

CENTRAL EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL TEXTS

General Editors

PATRICK GEARY, GERHARD JARITZ, GÁBOR KLANICZAY, PAVLÍNA RYCHTEROVÁ

Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle

Edited by
JÁNOS M. BAK
and
LÁSZLÓ VESZPRÉMY



STUDIES ON THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE

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SUBSIDIA 1

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ABBREVIATIONS

General

b.	born
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cf.	<i>confronte</i> , compare
d.	died
ed(s),	editor(s), edited by
et al.	et alii, and others
MS	manuscript
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)
OSzK	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library, Budapest)
p., pp.	page(s)
repr.	reprint/ed
trans.	translator, translated by
vol(s).	volume(s)

Titles quoted in abbreviation

IC	<i>Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e codice picto saec. xix. The Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the fourteenth-century Illuminated Chronicle</i> , ed. János M. Bak, and László Vezprémy. (CEMT 9.) Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2018.
SRH	<i>Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum</i> , ed. Emericus Szentpétery. Budapest: Universitas Litterarum, 1937–38; repr. Vác: Nap Kiadó, 1999.
CEMT	Central European Medieval Texts. Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 1999–.

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PREFACE

The present volume of studies is the first *Subsidium* of the Central European Medieval Text series, accompanying CEMT vol. 9. As mentioned there, the volume of the text and its annotations did not allow for the inclusion of the usual detailed introduction into the same volume. That is why we are publishing these studies in a separate book. For the text and illustrations, readers should consult the bilingual edition and the facsimile on CD attached to the edition-translation.

After the initial short codicological information, the first three studies analyze the text and the illuminations of the *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum* (henceforth IC for Illuminated Chronicle) in its literary-historical, art historical, and heraldic contexts. They also summarize the extensive—mainly Hungarian—scholarly literature on the IC that goes back more than two hundred years. Three additional studies address issues connected with the narrative. Since the IC starts with the history of the Huns, the imaginary ancestors of the Hungarians, the first discusses the Attila tradition in Hungarian history writing. The second analyzes the extensive coverage of the dynastic struggles of the eleventh century, placing them into the context of *amicitia* and *deditio*. The third study treats the image of King St. Ladislas I as the “ideal king,” as presented in his legend and the IC, a topic that received conspicuously detailed coverage in the chronicle. Finally, a paper discusses the fate of the fourteenth-century chronicle texts during the subsequent centuries, their appearance in legal texts, and their reception abroad.

We hope that these studies will elucidate the place of the IC in history writing and art, and allow interested readers to appreciate the many layers of its significance.

The editors are indebted—besides the authors of the studies—primarily to the National Széchényi Library for the cooperation in bringing out this volume, containing as it does, two papers that were originally prepared for their planned facsimile edition. Generous permissions from libraries and museums to reproduce illustrations are acknowledged in detail on p. 199.

THE CODEX OF THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE

Orsolya Karsay

The codex of the IC is kept in the Manuscript Collection of the National Széchényi Library (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest = OSzK), with the shelf-mark Cod. Lat. 404. It was produced in Hungary, in and after 1358, most probably in the royal court. The codex is made up of 1 + 74 parchment sheets; one paper folio has been bound to the beginning and thirty-one to the end. The collation is: IV^(flyleaf without numbering, ff. 1–7) + IV^(ff. 8–15) + IV^(ff. 16–23) + IV^(ff. 24–31) + IV^(ff. 32–39) + IV^(ff. 40–47) + IV^(ff. 48–55) + IV^(ff. 56–63) + IV^(ff. 64–71) + IV-5^(ff. 72–74) = 10 IV-5. The pages are 303 x 210 mm in size, so-called small folios. The text is written by one hand in calligraphic Gothic book hand. The Chronicle is laid out in two columns, with thirty-three lines, broken up by chapter titles (rubrics) written in red, or, where these are missing, by paragraph marks. The text is accompanied by thirty-nine miniatures, four medallions, ninety-eight historiated or inhabited and five decorated initials. Catchwords are each time at the very bottom of the verso of a quire's last leaf, in the middle, surrounded by modest pen and ink drawing. The binding, made of white leather mounted on paperboard with linear ornamentation originates from the second half of the sixteenth century, from the bookbinding workshop of the Austrian court.¹

The IC was acquired by the National Széchényi Library in 1933 (then called the Library of the National Museum), following the 1932 Venice Agreement, which made provisions for the artistic treasures that had been in joint ownership until the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. At that time a large number of invaluable artifacts were transferred from Austria to Hungary and to other successor states, and conversely, from the successors back to Austria. This is when, along with many

* Originally written for a planned facsimile edition some years ago. Abridged, updated and edited by Edina Zsupán and the editors.

