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THE ROLE OF SERBIA IN CONFLICT BETWEEN HUNGARY AND THE DUCHY OF AUSTRIA (1335–1337)

Abstract: The subject of this paper concerns the role of the Serbian state in the conflict between Hungary and the dukes of Austria under the House of Habsburg, which took place in the middle of the fourth decade of the 14th century. As this conflict was just one segment of political events in Central Europe, it is important for us to examine possible Serbia's role in it. Through the analysis of relevant sources, we are considering the possibility of conclusion of a Serbian-Austrian alliance during 1336 that was aimed against Hungary.

Keywords: Stefan Dušan, Charles Robert, House of Habsburg, Serbian-Austrian alliance.

Serbian-Hungarian relations during the first half of the 14th century were marked by conflicts of various scales. The main battles were fought for the former lands of King Dragutin of Serbia, primarily Mačva and other border areas.¹ It is known that Hungarian King Charles Robert of Anjou (1301–1342) engaged in several wars with Serbia during his reign – in 1318, 1319 and 1329.² The culmination of this animosity

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¹ About King Dragutin's lands, which he controlled from 1284 as a Hungarian subject, we refer to the classic study: Михаило Динић, "Област краља Драгутина после Дежева", у: *исти, Српске земље у средњем веку. Историјско-географске студије*, прир. Сима Ћирковић, Београд 1978, 123–144.

² Јованка Калић-Мијушковић, *Београд у средњем веку*, Београд 1970, 70–71; Сима Ћирковић, "Београд под краљем Душаном?" *Зборник Историјског музеја Србије* 17/18 (1981) 39, 40–42; Gyula Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, Budapest 1988, 78–79; Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526*, New York 2001, 134–135.

occurred at the beginning of the reign of Stefan Dušan (1331–1355). Although it is difficult to track the number and intensity of these conflicts with greater precision, it can be said that at the end of 1334 and the beginning of 1335, Hungarian troops made several incursions into Serbian territory.³ An open conflict did not occur, and upon the news of King Dušan's arrival, the Hungarians retreated across the Sava, as testified by a contemporary local source, the so-called Danilo's continuator.⁴ In this context, Byzantine Emperor-writer John VI Kantakouzenos mentions the military aid sent to the Serbs by Byzantine Emperor Andronikos III (1328–1341).⁵ It was recently stated that the new Hungarian campaign in 1335 was successful.⁶ Nevertheless, the conflicts continued throughout 1336, which we will discuss in more detail. Before that, we should briefly consider the events in Central Europe, in which the Hungarian king was actively involved.

Namely, against the Dukes of Austria Otto IV (1330–1339) and Albert II (1330–1358), a strong coalition was formed by King Charles Robert and Bohemian King John of Luxembourg (1310–1346). The animosity of King John towards the House of Habsburg erupted over the legacy of the County of Carinthia following the death of Duke Henry (April 1335). Specifically, King John claimed the right to Carinthia, Carniola and Tyrol in the name of his younger son, and Henry's son-in-law John Henry.⁷ The

³ Sima Ćirković points out the chronological uncertainty of Hungarian charters: С. Ђирковић, "Београд под краљем Душаном", 37; cf. Ferenc Piti, "Királyi hadoszólások Károly Róbert uralkodása idején", *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 129/2 (2016) 386 and note 33. About the events 1334/1335 see Петар Марковић, "Одношаји између Србије и Угарске (1331–1355)", *Летопис Матице српске* 221/5 (1903) 15–17; Божидар Ферјанчић и Сима Ђирковић, *Стефан Душан краљ и цар*, Београд 2005, 59–60; P. Engel, *The Realm*, 135. Recently: Ивана Коматина, "Угарски напади на Србију у предвечерје Вишеградског споразума", *Историјски часопис* 73 (2024) 47–65.

⁴ Архиепископ Данило и други, *Животи краљева и архиепископа српских*, прир. Ђура Даничић, Загреб 1866, 227–230.

⁵ *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије* VI, Београд 1986, 346. Byzantine military assistance can be considered as a consequence of the agreement between the two rulers near Thessaloniki in 1334. See Сима Ђирковић, "О састанцима цара Андроника III и краља Стефана Душана", *Зборник радова Византолошког института* 29/30 (1991) 205–207.

⁶ И. Коматина, "Угарски напади", 56–57, refers to the document from Dubrovnik dated 8 April 1335, in which the possibility of a new Hungarian campaign against Serbia is mentioned. Additionally, Komatina highlights the papal letter from 5 August 1335, in which Charles Robert's victory over the "enemies of the Christian faith" is praised.

⁷ Jiří Spěváček, *Rozmach české státnosti za vlády Lucemburků v souvislostech evropské politiky*, Praha 1987, 18; Miloslav Polívka, "The Expansion of the Czech State during the Era of the Luxemburgs (1306–1419)", in: *A History of the Czech Lands*, eds. Jaroslav Pánek & Oldřich Tůma, Prague 2018², 131. The origin of the hostility between King John and the Austrian dukes is linked to their rivalry over the imperial throne. Lucie Vojtíšková, "Jan Lucemburský a Rakouské země. Diplomatické postupy a cíle českého krále", *Paginae Historiae* 26/1 (2018) 14–17, 19–20, 24–25.

situation became more complicated when Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV (1328–1347) ceded Carinthia and Tyrol to the House of Habsburg – Duke Henry’s cousins – in Linz later in 1335.⁸ On the other hand, King Charles Robert, a Habsburg on his mother’s side, maintained relatively good relations with his Austrian relatives, until the end of the third decade of the 14th century. Charles’s mother, Clementia, was the daughter of German King Rudolf I of Habsburg (1273–1291), and thereby the aunt of the aforementioned dukes Otto IV and Albert II. It can be confidently stated that the military assistance of Charles’s uncle, King Albert I (1298–1308), was of nearly decisive importance for Charles’s victory over the Přemyslids of Bohemia.⁹ Additionally, Albert’s son Frederick the Fair assisted Charles in his struggle against enemies in Hungary, and in return, the Hungarian king provided military assistance in the Battle of Mühldorf (1322), where Frederick was defeated and chained by Louis IV (1322).¹⁰ Relations between Charles and his Austrian relatives began to grow complicated due to border conflicts, primarily instigated by Habsburg subjects. Additional difficulties were caused by the marriage alliance between the Habsburgs and the Lower Bavarian Wittelsbachs, longstanding adversaries of Charles Robert.¹¹ Actually, this marriage alliance implied the rapprochement of the Habsburgs with Louis IV. Therefore, in 1327, Charles made an alliance with Bohemian King John to protect himself from the threat posed by Austrians.¹² During the following year, Charles Robert succeeded in

⁸ Alphons Lhotsky, *Geschichte Österreichs seit der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts (1281–1358)*, Wien 1967, 321–323; Alois Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich. Fürst und Land im Spätmittelalter*, Wien 2004², 136–137; Jiří Spěvaček, *Jan Lucemburský a jeho doba, 1296–1346, k prvnímu vstupu českých zemí do svazku se Západní Evropou*, Praha 1994, 520.

