

## THE ROMANCE POPULATION IN THE MEDIEVAL KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

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(Abstract)

Medieval kingdom of Hungary was since its very beginning founded on the basis of multiethnicity and openness to foreigners. Foreigners in Hungary, especially in the 11th and 12th century came from Western Europe. Great immigration waves of the romance population are documented mostly during the reign of king Géza II (1141–1162), when they managed to settle in peripheral regions of the country and increase the population and significance of weakly populated regions. Foreigners in the 12th received privileged status as the „guests“. In the 11th and 12th century these guests have settled in Srem, Spiš, Transylvania and Tokaj. Some information about Srem region are provided by crusades chronicles. In Srem there was a village called Francavilla, which belonged to the oldest and most important romanesque settlement in Hungary. The Guests in Transylvania had their own church organization and there were several bishops of Transylvania and Bihar/Oradea of western European origin. Other regions with Romanesque population – Spiš and Tokaj laid on international routes. The collegiate chapter of Spiš even owned vineyards in Tokaj – in Sárospatak, one of the oldest Hungarian cities with privileges. A large number of documented pilgrimage passing through Hungary could also stand behind the increase of new romance population in the country. Additional aspect of the Crusades was the creation of religious orders, the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers, who just few decades after their formation appeared in Hungary and were engaged in the life of Hungarian kingdom.

The romance population appeared in Hungary already in 11th century, but the massively in 12th century, and was engaged in different spheres of political, religious, cultural and economic life of Hungary in the High Middle Ages, whether as wine producers, merchants or the dignitaries of church and also military orders.

Tracking the development of romance population, however, calls for a broad research sources and all aspects of medieval life, taking into account the specificities of Hungary and its regions.

The Kingdom of Hungary and all the lands attached to the crown of St. Stephen since its inception was based on the principle multiculturalism, multi-ethnicity and multilingualism. This moment was highlighted by the Hungarian rulers, who invited guests “hospites” of Western Europe to country. Exactly the openness of the Arpád dynasty to foreigners, good economic conditions and low population density played a major role in settling foreign population in the Hungary. This policy of the Hungarian kings of the inviting foreigners reached its peak particularly during the reign of Géza II (1141–1162), where there is documented new

population in the regions: Srem, Spiš, Transylvania and region of Tokaj. Several aspects related of these regions have not been fully explored or interpreted. The status and the origin of the guests have already been discussed by scholars. Among the Hungarian historians, it was especially György Székely, who noticed their role in the development of urbanization and cities in Hungary<sup>1</sup>. Within the Slovak medievalists – Miloš Marek, who paid attention to guests and foreign population<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> György Székely, *A Székesfehérvári latinok és a vallonok a középkori Magyarországon*, in: Székesfehérvári évszázadai 2, Alán Kralovánszky (ed.), Székesfehérvár (1972), 43–72; György Székely, *Wallons et Italiens en Europe centrale aux XIe – XVIIe siècles*, in: *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis. Sectio Historica* 6, Budapest (1964), 3–71.

<sup>2</sup> Miloš Marek, *Románske obyvatelstvo na Slovensku v stredoveku (Valóni, Francúzi, Taliani, Španieli)*, *Historický*

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Our goal is to briefly introduce the development of the romance guests in Hungary and especially in the period from 11th to 13th century. We are presenting major regions of the romance inhabitants as well as other Romanesque population which is found in Hungary during the pilgrimage to the Holy Land or remained in Hungary as members of military orders. Within this space we will try briefly introduce several aspects affecting the influx of guests to Hungary, which hitherto were not interpreted and presented. We also used some diplomatic sources that have not been published.

Srem, a historical region between the Danube and Sava, now part of the Republic of Serbia, belonged to Hungary and it was interesting for several historical aspects. When analyzing the Serbian territory, one must take into account the fact that medieval Serbia, whether as the grand principality or the kingdom, more or less correspond (or not correspond) to the current territory of the Republic of Serbia. Region that until 1918, did not belong to Serbia was precisely Srem, appearing in the sources Srem march, county of Srem (hungarian Szrém vármegye, Szremség), Sirmium, Frangochorion, Syrmia etc. This region of Srem (Vojvodina modern labeled) is named after the town of Sremska Mitrovica, which was the most important city of the Roman Empire in Southeastern Europe in the imperial era. Sirmium was established as bishopric by Saint Andronicus, disciple of the Apostle Paul. Under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Sirmium were all bishoprics in Illyria and Pannonia. It was also the seat of the Illyrian prefecture. Sirmium itself, however, was destroyed by the Huns in 448 and later Avars in 568<sup>3</sup>. According to this, there cannot be roman continuity in Sirmium in the High Middle Ages. At the time of 11th and 13th century the present region of Sremska Mitrovica and Belgrade was area of confrontation between Hungary, Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire.