¹ For a detailed description of the codex, see also BARTONIEK 1940, 404 and KARSAY 2000, 70.

other unique Hungarica, chronicle manuscripts, and Corvinas that had been kept in the Hofbibliothek of Vienna (the present-day Austrian National Library), the “Vienna IC” finally passed into the ownership of the Hungarian public collections, while the adjective referring to its earlier long-term home is gradually disappearing from its name.

It is not known how and when the IC arrived in Vienna. None of the hypotheses (via France, Serbia or Stambul) can be substantiated. The first time it appears in the catalogue of the Hofbibliothek is in the early eighteenth century.² The more than three centuries of its stay in Vienna have left several marks on the codex, connected partly with librarians and partly with bookbinders.

On the recto of the flyleaf and the title page of the codex, over and next to the stamp testifying to the ownership of the “Library of the Hungarian National Museum” there are two stamps of the Hofbibliothek, one in German and one in Latin.

In Vienna, the codex was remarked three times. The earliest shelf mark, as listed in the aforementioned catalogue, is on the title page: “No. 456. Hist. Lat. Hungariae Chronicon Manuscriptum.” The note is from the hand of Sebastian Tegnagel, *Präfekt* of the library between 1608 and 1635,³ with the exception of the “Hist. Lat.” class mark, which is from Peter Lambeck (*Präfekt* 1663–80). By the middle of the seventeenth century, the mark was already “Hist. Lat.” as it is shown by the fragment of the label on the spine of the binding. The third and final mark is on the flyleaf: “Cod. 405.” made by an unknown person, who changed the last digit from 4 to 5.

The pages of the codex have been renumbered on two occasions. First, Lambeck entered page numbers in pencil, and the second time another hand added folio numbers in pen. In our edition, Lambeck’s page numbers appear in the Latin text in brackets and on the margin. It is these numbers that are generally used in references to the IC.

Referring to his own work published first in Vienna in 1666, Lambeck wrote this note on the verso of the flyleaf:

Anonymi cuiusdam auctoris Chronicon Hungariae in codice membranaceo msto in folio minori, inter Historicos Latinos num. 456, scriptus A. C. 1358, variis inauratis picturis spectatu dignissimis exornatus, ex quo Joannes de Thurecz alias de Thurocz et Turocius dictus (qui sub rege Matthia Corvino potissimum floruit,) res gestas Hungarorum ab origine gentis usque ad A. C. 1342. seu mortem regis Caroli, patris regis Ludovici, quas sub titulo Chronicae Hungarorum edidit,

² [Sebastian Tegnagel] *Catalogi manuscriptorum, theologorum, juridicorum, historicorum, philosophicorum et philologicorum, medicorumque Bibliothecae augustissimae caesariae vindebonensis*. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 9531, Part *Historicorum* I-461 (ff. 103^r–141^v), No 456.

³ On him, see: PETSCHAR 1993.

*partim simpliciter, partim interpolate mutuatus est. Vide: Lambecii Diarium Cellense,*⁴ *pag. 61, 62, 267.* [A chronicle of Hungary by an anonymous author in a small-size manuscript parchment codex in the series of Latin chroniclers number 456 from 1358, decorated with various spectacular gilded images, from which János Thureczi, a.k.a. Thuróczi or Turocius (who lived mostly under King Matthias Corvinus) published the history of Hungarians from the origins of the nation up to 1342, the year when King Charles, the father of King Louis the Great died; giving it the title the Chronicle of Hungarians, in parts directly borrowing, and in other parts adding his supplements. See Lambecius, *Diarium Cellense*, pages 61, 62, 267.]

Although Lambeck was mistaken in giving the final year of the Chronicle, as it records events only up to 1330, he was certainly correct about the later use of the text.