⁹ On the Hungarian-Habsburg relations in the early 14th century: Renata Skorka, “With a Little Help of Cousins – Charles I and the Habsburg Dukes of Austria during the Interregnum”, *Hungarian Historical Review* 2/2 (2013) 243–260. Also: G. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi, 20–22*; Бүра Харди, “Петроварадин – престоница једног Анжујца”, у: *Средњовековна насеља на тлу Војводине. Историјски догађаји и процеси*, ур. Бүра Харди, Сремска Митровица 2013, 260, 262–263.

¹⁰ As a compensation for his assistance in the Battle of Mühldorf, the Habsburgs ceded Pozsony to Charles, which had been part of the dower of Agnes, the sister of the aforementioned dukes and the widow of King Andrew III of Hungary. A. Lhotsky, *Geschichte*, 281–282; A. Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 133; P. Engel, *The Realm*, 136; Renata Skorka, “A csökkentett vámtarifájú út kialakulása I. Károly uralkodása alatt”, *Történelmi Szemle* 55/3 (2013) 452–454. At the beginning of 1323, Charles granted a charter in Petrovaradin confirming alliance with his Austrian relatives. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, VIII/7, studio et opera Georgii Fejér, Budae 1842, 142–145 (no. 119); Pál Engel, “Az ország újraegyesítése I. Károly küzdelmei oligarchák ellen (1310–1323)”, *Századok* 122, 1/2 (1988) 132; Б. Харди, “Петроварадин”, 274, note 11.

¹¹ Namely, Anna, the daughter of Frederick the Fair, married Duke Henry XV, the son of Otto III of Bavaria, Charles’opponent in the struggle for the Hungarian throne. A. Lhotsky, *Geschichte*, 295; R. Skorka, “A csökkentett”, 455–456.

¹² Accordingly, a marriage was arranged in Nagyszombat between Charles’s son Ladislaus and John’s daughter Anna, which never took place due to the premature death of the would-be spouses. Also, probably during the 1317, Charles had married Beatrice, John’s sister, who died

conquering Međimurje from Habsburgs, but soon after, the treaty was concluded in Bruck on the Leitha river (21 September 1328) which was unfavourable to the Austrian side.¹³

Once again, the open animosity and hostilities of the two kings towards the Dukes of Austria directed them towards cooperation. Thus, from September 1335 to January 1336, several treaties were concluded between King Charles and King John in Visegrád, Hungary. The main event took place in November 1335 when the two kings were joined by King Casimir III of Poland (1333–1370), Charles's brother-in-law.¹⁴ The agreement of 3 September 1335, wherein Charles and John pledged mutual military assistance, holds particular significance for relations with Austria. However, Hungarian aid was excluded in the event of a Bohemian-Poland or Bohemian-Naples war.¹⁵ The kings of Bohemia and Hungary concluded a new agreement on 6 January 1336. Along with the provided trade benefits, it favoured the route from Buda, via Brno in Bohemia to Nuremberg, which bypassed Vienna and thus dealt a blow to Austrian transit traffic.¹⁶ The Austrians, faced with a dual Hungarian-Bohemian threat, sought new allies in the vicinity of the Kingdom of Hungary. Namely, at the very beginning of 1336 the House of Habsburg was approached by two Hungarian noble families – the

in November of 1319. Gyula Kristó "Károly Róbert családja", *Aetas* 20/4 (2005) 21–22; Balázs Nagy, "Angevin-Luxemburg Diplomatic Relations in the Mid-fourteenth Century", in: *Diplomacy in the Countries of the Angevin Dynasty in the Thirteenth–Fourteenth Centuries*, eds. Zoltán Kordé & István Petrovics, Roma–Szeged 2010, 315; R. Skorka, "A csökkentett", 456. Moreover, in 1332, Charles Robert acted as an arbiter in the turbulent relations between King John and the Austrians (L. Vojtišková, "Jan Lucemburský", 24).

¹³ A. Lhotsky, *Geschichte*, 304–305; A. Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 277; P. Engel, *The Realm*, 136; R. Skorka, "A csökkentett", 456–457.

¹⁴ On the international importance of the meeting in Visegrád: György Rácz, "The Congress in Visegrád in 1335: Diplomacy and Representation", *Hungarian Historical Review* 2/2 (2013) 261–287.

¹⁵ *Visegrád 1335*, ed. György Rácz, Budapest 2009, 83–85. In some Bohemian chronicles, it is explicitly stated that King Charles Robert was obliged to militarily assist King John in the event of a war against the Dukes of Austria. *Kronika Beneše z Weitmile*, *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, t. IV, ed. J. Emler, Praha 1884, 505; *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita ab eo ipso conscripta et Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre. Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslas*, eds. Balázs Nagy & Frank Schaer, Budapest 2001, 82. The later Hungarian chronicler John (János) Thuróczy states that the agreement among the three kings entailed provision for mutual military assistance. Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum* I, Textus, ed. E. Galántai & J. Kristó, Budapest 1985, 153; Also see G. Rácz, "The Congress", 267–270.

¹⁶ *Visegrád 1335*, 165–166; G. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 87; Balázs Nagy, "Transcontinental trade from East-Central Europe to Western Europe (fourteenth and fifteenth century)", *The Man of Many Devices Who Wandered Full Many Ways. Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, eds. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők, Budapest 1999, 349–350; Петар Рокаи и др., *Историја Мађара*, Београд 2002, 99–100; R. Skorka, "A csökkentett", 465–468, believes that this treaty was not basically aimed at destroying the Austrian trade monopoly, but was a response to the political and economic measures of the Habsburgs towards Hungary and Bohemia.