For the focused period of 11th and 12th century, it is essential to emphasize that through Sirmium led pilgrimage route to Jerusalem. This road passed through the Hungarian towns Moson – Győr – Székesfehérvár – Tolna – Branjin Vrh (Baranyavár) – Vukovar – Zemun, on byzantine territory there was Belgrade – Niš – Plovdiv (Philipopolis) – Edirne

(Hadrianopolis) – Constantinople<sup>4</sup>. However, Sirmium is not documented on pilgrim route, until the end of 12th century. In the summer of 1189 crusading army of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa went through Hungary. This crusade is documented by several chronicles – an austrian cleric Ansbert, Arnold of Lübeck and the Chronicle of Cologne. Although the german army went partly different route than the First crusade, undoubtedly as in 1189 as well as the late 11th century, they progressed via Hungarian route connecting Vukovar to Belgrade and it was through Sirmium. According to the chronicle Ansbert, city of Sirmium was important in ancient times but in 1189 it was already in ruins<sup>5</sup>. Ansbert identifies, except Sirmium, a place called Francavilla. Another chronicler describes the journey of third crusade, Arnold of Lübeck also captures other place in the region: Slankamen, nowadays in Serbia at the confluence of the Danube and the Tisza<sup>6</sup>. In the time from 12th to 14th century, Slankamen was merchant town, where also was royal residence of Hungarian kings. According to our opinion, this was an example of an institution of the royal mansions, known from the others parts of Hungary. Hungarian royal army even stayed here in 1071 before the attack on byzantine fortress of Belgrade<sup>7</sup>. Evidence for the presence of Hungarian kings, there are several charters issued in Slankamen, for example it was king Ladislaus IV, who was there on 11 November 1280<sup>8</sup>. The merchant character

<sup>4</sup> András Borossy, József Laszlovszky, *Magyarország, A Szentföld és a korai kereszties hadjáratok*, in: József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy, József Zsengellér (eds.), *Magyarország és a kereszties háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik, Máriabesnyő – Gödöllő* (2006), 81. See also *Descriptio itineris in Terram sanctam sive Via Hierosolymitana auctore anonymo*, in: Albinus Franciscus Gombos (ed.), *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae. Tomus II. Budapestini MCMXXXVII*, (henceforth CFH), 844–845. Anonymous author greatly mangled hungarian places. For dating and correct transcription of names see József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy, József Zsengellér (eds.), *Magyarország és a kereszties háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik. Máriabesnyő – Gödöllő* (2006), 303–304, also appendix no. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Pavel Soukup, *Třetí křížová výprava dle kronikáře Ansberta*. Příbram (2003), 56; *Ansbertus clericus Austriensis: Gesta serenissimi Romanorum imperatoris Friderici sive Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, in: CFH I, 289.

<sup>6</sup> *Arnoldus Lubecensis Chronicon*, in: CFH I, 305.

<sup>7</sup> *Viedenská obrázková kronika*, in: *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska. Stredoveké Slovensko očami kráľovských a mestských kronikárov*, Július Sopko (ed.) Budmerice (1995), 40; *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum. Volumen I, Emericus Szentpétery* (ed.), Budapestini (MCMXXXVII), 370 as Zalankemen.

<sup>8</sup> Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár (Hungarian National Archive, henceforth MOL DL) 283664, 233097, 283800: “Datum in Zolunkemen”.

časopis, 52 (2004), 601–630; Miloš Marek, *Národnosti Uhorska*, Trnava (2011), 460 p.; Miloš Marek, *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku*. Martin (2006), 519 p.

<sup>3</sup> František Dvorník, *Byzantské misie u Slovanů*, Praha (1970), 160.

of Slankamen is revealed by another charter of Ladislaus IV from 1287, in which ordered the king himself to “mercatores de Szalankemen”, the merchants from Slankamen, paid tolls to monastery of Óbuda. Several documents in Slankamen were issued by another of Hungarian monarchs, Louis I the Great (1342–1382). We can mention charters of 1359 and 1365<sup>9</sup>.

