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SERBS IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARIAN CHRONICLES

Abstract: Chronicles represent one of the most important sources for medieval Hungarian history, as well as for different neighbouring peoples and states with which Hungary was in contact. Although these chronicles do not contain many mentions of Serbs, they are an interesting source material. Most data are dedicated to the Serbian-Hungarian relations, directly or indirectly. The second medieval Serbian state, Bosnia, is also mentioned in some chronicles.

Keywords: Serbs, Hungary, medieval chronicles, Bosnia.

A chronicle is a type of medieval source where an author or compiler (chronicler) provides a historical account of events arranged most often in chronological order. There are universal chronicles, which follow world history or commence with Biblical times. Universal local chronicles were also written, dedicated to certain territories, rulers, dioceses, abbeys or monasteries and so forth.¹ Chronicles are beyond any

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¹ There is a vast amount of literature and bibliography on medieval chronicles. Here only some of the key notes will be listed, all of them with detailed bibliography on the topic: Norman Francis Blake, „Chronicles“, in: *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Vol. 3, *Cabala–Crimea*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, New York 1983, 325–330; *Lexikon des Mittelalters* II: Bettlerwesen bis Codex von Valencia, Stuttgart–Weimar 1999, 1954–2028; *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Vol. I–II, Leiden–Boston 2010 (and later editions); For Hungary see esp. Carlile Aylmer Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians. A Critical and Analytical Guide*, Cambridge 1953, 1–58; Zoltán Kordé, „Krónika“, in: *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)*

doubt the primary sources for Hungarian medieval history, but are also valuable and interesting for different neighbouring peoples and states with which Hungary was in contact. This paper will present the image of Serbs and medieval Serbian lands in Hungarian medieval chronicles. The biggest obstacle in studying this topic is the lack of information. Medieval Serbia and Bosnia were not in the centre of attention of medieval Hungarian chroniclers. The amount of data provided by these sources is rather quite small and is associated almost exclusively with Hungarian historical events. For Hungarian-Serbian relations, as well for the history of Serbs in Hungary, much more data can still be collected from diplomatic sources, mainly Hungarian and charters of other provenance, and from the works of Byzantine and other Latin writers.

Because of the aforementioned it will not be possible to create a complete picture on the place of Serbs and Serbian lands in medieval Hungarian chronicles. Some of those do not even provide any mention of Serbian-related topics whatsoever. Even in the longest or most important medieval Hungarian chronicles, such as, for instance, *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*, there are none or very scarce data relevant for Serbian medieval past. Hence, all the data provided in the chronicles should be observed in the context of Hungarian foreign policy or internal political relations, dynastic feuds and other aspects of Hungarian-Serbian contacts in the Middle Ages.

Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense (*Illuminated Chronicle* or *Vienna Illuminated Chronicle*) or *The Chronicle of the Deeds of Hungarians* dated in the 14th century, as already mentioned, represents the most important Hungarian medieval chronicle. It was written by Mark of Kalt, the canon of Székesfehérvár and the chronicler of Hungarian King Louis the Great of Anjou. He gave the *Chronicle* as a gift to French King Charles V, when the daughter of Louis, Catherine, was engaged to Charles' son Louis I, the duke of Orléans in 1374. A bit earlier, between 1370 and 1373 the last of the illuminations was finished. The *Chronicle* is well-known for its 147 illustrations which are true chefs-d'oeuvres and are a valuable source for Hungarian medieval history. The *Chronicle* was then given to Serbian despot Đurađ Branković as a gift from French King Charles VII, and was later copied in 1462. From the 17th century onwards, the codex was in the Viennese court library, and is now kept in Budapest. The text of the *Chronicle* (the so-called 14th century chronicle composition) is kept in five other codices, but none of them reaches the year 1350. The Viennese codex (known in scholarly circles under the shortened abbreviation V) is the most famous one, illustrated and most often used as a text for almost all editions of the *Chronicle*.²

[=KMTL], főszerkesztő Gyula Kristó, Budapest 1994, 381; Gyula Kristó, „Kronikakompozíció“, in: *KMTL*, 381–382; for Serbia see Мирјана Бошков, „Хронике“, у: *Лексикон српског средњег века*, ур. Сима Ђирковић и Раде Михаљчић, Београд 1999, 781–783.

² C. A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, 133–142; G. Kristó, „Kronikakompozíció“, 382; *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, ed. by János M. Bak & László Veszprémy, New York 2018. There are also various studies on the *Chronicle* in Hungarian or bilingual versions of this important source. *Képes Krónika*, Fordító Ibolya Bellus, Kísérőtanulmányok Dezső Dercsényi, Gyula Kristó & Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, Budapest 1986; Gyula Kristó, *A Képes Krónika szerzője és szövege*, Budapest 1986; *A Képes Krónika miniatúrái*, Jegyz. Gyula Kristó, Budapest

Even though this is not the oldest Hungarian chronicle, having in mind its importance and the fact that it provides the earliest data on 12th-century Serbia and members of its ruling dynasty, this information will be briefly presented first.

At the beginning of this treatise there is a lapidary mention of a military campaign against Serbia. The *Chronicle* only indicates that there was a war, often dated in 1126, in Poland, while next year, i.e. 1127, the army devastated parts of Bulgaria and Serbia. In fact, the *Chronicle* writes about the Byzantine-Hungarian war in 1127, in which Serbia was also involved. In the original Latin version, the sentence is as follows: *Deinde missis exercitius, solummodo falangos aulicorum suorum partes Bulgariae et Servie devastavit.*³

The conflict against Poland is mostly dated to 1126, but there are opinions among scholars that it can be stretched to the period between 1123 and 1127. The reasons why King Stephen II plundered Polish border territories are unclear, with a couple of suggestions given in historiography. Older opinions were that Stephen II attacked Poland because of pure adventurism and that there were no important events in connection with this campaign. Post-war historians stated that these events should be observed in the context of broader international relations. Stephen II made truce and became an ally with Czech ruler Sobeslaus/Soběslav I, the duke of Bohemia. This coalition was supported by Germany, but even more, it was connected to the civil war in Russia that broke out in 1126–1127 between prince of Peremysl Rostyslav Volodarevich and Galician ruler and Rostyslav's brother Vladimir Volodarevich, also known as Vladimírko.⁴

The following data in the *Chronicon Pictum* are dedicated to the Serbian-Hungarian alliance from the 1120s and the dynastic bonding of the Serbian ruling house (sometimes known as Vukanović) and the Árpáds. It is the well-known marriage between King Béla II (Blind) and Helen, the daughter of Serbian prince Uroš I. In the *Viennese Illustrated Chronicle* it is said that Stephen II *Statimque misit nuncios in Serviam et filiam Uros comitis magni in legitimam uxorem Bele traduxerunt*. The *Chronicle* further states that not long after this she gave birth to their son Géza.⁵ During internal conflicts in Hungary, young heir to the throne Béla was blinded by order of King Coloman, alongside his father Álmos, who had revolted several times

1986; *Képes krónika*, ford. János Bollók, utószó, függelék, irodalomjegyzék Kornél Szovák, jegyz. Kornél Szovák & László Veszprémy, Budapest 2004.