Babonić and the Kőszegi, openly supported by Emperor Louis IV.¹⁷ Afterward, sources attest to King Dušan's interactions with the Duchy of Austria. Notably, information about the planned marriage between Elisabeth of Habsburg and King Stefan Dušan, brought by the Cistercian abbot John of Viktring (ca. 1270–1345/47), has long been noted in the literature.¹⁸

In his work *Liber Certarum Historiarum*,¹⁹ the abbot recounts the outrage of the young princess, daughter of the disputed German King Frederick the Fair (1314–1330),²⁰ and niece of the aforementioned dukes, upon learning she was promised to the schismatic king of Serbia. Exhausted by the illness, she died on 23 October 1336.²¹ Almost identical news can also be found in the work of the so-called Anonymous of Leoben, who relied on the abbot's work.²² If the abbot's

¹⁷ In a document dated 6 January 1336, brothers Juraj, Dionizije and Pavao, sons of the deceased Slavonian ban Stephen V Babonić, swear allegiance to Dukes Albert and Otto. *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. X, prir. Tadija Smičiklas, Zagreb 1912, 249–250 (no. 184); G. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 87; Hrvoje Kekez, *Pod znamenjem propetog lava. Povijest knezova Babonća do kraja 14. stoljeća*, Zagreb 2016, 152–153. About Kőszegi-Habsburg relations: P. Engel, *The Realm*, 129, 132, 134; Renata Skorka, "A mohó farkas utóda. Egy Kőszegi Habsburg-szolgálatban", *Világtörténet* 1 (2017) 109–110.

¹⁸ A. Lhotsky, *Geschichte*, 329; Константин Жиречек, *Историја Срба*, књ. I, Београд 1952, 215–216; Миодраг Пурковић, *Из српске средњовековне историје. Авињонске папе и српске земље*, Београд 2015, 185–186; Б. Ферјанчић и С. Ћирковић, *Стефан Душан*, 65–66; Дејан Јечменица, "Свадба краља Стефана Душана", *Студије историје Иларион* 1 (2017) 52–53.

¹⁹ The work was created in the period 1340–1343 and is dedicated to the Duke Albert II of Habsburg. Janez Mlinar, *Podoba Celjskih grofov v narativnih virih*, Ljubljana 2005, 32–33. About the personality of the abbot and the question of his origin: Fedor Schneider, *Studien zu Johannes von Victring*, Berlin 1902, 153–162; Alphons Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs*, Graz–Köln 1963, 292–293; Karl Ubl, "John of Viktring", in: *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 2, ed. Graeme Dunphy, Leiden 2010, 940.

²⁰ Namely, the royal title of Frederick was officially recognised in 1325 when he became the co-king to Louis IV. Concerning Frederick the Fair and the question of the legitimacy of his position as German king, see the volume *Die Königserhebung Friedrichs des Schönen im Jahr 1314 (=Die Königserhebung)* eds. Matthias Becher & Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2017.

²¹ *Eodem anno infirmata est filia regis Friderici Elizabeth infirmitate, qua et mortua est; nam dum Servie regi diceretur matrimonialiter copulanda, in tantum abhorruit hominis scismatici fidem erroneam, ita ut cottidianis Deum gemitibus exoraret, multis ieiuniis corpus affligeret, suam semper Domino pudiciam commendaret. Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum*, II, ed. Fedor Schneider, Monumenta Germaniae Historica [=MGH] SS rer. Germ. 36/2, Hannoverae–Lipsiae 1910, 172. The death agonies of the young princess are described in great detail (ibidem, 173). The date of Elisabeth's death is stated in *Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis* VII, MGH SS 9, Hannoverae 1851, 756; cf. A. Lhotsky, *Geschichte*, 329, note 95.

²² *Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum*, 202. In historiography, the prevailing opinion is that the Anonymous work, the so-called redaction D of abbot's *Book*, represents a chronicle with a certain independent value, which also relies on other sources. A. Lhotsky,

desire to emphasize the literary moment is excluded, the exact cause of Elisabeth's death remains unknown.²³

The abbot's superficial notes about the marriage plans of the Serbian king are supplemented by more reliable news of Dubrovnik origin. Notable, by the decision of the Senate (Consilium Rogatorum) from 12 April 1336, Dubrovnik emissaries travelling to Serbia were allowed to transport to Kotor, on the municipal galley, knight Palman, but also the messengers of the Duke of Austria.²⁴ If the abbot's report is connected with that of Dubrovnik, the reason for the arrival of the Austrian emissaries becomes clearer. The mediator in the negotiations between the two parties was undoubtedly the aforementioned Palman, leader of the German mercenaries serving under King Dušan since 1333.²⁵ In literature, the Viktring abbot's report is mostly interpreted as reflecting the intention of the Serbian king to secure an heir, as his wife Jelena had not given birth until 1336/37.²⁶ However, we believe that the Serbian-Austrian negotiations were primarily based on an anti-Hungarian alliance.²⁷ Furthermore, we will focus on this issue in more detail.

Quellenkunde, 301–305; J. Mlinar, *Podoba Celjskih grofov*, 33, 36–38. The later Austrian historian Thomas Ebendorfer (1388–1464) knew about the abbot's writings, and therefore the mentioned note, precisely through Anonymous of Leoben. Thomas Ebendorfer, *Cronica Austriae*, ed. Alphons Lhotsky, MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 13, Berlin–Zürich 1967, 266; Уп. Марко Гавриловић, “Срби у делима аустријског хроничара Томаса Ебендорфера”, *Зборник Матице српске за историју* 98 (2018) 12–13, where it is not specifically emphasized.

²³ A. Lhotsky, *Geschichte*, 329. In Serbian historiography the cause of Elisabeth's death is generally considered to be tuberculosis. М. Пурковић, *Из српске средњовековне историје*, 185; М. Гавриловић, “Срби”, 14. Cf. Aleksandar Uzelac, “Palman of Letinberch and his Teutonic Company”, *Историјски часопис* 72 (2023) 149, нар. 17.

²⁴ *Monumenta Ragusina. Libri reformationum*, t. II, Zagrabiae 1882, 365.

²⁵ Михаило Динић, “О витезу Палману”, у: *исти*, *Из српске историје средњег века*, прир. Сима Ђирковић и Властимир Ђокић, Београд 2003, 448–451; Aleksandar Uzelac, “Foreign Soldiers in the Nemanjić State – A Critical Overview”, *Београдски историјски гласник* 6 (2015) 79; Ђорђе Бубало, “Палман”, у: *Српски биографски речник* 7, Нови Сад 2018, 842–843, with a literature review. Recently A. Uzelac, “Palman of Letinberch”, 145–171.

²⁶ Б. Ферјанчић и С. Ђирковић, *Стефан Душан*, 66–67. Due to the lack of sources, the question of the consequences of Dušan's policy on Serbia-Bulgaria relations, which were strengthened in the summer of 1332, by his marriage to Jelena, the sister of Bulgarian emperor Ivan Alexander, is still open (Петър Ангелов, “Българо-сръбските политически отношения при царуването на Иван Александър (1331–1371) и Стефан Душан (1331–1355)”, *Годишник на Софийския университет “Климент Охридски”*. *Исторически факултет* 72 (1978/82) 99–100). The question is whether the Serbian king intended to arrange a marriage, perhaps for his half-brother Simeon, possibly, because the Viktring abbot did not have reliable information about the personality of the potential bridegroom. Simeon's age (he was about ten years old) was not an essential obstacle to marriage, as wrongly stated by М. Пурковић, *Из српске средњовековне историје*, 185. However, these questions must remain unanswered due to the lack of sources.