Undoubtedly, Francavilla is very interesting – “The village of the Franks” today Mandeloz also in Serbia. The name of this place proofs that the romance population was established in Hungary before the end of the 11th century. Research about the exact datation of migration to Srem must be connected to the political and social conditions in Hungary. Srem was probably annexed by the attack of King Solomon and the Duke Ladislas into Belgrade in 1071<sup>10</sup>. Perhaps after the hungarian expedition can be expected influx of romance population. Francavilla is also mentioned in the Chronicle of Albert of Aachen to 1096, when the crusader army of Lorraine led by Godefrey of Bouillon and his brother Balduin of Boulogne was passing through Hungary. Later both of brothers became leading figures of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Crusaders sealed an agreement with the Hungarian king Coloman and went peacefully through country on condition that Balduin and his family will travel to the Hungarian king as hostages. Coloman and Balduin travelled together along the river Drava and came to Francavilla, where they stayed for three days and bought the necessary supplies and finally went to Zemun, hungarian frontiers’ fortress<sup>11</sup>. Francavilla was eo ipso a village of Frankish immigrants and merchants in region called Frangochorion on pilgrim route to Constantinople and forward to Jerusalem. Hungarian name, as quasi official, for the village was Nagy Olaszi<sup>12</sup>. Hungarian term Olasz is rather used for Flemish or Walloon population in Hungary. The romance population was known as Vlachi for the Slavs and Hungarians used the name Olaszi<sup>13</sup>. An actual name of Mandelos is a

derivative of the hungarian name Nagy Olaszi. One of the greatest hungarian historians Pál Engel interprets this name as “Great Walloon village”<sup>14</sup>. The army of Emperor Frederick I in 1189 even travelled on route one mile far from Francavilla<sup>15</sup>. Francavilla is also mentioned at the end of the reign of the king Géza II. There were some people from Milano who had fled after expedition of Frederick Barbarossa to Italy in 1162. These people were respectfully and kindly welcomed by Géza II. According to the sources, they had built “de novo” Francavilla and built a church here dedicated to Milano’s patron – Saint Ambrose<sup>16</sup>. Detailed informations provided by Magister Tolosanus from diocese of Faenza, reveal that Francavilla had to be known in Western European countries and rightfully it can be considered as one of the most important romanesque sites in Hungary. The next mention of the site is documented in the narrative source called “The song of lamentation” (*Carmen miserabile*) by archdeacon of Oradea, Roger of Torre Maggiore, later archbishop of Split, which detailfully describes the Tatar (Mongol) invasion of Hungary in 1241–1242. Francavilla in Rogerius’ *carmen* is documented as “Frankavilla Senatoria” and according to him, it was destroyed by the Tatars<sup>17</sup>. Francavilla was apparently abandoned for some time. Presumably, after the Tatar invasion, there can be new non-romance population, as it happened in other parts of Hungary. The exact ethnic development of this locality is nearly impossible to accurately track, despite the late 13th century reappearing in sources. Hitherto unnoticed although published is a document of the Hungarian ruler Andrew III. In charter of 1294 kings orders to guests and merchants from Francavilla and Eng (now destroyed medieval site) to pay the tolls to the monastery of Holy Virgin of Buda Island (Margit Sziget)<sup>18</sup>. Using of the term “hospites“, suggests that both locations or the population in these locations were given privileges before 1294. Mentioning the place of Eng together

<sup>9</sup> MOL DL 90371 (31. 5 1359), 62717 (19. 3 1365), MOL DL 238827 (26. 4 1365).

<sup>10</sup> Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages 500–1250*. New York (2006), 252. Solomon, king of Hungary, transferred the relic of Saint Procopios from Niš to Sirmium. Particular, hungarian influence can be seen prior to 1071.

<sup>11</sup> *Albertus Augensis canonicus: Historia Hierosolymitana*, in: CFH I, 44.

<sup>12</sup> M. Marek, *Románske obyvatelstvo*, 605.

<sup>13</sup> Branislav Varsik, *Z osídlenia slovenského a stredného Slovenska v stredoveku*. Bratislava (1984), 158.

<sup>14</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526*. New York-London (2001), 60.