During its stay in Vienna the codex was twice restored and rebound according to the note on the recto of the flyleaf. The more recent one is registered as *Dorsum voluminis restauratum mense Junio a. 1913. Kraelitz, Beer*. The two names are likely to be those of the restorers and/or bookbinders. In the course of the restoration work, the pages of the codex were cut and as a result of this, sadly, some notes on the margins, and even some of the decorations have been damaged.

The barely visible marginal note over the Latin words on the title page, which must have been added by a former owner of the codex, most probably dates back to the period before the IC was taken to Vienna. The hand-written marginalia in Hungarian but written in Arabic script here and at a few other places in the codex may have been from a Turkish reader who probably possessed the codex for a period of time. The note on the title page is in Hungarian: *Turóds János krónikája*, that is, “The Chronicle of János Turóds [recte: Thuróczi].” All other Latin and Hungarian marginalia, noted in the critical apparatus of the CEMT edition, also suggest that the codex was used by persons knowing Hungarian.

Editions of various value, some with illustrations or—more recently—with facsimile are listed in the edition-translation, pp.

⁴ See LAMBECK 1710.

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- KARSAY 2000 Karsay, Orsolya, ed. *Cimélia. Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár középkori kincsei* [Cimelia: The medieval treasures of the National Széchényi Library]. Budapest: OSzK.
- LAMBECK 1710 “Petri Lambecii Hamburgensis Diarium Sacri Itineris Cellensis, Interrupti Et Repetiti : Qvod Sacratissimus Gloriosissimusque Princeps Et Dn. Imp. Cæs. Leopoldus I. Pius, Felix, Inclytus, Victor Ac Triumphator Semper Augustus, Anno Æ. C. MDCLXV. Primum Qvidem Die XXVII. Junii Suscepit Irrite, Postea Autem Feliciter Peregit A Die XI. Augusti Usque Ad Diem Ejusdem Mensis Vigesium,” in Peter Lambeck, *Prodromus historiae litterae* &c. Hamburg: Liebezeit.
- PETSCHAR 1993 Petschar, Hans. *Niederländer, Europäer, Österreicher: Hugo Blo-tius, Sebastian Tengnagel, Gerard Freiherr van Swieten, Gottfried Freiherr van Swieten ; vier Präfekten der kaiserlichen Hofbibliothek in Wien ; Ausstellung im Foyer zum Hauptlesesaal der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 26. April–15. Mai 1993*. Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

THE TEXT OF THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE

János M. Bak and Ryszard Grzesik*

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The codicological details and the history of the codex of the IC from its writing in 1358 to its arrival at its present home is described above (pp. 1–4); its afterlife down to modern times, below (pp. 181–98). While it may be the best known historical manuscript from medieval Hungary, it does not stand alone; it belongs to one of the two “families” of fourteenth-century chronicle compilations. One of them is represented by six more or less connected versions on which the *Buda Chronicle* (after which it is named), printed in 1473 in the short-lived *officina* of Andreas Hess in Buda—the first book printed in Hungary—was based.¹ Four surviving manuscripts, including the IC, represent the other. An unknown lost codex close to one of them was the basis for the *Chronica Hungarorum* of Johannes Thuróczy/de Thurócz, printed in Brno and Augsburg in 1488.² The two groups overlap in several places; there are extensive borrowings, some of them verbatim. Thus, all seem to go back to a common source and have at some time influenced each other, but there is a significant difference between them.

Since all these existing witnesses are younger than the IC, the question is which of their model was the basis for the text of the IC. Already Thuróczy knew of the differing versions. In the preface to his work, styled *Soliloquium*, he characterized one of the chronicles as describing the Magyars as descendants of Noah’s cursed son, Ham, the other making Japhet, traditionally the ancestor of European peoples, their forebear. Thuróczy thought that the former ended with the events of the age of Charles I (1308–42), while the latter covered the age of Louis I (1342–82) as well. The “Hamite” text is in a way known to us through the version in the *Codex Sambucus* (copied precisely in Thuróczy’s time), while the “Japhetite” is represented by the IC that contains an awkwardly formulated polemic against the “Hamites” (ch. 4, pp. 13–15).³ However,

* This survey of the textual transmission is based to a great extent on the “Utószó” [Afterword] by Kornél Szovák in *KÉPES KRÓNIKA* 2004, 233–54. We are most grateful to him for permission to use his text. Whatever shortcomings it may have, is our fault.