²⁷ This opinion was also expressed by П. Ангелов, “Българо-сръбските политически отношения”, 99–100. We recently highlighted the anti-Hungarian character of Serbian-Austrian

The anti-Hungarian nature of the Serbian-Austrian negotiations can be indirectly indicated by the news of another Western European author – the Franciscan John of Winterthur (ca. 1300–1348), a contemporary of John of Viktring.²⁸ Speaking about the conflict of Hungary, Bohemia and Poland with the Duchy of Austria, which undoubtedly refers to the year 1336, the chronicler reveals that at one point the Hungarian king had to retreat and return to his country. Then, he states three reasons for the king's return, which he conveyed based on rumours, namely: 1) the illness of the king's father; 2) the attack of a pagan king on Hungary, a Hungarian neighbour who was in the service of the Dukes of Austria and 3) fear due to the encroachment of hostile German troops.²⁹ The first reason most likely arose as a result of confusion,³⁰ while the third can be confirmed by the news of some other chroniclers. Matthias of Neuenburg (ca. 1295–1370) claims that Charles Robert retreated fearing that German troops might attack Hungary.³¹ John of Winterthur himself adds that it is not known which of the three stated reasons corresponds to the truth.³² Despite that, we believe that the second reason for Charles' withdrawal should not be ignored either, as it presumably has a certain significance regarding the Serbian role in these events. Therefore, we quote the statements of John of Winterthur in full:

relations (М. Гавриловић, "Срби", 12–14) although we overlooked the scholarly contributions of P. Angelov. Уп. Б. Ферјанчић и С. Ћирковић, *Стефан Душан*, 66. For older views see note 17.

²⁸ John's *Chronicle*, possibly divided in two parts, covering the period from 1193 to 1348, was commenced in 1340 in the Lindau Abbey on the shores of Lake Constance. Only the second part has been preserved as an autograph, housed in the Central Library in Zurich, from which four later copies were made. *Die Chronik Johans von Winterthur*, ed. Friedrich Baethgen, MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 3, Berlin 1924, VII–XXXVII; A. Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, 277–278; Christine Putzo, "Johannes von Winterthur", in: *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* 2, 926–927.

²⁹ *Die Chronik Johans von Winterthur*, 129–130.

³⁰ It is known that Charles' father, Charles Martel, passed away as early as 1295. However, it raises the question of whether the chronicler implies an illness of Charles Robert himself at this point. Namely, at the beginning of the section in which he describes the war against Austria, he states that the Hungarian army was led by the king's son (*Ibidem*, 128). This refers to events until the end of April 1336. During the description of the conflict in the early summer of 1336, the chronicler mentions the Hungarian king on the battlefield, and not his son. Perhaps, during the work on the initial version of his chronicle, John of Winterthur had information that the king's son was leading the Hungarians, and later he discovered that it was actually the Hungarian king himself. If that is the case, due to the writer's oversight, traces of both versions remained in the final text. It is a fact that Hungarian heir Louis, as a ten-year-old, could not have led the army, although his formal participation is accepted by some historians (e.g. R. Skorka, "A csökkentett", 468). It is worth reminding that John of Winterthur, writing in 1340s, reports the reasons for the king's withdrawal based on rumours, so he may have known something about Charles Robert's illness in general. There are mentions of this in other, more reliable sources, although not specifically for the year 1336. See Annamária Bartha, "Károly Róbert és Nagy Lajos egészsége és betegségei", *Műhelyszemináriumok dolgozatok* 1 (2013) 7–15.

³¹ *Die Chronik des Mathias von Neuenburg*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 4, Berlin 1924/40, 143–144.

³² *Quid verius sit inter ista, nescio; Deus scit. Die Chronik Johans von Winterthur*, 130.

*Alii vero aiunt, quod quidam alius rex paganus sibi confinis in servicium ducum Austrie regnum interim Ungarie occupaverit, ut hac de causa ad defendendum regnum relictis omnibus reverteretur.*³³

Naturally, the question of the identity of the unnamed pagan king arises. If we take into account the logical sequence of events, conditioned by current political circumstances, as well as the testimonies of other sources we have mentioned, we believe that it is King Dušan who is hiding behind the enigmatic personality. However, before making more concrete conclusions, other possibilities should be considered.

The term *paganus* in the work of John of Winterthur generally refers to non-Catholic rulers and nations.³⁴ In this regard, it is significant that papal letters from the 1330s mention Charles Robert's victories over the Tatars and/or schismatics, pagans and infidels in general.³⁵ More recently, the opinions on the Hungary-Tatar conflicts in the mentioned period have been rightly revised, and the more general terminology in the papal letters has been pointed out.³⁶ However, John of Winterthur speaks of Tatar incursions into Poland and Hungary in 1341, as well as the difficult position, and afterwards the victory of the Hungarian king.³⁷ At this point, one might think that the

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ For example, John of Winterthur considered not only Lithuanian rulers as pagans but also Russian princes. *Die Chronik Johans von Winterthur*, 184, 202; Stephen Christopher Rowell, "Lithuania and the West 1337–41 – A Question of Sources", *Journal of Baltic Studies* XX/4 (1989) 308–309; Илья Паршин, "Хроника Иоанна з Винтертура (Иоанна Вітодуранського) як джерело до історії Галицько-Волинської Русі першої половини XIV ст.", *Дрогобицький краєзнавчий збірник* 17/18 (2014) 72.

³⁵ Thus, in the letter of Pope John XXII from 1331, the king's victory over the Tatars is mentioned, while three years later, the same pope highlights Charles' merits in wars against schismatics, Tatars and other pagan nations. In a letter from Benedict XII in 1335, the Hungarian victory over the Christian enemies is mentioned in general terms. The letters from the same pope in 1339 mention schismatics, infidels, and pagans. *Vetera monumenta Hungariam sacram illustantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis* I, ed. Augustin Theiner, Romae 1859, 544–545 (no. 845), 600–601 (no. 894), 629–630 (no. 945), 630–631 (no. 948).

³⁶ Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*, London – New York 2005, 212, with accompanying notes; Роман Хаутала, *В землях "Северной Тартарии". Сведения латинских источников о Золотой Орде в правление хана Узбека (1313–1341)*, Казань 2019, 88–91, draws attention to the fact that the Hungarian king was sending exaggerated reports to the Pope, regarding his conflicts with the Tatars.