<sup>15</sup> P. Soukup, *Třetí křížová výprava*, 56. Army of third crusade travelled slightly different route than crusading armies in 1096.

<sup>16</sup> *Tolosanus, canonicus Faventinus: Chronicon*. in: CFH III, 2258. This locality could be known in western Europe as place of romance population in Hungary.

<sup>17</sup> *Rogerii Carmen miserabile*, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*. Volumen II. Emericus Szentpetéry (ed.), Budapestini (MCMXXXVIII), 568.

<sup>18</sup> *Monumenta diplomatica civitatis Budapest I*, Gárdonyi Albertus (ed.), Budapest (1936), no. 270, 289.

with Francavilla may suggest that guests of Eng were also of romance origin. The whole region of Srem is called in Byzantine sources as Frangochorion, from which was derived the present name Fruška Gora originally as Franska Gora (“French Hill”)<sup>19</sup>. The production of the famous Srem wines has its origin right here. Probably the guests were of french origin and they also have viticulture tradition. Except this, influence the Tatar invasion was in the replacement of the original Romance communities in the cities by the german element, for example in Trnava (western Slovakia), oldest part of Levoča and other locations in region of Spiš in eastern Slovakia, also some localities in Transylvania we will mention later. Tatar invasion, significantly changed the ethnic structure in Hungary but also the social conditions. In the period following 1241–1242 there was a greater emancipation of urban communities and the creation of the nobility in the true sense.

Similarly, the Romanesque “hospites” in Sárospatak with privileges from 1201, were known as wine producers laid the foundations for present Tokaj wine production<sup>20</sup>. These guests, probably Walloons, also founded a village Olaszi, today as Bodrogolaszi, which laid on major trade road connecting Hungary with Kiev<sup>21</sup>. It is worth noting that guests in Sárospatak built the church dedicated to St. Nicholas<sup>22</sup>. The cult of Saint Nicolas, patron of merchants, played decisive role in the development of Hungarian towns, initially as a privileged communities of romance guests. The transfer of the relics of St. Nicolas by Normans from Smyrna (Izmir) to italian Bari in 1087, was reflected in the rapid expansion Saint-Nicolas patronage in Europe together in correlation with the development of network of merchant cities<sup>23</sup>. In Zemplín, in nowadays Tokaj region, is also village Olaszliszka, where romance guests grown vines. This village together with vineyard and mansion in Sárospatak became

property of provost and the collegiate chapter of Spiš in 1258, due to possibility of growing vine in Spiš region<sup>24</sup>.

Spiš itself also belonged to regions with romance settlement, according to tradition dating to the half of 12th century. The most important Romanesque sites was Spišské Vlachy, documented as villa Olos (1258), Villa Latina (1262), Wallendorf (1404)<sup>25</sup>. The part of the guests came here probably in c. 1220–1230s during the times of Coloman, younger brother of king Béla IV, who was lord of Spiš, King of Galicia (Halič or Halics), duke of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia. Although there is some evidence of the walloon population in Spiš already in the 12th century<sup>26</sup>.

Another area populated with romance people was Transylvania<sup>27</sup>. The arrival of francophonics at

<sup>24</sup> Peter Labanc, *K majetkovým pomerom Spišského prepoštvá v Zemplínskej župe (Olaszliszka)* in: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia XIII*, Vladimír Rábik (ed.), Trnava (2011), 111–124.

<sup>25</sup> B. Varsik, *Z osídlenia slovenského a stredného Slovenska v stredoveku*, 158.

<sup>26</sup> Peter Labanc, Spišské Vlachy. in: Štefánik, Martin – Lukačka, Ján (eds.), *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*. Bratislava (2010), 547. Online on: <http://forumhistoriae.sk/documents/10180/71257/Lexikon-stredovekych-miest.pdf>