³ Alexander Domanovszky (ed.), „Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV“, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum I* [=SRH I], ed. Imre Szentpétery, Budapest 1999², 439; *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Saec. xiv. The Illuminated Chronicle. Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex*, ed. János M. Bak & László Veszprémy, New York 2019, 288–289.

⁴ Summarised with literature Ferenc Makk, „Néhány megjegyzés a Kálmán-ági királyok külpolitikájához“, *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae Acta Historica* 92 (1991) 8–13.

⁵ A. Domanovszky, „Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV“, 443; *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Saec. XIV*, 292–293.

against the King. In that way Coloman wanted to prevent that Álmos and his son come to the throne. Nevertheless, Stephen II arranged this wedding because of many internal reasons. Supporting young Béla, Stephen II seems to have successfully made an agreement with the Álmos party, and as the blinding was considered illegal in Hungary, the King, in a way, corrected this injustice. King Stephen II also issued privileges in the county of Tolna on behalf of his supposed successor Béla and his wife Helen of Serbia.⁶

The war in 1127 is well-known and documented in the source material. Serbian Prince Uroš I, even though he was formally considered a vassal of the Byzantine Empire, in this case of Emperor John II Komnenos, *plotted a revolt*, as John Kinnamos states, and overtook the fortress of Ras.⁷ The Emperor intervened and Uroš I was forced to accept a peace treaty and new vassal obligations towards the Byzantine Empire. Serbian war prisoners were even settled around Nicomedia in Asia Minor.⁸ At the very same time, in 1127, Hungarians attacked Braničevo, a very important trading city on the Danube. The reason for the outbreak of this war was the fact that the Byzantine court warmly welcomed Álmos, the brother of Hungarian King Stephen II. Niketas Choniates informs that in 1128–1129 the peace was made on the borders of the Empire.⁹ Therefore, the *Illuminated Chronicle* merely summarises these events into one sentence. There is more information on Queen Helen and her participation in the internal affairs of Hungary.

Queen Helen of Serbia was portrayed in the *Illuminated Chronicle*, and it is said in this Hungarian source that during the state assembly in Arad in 1131 she persuaded the noblemen to execute sixty-eight other Hungarian peers on the accusation that they were preparing a plot against King Béla II, when he and his father were blinded. On the illumination in the *Chronicon Pictum* one can see that, according to the illuminator, she oversaw the execution, and, as the chronicler states, she wanted to make sure that they were all killed.¹⁰ Having in mind that her husband was blinded,

⁶ Ferenc Makk, „Megjegyzések II. Béla történetéhez“, *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: Acta historica* 40 (1972) 31–48; idem, *Árpáds and the Comneni: Political Relations Between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th Century*, Budapest 1990, 28–29; John Tuzson, *István II (1116–1131). A chapter in medieval Hungarian history*, New York 2002, 79–80; Boris Stojkovski, „Between Byzantium and the West: Serbian Marital Policy and Political Orientation (Mid-Eleventh Century – 1371)“, *Hiperboreea* 7/2 (2020) 172–173.

⁷ John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, ed. by Charles M. Brand, New York 1976, 18–19; Јованка Калић (прир.), „Јован Кинам“, у: *Византијски извори за историју народа Југославије IV [=ВИИЈ IV]*, ур. Љубомир Максимовић, Београд, 2007², 6–17.

⁸ Niketas Choniates says that Serbs were *guilty of many crimes and violations of the treaties*, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Ioannes A. van Dieten, Berlin 1975, 16,15–24; *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, ed. by Harry J. Magoulias, Detroit 1984, 11; Јованка Калић (прир.), „Никита Хонијат“, у: *ВИИЈ IV*, 115–120.

⁹ *Nicetae Choniatae, Historia*, 17, 39–18, 69; *O City of Byzantium*, 11–12; Ј. Калић, „Никита Хонијат“, 115–120. F. Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni*, 27.

¹⁰ A. Domanovszky, „Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV“, 446–447; *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Saec. XIV*, 296–299.

Queen Helen played an outstandingly important role and was a kind of co-ruler with her husband. Besides the assembly of Arad, in a Dömös donation charter from 1138 her name is also mentioned next to her (at that moment late) husband's and after Prince Álmos – *Almi Ducis filio cum Elena Regina clementissima*. This document from 1138 represents a charter of donation, listing the goods of the provost of Saint Margaret of Antioch. Helen's contribution was also needed when confirming the incomes for the abbey of Pannonhalma.¹¹

There is also another chronicle that gives a small piece of information on this council of Arad and the decapitation of the alleged conspirators of blinding King Béla II and on his marriage to Helen. It is the short writing entitled *brevis narratio de regibus Hungariae*. This is actually found in a manuscript which is the continuation of one version of the *World Chronicle*, compiled and written by this Franciscan monk during the 14th century and continued later by an anonymous author(s). Johannes de Utino was also a magister of theology and an inquisitor in Aquilea. There are two German versions and other manuscripts of the works attributed to Johannes de Utino. It actually consists of 46 notes written down in one codex as an appendix to a manuscript of Utino's *World Chronicle*. It is the manuscript known as *W* – shortened for Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 1.6.5. Aug. 2o.¹² In the appendix of this manuscript there is a Hungarian historical part added, starting from the age of Saint Stephen (King Stephen I) and ending during the rule of Matthias Corvinus. Both data are found in the part dedicated to *Bela secundus*. The first one is on the progeny of the King where it is only said that he had four sons with Helen: *Qui ex Helena quatuor genuit filios, scilicet: Geisam, Ladislaum, Stephanum et Almuin*. The work of Joanes de Utino further only briefly mentions that *Regina* summoned the council and ordered the execution of the mentioned 68 noblemen: *Regina vero in congregatione petivit vindictam de illis fieri, qui excoecaverunt dominum suum. Nam ibidem ex baronibus et nobilibus 68 fuerunt occisi...*¹³

As one can easily compare, the text of the appendix on Hungarian history in the said Austrian manuscript of Utino's chronicle is almost the same as in *Chronicon*

¹¹ Dénes Szabó, "A dömösi prépostság adománylevele 1138/1329", *Magyar nyelv* 32/1–2 (1936) 54–57; Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik. A királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában*, Budapest 2005, 126; B. Stojkovski, „Between Byzantium and the West”, 174.