³⁷ *Die Chronik Johans von Winterthur*, 181–183 et passim; I. Паршин, "Хроника Иоанна з Винтертура", 72, believes that this represents a misinterpretation of various information about King Charles Robert's conflicts with the Tatars, which appear in sources from the third decade of the 14th century. However, it should not be overlooked that some other sources attest to the Tatar raids on Hungary in 1340/41. A review of the sources is provided by: P. Jackson, *The Mongols*, 206, note 80 and Мирослав Волощук, "Проблеми васальної залежності Дмитра Детька від угорського короля Людовика I", *Княжа доба: історія і культура* 6 (2012) 278, note 54. On the other hand, it is reliably known that during 1340, the troops of Charles Robert participated in the war for the succession of the Principality of

chronicler is referring to the same event twice, given his unreliable sources of information and often imprecise chronology.³⁸ In other words, John of Winterthur, guided by the impression of the attack of the pagan Tatars on Hungary, may have overemphasized the attack of the pagan king in 1336. However, the fact that the aforementioned *rex paganus* is listed as a subject of the Austrian dukes excludes identification with Tatar khan Uzbek (1313–1342). The same can be said for the two Orthodox rulers – Halych-Volhynian prince Yuri II Boleslav (1325–1340), Uzbek's vassal,³⁹ and Wallachian voivode Basarab I.⁴⁰ In fact, in the 1330s, Charles Robert primarily clashed with another Orthodox neighbour – King Stefan Dušan. Moreover, the conflicts with Serbia can only be brought into the context of Charles' bad relations with the House of Habsburg, during the fourth decade of the 14th century. In other words, the only non-Catholic ruler, Hungarian adversary and neighbour who had attested contacts with Austria during 1336 was Serbian King Dušan. Nevertheless, the statements of John of Winterthur that this pagan king was an Austrian subject, should not be taken literally.

Therefore, taking into account the news from the analysed sources, we learn that contacts between Serbia and the Duchy of Austria were established during 1336. As we pointed out, the mediator was knight Palman, with whom Otto's deputies also

Halych-Volhynia, siding with Polish King Casimir III, against the boyars who had Tatar support. Леонтій Войтович, "Польща, Мазовія, Литва та Угорщина у боротьбі за спадщину Романовичів", *Проблеми слов'янознавства* 59 (2010) 52–66; Бура Харди, "Хронологія одного походу палатина Вільєма Другета", *Истраживања* 24 (2013) 109–118; Roman Hautala, "The Polish-Mongol conflict over succession of the Halych and Volhynian Principality in the middle of the fourteenth century", *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe. Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations*, eds. Alexander V. Maiorov & Roman Hautala, London – New York 2021, 175–188, 182–184.

³⁸ In this case as well, John of Winterthur refers to various rumours. *Die Chronik Johannis von Winterthur*, 182. See the literature in the previous note. Cf. S. C. Rowell, "Lithuania and the West", 307–308.

³⁹ In 1331, Charles presumably clashed with the Tatar-Halych forces, and during the following year he was preparing an expedition against Yuri II Boleslav. Мирослав Волощук, "Русско-венгерские отношения периода хана Узбека (1313–1342)", *Золотоордынская цивилизация* 6 (2013) 61–70; Леонтій Войтович, "Князя Юрій-Болеслав Тройденович: Ескіз портрета", *Княжа доба: історія і культура* 5 (2011) 217–220. Also, the possible participation of Yuri Boleslav in the Tatar campaign against Poland and Hungary in 1340 cannot be linked to Hungarian-Austrian relations. The same can be said for other Orthodox boyars and Mongol vassals from Halych-Volhynia. І. Паршин, "Хроника Іоанна з Вінтертура", 72–76; Л. Войтович, "Польща", 52–66; М. Волощук, "Проблеми", 277–279.

⁴⁰ During the war against Voivode Basarab in 1330, Charles Robert still maintained good relations with the House of Habsburg (R. Skorka, "A csökkentett", 460). Generally speaking, the contacts of the mentioned Orthodox ruler with Austria were not recorded even later, to the detriment of Hungary. On Hungarian-Wallachian relations: István Vasary, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans 1185–1365*, Cambridge 2004, 149–155; Matei Cazacu, Dan Ioan Mureșan, *Ioan Basarab, un domn Român la începuturile Țării Românești*, Chișinău 2013, 181–198 with an overview of the documentary material.

arrived. Also, it can be emphasized with some caution, that one of Duke's emissary was a son of Count Meinhard I of Ortenburg.⁴¹ Anyway, Palman's stay in Austrian territory indicates that he was entrusted with a specific task. That task consisted of recruiting mercenaries from the Austrian lands,⁴² but also negotiating with the Dukes of Austria on behalf of King Dušan. Based on this, it seems certain that the initiator of the negotiations was the Serbian king.⁴³ On the contrary, the fact that, at the beginning of 1336, the House of Habsburg was able to recruit Babonić and Kőszegi families speaks in favour of the creation of an anti-Hungarian alliance, effectively within the territory under the rule of the Hungarian crown, i.e. in the immediate vicinity. The role of King Dušan, a staunch Hungarian adversary, as an Austrian ally was naturally imposed. Therefore, it is not excluded that the House of Habsburg initiated negotiations, of course, through Palman. According to medieval diplomatic customs the planned marriage between King Dušan and young Elisabeth was intended to serve as a guarantee of the agreement. Elisabeth herself had a notable role in Habsburg marital diplomacy even earlier.⁴⁴

⁴¹ On the same day when the presence of Austrian envoys was recorded in Dubrovnik (April 12), *Consilium minorum* decided to grant food supply in the amount of ten *perpers* to Palman, and also to a certain *filiu clarissimi comitis Manardi* (*Monumenta Ragusina* II, 365; K. Жиречек, *Историја Срба*, књ. I, 215, нап. 21). The name "comes Manardus" most likely refers to Count Meinhard I of Ortenburg, who passed away in 1332/33, although he is not mentioned as deceased in the decision itself. Admittedly, he had a namesake son, who, on the contrary, did not have any male descendants. Thus, one of the sons of Meinhard I – Meinhard II or Hermann – was in Dubrovnik in April 1336. It seems more likely that it was Hermann, whose presence was documented in the immediate vicinity of Duke Otto IV, during his residence in Carniola and Carinthia in 1335. For details, see: Karlmann Tangl, "Die grafen von Ortenburg n Kärnten. Zweite Abtheilung von 1256 bis 1343", *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 36 (1866) 1–182, specifically 134, 142–143, 149. The fact that it refers to one of the members of the Ortenburg family is also supported by the circumstance that Frederick of Ortenburg, the nephew of Count Meinhard I, was found later in the service of King Dušan (М. Динић, "О витезу Палману", 450; A. Uzelac, "Palman of Letinberch", 151).