<sup>27</sup> Term Transylvania is more precise in contrast of the german term Siebenbürgen (latin Septem Castra, slovak Sedmohradsko, czech Sedmíhradsko, but there is no such name in romanian). Siebenbürgen reflects the administrative structure of Saxons, which had seven main “seats”: “Saxonum nostrorum Septemseidium partium Transylvanarum” – charter of king of Hungary, Louis I to the burgers of Sibiu, 1370 – CDH IX/4, 218, no. CXXIV. Other sources mentioning “Septem Castra” are of foreign origin (Holy Roman Empire, Poland) and are connected to the Mongol Invasion of 1241–1242. *Annales Erphordenses ab a. 1220–1254*. in: CFH I, 127: “Terra scilicet Septem Castrorum...”; *Annales Maiores Polonenses*. in: CFH I, 159: “Septemcastrenses”. The title Siebenbürgen is obviously german origin, there is also in polish as Sedmigród. This name in latin form Septem Castra appeared in hungarian sources by the end of 13th century and frequently in 14th century. Both Transylvania/Septem Castra were used by chronicler of Ladislas IV (1272–1290) Simon of Keza. *Simonis de Keza. Gesta Hungarorum. Simon of Kéza. The Deeds of The Hungarians*, László Veszprémy, Frank Schaer, Jenő Szűcs (edd.), Budapest – New York (1999), 82: “partibus Erdevelu”; 102: “de Septem Castris in Hungariam adducto, et adiuncto Septem Castra Pannoniae...” Probably Simon borrowed the name Septem Castra from contemporary foreign sources, where this name could be derived in german-speaking lands from adjectival form Sibirinis/Cibirinis thus of town Sibiu, which were the seat of german and firstly romance ethnic group in Transylvania. Romanian historian Lucian Boia also separates own Siebenbürgen from Transylvania. Lucian Boia, *Rumunsko. Krajina na hranici Európy*. Bratislava (2012), 17, 23. Sources of hungarian provenance mentioned almost exclusively the name Transylvania (in various forms): Transilvana (1091), Ultrasilvanus (1113), Transsilvano (1193), Ultrasilvano (1207) etc. György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza II*. Budapest (1987), (henceforth AMTF ), 144–145 (Féhevár).

<sup>19</sup> Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium’s Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*. New York (2006), 191.

<sup>20</sup> M. Marek, *Národnosti Uhorska*, 309; charter of privileges of Sárospatak’s guests, 1201: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (henceforth CDH). V/1, Georgius Fejér (ed.), 181–183.

<sup>21</sup> M. Marek, *Národnosti Uhorska*, s. 309; výsadná listina hostí Blatného potoka, 1201: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. V/1, Georgius Fejér (ed.), 181–183.

P. Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 103.

<sup>22</sup> It can be find in the charter of 1201. CDH V/1, 181–182: “Hospites de Potok, apud Ecclesiam S. Nicolai commorantes”.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Marsina, *Začiatky výsadných miest na Slovensku a mikulášske patrocinium*, in: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia XI–XII*, Miloš Marek (ed.), Krakov (2011), 291–293.

first and then the Flemish and German guests (from the Holy Roman Empire, attested as “Theutonici”) is traditionally placed in the reign of Géza II (1141–1162). The charter of cardinal and papal legate Gregory from 1189 reveals that the Flemings were invited to Transylvania by Géza II and gave them some abandoned land. The same charter is also revealing these Flemings had their own separate ecclesiastical administration. Jurisdictionally they were replaced from the authority of the bishop of Alba Iulia, they had their own church organization as Flemish provostship (collegiate chapter) located in Sibiu, which was directly placed under the authority of the archbishop of Esztergom. This situation caused some jurisdictional conflicts between the bishop of Alba Iulia and the provost of Sibiu. Seriousness of the conflicts in 1189 was finally resolved by the Holy See<sup>28</sup>. Similarly, a charter known as *Andreanum* issued by King Andrew II for Transylvanian Saxons in 1224, mentions that these guests were invited to the region already by Andrew’s grandfather, King Géza II<sup>29</sup>. One can also find Romance sites with Romance denomination – Voldorf, Venetiae (as Latin form of Venice)<sup>30</sup>, Villa Latinorum<sup>31</sup>, Waldorf and Bistrița, also with Romance population, both in Bistrița county<sup>32</sup>. Bistrița itself was an important merchant city with a central church dedicated to Saint Nicolas. One can notice the great similarities of groundplans of the medieval towns of cities Bistrița and Trnava in Slovakia. Trnava is considered as a city with 12th-century Romance guests, who have also built St. Nicolas church<sup>33</sup>.

Romance population is documented in Hungary without belonging to a particular region. Sources mention several migration waves already in the 11th century, although it was massive at the 12th century, as above. Sources of non-Hungarian provenance mentioned emigrants from Liège (1047), canons of Verdun (1029) and the Hungarian originally from Lorraine origin (Leodvin of Bihar, Franco of Alba Iulia)<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> *CDH* II, 250–251. The charter is not dated, 1189 is approximately dated.