¹² Norbert H. Ott, „Johannes de Utino”, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, Band 4: Hildegard von Hürnheim – Koburger, Heinrich, ed. Wolfgang Stammer et. al., Berlin–New York 1983, 785–788; Tünde Radek, „Johannes de Utino 'Világkrónikájának' kéziratai (14–15. század) és a német nyelvű kéziratok provenienciája”, *Magyar könyvszemle* 129/1 (2013) 1–21; eadem, „Középkori történetírás és képi ábrázolás Johannes de Utino 'Világkrónikájának' német nyelvű kéziratai (15. század)”, *Ars Hungarica* 39/2 (2013) 174–187, with literature and references to the editions of Utino's work.

¹³ „Ioannis de Utino brevis narratio de regibus Hungariae”, in: Franciscus Toldy (szerk.), *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae historicorum literariorum maximam inedita, ac commentariis, epilogo et indice aucta publici iuris facienda curavit Geisa Érszegi*, Budapestini 1986, 81.

Pictum Vindobonense. This can suggest that the main source was a supposed version of the 14th-century chronicle composition from which Utino or his successor drew information, sometimes summarising it, and sometimes almost taking it *ipsis verbis*.

Nevertheless, the *Illuminated Chronicle* provides one more piece of information dedicated to Serbia and Hungarian-Serbian relations in the medieval period. This is the excerpt from the 194th chapter in the *Chronicle* dedicated to the stay of cardinal Gentile Portino da Montafiore, a special envoy of the Pope to Hungary. This is the original passage, given here in whole because of the importance of broader understanding of the context.

*Ladizlaum vero voyvodam Transilvanum speciali excommunicatione feriens, eo quod coronam regni, quam ab Otthone duce, dum eum captivaverat, receperat, indebite retinebat, et quia filia suam idem Ladizlaus tradiderat filio Stephani, regis Servie scismatico in uxorem.*¹⁴

The voivode of Transylvania mentioned in this excerpt was Ladislaus Kán, a de facto ruler of this region in the early 14th century. In this period there was an internal fight for the throne in Hungary. Charles Robert of Anjou was struggling to gain domestic and international acknowledgment of his crown as the new King of Hungary, after the extinction of the House of Árpád. Ladislaus Kán was reluctant to accept Charles Robert of Anjou as the new ruler of Hungary. Pope Clement V, who had supported Charles Robert's claims to the Hungarian throne, ordered Vincent, the archbishop of Kalocsa, to excommunicate Ladislaus and to place his territory under an ecclesiastical interdict in 1306. In spite of this, in the summer of 1307, Ladislaus Kán captured King Otto of Hungary, a rival of King Charles I, during his visit in Transylvania, and had him imprisoned. He also got the Hungarian crown in his possession at the time. Ladislaus Kán also persisted in pursuing his own foreign and marital (dynastic) policy. His intention was to marry his daughter to the son of former Serbian King Dragutin (1276–1282), the son-in-law of Hungarian ruler Stephen V, who, as a member of the Hungarian ruling house, had received many possessions, including Belgrade, Mačva and northern parts of Bosnia. There is an erroneous opinion that the son of a *schismatic ruler* was Stefan (later Stefan III Dečanski), the son of Stefan Uroš II Milutin, King of Serbia (1282–1321). This mistake can be found in all of the cited editions of the *Chronicle* and persisted in the scholarly circles up to today. The problem that arose was the fact that in the text of the *Chronicle* there is only a mention of King Stefan. In practically all Latin sources this was the name that designated King Dragutin, and not Milutin, who is almost always noted as Urosius (Uroš) or in similar forms of this name. Besides this, even more important is the fact that King Dragutin was highly involved in the internal Hungarian conflicts for the throne. This marriage was an integral part of the strong alliance between at the time arch-enemies of Charles Robert of Anjou, both the Serbian King and voivode of Transylvania. However, the said cardinal Gentile arrived in Hungary in 1308, aiming

¹⁴ A. Domanovszky, „Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV“, 486; *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Saec. XIV*, 354–355.

to recover the crown, but also, he intermediated and wanted to stop this marriage with a *schismatic*, i.e. an Orthodox prince. In his letter issued in Pozsony on Christmas Day 1309, cardinal Gentile excommunicated voivode Ladislaus. One of the reasons was also this marriage since the cardinal explicitly writes that Ladislaus was Roman Catholic, as well as his daughter, and that their family belonged to this faith too. He was not obedient to the Church, and cardinal Gentile also mentions that *Rasis*, i.e. Rascians (Serbians) were enemies of the Christians, alongside Lithuanians, Patarens, Ruthenians and Bulgarians, stating that the synod in Buda forbade all marriages to members of those populations because of their religion. This marriage was never realised, and eventually the voivode of Transylvania reconciled with both the Church and the King. In 1310 Ladislaus Kán was officially appointed the voivode of Transylvania by Charles Robert, and, after the pressure and the mediation of cardinal Gentile Portino da Montefiore, Ladislaus accepted King Charles Robert of Anjou as his sovereign in a charter issued in Szeged, on 8 April 1310. By 1 July, he returned the crown and properties he had seized by force.¹⁵

The Chronicle of Henry (Henricus) de Múgeln was written in the German language and is dated to the 14th century. Heinrich von Múgeln lived in this period and is considered one of the most fruitful writers and translators of medieval German literature, as well as one of the most famous Minnesänger of the time. He wrote poems, translated classical works from Latin into German and wrote two chronicles. One is *Chronicon Henrici de Múgeln Germanice Conscriptum*, actually a Hungarian chronicle written based on a Latin variant, which belonged to the group of codices of the *Chronicle of Buda*, i.e. it is not an original work. The second work by this writer is *Chronicon Rhythmicum Henrici de Múgeln* dedicated to King Louis I of Hungary.¹⁶ The only data relevant for this topic leans on the already described possible arrangement of a marriage between Vladislav II, the son of King Dragutin, and the daughter of Transylvanian voivode Ladislaus. Even the text itself is in accordance with the Latin

¹⁵ *Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis. Gentilis bibornok magyarországi követségének okiratai 1307–1311*, Budapest 2000, 369–374 (Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae I/2); Gyula Kristó, „Kán László és Erdély”, in: idem, *Tanulmányok az Árpád-korról*, Budapest 1983, 269–299; Tudor Sălăgean, *Un voievod al Transilvaniei: Ladislau Kán 1294–1315*, Cluj-Napoca 2007, 73–168; Aleksandar Krstić, „The Rival and the Vassal of Charles Robert of Anjou: King Vladislav II Nemanjić”, *Banatica* 26 (2016) 43–44, n. 40–41; Tamas Kádár, „Harcban a koronáért. (II.) I. Károly (Róbert) király uralkodásának 1306–1310 közötti szakasza”, *Történeti Tanulmányok. Acta Universitatis Debreceniensis* 25 (2017) 126–192.