⁴² These were, probably 300 mercenaries who, by the decision of the Venetian Senate from 6 December 1336, were allowed passage through Venice to Serbian lands. *Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, vol. II, prir. Šime Ljubić, Zagreb 1870, 11; A. Uzelac, "Foreign Soldiers", 79.

⁴³ Such an opinion is expressed by A. Uzelac, "Palman of Letinberch", 148–150.

⁴⁴ Firstly, as a part of Frederick's reconciliation with Louis IV (1325), she was betrothed to the emperor's son and the later Duke of Bavaria Stephan (II), but that marriage did not take place. The second time (1332) she was supposed to marry Bohemian King John. However, as she was related to John's deceased wife Elisabeth from the House of Přemyslid, Pope John XXII opposed that marriage, and it was not realised. *Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum* I, ed. Fedor Schneider, MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 36/1, Hannoverae–Lipsiae 1909, 144; *Die Chronik Johannis von Winterthur*, 83; *Petra Žitavského Kronika Zbraslavská*, *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, t. IV, Praha 1884, 313; A. Lhotsky, *Geschichte*, 289–290, 328–329; A. Niederstätter, *Die Herrschaft Österreich*, 128, 136; Martin Clauss, "Ludwig IV und Friedrich der Schöne, Wien – Mühlendorf – München", *Die Königserhebung*, 21; L. Vojtišková, "Jan Lucemburský", 24; R. Skorka, "A csökkentett", 454–456.

Although the sources do not provide more information about the Serbian-Austrian alliance, the possible role of King Dušan in the war events during 1336 should be examined. Judging by the available sources, the fighting took place on two occasions, in the early spring and during the summer. At the end of February, John of Bohemia headed towards the Austrian border, and it is known that on 24 April, his troops, supported by the Hungarians, forced Austrian Duke Otto to retreat.⁴⁵ It seems that Otto tried to gain the alliance of King Dušan even during this phase of the conflict, given that, as we mentioned, on 12 April in Dubrovnik the presence of Austrian messengers who went to Serbia was recorded.⁴⁶ However, if the news of John of Winterthur is to be believed, a more concrete role of the Serbian king took place during the second phase of the war. According to the same source, a pagan king, i.e. King Dušan, attacked Hungary while Charles Robert was out of the country. According to the news from the Bohemian chronicles, at the end of June, John of Bohemia met with Charles and Casimir III in Marchegg. It was then decided to go to war against the House of Habsburg and their ally, Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV.⁴⁷ Preserved documentary material reveals that the Hungarian king stayed in Austrian territory on the Marchegg-Ollersdorf line, from around mid-May, and on 15 July he was definitely in Pozsony.⁴⁸ Therefore, the attack of King Dušan should be placed in the period from mid-May, and certainly before mid-July.⁴⁹ Due to the pronounced dynamics of the

⁴⁵ *Petra Žitavského Kronika Zbraslavská*, 331–332; *Iohannis abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum* II, 197; *Die Chronik Johannis von Winterthur*, 128; L. Vojtíšková, “Jan Lucemburský”, 25; R. Skorka, “A csökkentett”, 465.

⁴⁶ It should be noted that the Senate’s decision of 27 April indicates that the Dubrovnik embassy mentioned in the decision of 12 April had not yet departed for Serbia. Moreover, the envoys were instructed to proceed further in *Rascia* if they did not find King Dušan *apud Scutarum* or in the nearby parts. It remains unclear whether Palman travelled overland with the Austrian envoys, or they remained in Dubrovnik for some time. *Monumenta Ragusina* II, 365. See Дејан Јечменица, *Стефан Душан и Дубровник* (докторска дисертација, Филозофски факултет Београд, 2013) 171–173.

⁴⁷ The Hungarian king reportedly dispatched 600 heavily armed warriors and several thousand archers, while Polish aid consisted of a total of 500 soldiers. *Petra Žitavského Kronika Zbraslavská*, 332; *Beneš z Weitmile*, 272; G. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 88. In addition, King Casimir, unlike Charles Robert, soon returned to Poland (Paul W. Knoll, *The Rise of the Polish Monarchy: Piast Poland in East Central Europe, 1320–1370*, Chicago–London 1970, 86 et passim).

⁴⁸ *Anjoukori okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis* III, (1333–1339), ed. Imre Nagy, Budapest 1883, 279 (no. 190), 281 (no. 193), 282 (no. 195), 284 (no. 197); *Poszony város története* III, *Mellékletek Poszony 1300–1526. évi történetéhez*, ed. Ortway Tivadar, Poszony 1894, 5–6; *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár XX, 1336*, ed. Ferenc Piti, Budapest–Szeged 2004, 232 (no. 286), 233 (no. 287), 234 (no. 289), 236 (no. 294), 237 (no. 297), 241 (no. 304), 243 (no. 308), 244 (no. 312), 246 (no. 316), 247 (no. 317); Mór Wertner, “Magyar hadjáratok a XIV-ik században”, *Századok* 39 (1905) 434; idem, “Ergänzung zum Itinerar der Karl I”, *Vjesnik Zemaljskog arhiva* 9 (1907) 109; G. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 88.

⁴⁹ It is worth reminding that in 1336 King Dušan met with Emperor Andronikos III for the second time. Unfortunately, the specific details of that meeting are unknown, making it uncertain

Serbian-Hungarian conflicts, it is difficult to determine the reach and intensity of Dušan's attack.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, there is a possibility that Belgrade was seized by the Serbian army during this time, whose conquest is most often dated to around 1335, and perhaps some other areas as well.⁵¹ It is also uncertain whether the Hungarian response occurred during 1336. It is reliably documented that Charles Robert was in Serbian lands in 1338, which indicates that Serbian attacks continued after 1336.⁵²

This raises the question of the fate of the Serbian-Austrian alliance after 1336, especially considering that Elisabeth of Habsburg died on 23 October of the same year. We should not lose sight of the fact that apart from Serbia, the Hungarian king continued conflicts with Austria even after the peace between King John and the House of Habsburg (Treaty of Enns on 9 October 1336).⁵³ The hostilities apparently ended with a truce in December of the same year, while the conflicts resumed in the summer of 1337. Finally, peace was concluded on 11 September 1337 in Pozsony. Despite that, relations between Hungary and Austria were still not cordial.⁵⁴ It is difficult to say whether the anti-Hungarian cooperation connected King Dušan with the House of Habsburg even after the events of 1336. Essentially, the two sides could have maintained relations to the detriment of Hungary even after Elisabeth's death,

whether the Serbian king sought to confirm good relations with Byzantium, precisely because of anti-Hungarian war plans. See С. Ђирковић, "О састанцима", 208–210; Б. Ферјанчић и С. Ђирковић, *Стефан Душан*, 78–80.