<sup>29</sup> M. Marek, Miloš. *Národnosti Uhorska*, p. 291–293. Latin text *CDH* III/1, 442.

<sup>30</sup> *AMTF* II, 203.

<sup>31</sup> *AMTF* II, 203.

<sup>32</sup> *AMTF* I, 557–558.

<sup>33</sup> Ground plan of Bistrița: *AMTF* I, 559, ground plan of Trnava: Jozef Šimončič (ed.). *Dejiny Trnavy* I. zväzok. Trnava (2010), 391. About Trnava and its guests also see Vladimír Rábik, Trnava. in: Martin Štefánik, Ján Lukačka (eds.), *Lexikón stredovekých miest na Slovensku*, 532.

<sup>34</sup> M. Marek, *Národnosti Uhorska*, s. 306. There are several sources mentioning these Romance emigration of the 11th century which need to be properly translated and interpreted.

The number of new settlers from Western Europe in Hungary can be also indirectly proofed by a large amount of documented pilgrims to Holy Land through Hungary even before the first crusade. They were pilgrims from different places – Angoulême (1026)<sup>35</sup>, Cambrai (1054)<sup>36</sup>, even Worcester in England (1058)<sup>37</sup>, 7 000 pilgrims under the leadership of German clergy, bishops of Mainz, Regensburg and Utrecht (1064–1065)<sup>38</sup> and finally it was Count of Toulouse (in 1093)<sup>39</sup>. It is likely that some pilgrims of these documented and undocumented pilgrimages could stay in Hungary permanently and establish Romance places as Francavilla.

Among the other newcomers to Hungary is appropriate to mention the members of military orders – the Hospitallers and the Templars. The Hospitallers had their nucleus organization in southern Italy in Amalfi, and later in Provence (Saint – Gilles)<sup>40</sup>. The very first Templars came from Flanders, Champagne and also Provence<sup>41</sup>. The Hospitallers were obviously settled in Hungary shortly after the second Crusade (1147), it was again King Géza II and his wife, Queen Euphrosine, who started construction of the first convents in Székesfehérvár and Esztergom<sup>42</sup>. For the history of Hungarian Hospitallers is substantial the charter of King Béla IV from 1247 addressed to Grand Perceptor of Order Rembaldus, who was given the land of the Banate of Severin, a huge area from fortress Turnu Severin to river Olt. This area is nowadays known as the Romanian region of Oltenia. The Banate of Severin was about 14 000 km<sup>2</sup> large,

<sup>35</sup> *Ademarus Cabannensis, monachus S. Cybardi al. Eparchii Engolismensis, tum S. Martialis Lemovicensis: Chronicon Aquitanicum et Francicum seu Historia Francorum*. in: *CFH* I, 15–16.

<sup>36</sup> *Vita s. Liutberti seu Liutberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rodulpho monacho S. Sepulcri apud Cameracenses*. in: *CFH* III, 2464.

<sup>37</sup> *Florentius Wigornensis, monachus et Bravonius dictus: Chronicon*. in: *CFH* II, 930.

<sup>38</sup> *Annales Altabenses maiores*. in: *CFH* I, 104.

<sup>39</sup> *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*. Volumen I, Emericus Szentpétery (ed.), Budapestini (MCMXXXVII), 417, also see note 2; *Viedenská obrázková kronika*, in: *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska*. Stredoveké Slovensko očami kráľovských a mestských kronikárov, Július Sopko (ed.), Budmerice (1995), 53.

<sup>40</sup> Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c.1150–1387*. Budapest (2010), 13, 19.

<sup>41</sup> To Templars see classic works Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood*, New York (2012), 22–23; Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314*. Göttingen (1974).

<sup>42</sup> *CDH* II, 283–291.

which was ten times larger than the size of Rhodos, later seat of the order<sup>43</sup>. According to charter of 1247 an army of 110 hospitallers was to take defence of the country and specifically of the castles Bratislava, Moson, Sopron, Nográd and Vasvár. In this same document the hungarian hospitallers were given the city of Skradin in Dalmatia.