¹⁶ Sándor Domanovszky, „Múgeln Henrik német nyelvű krónikája és a rimes krónika”, *Századok* 41/1 (1907) 20–35, 119–142; Eugen Travnik (ed.), „Chronicon Henrici de Múgeln germanice conscriptum”, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum II* [=SRH II], ed. Imre Szentpétery, Budapest 1999², 89–103 (Praefatio); Karl Stackmann, „Heinrich von Múgeln”, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, Band 3: Gert van der Schüren – Hildegard von Bingen, ed. Wolfgang Stammer et. al., Berlin–New York 1981, 815–827; Dániel Bági, „Az oroszán, a sas, a szamár és az igazi mester. Múgelni Henrik két magyar krónikájának keletkezési körülményei”, *Századok* 152/3 (2018) 591–622.

one in the previous cited passage of the *Illuminated Chronicle*, and is almost verbatim translated into German.

The 69th chapter of the *Chronicle* first mentions the case of Charles Robert's illegitimate son Coloman¹⁷, but also follows the story of Ladislaus Kán of Transylvania. According to Henricus de Mügeln, Ladislaus voivode *die kunglich krone ynne hielt* and he was helped by Otto of Wittelsbach. The *Chronicle* further mentions that a daughter of *here Lasla* was given to the son of the King of Serbia (des kungs sün von Siruey).¹⁸

Chronicon Zagradiense (known under the shortened letter Z) and *Chronicon Varadiense* (W) derive from the same older source, a certain short Latin chronicle of Hungary, for the period of 1093–1354, consisting of both versions. This anonymous *Chronicle* has survived in two very similar versions, the earlier one was written down in the Chapter of the Bishopric of Zagreb, while the second was copied for the Chapter of the Bishopric of Várád.¹⁹

This *Chronicle* informs that Stephen (Stephanus) *obit in vigilia beati Laurencijj anno Domini MCCCCLIII in reversione de exercitu moto contra rasciam*.²⁰ Firstly, for the sake of prosopographic clarification, Stephen, i.e. *Stephanus* was none other than the duke of Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia (1350–1354), the youngest son of Hungarian King Charles Robert and his wife, Polish princess Elisabeth Lokietek.²¹ He was in the army

¹⁷ His mother is uncertain and is named most often just as a *concubine* of the King. Nevertheless, Charles Robert accepted him and helped his education, but also allowed him to use the princely title and the royal seal of the Anjou dynasty. Coloman started ecclesiastical career very early – at the age of 15 he was ordained a canon in Várád in 1332, and became the grand provost of Esztergom in 1335. He also had some benefices from the cathedral chapter of Székesfehérvár. The peak of Coloman's career was the time when he became the bishop of Győr, holding that post from 1337 to 1375. Even though he was even imprisoned by his half-brother Louis I, it seems that thanks to Pope's assistance he got released. During his position as the bishop of Győr, the bishop's castle was built, becoming the residence of bishops from that time on. He generously helped and established different monastic orders in his diocese. About him see Antal Pór, „Kálmán, győri püspök”, *Századok*, 23/5 (1889) 369–384; Norbert C. Tóth N & Terézia Horváth, *A győri székeskáptalan archontológiája*, Győr–Raab 2019, 31, 41.

¹⁸ E. Travnik, „Chronicon Henrici von Mügeln”, 215–216.

¹⁹ Imre Szentpétery, „A Zágrábi és a Várad Krónika egymáshoz való viszonya”, *Századok* 68/9–10 (1934) 410–425; László Veszprémy, „Chronicon Zagradiense”, in: *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Leiden–Boston 2010, 452.

²⁰ Emericus Szentpétery (ed.), „Chronicon Zagradiense cum textu Chronici Varadiensis collatum”, in: *SRH* II, 215.

²¹ He was born on the day of Saint Stephen on 20 August 1332. From 1339 he was named the duke of Slavonia, but did not rule this land at that time. From 1349, his court was in Buda and he also received the counties of Szepes and Sáros in the summer of the same year. Éva Halász, „Anjou István hercegsége (1332–1354)”, *Fons* 12/1 (2005) 29–69; Éva Teiszler, „Anjou István herceg pecsétjei”, in: *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok* 8, Márta Tóber & Ágnes Maléth, Szeged 2015, 201–211; Éva Bátoriné Halász, „Anjou István herceg (1332–1354)”, in: *Hercegek és hercegségek a középkori Magyarországon*, ed. Attila Zsoldos, Székesfehérvár 2016, 81–93.

of his uncle Louis the Great, when the King was in war with Serbian Emperor Stefan Dušan during the last years of the latter's reign.²² This campaign was launched in the late spring and early summer of 1354, and during June and July King Louis I was in Zemun and Belgrade, where he issued several charters.²³ The conflict was definitely over by the beginning of August, since Stephen died on the 9th of the month, and Serbian Emperor Stefan Dušan was in the village of Brusnica under the Rudnik mountain in the middle of the same month, where he confirmed a donation of another village named Leskovljani to the Hilandar monastery.²⁴

The death of ban Stephen of Anjou was testified by early 17th-century writer Mauro Orbini in his work *Il regno degli Slavi*. He says that two years after the war in 1352 (which he mistakenly puts in 1343), there was another campaign of King Louis I against Serbia. Nevertheless, in this war nothing was achieved and, moreover, people began to die because of the *rotten air* that started to rise from the swamps.²⁵ Therefore, *Chronicon Zagradiense*, more precisely its Várádi version, completes diplomatic sources (charters), while on the other hand, the primary documentary sources confirm the writing of this *Chronicle*.