⁵⁰ John of Winterthur, probably with exaggeration, suggests that the attack was strong, as he states that the King returned to defend the Kingdom. *Die Chronik Johannis von Winterthur*, 130.

⁵¹ С. Ђирковић, "Београд", 44–45; Miloš Ivanović i Boris Stojkovski, "Reka Sava kao granica između Srbije i Ugarske u srednjem veku", u: *Rijeka Sava u povijesti*, ur. Branko Ostajmer, Zagreb 2015, 87–88. Уп. Ј. Калић-Мијушковић, *Београд*, 73–74.

⁵² For Charles' itinerary during 1336 see note 47. On 22 September 1338, Charles issued a charter in the town of Kučevo, near Obna. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* VIII/4, studio et opera Georgii Fejér, Budae 1832, 311–312 (no. 146). Also, in a letter from 1339, Pope Benedict XII suggests Charles Robert's constant conflicts with schismatics. *Vetera*, 629 (no. 945); cf. ibidem, 631 (no. 948) where the pope states that the Hungarian king informed him through letters about the appropriation of some possessions of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa, due to the danger from the schismatic king of Rascia. Уп. П. Марковић, "Одношаји", 24, where the aforementioned papal letter is dated to 26 February 1338, although it is actually a papal document from the February of the following year as it says in Theiner's edition to which the author refers. According to Marković: Б. Ферјанчић и С. Ђирковић, *Стефан Душан*, 81. Same М. Ivanović i В. Stojkovski, "Reka Sava", 88. According to erroneous dating of this papal letter in February 1338, the authors emphasized that the Serbian attack had already occurred by the end of 1337. What can still be said is that there probably were multiple conflicts during the period 1336–1339.

⁵³ About the Bohemian-Austrian peace see: А. Lhotsky, *Geschichte*, 327; Ј. Spěvaček, *Jan Lucemburský*, 528; L. Vojtišková, "Jan Lucemburský", 26.

⁵⁴ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, Vol. VII, 1/2, ed. Peter Ritter von Chlumecky, Brünn 1858, 118–121 (no. 171–172); G. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, 88. On the contrary, it is known that in 1339 Duke Albert II of Austria was approached by some members of the Kőszegi family (R. Skorka, "A mohó farkas utóda", 94, 109–111).

at least until the aforementioned peace was concluded between Hungary and the Dukes of Austria. It is certain that some contacts between the two sides still existed. This is indicated by data from the Dubrovnik Archive, which testifies that during 1337 and 1338 several nobles from the Habsburg estates were in the service of King Stefan Dušan.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The following names are mentioned: *Gregorius Paulig, Craftinus de Valtinberch, comes Federicus de Ortinburgo, Deterigus de Vienna* and *Rafus de Stayro*. М. Динић, “О витезу Палману”, 398–401; A. Uzelac, “Foreign Soldiers”, 79; idem, “Palman of Letinberch”, 150–152. It is worth reminding that in December 1336, the Venetian Senate approved the passage of 300 Dušan’s mercenaries (*Listine o odnošajih između Južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, vol. II, 11).

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Marko Gavrilović

**SZERBIA SZEREPE A MAGYAR KIRÁLYSÁG ÉS
AZ OSZTRÁK HERCEGSÉG KÖZÖTTI KONFLIKTUSBAN
(1335–1337)**

Rezümé

A szerb-magyar konfliktus a 14. században szinte az egész évszázadon át tartott, különösen nagy intenzitással István Dusán (1331–1355) és Károly Róbert uralkodásának idején (1301–1342). A konfliktus tárgya Dragutin király egykori földjei – Macsó és más határmenti területek voltak. A források szerint 1334/35-ben egy magyar katonai hadművelet indult, amely Dusán király gyors reakciójának köszönhetően – akit egyébként Bizánc is támogatót - nem járt sikerrel. Ezenkívül nemrégiben azt a véleményt fogalmazták meg, hogy 1335-ben újabb magyar támadás következett, és hogy a szerbek vereséget szenvedtek. A szerb-magyar harcok 1336-ban is folytatódtak, ami kapcsolatba hozható a közép-európai történésekkel, amelyekben Károly Róbert aktívan részt vett. Abban az időben ugyanis Károly Róbert csatlakozott Luxemburgi János cseh királyhoz a IV. Ottó és II. Albert osztrák hercegek, a Habsburg-dinasztia leszármazottai elleni harcokban, akiket pedig IV. Lajos német-római császár támogatót. 1335 végén és 1336 elején Visegrádban Károly Róbert és János király több szerződést is aláírt az Osztrák Hercegség elleni szövetség tárgyában, s ezeket III. Kázmér lengyel király is támogatta. Az 1336. február végétől április végéig tartó időszakban került sor a konfliktus első szakaszára, amikor a Habsburgok kénytelenek voltak visszavonulni.

Majd 1336. április folyamán osztrák küldöttek érkeztek Dubrovnikba, akik a község hajójával utaztak Kotorig, hogy a szerb királlyal tárgyaljanak. A tárgyalások természetéről Viktringi János ciszterci szerzetes igencsak felületes beszámolójában olvashatunk, aki elmondja, hogy Erzsébetnek, az osztrák hercegek unokahúgának férjhez kellene mennie az *egyházon kívüli* szerb királyhoz. A szerzetes tanúsága szerint a fiatal hercegnő ebbe belebetegedett és hamarosan meg is halt (1336. október 23-án). A szerb-osztrák tárgyalások eredményeiről közvetve Winterthuri János ferences krónikás számolt be. Elmondása szerint az Ausztria elleni harcok során a magyar király visszavonult saját országába. A visszavonulás okaként azt hozza fel, miszerint egy bizonyos pogány király támadta meg a Magyar Királyságot, akiről azt is elmondja, hogy a magyarok szomszédja és az osztrákok hú alattvalója. Habár Winterthuri János írásaiban általánosságban „pogánynak” nevezi a nem katolikus uralkodókat és népeket, úgy gondoljuk, hogy a névtelen pogány király nem más, mint István Dusán. Amellett, hogy Károly Róbert a 14. század harmincas éveiben hadban állt egyes pravoszláv országokkal, csak a szerb állam iránti viszonya illeszthető be a magyar-osztrák ellenségeskedés kontextusába az 1335. és 1337. közötti időszakban. Más általunk említett források is erre utalnak.

