THE MONGOLS IN CENTRAL EUROPE: The Profile an

seignoz.or. cc. rl m.

The Profile and Impact of their Thirteenth-Century Invasions

noci Facaur entrere

Edited by BALÁZS NAGY

The Mongols in Central Europe: The Profile and Impact of their Thirteenth-Century Invasions

Edited by Balázs Nagy

The Mongols in Central Europe: The Profile and Impact of their Thirteenth-Century Invasions

Edited by Balázs Nagy

Budapest, 2023

The publication of the book was supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office of Hungary through the grants NKFI K-128880 and MEC_K 140832.



Edited by: Balázs, Nagy

© Editor, 2024 © Authors, 2024

Cover image: Clash of Christians and Mongols, Wien, ÖNB Cod. 2623, fol. 29r, approx. 1350–1374.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/76/Battle_of_Mohi_1241.PNG

All rights reserved.

ISBN 978 963 489 679 1 ISBN 978 963 489 680 7 (pdf)



eltebook.hu

Responsible publisher: the managing director of ELTE Eötvös Kiadó Projectmanager: Nóra, Csanádi-Egresi Publishing editor: Typography: Milán, Farkas Cover: Ildikó, Kmotrik

Tartalomjegyzék

NAGY, Balázs, Introduction	7
ATWOOD, Christopher, Mongolian Sources on the Great Western Expedition:	
Some Analytical Comments	9
BÁRÁNY, Attila, The Response of the West to the Mongol Invasion	
(1241-1270)	13

The Sources on the Mongol Invasion

Mongol Attacks against Central Europe

LASZLOVSZKY, József, Romhányi Beatrix, The Destruction Caused by the Mongol
Invasion and the Changes of the Church Network of Medieval Hungary 201
BORDI, Zsigmond Lóránd, The Mongol Invasion in Eastern Hungary
(1241–1242)
HOLEŠČÁK, Michal, The Mongol Invasion of 1241-1242 North of the Danube 265
SZAKÁCS Béla Zsolt, The Mongol Invasion and Early Church Architecture
in the Szepes/Spiš/Zips Region
LUBOCKI, Adam, The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–1242) in the Light
of Polish Medieval Sources
Szőcs, Tibor, Fifty Years: Mongol-Hungarian Conflicts between 1242
and 1292, and the 'Second Mongol Invasion' in 1285
SARDELIĆ, Mirko, "Sicut per aerem volans": the Mongols on the Adriatic (AD 1242)
and the Long-Lasting Echoes of their Campaign in the Croatian National
Imaginary

Ning YA, Should the Papal Envoys Bring Gifts for the Mongol Emperors?	
The Role of Polish and Russian Intelligence in the Mission of John	
of Plano Carpini compared to that of Ascelin of Lombardy	387
SOMER, Tomaš, Sources on the Mongol Invasion of the Kingdom of Bohemia	
in 1241	407
UZELAC, Aleksandar, The Mongol Invasion and the Latin Empire	
of Constantinople	423

Cumans and Mongols

NIKOLOV, Alexandar, From the Pontic Steppes to Anatolia: The Cumanic	
Refugees from the "Mongol Storm" 1237-1238/9 AD	453
GOLEV, Konstantin, Crime and Punishment: The Mongol Invasion,	
Cuman-Qïpchaq Refugees, and the Second Bulgarian Empire	463

The Aftermath of the Mongol Invasions

B. SZABÓ János, "Now the plundering Mongols' arrows / You swarmed over us"
A Historiographical Outline of the Modern Hungarian Historical
Literature on the Mongol Invasion
BIRTALAN Ágnes, Hungarian Folk Narratives (Hung. monda, népmonda)
about the Mongol Campaign (1241–1242)

Mongolian Sources on the Great Western Expedition: Some Analytical Comments

Introduction

The title of this paper may occasion some puzzlement among readers. Mongolian sources on the Great Western Expedition to conquer Eastern Europe—in plural? Isn't there only one, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, with all the other non-local sources being Persian or Chinese? And what exactly are analytical comments? Isn't all scholarship analytical?