Chronicon Posoniense is another Hungarian narrative source from the 14th century and most probably composed in the southern parts of Hungary around 1350. Like most of the chronicles, it is also written in the Latin language, and it follows both the *Chronicle of Buda* and the *Illustrated Chronicle*. Its structure and data are in accordance with those two other chronicles, but there are certain variations and interpolations.²⁶ One of them is of particular interest for this topic and is most certainly very peculiar for both Hungarian and Serbian history.

The *Chronicle* states that *Rex Stephanus, filius Wele, habuit duas filias, Mariam et Katherinam. Dominam Katherinam tradidit Stephano regi Sclavoniae...* Further, the chronicler writes about Maria's marriage to Charles II known as Charles the Lame (Karolus Claudus). These marital and dynastical bondings are dated in this *Chronicle* to 1299.²⁷ The significance of this short paragraph is that this is the only mention of

²² É. B. Halász, „Anjou István herceg (1332–1354)“, 91.

²³ *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár XXXVIII, 1354*, szerkesztette Éva Bátoriné Halász, Budapest–Szeged 2013, 271, 277, 280, 283, nr. 346, 347, 357, 364, 370.

²⁴ Божидар Ферјанчић и Сима Ђирковић, *Стефан Душан: краљ и цар (1331–1355)*, Београд 2005, 294–296; Станоје Бојанин, „Повеља цара Стефана Душана о даровању села Лесковљане манастиру Хиландару, 10. август 1354“, *Стари српски архив* 4 (2005) 119–134.

²⁵ Mauro Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, Pesaro 1601, 262–264; Мавро Орбин, *Краљевство Словена*, превод Здравко Шундрица, коментари Сима Ђирковић, Зрењанин 2006, 35–38. Giacomo Luccari (Jakov Lukarević), another 17th-century Ragusan historian, provides the same, yet much shortened version of these events. Giacomo di Pietro Luccari, *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Rausa libri quatro*, Venetia 1605, 57.

²⁶ Leslav Spychała, „Chronicon (Hungarorum) Posoniense“, in: *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Leiden–Boston 2010, 349, with further literature.

²⁷ Alexander Domanovszky (ed.), „Chronicon Posoniense“, in: *SRH* I, 46.

the Hungarian princess and Serbian Queen, the wife of King Stefan Dragutin (1276–1282), Catherine/Katelina, in any contemporary medieval Hungarian source. This fills an enormous gap on this Hungarian princess. She is only mentioned by Danilo II – the hagiographer of Serbian rulers and archbishop. Princess Catherine is noted in the Life of King Uroš I (1243–1276) and his wife Queen Helen Angelos, and in the Life of King Dragutin. All of the said rulers were canonised by the Serbian Church shortly after their deaths.²⁸

The date of the marriage is uncertain. It is mostly believed that Stefan Dragutin married princess Katalin after 1268, after the attack and imprisonment of King Stefan Uroš I in Hungary.²⁹ Some most recent researches, on the other side, date it to 1265 or the beginning of 1266 at the latest.³⁰ What is most certainly a mistake by the compiler of the *Chronicon Posoniense* is the mention of the year 1299. It was the time when King Milutin already ruled Serbia (starting from 1282), and King Dragutin, married for quite some time to the Hungarian princess, stepped down in 1282 after six years of reign. Therefore, it was completely impossible that this marriage had occurred according to the dating of the *Chronicle*.

Catherine is also depicted in the church founded by her husband King Dragutin in Arilje, dedicated to Saint Achillius. This is a rare contemporary medieval portrait of a Hungarian princess, but not the only one. In the fresco, ruling King Stefan Milutin (1282–1321), Dragutin's brother, is shown on the right. In the middle, Dragutin, as the ktetor of the church, can be seen and by his side there is a portrait of Catherine, with an inscription *Katelina kralica* (Queen Catherine). The form of her name used both by Danilo II and written in the fresco suggests that foreign (Latin, Roman Catholic) princesses who married to Serbia were not, like in the Byzantine Empire, obliged to change their name and maybe even their faith. Katelina is a Hungarian form of the name Catherine, and even today in the contemporary Hungarian language it is Katalin. Both Katalin and Katelina, as well as some other name forms, are found in medieval Hungarian documents, since it is one of the most common feminine names.³¹

There is another portrait of this Hungarian princess. Her husband King Dragutin erected a chapel in the monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, built by the founder of the dynasty grand župan Stefan Nemanja. Catherine is in this chapel depicted with her young son Vladislav, while King Dragutin holds a model of the chapel – his endowment. The inscription on Catherine's fresco is of great interest: *Katelina kralica*

²⁸ Борис Стојковски, „Слика римокатолика у делу Данила II“, *Црквене студије* 16/2 (2019) 546–549 with detailed references and literature, as well as a thorough analysis of the image of Katelina in the work of Danilo II.

²⁹ Judit Gál, „IV. Béla és I. Uroš szerb uralkodó kapcsolata“, *Századok* 147/2 (2013) 481–486, with the list of earlier opinions in historiography.

³⁰ Ивана Коматина, *Краљ Стефан Урош I Велики и његово доба*, Београд 2021, 215–226.

³¹ Драган Војводић, *Зидно сликарство цркве Светог Ахилија у Ариљу*, Београд 2005, 168–169, 206 with a detailed explanation of the fresco and its peculiarities and singularities in medieval Serbian art; Б. Стојковски, „Слика римокатолика“, 552–553; idem, „Between Byzantium and the West“, 182–183.

dšti velikago kralja ugarskago Stefana – Queen Catherine, the daughter of great Hungarian King Stephen. The frescoes were destroyed during the First World War.³²

Chronicon quod in monte Sancti Georgii conservatur is also known in German as *Georgenberger Chronik*, or *Szepesszombati Chronicle*, its name deriving from the name of the city of Szepesszombat, present-day Spišská Sobota. It was written in the German language, and like many other Hungarian chronicles it starts with the age of Saint Stephen, the first Christian ruler of Hungary. This one, though, finishes in 1457, and it has preserved some lost diplomatic sources, such as the charter of King Sigismund of Luxembourg to the Teutonic Knights in Szepes. The author of this *Chronicle* is uncertain, but he definitely originates from the German community of Szepes, according to the linguistic properties of the text of the *Chronicle*.³³

Even though this *Chronicle* is relatively less known and is not that often used in historiography, for Serbian medieval history it provides a piece of very peculiar information concerning despot Stefan Lazarević. First of all, in order to better understand this passage from the *Chronicle* one must be aware of two important facts. From 1403 onwards the Serbian despot was a vassal and an ally of the King of Hungary, Sigismund of Luxembourg. Second, Sigismund led many campaigns in the Czech lands, but also in Hungary to confront the Hussites. In 1421–1422 there were great campaigns of King Sigismund against the Czechs, in which despot Stefan Lazarević, being the King's best knight, vassal and the first member of *Ordo Dragonis*, took active part together with his warriors.³⁴ After these campaigns, a part of Serbian troops plundered the area, as testified by the *Chronicle of Szepesszombat* under the entry dated 1422 on the eve of the feast of Saints Peter and Paul. According to this narrative source, *dy Ratzen von konig entrunnen* and they went on towards Poland, aiming to capture people from Szepes and kill them, with their leaders answering directly to the King.³⁵ Even though some other contemporary narrative sources do confirm the despot's role in the Hussite wars, this is unique information on his troops that fought in northern parts of Hungary in 1422.