Templars were already settled in Hungary around 1160, which correspond to the first documented donations<sup>44</sup>. Both military orders acted in Hungary as privileged religious institutions and as *loca credibilia* – public notaries (places of authentication, hung. *hiteleshelyek*, in slovak *hodnoverné miesta*). Military orders in Hungary had special status on the border between secular and ecclesiastical hierarchy. They were involved in political, cultural and economic life of the country. In addition to their wide-ranging activities from the scribes to the knights, also contributed to the spread of Romanesque element in Hungary. There are few charters which indicate origin of hungarian Templars. We have one charter issued by hungarian templar master („magister humilis domorum militie templi per Hungariam et Sclavoniam“) James de Monte Regali<sup>45</sup>. This Monte Regali could be Monreale in Sicily. Another charter was issued by John of Metis, hungarian templar master in 1245<sup>46</sup>. In this case Metis could be Metz in France.

In the case of aforementioned exposed regions of Srem and Banate of Severin, it is interesting to observe the trend of Hungarian rulers in incorporating peripheral regions or border areas to the lands of the crown. This policy has been an ongoing at the end of rule of Andrew II. The march of Srem, Banate of Severin and the duchy of Bosna were among the institutions whose beginnings can be already seen in 12th century<sup>47</sup>. Hungarian policy

practically since the beginning of the 11th century consisted in the establishment or relocation of the bishoprics in these progressively annexed regions, which were jurisdictionally under authority of archbishop of Esztergom or Kalocsa. It was happening also in the case of the three regions. In Srem was created bishopric probably around 1228 with the seats in Saint Ireneus (part of present Sremska Mitrovica) and in Banoštor<sup>48</sup>. Banate of Severin could be partially under authority of new bishopric with seat in Milcov (Milcovul, Romania), which is also called Cuman or diocese of Cumania, according to indigenous nomads<sup>49</sup>.

The diocese of Bosna belonged to the metropolitan province of Dubrovnik and after the crusade of Coloman, king of Galicia, Bosna was tightly placed into Hungarian sphere of influence. In 1247, several years after the death of Coloman, Bosna was subordinate to archbishop of Kalocsa and in 1252 its seat was replaced from Vrhbosna to do Đakovo<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> Berthold Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Řád johanitů ve středověku*. Praha (2008), 280. Latin text of this charter CDH IV/1, 447–454.

<sup>44</sup> Balázs Stossek, *Maisons et possessions des Templiers en Hongrie*. in: Zsolt Hunyadi, József Laszlovszky (edd.), *The Crusades and Military Orders. Expanding the frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. Budapest (2001), 246.

<sup>45</sup> MOL DL 40197.

<sup>46</sup> MOL DL 35826.

<sup>47</sup> The march of Srem is documented during the time of third crusade in chronicle of Ansbert. P. Soukup, *Třetí křížová výprava*, 56; as “Marchia” it is mentioned in charter of pope Gregory IX from 1240 addressed to the Monastery of Somogyvár about the tithes from vineyard “chybriones” nearby the city of Eng. CDH IV/1, 188–189. March of Srem was thus a frontier hungarian march.

The duchy of Bosna was more likely created after hungarian invasion to Bosna (already in 1102?). According to source,

the duke of Bosna was Ladislav, son of king Béla II, who was given the duchy “Bosnensem ducatum” from his father in 1137. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae*. Volumen II, Tadj Smečiklas (ed.), Zagreb (1904), (henceforth CDCr), 46, no. 45; Bosna itself was hungarian crownland named Rama. Hungarian duchy in Bosna, was incorporated by the end of 12th century to duchy of Croatia and Dalmatia, as it is attested in charter of 1198 of future king Andrew II (persisted in original). Andrew used the title “Dalmatie Croatiae Ramae Chulmeque dux” Duke of Dalmatia, Croatia, Rama and Hum or Zahlumje. CDCr II, 309, no. 290.

<sup>48</sup> Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*, Budapest (2011), 95.

<sup>49</sup> P. Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*, 96.

<sup>50</sup> In 1230s there was so called bosnian heresy. Coloman of Galicia managed to eradicate it on request of pope. During the 1233 pope Gregory IX appointed John of Wildeshausen, hungarian provincial prior of preachers, to vacant position of bishop of Bosna. The bishopric was placed directly under papal authority. There was a large number of preachers in Bosna and heretics, who refused to renounce their religion were handed to Coloman’s servants and burnt at the stake. Franjo Šanjek, *Kršćanstvo na Hrvatskom prostoru. Pregled religiozne povijesti Hrvata*, Zagreb (1991), 129–130.