But these phrases go together; I will explain the second first. By 'analytical' I mean what M. L. West meant by that term in his magisterial analytical commentaries on the *lliad* and the *Odyssey*: commentaries that analyzed, or broke down, the *lliad* and the *Odyssey* into its component parts, the text blocks which Homer, as a cut and paste artist, assembled to make his masterpieces.¹

Of course, whether Homer really was a cut and paste artists is still controversial despite West's vigorous assertion of this proposition. I do not intend to argue that particular point, but I do assert that all of the major sources on the Mongol empire, Persian, Chinese, and Mongolia were written by cut and paste artists, and hence are susceptible to the analytical methodology of breaking them down into source blocks.

Now, certain writers, such 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Aṭā-Malik Juvaynī and the Secret Historian (that is, the anonymous author of the *Secret History of the Mongols*) have a relatively heavy hand on their sources.² Hence, they will not infrequently alter the

¹ Martin L. West, The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Martin L. West, The Making of the Odyssey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

² Analytical studies of the Secret History of the Mongols include Christopher P. Atwood, "Alexander, Ja'a Gambo and the Origin of the Jamugha Figure in the Secret History of the Mongols,"

blocks enough to make the suture lines not exactly clear. Others, however, such as Rašīdu'd-Dīn Ṭabīb and the *Yuanshi* compilers were engaged in mass production and had little time to curate the blocks they were cutting and pasting.³ Still others, like the compilers of the "Authentic Chronicles" (a genre I will introduce later) worked slowly and carefully, but with an idea that the historians should limit their role as much as possible to assembling previously attested historical narratives.⁴ For them too, the suture lines are still pretty obvious.

Regardless of the details, one of the conclusions of these analytical comments will be that behind the Chinese and Persian sources, and behind the *Secret History of the Mongols* are a series of other sources, many of which were written in Mongolian. It is for this reason that I speak of Mongolian sources in the plural; the *Secret History* is not the only Mongolian history, but is rather one rather largish source that made use of a number of smaller Mongolian-language histories and

- 3 Rašīdu'd-Dīn's overall compositional process is covered in Stefan Kamola, Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jami' al-Tawarikh (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019). Particular case studies include the Čaġadaids in Stefan Kamola, "Untangling the Chaghadaids: Why We Should and Should Not Trust Rašīd al-Dīn," Central Asiatic Journal 62, no. 1 (2019), pp. 69–90; and the Salǧurids in Stefan Kamola, "Salghurid History in the Jāmi' al-Tawārikh: A Preliminary Exploration of Its Composition and Transmission," in New Approaches to Ilkhanid History, ed. Timothy May, Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, and Christopher P. Atwood (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 122–44. His Mongolian Sources are analyzed in Christopher P. Atwood, "Rashīd al-Dīn's Ghazanid History and Its Mongolian Sources," in New Approaches to Ilkhanid History, ed. Timothy May, Dashdondog BayarsaiQan, and Christopher P. Atwood (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 53–121, with case studies on the Öng'üt, in Christopher P. Atwood, "Historiography and Transformation of Ethnic Identity in the Mongol Empire: The Öng'üt Case," Asian Ethnicity 15, no. 4 (2014), pp. 522–25; and the Xiningzhou Qonggirad Christopher P. Atwood, "Chikü Küregen and the Origins of the Xiningzhou Qonggirads," Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 21 (2014), pp. 13–15.
- 4 One may say of the "Authentic Chronicle" genre what has been said of much more distinguished works in the East Asian tradition such as the Zizhi tongjian of Sima Guang (1019-1086), that the author "took pains to use as few words of his own as possible, producing a mosaic of patches culled from all available sources." Guang Sima, The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms (220-265): Chapters 69-78 from the "Tzŭ Chih T'ung Chien" of Ssŭ-Ma Kuang (1019-1086), ed. Glen W. Baxter, trans. Achilles Fang, vol. 1, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies 6 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. xviii.

in 内陆欧亚历史文化国际学术研讨会论文集/ Proceedings of the International Conference on History and Culture of Central Eurasia, ed. Terigün 特力更 and Li Jinxiu 李锦绣 (Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Press, 2015), pp. 161–76; Christopher P. Atwood, "How the Secret History of the Mongols Was Written," Mongolica 49 (2016), pp. 22–53; Christopher P. Atwood, "The Indictment of Ong Qa'an: The Earliest Reconstructable Mongolian Source on the Rise of Činggis Qan," Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions 9 (2017), pp. 272–306. Elsewhere, I analyzed also Juvaynī and Jūzjānī's common dependence on a Mongolian-language bilig or wise sayings and deeds source. Christopher P. Atwood, "Informants and Sources for the Secret History of the Mongols," Mongolian Studies 29 (2007), pp. 27–39. Further study of Juvaynī's account of the Mongol defeat at Parvān reveals at least three different sources, seen as different versions of personal names.