The next source is the *Thuróczy Chronicle*, which in fact bears the name *Chronica Hungarorum*, and is one of the most important late medieval Hungarian chronicles.

³² Светозар Радојчић, *Портрети српких владара у средњем веку*, Скопље 1934, 27–28.

³³ Béla Pukánszky (ed.), „Chronicon, quod conservatur in Monte Georgii (Szepesszombat, Georgenberg, Spiška-Sobota)“, in: *SRH II*, 275–277 (Praefatio).

³⁴ This is testified by both Serbian and German sources, namely despot's biographer Konstantin Filozof (Constantine the Philosopher) and Eberhard Windeck, see Константин Филозоф, *Живот деспота Стефана Лазаревића*, прир. Гордана Јовановић, Београд 2009, 88–90; for Windeck see Eberhard Windecke *Denkwürdigkeiten zu König Sigismund und seiner Zeit*. CD-Ausgabe mit Kommentaren, 109; Eberhard Windecke *emlékirata Zsigmond királyról és koráról*, ford. Renata Skorka, Budapest 2008, 97–98.

On this crusade see Frantisek Palacký, *A huszitizmus története*, Budapest 1984, 384–423.

³⁵ B. Pukánszky, „Chronicon, quod conservatur“, 285; Peter, Rokai, „Ratnici despota Stefana Lazarevića u Slovačkoj prema svedočanstvu Spiške hronike“, *Acta historica Posoniensia* 19 (2012) 11–14; Boris Stojkovski, „Remarks on the Serbian Foreign Policy in the Age of Despot Stefan Lazarević, Byzanz und das Abendland VII“, in: *Studia Byzantino-Occidentalia*, Erika Juhász (Hrsg.), Budapest 2021, 304–306.

It was written in the circle of King Matthias Corvinus and its author is John of Thuróc. Born around 1435, he originated from the Turóc county and was educated in the Premonstratensian monastery in Ipolyság, today Šahy in Slovakia. He served as the main notary to several prominent noblemen and was also a judge royal at one time. John of Thuróc (Hungarian: Thuróczy János) died in 1488 or 1489. His *Chronicle* can be divided into three parts: the first part is Thuroczy's interpretation of a poem by Lorenzo de Monacis of Venice about the reign of King Charles II of Hungary. The second part is Hungarian history from the Huns to 1386, and is a compilation of various other works, particularly that of John of Küküllö. This work on the life of King Louis I of Anjou is of the highest importance for this topic too and has a great influence on other chronicles. Namely, several more authors or compilers of other medieval Hungarian chronicles extensively used Küküllei's work to provide data on the rule of Louis I, and the same was done in Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*. The original work of John of Thuróc is the one dealing with the period between 1386 and 1488.³⁶

For this topic, Thuróczy's *Chronicle* is interesting for medieval Bosnian history, but as already said, only in the context of taking over the parts of John of Küküllö's work on King Louis I. The similar information can be found in *Chronicon Budense*, the first printed Hungarian book from 1473, as well as *Chronicon Dubnicense*, compiled, as already stated, sometime cca. 1479. From 1344, Louis I the Great led campaigns against Kurjaković and Nelipčić noble families – *rebelles Gregorium filium Curiaci et Niliptium Croacos, qui regna Croacie et Dalmacie ac magnam partem Sclavoniae usurpando*. Bosnian ban Stefan II was also the father-in-law of the Hungarian King, and the chronicler states that Elisabeth was the Hungarian Queen. In the following part of the paragraph there is information that the aim of this campaign was to overthrow and expel the rebels from the Kingdom of Croatia and that the army reached *opidum Byhehg*, present-day Bihać, and camped on the source of the Klokot creek.³⁷

³⁶ A detailed analysis of the sources and structure of the *Chronicle*: Elemér Mályusz, *A Thuróczy-krónika és forrásai*, Budapest 1967.

His origin is from Tótselymes, which is why he is known as Tótsolymosi Aproód Küküllei. He served in the royal chancery as a notary up to 1350. From 1352 he was appointed a canon in the Arad Chapter and the Eger Chapter. John of Küküllö was serving Louis I as his notary and wrote *De gestis Ludovici I. regis Hungarorum*. Being in King's service helped him to have stable and large incomes and possessions. He died between 15 September and 15 December 1393. In chapter 39 of his work, he writes on several campaigns led against Serbia and the two bans of Macsó, with a focus on Nicholas de Gara (Gari), *Küküllei János és a névtelen minorita krónikája*, latinból fordította László Geréb, A bevezetész írta Imre Trencsényi-Waldapfel., a fordítást ellenőrizte László Juhász, Budapest 1960, 70. see also Борис Стојковски, „Кнез Лазар и Угарска“, у: *Власт и моћ – властела Моравске Србије од 1365. до 1402. године*. Тематски зборник радова са међународног научног скупа одржаног од 20. до 22. септембра 2013. године у Крушевцу, Великом Шиљеговцу и Варварину, ур. Синиша Мишић, Крушевац 2014, 226–227.