Tehát 1336 folyamán Palman vitéz, Dusán német zsoldosai vezérének közvetítésével létrejött a szerb-osztrák szövetség. Ugyanakkor nem tudni, ki kezdeményezte a tárgyalásokat. Ha figyelembe vesszük, hogy Palman 1336 folyamán Habsburg-földön járt, arra következtethetünk, hogy a kezdeményező a szerb király volt. Másrészt a Habsburgok 1336 elején megnyerték maguknak a magyar nagybirtokos Babonics- és Kőszegi-családot, ami arra utal, hogy magyarelles szövetségbe kezdtek magának a Magyar Királyságnak a területén. Dusán király ilyen értelemben több mint kívánatos szövetséges volt. Mindenesetre a szövetséget Dusán király és Habsburg Erzsébet házasságának kellet volna megpecsételnie. Dusán király konkrét szerepvállalása a közép-európai konfliktusban annak második szakaszában következett be, mégpedig amikor Károly Róbert a Magyar Királyságon kívül tartózkodott, május közepétől július közepéig. A szerb-magyar összetűzések kifejezetten dinamikus volta miatt nehéz meghatározni a szerb támadás intenzitását és hatótávolságát. Nem kizárt, hogy a szerb hadsereg akkor elfoglalta Belgrádot, hiszen a város és még néhány határmenti terület elfoglalását az 1335-ös év környékére becsülték. A szerb-magyar harcok az elkövetkező években is tovább folytatódtak, amiről elsősorban magyar írásos emlékek és pápai levelek tanúskodnak. Károly Róbert és a Habsburgok közötti viszony továbbra sem volt igazán magas szinten, az 1336 decemberében megkötött fegyverszünet után sem, de az 1337. szeptember 11-i bébekötést követően sem.

Ilyen értelemben Erzsébet halála és az említett magyar-osztrák békeszerződés után nyitott kérdés marad a szerb-osztrák viszony. Dubrovniki dokumentumokból az derül ki, hogy 1337-1338. során több Habsburgok által uralt országból érkeztek zsoldosok a szerb hadseregbe. Ez mindenképpen a két fél közötti kapcsolatokra utal, de ezen kapcsolatok jellegéről nem tudunk megbízható leírással szolgálni.

Марко Гавриловић

УЛОГА СРБИЈЕ У СУКОБУ УГАРСКЕ И АУСТРИЈСКОГ ВОЈВОДСТВА (1335–1337)

Резиме

Српско-угарски сукоби вођени су током већег дела 14. века, а посебан интензитет су достигли у време Стефана Душана (1331–1355) и Карла Роберта (1301–1342). Предмет сукоба биле су некадашње земље краља Драгутина – Мачва и други погранични крајеви. Извори потврђују да је током 1334/35. године уследила угарска војна кампања која се завршила безуспешно захваљујући брзој реакцији краља Душана, који је имао и византијску подршку. Такође, недавно је изнето мишљење да је током 1335. уследио нови угарски напад, при чему су Срби претрпели пораз. Српско-угарски сукоби настављени су и током 1336. године, што се може довести у везу са збивањима на тлу средње Европе, у којима је Карло Роберт активно учествовао. Наиме, у то време, угарски краљ се придружио чешком краљу Јовану Луксембуршком у сукобу против Отона IV и Алберта II, аустријских војвода из рода Хабзбурга, који су имали подршку римско-немачког цара Лудвига IV. Крајем 1335. и почетком 1336. године, у Вишеграду је склопљено неколико уговора између краља Карла Роберта и краља Јована, који су били уперени против Аустрије, што је подржао и пољски краљ Казимир III. У периоду од краја фебруара до краја априла 1336. дошло је до прве фазе сукоба, при чему су Хабзбурзи морали да се повуку.

Управо током априла 1336. забележено је присуство аустријских посланика у Дубровнику, које је до Котора требало да превезе општинска лађа, по свој прилици ради преговора са српским краљем. О природи преговора сасвим површно нас обавештава цистерцитски опат Јован Виктриншки, који открива да је Јелисавета, братаница аустријских војвода, требало да се уда за *шизматичког* краља Србије. Према опатовом сведочењу, млада принцеза се због тог сазнања разболела и убрзо преминула (23. октобар 1336). Посредно сведочанство о резултатима српско-аустријских преговора доноси фрањевачки хроничар Јован из Винтертура. Он наводи да се током војевања против Аустрије, угарски краљ повукао у своју земљу. Као један од разлога његовог повлачења наводи напад извесног паганског краља на Угарску, за кога истиче да је угарски сусед и аустријски поданик. Иако се термин „пагански“ у делу Јована из Винтертура односи на некатоличке владаре и народе уопште, сматрамо да се иза личности неименованог паганског краља крије управо Стефан Душан. Поред тога што се Карло Роберт тридесетих година 14. века сукобљавао са појединим другим православним земљама, једино се његови односи са српском државом могу сместити у контекст угарско-аустријског непријатељства у периоду 1335–1337. На то указују и други извори које смо споменули.

Дакле, током 1336. дошло је до склапања српско-аустријског савеза, уз посредство витеза Палмана, вође немачких најамника Стефана Душана. Додуше, није сигурно ко је покренуо иницијативу по питању преговора. Ако се узме у обзир да се Палман током 1336. нашао на тлу хабзбуршких земаља, испада да је иницијатор био српски краљ. С друге стране, чињеница да су Хабзбурзи почетком 1336. придобили угарске великашке породице Бабониће и Гисинговце, указује на стварање антиугарског савеза на тлу Угарског краљевства, односно у његовом непосредном окружењу. Краљ Душан је у том смислу, био и више него пожељан савезник. У сваком случају, као гаранција савеза требало је да послужи брак између краља Душана и Јелисавете Хабзбуршке. Конкретнија улога краља Душана у споменутом средњоевропском сукобу наступила је током друге фазе ратовања, када се краљ Карло Роберт налазио ван Угарске, и то од средине маја до око средине јула. Због изражене динамике српско-угарских сукоба, тешко је одредити интензитет и домет српског напада. Није искључено да је српска војска тада освојила Београд, чије се заузимање обично датује у период око 1335, као и још неке пограничне крајеве. Српско-угарски сукоби настављени су и у наредним годинама, о чему првенствено сведоче угарске повеље и папска писма. Такође, односи Карла Роберта са Хабзбурзима нису били на завидном нивоу након склапања примирја у децембру 1336, а ни након склапања мира 11. септембра 1337.

У том смислу, остаје отворено питање даљег тока српско-аустријских односа након Јелисаветине смрти, односно након склапања споменутог угарско-аустријског мировног уговора. Како дубровачка документарна грађа сведочи, током 1337. и 1338. године у српској служби се налазило неколико најамника пореклом из хабзбуршких земаља. То свакако указује на контакте између двеју страна, али се на питање њиховог карактера не могу дати поуздани одговори.