biographies.⁵ Some of these other sources were also translated and cut up and pasted into known histories in Chinese and Persian. Analysis thus creates a rather different roster of sources, and in many cases gives more precision about their dates and original context for well-known passages than we might have otherwise expected. As a result, evaluating the historicity of a given passage often depends less on evaluating what Rašīdu'd-Dīn or the early Ming compilers of the *Yuanshi* knew and thought and more on evaluating what their source, often compiled decades earlier, knew and thought.

Ultimately, an analytical study of the many well-known sources on the Mongolian empire reveals the existence of a repertoire of more or less official historiographical practices in the empire, conducted in Mongolian. Unfortunately, the center of this Mongolian-language official historiography was on the opposite end of the empire from the Northwestern campaigns in Europe, and hence those campaigns were peripheral to that body of work's main concerns. Still this historiography shaped several of the well-known sources on the conquest. Moreover, the peculiarities of this historiography give us some important insights on the interaction, or lack thereof, between the small groups of Mongols who designed the conquests, and the other small groups who wrote the empire's histories.

In what follows, I will consider the Mongolian sources on the Great Western Campaign of 1236-1241 and the two western campaigns that preceded it, first, that of 1217-1219 against the sons of Toqto'a Beki the Merkit who had taken refuge among the Ölberli Qïpčaqs around the Ĵem-Ĵayiq basin in western Kazakhstan, then that of 1220-1223 led by Ĵebe and Sübe'edei that followed the conquest.⁶ My order will be not be strictly chronological, but arranged in order of increasing complexity of the analytical problems. First, I will consider the biographical and annalistic sources compiled in the era of Qubilai Qa'an and shortly thereafter. Then, I will show how the Persian historians of these campaign built up their account through successively adding larger and larger Mongolian-origin sources blocks. Then I will analyze the *Secret History*'s passages on these campaigns, dividing them into source blocks. These analytical comments will conclude by considering the connections between these sources, showing how several of them have common origin. Finally, I will consider what these sources tell us about the relation of history writing to military action in the Mongol empire.

⁵ The most fully characterized such source so far is the "indictment of Ong Qa'an" and its associated "Indictment Narrative" and "Indictment Narrative Continuation" which was used independently by the author of the Secret History of the Mongols, by the compilers of the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan" (itself now lost, but well-attested in Rašīdu'd-Dīn's annals of Činggis Qan, the Shengwu qinzheng lu, and the Yuanshi, chapter 1), and by Rašīdu'd-Dīn in his sections on the Kereyit and Naiman kingdoms. See Atwood, "The Indictment of Ong Qa'an."

⁶ The Jem is the modern Emba River and the Jayïq the modern Ural River.

Qubilai Era Chinese sources

The era of Qubilai Qa'an marked a dramatic change in the historiography of the Mongol Empire. Contrary to popular belief, however, this change was not simply a wholesale replacement of Mongolian-language historiography with Chinese-language East Asian historiography. Rather it was a complex merger of Mongolian historiography, which had already been influenced by East Asian biographical writing, with the Chinese genres of 'service biography' and 'authentic chronicle'.

Biographies

Qubilai Qa'an's reign focused on two genres: social biography and authentic chronicles. In the Chinese tradition, biographies were commissioned upon the death of an official and/or upon occasion of him being granted an official title. These biographies were usually written by colleagues or associates of the deceased, with the input of the surviving family members; such biographies could also be enshrined in the Chinese literary tradition as fine examples of the author's style and his membership in elite social networks.⁷ Unfortunately, we do not know enough about Mongolophone historical networks to say if that same function of documenting social networks was in play, but we do know that similar such biographies, intended to document deceased officials' achievements and the validity of their descendants' privileges, were composed in Mongolian as early as the reign of Öködei Qa'an. This emerges from accounts of the rivalry between the descendants of Ĵürčedei of the Uru'ut, and those of Quyildar Sečen of the Mangġut; the rivalry for power depended on the written record of what the ancestors of the house had done during the imperial founding.⁸

We also know in at least one case that achievements of Mongol commanders were reported in writing to the imperial shrines (the hordes or *ordos* of the deceased Činggis). After the victorious battle of Sanfengshan commanded by Činggis Qan's youngest son, Tolui, "The nobles and princes came forward and said, 'It is