¹ On it, see VARJAS 1977.

² Most recent, critical edition is THURÓCZY 1985–88.

³ See IC n. 38 on p. 12.

the IC too, ends in Charles's age. Gyula Kristó suggested that the—now lost—model manuscript of the IC did not originally end with the events of 1330, but contained the chapters known from the *Codd. Sambucus* and *Acephalus* along with the *Chronicon Dubnicense* (of the Buda family) about Charles's trip to Italy and even reports on the events of 1345–49 from a hand other than the earlier Angevin chapters.⁴ If we accept this hypothesis then the model of the IC was a manuscript of which Thuróczy said that it ended with Louis's time and advocated the Japhetite *origo gentis*, but for some reason was copied incompletely into the illuminated codex.

THE AUTHOR

However fine work the final compiler of the text of the IC has done with collecting, sifting, and augmenting older chronicles, he has failed to share with the reader his identity. There is no hint in the text whatsoever that would allow a conjecture.

Still, around A.D. 1593, there may have existed a copy in which his name appeared. János Baranyai Decsi (1560–1601), a student of ancient Hungarian history, wrote, “Had a certain Barbarian author, called Marcus not put into writing the origin and the history of our ancestors, we would be forced to be aliens and newcomers in our own fatherland. Thuróczy, namely, took all his material from him.”⁵ These words may imply that the sixteenth-century historian had the privilege of seeing a codex that served as the source of the *Chronica Hungarorum*, but was older than that, written not in Humanist, but in “Barbarian”, that is, medieval Latin. This manuscript could have been an unknown one close to but not identical with the *Codex Csepregby* (lost just about the time of Baranyai Decsi, but known from a seventeenth-century copy), the most likely source of Thuróczy. However, that codex, as we know it from the copy, did not contain the name Márk. Still, a version of it, naming the author, may have been around in the late sixteenth century.

On the other hand, Baranyai Decsi could have reached his conclusion not from a manuscript but from his research in the royal administration of the fourteenth century. The author of a royally commissioned chronicle could very well have been the *custos* of the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár that was the depository not only of the royal insignia but also of important documents.⁶ And indeed, that office was held in the given year by a certain Márk.

That person is not unknown. A Marcus son of Zomoyñ of Kált (Kálti) appears frequently in Angevin records between 1336 and 1358. In 1336–37 he was chaplain of Queen Elisabeth Piast, in 1342–52 parish priest of St. Peter's in Buda. In 1352 he

⁴ KRISTÓ 1967, 499–500.

⁵ BARANYAI DECSI 1866; see also KRISTÓ 1967, 482–84.

⁶ On the possible connection of the IC to Székesfehérvár, see below, p. 29.

became the *custos* of the royal chapel and held benefices in the chapters of Székesfehérvár and Veszprém. In 1353–54 he was provost of the collegiate chapter of Srem (or Kő) before he became *custos* in Fehérvár in 1358. He does not appear in the sources after this date and some scholars speculate that the incompleteness of the IC (written in that very year) may be due to his death.⁷

If Márk was the redactor of the “fourteenth-century compilation” (the basis of the IC text), he must have known a text from the time of Charles I, containing the old chronicles and the records of the early Angevin age, and even its probable Franciscan author, while serving in the capital. As provost of Srem (which, of course, he may have merely held as a benefice while living at court) he might have come across the *Chronicon Posoniense* of the Buda family,⁸ written somewhere in the region of Srem, containing thirteenth-century texts and having several references to the monastery at Kő. Overall, the ascription of the IC to “Kálti Márk” can be neither dismissed nor confirmed.

SOURCES AND CONSTITUTING PARTS

The Primary Gesta

In the first sentence of the IC, the author states that his work was “compiled from divers old chronicles, preserving what in them is true and utterly refuting what is false.” These “old chronicles” could have been none other than texts from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, most of which were lost in the course of time. Historical studies have proven that most of the main events and persons mentioned in the chronicles are described authentically and could not have become known to the fourteenth-century compiler of the IC’s model but from these lost narratives.