³⁷ *Küküllei János és a névtelen minorita krónikája*, 45–46; Johannes de Thuróc, *Chronica Hungarorum* I. textus, ed. Elisabeth Galantái & Julius Kristó, Budapestini 1985, 166; Johannes

In 1344 Nicholas Banffy, the ban of Slavonia, led a campaign against Croatian nobleman Nelipac, who held some royal towns. This war ended without any concrete success. Ban Stefan II was an ally of the Angevin ruler of Hungary, but in 1346 he attempted to create an alliance with Venice, the arch-enemy of Louis I at that time. As of September 1346, he even agitated that Gregory (Grgur) Kurjaković and Ivan (John) Nelipčić (son of Nelipac), as well as some other Croatian noblemen, become also the allies of Venice. The Republic urged their most loyal Croatian nobleman Mladen III Šubić to cease animosity with ban Stefan. After the fall of Zara to Venetians in December 1346, the situation changed and Louis I went to Naples in 1347.³⁸

The second mention of Bosnia in this source is connected to the 1363 attack of King Louis the Great against Bosnia and ban Tvrtko I Kotromanić. The title of this chapter is *De exercitu in partes Bozne et de amissione duplicis sigillii domini regis*. The *Chronicle* writes about the rebels in Bosnia subjugated to the Hungarian realm by palatine Nicholas Kont and Nicholas Keszei, the archbishop of Esztergom. Alongside these two very prominent Hungarian noblemen, there were other barons who took part in this campaign. These troops besieged the fortress of Srebrenik. A very interesting episode was written down by Küküllei. During the night *filios Belial*, which is how the chronicler describes Bosnian troops, stole from the tent the double authentic seal of the Hungarian King, kept by the archbishop. He was also a chancellor of the King and was in possession of the King's seal. In the *Chronicle* it is also explained that the seal was sold and cracked into pieces in Bistrica by a certain goldsmith. Finally, it is stated that this seal was used to authenticate and confirm privileges and documents.³⁹

This episode is well-known. The direct reasons for the outbreak of this war in 1363 are completely unknown. In 1362 there were the first conflicts between nobleman Sanko Miltenović, who was in service of ban Tvrtko I Kotromanić, and ban of Croatia and Slavonia Nicholas Szécsi. The formal reason for this campaign may have been the fight against Bosnian heretics, but there is also a possibility that King Louis I wanted to punish ban Tvrtko I for standing against his authority. Nevertheless, in July 1363, during the campaign, prepared from April 1363, the troops led by the King unsuccessfully tried to conquer Sokol on the Pliva river. After this failure, another army led by Nicholas Kont went to Bosnia in September of the same year. There this catastrophe occurred, when the seal was lost, which was a great embarrassment and loss for the Hungarian army and the King.⁴⁰

de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum II, Comentarii*, Vol. 2, Composuit Elemér Mályusz adiuvente Julius Kristó. Budapest 1988, 110–112 for clarifications and commentaries.

The King issued several charters in Bihać on 15 July 1346, see *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár XXX, 1346*, szerkesztette Ferenc Piti, Budapest–Szeged 2014, 315–317.

³⁸ Сима Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, Београд 1964, 113–118.

³⁹ Küküllei János és a névtelen minorita krónikája, 66; Johannes de Thurócz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, 178.

⁴⁰ Сима Ђирковић, *Историја средњовековне босанске државе*, 127–129; Iván Bertényi, *Magyarország az Anjouk korában*, Budapest 1987, 195–196; Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum II, Comentarii*, 164–166.

The *Chronicle of Dubnic* provides almost identical information as the *Chronica Hungarorum* by John Thuróczy. *Chronicon Dubnicensis* provides a bit shorter account of these events than Thuróczy's *Chronicle*, and even though it is brief, the information provided there is basically the same. There is a narration on the conflict with Croatian noblemen Nelipčić and Kurjaković and once again a well-known story on the campaign of 1363 and the lost double authentic seal, taken almost verbatim from Küküllei's biography of King Louis and later founding its place in the work of John Thuróczy.⁴¹ These concordances among chronicles are a consequence of the fact that many original sources for different manuscripts of chronicles were practically the same. This is especially obvious in the case of Küküllei's work which has been used by many compilers of the chronicles to describe the rule of King Louis I of Anjou.

Chronica Hungarorum, also known as *Chronicon Budense*, consists of several parts. There is a part that is a shorter version of the *Illuminated Chronicle*, or in better words a variety of the 14th-century chronicle compositions. Hun history is, on the other hand, taken from *Gesta Hungarorum*, a work by Simon Kézai. The period until 1342, the ascension to the throne of Louis I, is described following the so-called Friar Minor's *Chronicle of Buda*, from which it derives its name. For the period until 1382, the work by many times mentioned John of Küküllö is of great influence – he wrote a biography of King Louis I the Great of Anjou. For the period between 1382 and 1468 there are various additions to the text of the *Chronicle*, and it was undoubtedly finished by Andrew Hess. There is great accordance with the *Chronicle* of John of Thuróc, which is of particular interest for this topic as well. Andrew/Andreas Hess was of German origin, and on 5 June 1473 this *Chronicle* was printed as the first book in medieval Hungary that came out of a printing press.⁴²

Following the similar narration of *Chronicon Dubnicensis*, *Chronicon Budense* and *Thuróczy Chronicle*, relying absolutely on John Kükülei, this source also describes the campaign of King Louis I against Bosnia, dating it to 1354. It is the chapter entitled *De Exercitu in Terram Bozna*. The story is practically the same – it mentions palatine Nicholas Kont and the loss of the double authentic seal of the archbishop of Esztergom. Nevertheless, the sub-heading of the chapter is titled *Et contra Stephanum Duscianum Rasciae regulum expeditionem suscipit Anno 1354*.⁴³ The second mention of Serbia in this *Chronicle* is taken almost directly from the work of John of Küküllö, where this biographer of Louis I Anjou writes about campaigns of the bans of

Küküllei definitely makes a mistake when mentioning Srebrenik. Diplomatic sources confirm the Sokol fortress on the bank of the Pliva river, since there, on 8 July 1363, King Louis I issued two charters dated in *Plyua, in subsidione castris Zokol, terre Boznensi: Anjou-kori oklevéltár XLVII, 1363*, szerkesztette Ferenc Piti, Budapest–Szeged 2017, 175–176.

⁴¹ *Chronicon Dubnicence*, ed. Mátuás Florián, *Quinque–Ecclesiae* 1884, 168–169, 187–188.

⁴² Gábor Farkas Farkas, „A Budai Krónika“, *Iskolakultura* 11. sz. (2012) 103–112; Leslav Spychala, „Chronicon Budense“, in: *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Leiden–Boston 2010, 313–314.

⁴³ *Chronicon Budense*, ed. Iosephus Podhradczky, *Budae* 1838, 324–326.

Macsó/Maćva Dominicus Osl and Nicholas of Gara. These wars led *et maxime circa Regnum Racie* and Nicholas de Gara was described as someone who bravely fought in these conflicts.⁴⁴ It is obvious there was a chronological mistake since the campaign against Tvrtko I was in 1363, and in 1354 there was only a war with Serbia, which was explained earlier. This mistake shows that interpolations in the texts of the chronicles can sometimes be very valuable.