⁷ On this genre of 'social biography', see Peter Olbricht, "Die Biographie in China," Saeculum 8 (1957), pp. 224–35; Denis Twitchett, The Writing of Official History under the T'ang (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Sarah Schneewind, "Reduce, Re-Use, Recycle: Imperial Autocracy and Scholar-Official Autonomy in the Background to the Ming History Biography of Early Ming Scholar-Official Fang Keqin (1326-1376)," Oriens Extremus 48 (2009), pp. 103–52.\\ uc0\\u8221{} {\\i{}Oriens Extremus} 48 (2009 I give a complete translation of one example, the famous biography by Song Zizhen of IIa (or Yelü) Chucai, in Christopher P. Atwood, The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2021), pp. 131–62.

⁸ See Atwood, "Alexander, Ja'a Gambo and the Origin of the Jamugha Figure," pp. 167–70.

truly as Your Majesty [Öködei Qa'an] has spoken; a merit such as Tolui's must be made known at the dynastic altars (*sheji* 社稷).' No doubt [Öködei Qa'an] undoubtedly also directed a registry (*ce* 册) to be compiled saying so."⁹ "Dynastic altars" refers to a specifically Chinese ritual institution, but since this institution would not be created by the Mongols until decades later, it must here be being used by analogy to indicate the Mongolian practice of dynastic worship at the four great *ordos* (hordes or mobile palaces) of Činggis Qan. As I have argued elsewhere, this 'registry' referred to here appears to be the basis of subsequent account of Tolui's victories and sacrifices eventually found in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, Rašī-du'd-Dīn, and Tolui's biography in the *Yuanshi*, chapter 115.¹⁰ This type of public encomium in the Chinese tradition is tightly linked to the tradition of 'social biography'. The link of these biographies to the death or posthumous honors granted to the subject of the biography is also useful for dating, because it means that the biography's date is encoded within the work itself, and thus can survive translation and incorporation into a different format.

With regard to the Western expeditions, there are three Chinese-language biographies that contain relevant material. Two of them at least appear from their form to be translations for Mongolian originals. These two are the biographies of Ismail and Sübe'edei. A third, the biography of Tutgaq appears to be a biography composed in Chinese, although possibly on the basis of some pre-existing Mongolian text.

The biography of Ismail documents the career of one the commanders who served under Jebe during the western reconnaissance expedition of 1220-23. It survives in a brief summary including the "Ranked Biographies" section of the *Yuanshi*.¹¹ The Chinese summary is extremely sloppy with numerous errors, including one even in the subject's name, turning *Yisīmàilǐ* 易思麥里into *Hésīmàilǐ* 曷思麥 里.¹² Another egregious error is that in an account of campaigns in North China against the Jin, it confuses the Chinese title of Öködei with that of Činggis Qan.¹³

Although these errors were produced in the Chinese, the crudity of the language and the large number of very idiosyncratic place names, including an unattested

⁹ YS, 115.2887.

See Christopher P. Atwood, "Pu'a's Boast and Doqolqu's Death: Historiography of a Hidden Scandal in the Mongol Conquest of the Jin," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 45 (2015), pp. 258– 60; Atwood, "Rashīd al-Dīn's *Ghazanid History* and Its Mongolian Sources," pp. 76–80.

¹¹ YS, 120.2969-2970.

¹² This error was first recognized by Elizabeth Endicott; see Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 35, 151, n. 54.

¹³ This error was noted by the Yuanshi editors; see YS, 120.2973, n. 21.

Uyghur name, Ikir-Qaya "Two Cliffs,"¹⁴ for a place in the Tangut empire, indicates that it was translated from a foreign language. (A biography composed in Chinese would use Chinese place names for areas inhabited by Chinese speakers.) The presence of many names with a *-z*, a phoneme not normally found in Mongolian, might indicate a Uyghur original, but *-z* is attested as a special transcription letter in Mongolian when rendering Tibetan and Persian names, and other transcriptions show the typical Mongolian rendering of Jebe, not Yeme, and Qizil as Qišil.¹⁵ So the original language was probably Mongolian but written by a scribe aware of and willing to render in the Chinese the special *-z* of Uyghur and Persian place names. The biography of Ismail ends with his death in year *yi/mao* or 1255, but appended to it is a notice about his son Miliki, who died fighting the Song dynasty in Zhongtong 3 or 1262. Given that the text was evidently not revised, this notice must have been in the original and it was probably on occasion of Miliki's death that he and his his father were honored with a court biography.

