after her death in 955), whose mission was unsuccessful because of the hostile attitude of her son Svyatoslav, and this story influenced Ademar's account about Bruno.

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To sum up, the French chroniclers of the 11th century had some general information about the Slavic world and didn't regard it as totally alien. Such reports which appear in their texts don't contain negative assessments or characteristics of the Slavs, they are described rather as good Christians – with the obvious exception of the Polabian Slavs who remained pagans. Actually the French authors write mostly about the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity, one of

the most important events of that time from their point of view. They also tell us about the political contacts between the French kingdom and the largest Slavic states, Poland and Russia, though unfortunately give much less information about them than one could have hoped to find on such an issue in French sources. But for comparison the French chroniclers speak very little about Spain or Scandinavia and give almost the same amount of information on England as on the Slavic world.

³⁴ GALLI ANONYMI: *Cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*. Ed.: Karol MAŁEJCZYŃSKI. In: *MPH NS*, vol. 2. Kraków: PAU, 1952, p. 6.

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

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