Questions surrounding the beginnings of history writing in Hungary have exercised scholars for the last three and a half centuries and engendered both valuable insights and methodological refinement.⁹ Nonetheless, no consensus emerged about the early narratives, surviving only in the redactions of the fourteenth century. Different scholars regard different hypothetical text as the *Ur-Gesta* (primary *Gesta*).¹⁰ There is, however, no doubt that a first chronicle was written down some time in the eleventh or early twelfth century, but the date of it is still debated.

One argument for its dating rests on comparison. It is reasonable to assume that the first syntheses of the legendary past and the first age of the Christian monarchies founded around the first millennium were composed at the time of their consolidation after the initial crises. The first chroniclers of the neighboring countries, Cos-

⁷ KERSKEN, 1995, 673–74.

⁸ *SRH* II, 7–51, see also below AFTERL.

⁹ BAGI 2007; SPYCHAŁA 2011, with extensive bibliography.

¹⁰ See GRZESIK 2010A, with literature. Cf. THOROCKAY 2016.

mas of Prague and the anonymous author of the *Gesta principum Polonorum* ("Gallus Anonymus")¹¹ wrote in the early twelfth century and, incidentally, both had contacts with King Coloman of Hungary (1096–1116). "Gallus" actually borrowed the passage of the Hungarian chronicle on the death and mourning of St. Stephen almost verbatim for Bolesław Chrobry's demise. If he indeed knew the *Ur-Gesta*, then it had to be available by ca. 1110 at the latest.¹² Consequently, several scholars have suggested the age of Coloman as the date of the earliest historical writing in Hungary, while others have argued for the times of King St. Ladislas (1077–95). The latter hypothesis rests on textual parallels with the *Life of St. Stephen*, composed for his canonization in 1083.¹³

Another, not less reasonable, assumption is that the primary history was written much earlier, in the mid-eleventh century, under King Andrew I (1046–60) or his son Solomon (1063–74). The treatment of events around the death of King St. Stephen (1000–38) and the sons of Vazul—Andrew and his brothers, who had to flee the country and returned amidst a popular uprising—reflects the concerns of that age. Moreover, the author seems to quote verbatim the penal formula of the 1058 peace treaty with the emperor (ch.90, p. 170), but this is unclear. According to some scholars, this first chronicler could have been identical with the writer of the famous foundation charter of Tihany (1055), Bishop Nicholas of Veszprém, who—as characterized in chapter 90 of the chronicle (p. 168)—was well trained for such a task.¹⁴ An even closer likely date of writing of the *Ur-Gesta* would be the mid-1060s, when King Solomon and the princes Géza and Ladislas ruled the country in peaceful cooperation and it may have ended with chapter 110 about the siege of Belgrade in 1071 (pp. 206–8).

There is no way to reconstruct the contents of the *Ur-Gesta*, as it has been re-edited several times, bits and pieces retained, others dropped, formulations borrowed in different contexts and so on. In all likelihood it contained all that was remembered and transmitted orally about the origin of the ruling dynasty and such historical myths as the miraculous hind (pp. 14–15), the totemistic falcon (pp. 32–35), the story of Botond's heroic deeds (pp. 104–107), the symbolic "purchase" of the country with a white horse (pp. 68–9), and so on. These could have been transmitted through heroic songs performed by minstrels.¹⁵ There is a hypothesis that some of them may have survived from pre-conquest Slavic (Moravian, Pannon-Slavic) tradition.¹⁶ While the author included whatever he knew about the ancient history of the Hungarians, the bulk of his writing covered the half century between the reign of King Stephen I and

¹¹ COSMAS OF PRAGUE 2017; GESTA PRINCIPUM 2003.

¹² GESTA PRINCIPUM 2003, 70–71 (I:16), and SRHI: 322. (ch. 70). See BAGI 2005.

¹³ See VESZPRÉMY-BAGI 2017.

¹⁴ For a detailed study of chapter 90, see VESZPRÉMY 2014.

¹⁵ Anonymus expressly dismissed the "gabbling songs of minstrels" as unworthy records of the past (ANONYMUS 2003, 4–5), implicitly proving their existence.

¹⁶ See GRZESIK 2016A.