Ban Stefan II Kotromanić and the formation of the Franciscan vicariate in Bosnia were also mentioned in a Franciscan chronicle entitled *Chronica fratrum minorum de observantia provinciae Boznae et Hungariae* written by Blasius of Szalka, the eleventh vicar general of the Bosnian Franciscan province, who held this position in the 1420–1429 period. Szalka had continuers of his work later on, but there was also a book, as mentioned in the chronicle, which seems to have been its source.⁴⁵

This Franciscan chronicle writes about Peregrinus of Saxonia who was appointed vicar *tempore Stephani Bani, patris Reginae Hungariae, et ibi observantiam Minorum incepit*. The following part of this chapter merely names the vicars of the Bosnian province up to 1363. But, at the end of this small extract on the Bosnian province there is a mention that King Louis I Anjou, after conquering Bulgaria and other borderland regions, alongside this Bosnian vicariate, sent Franciscans to Bulgaria and other subjugated regions in order to baptize the Orthodox and heretics and to spread Roman Catholicism.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ibidem, 331–332.

⁴⁵ Andor Tarnai, „Pisci i izvori kronike ugarskih franjevac opservanata“, *Scrinia slavonica* 2 (2002) 488–490; Dominik Deman, „Jakov Markijski u srednjovjekovnoj Ugarskoj“, *Godišnjak za znanstvena istraživanja Zavoda za kulturu vojvođanskih Hrvata* 2 (2010) 11.

⁴⁶ *Blasii de Zalka et continuatorum eius chronica fratrum minorum de observantia provinciae Boznae et Hungariae*, *Analecta monumentorum Hungariae*, 231–232.

When the Franciscan vicariate was formed in 1344, Peregrin of Saxonia was appointed its first vicar, but on the plea of ban Stefan II in 1349 he also became the Bosnian bishop. It was the only period when the bishopric, whose see was in Slavonia in Đakovo, and Franciscans worked together in an attempt to spread Roman Catholicism in Bosnia. He was also considered the spiritual father of ban and later king Tvrtko I. Peregrin was undoubtedly the last Bosnian bishop who set his foot on the soil of Bosnia. This bishopric remained one of the poorest in all of Hungary, and only Franciscans and partially Dominicans represented the Roman Catholic Church in the medieval Bosnian state. Bálint Ternovác, *A szerémi és a boszniai latin püspökségek története a középkori magyar királyságban* (doktori disszertáció, Budapest, 2019) 137–140. The mention of Bulgaria is most certainly connected to both the bishopric of Vidin and the Franciscan mission in that region. The bishopric existed until the fall of medieval Hungary and, of course, most of the bishops were merely titular. Александар Николов, „Францисканская миссия в Видине (1365–1369)“, у: *Власт и моћ – властела Моравске Србије од 1365. до 1402. године*. Тематски зборник радова са међународног научног скупа одржаног од 20. до 22. септембра 2013. године у Крушевцу, Великом Шиљеговцу и Варварину, ур. Сениша Мишић, Крушевац 2014, 245–256. Norbert C. Tóth, *Magyarország késő középkori főpapi archontológiája. Érsekek, püspökök, illetve segédpüspökeik, vikáriusaik és jövedelemkezelőik az 1440-es évektől 1526-ig*, Győr 2017, 122–123.

It is hard to provide a unanimous conclusion on the image of Serbs and Serbian lands in medieval Hungarian chronicles. Depending on the relations with Serbia, there is a tendency for a negative portrait, such as, for instance, when it comes to conflicts with Emperor Stefan Dušan. In chronicles there is a quite classical and expected depiction of the Orthodox people and rulers as *schismatics*, but it is also not a consistent idea. For instance, when the *Chronicon Varadiense* mentions the marriage of Princess Katelina to King Dragutin, the tone is completely neutral. This can of course be connected to the fact that Dragutin was the son-in-law and vassal of the Hungarian King, and was considered a friend of the Roman Catholic Church. Finally, Bosnia was always depicted as a territory where heretics were present and were to be suppressed. A missionary aspect is also present in the chronicles when it comes to parts on Bosnia. Finally, a large gap in the source material on medieval Serbian history makes data found in medieval Hungarian chronicles important addenda to the corpus of the sources for the study of Serbian past during the Middle Ages.

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SZERBEK A KÖZÉPKORI MAGYAR KRÓNIKÁKBAN

Rezümé

A magyar krónikák az egyik legjelentősebb narratív forrásnak számítanak a magyar középkor vonatkozásában, nemcsak a Magyar Királyságra nézve, hanem mindazon környező országok és népek számára, amelyekkel a magyarok kapcsolatban voltak, s ide tartozik a szerbség is. Ugyanakkor a szerbeket, csakúgy mint Szerbiát és Boszniát, a középkori magyar krónikák nem említik túl gyakran.

Szerbia történelme szempontjából fontos a Bécsi kódex, különösen a magyar-szerb viszonyok vonatkozásában a 12. században. A Pozsonyi krónika pedig az egyetlen forrás, amely említi Dragutin király és Árpádházi Katalin magyar hercegnő házasságát. Továbbá még néhány krónika említést tesz Dragutin királyról és abbéli erőfeszítéseiről, hogy fiát összeházasítsa Kán László erdélyi vajda lányával.

A Thuróczy-krónika tartalmaz még a második középkori szerb állam történelmére vonatkozó adatokat, illetve érdekes megfigyeléseket a magyarok boszniai hadjáratairól. Emellett egy ferences krónika is érdekes forrás a középkori Bosznia egyházi berendezkedése vonatkozásában.

Борис Стојковски

СРБИ У СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНИМ УГАРСКИМ ХРОНИКАМА

Резиме

Хронике представљају један од најзначајнијих наративних извора за угарски средњи век. Осим за саму Угарску, оне су значајан извор и за многе земље и народе са којима су Угри били у контакту, па тако и за Србе. Помени Срба, као и Србије и Босне, нису чести у угарским средњовековним хроникама.

За историју Србије значајна је *Бечка илустрована хроника*, посебно у контексту угарско-српских односа у 12. веку. *Пожунска хроника*, пак, једини је угарски извор који спомиње брак краља Драгутина са угарском принцезом Кателином. О краљу Драгутину и његовим напорима да свог сина ожени ћерком ердељског војводе Ладислава Кана сведоче још неке хронике.

За историју друге средњовековне српске државе Босне хроника Јована Туроција даје неколико занимљивих опсервација о угарским походима на Босну. И једна фрањевачка хроника је занимљив извор за црквену организацију средњовековне Босне.