Despite the crudity of this biography, it is important as the only extensive witness in Chinese sources to the career of Jebe. Having died in the field in 1223, and apparently without descendants, Jebe was not given any biography on his own account in Mongolian or any other language.¹⁶ As such it preserves a number of important details, many of which have not yet been assimilated into scholarship due to the difficulties and corruptions in the text.

Vastly more important for our knowledge of the Western expeditions in general, however, is Sübe'edei's biography. This text was preserved in three Chinese witnesses. Two are included in the *Yuanshi*—probably the most notorious illustration of the *Yuanshi* compiler's haste and sloppiness is that they did not realize that the biography of 'Subutai' is actually about the same person as that covered by in the biography of 'Xuebutai'.¹⁷ The third version of this biography is preserved in the temple stele text by Wang Yun recounting the achievements of Sübe'edei's grandson Aju as the grounds for his canonization.¹⁸

¹⁴ Chinese Yejili-Haiyq 也吉里海牙, in YS, 120.2970.

¹⁵ E.g. Guz-Ordo as *Guze-Worduo* 谷則斡兒朵, Diz as *Deji* 德疾 (corrupted in the extant text to *Dehen* 德痕), and probably Qam-Zan for Hamadan, i.e. *Hanyan* 憨顔, which seems to derive from a scribal misreading of Qam-Zan as Qam-Yan). The use of hard 谷 for ġ is surprising and might suggest a Persian original, but it bears a certain similarity to the rending of Šaġur~Čaġur 紹古兒 in his biography in *YS*, 123.3025.

¹⁶ See Stephen Pow, "The Last Campaign and Death of Jebe Noyan," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Series 3* 27, no. 1 (2017), pp. 31–51.

¹⁷ See YS, 121.2975-82 for the "Subutai" biography, and 122.3008-09 for the "Xuebutai."

¹⁸ See the complete text in the Ming-era edition of Wang Yun's collected works: Wang Yun, "Dayuan guanglu daifu pingzhang zhengshi Wuliang shi xianmiao beiming 大元光祿大夫平 章政事烏良氏先廟碑銘," in *Qiujian xiansheng daquan wenji* 秋澗先生大全文集 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1922), 50.519a-20a; Wang Yun, "Dayuan guanglu daifu pingzhang zheng-

The second biography, that of "Xuebutai" in the *Yuanshi*, ends with his death in Güyük's year three or 1248, and then goes on to the granting of a posthumous title to Sübe'edei by Qubilai Qa'an's court in Zhiyuan 1 or 1264. The other two witnesses, that of the *Yuanshi*'s 'Subutai' biography and the temple stele by Wang Yun were folded into biographies of Sübe'edei's son and grandson, respectively. Thus, although they afforded witnesses to the text, they do not preserve the initial date and context. That initial context is witnessed only by the 'Xuebutai' version and is to be dated to 1264.¹⁹

Comparison of the Chinese transcriptions of Mongolian names in the three versions allows us to confirm that the Chinese biographies were created by two separate Chinese translation from a Mongolian original. When translating non-Chinese names into Chinese, proper nouns are rendered by taking Chinese characters that have the roughly the same pronunciation, syllable by syllable. Since Chinese, however, has many homonymous syllables, two different translators working independently will make different choices for many, if not most, names. This can be seen most obviously in the difference between the transcriptions Sùbùtái 速 不台 and Xuěbùtái 雪不台, but it is much wide spread than that. Thus, Sübe'edei's ancestor's name is written Niēlǐbì 捏里必 in one biography, and Niēlǐbì 捏里弼 in the other—pronounced exactly the same, but written differently.²⁰ The Chinese transcriptions of non-Chinese terms in the 'Subutai' and Wang Yun's version are almost all the same, but those in the 'Xuebutai' version show pervasive differences. (There are also many identical transcriptions, but these are plausible attributed to the certain degree of standardization found in all Chinese transcription systems.) This difference is amplified by the way that the 'Xuebutai' uses reign dates, while the other two use the Chinese sexagenary cycle. Thus, 1211 is Year 7 of the Taizu 'Great Founder' (i.e. *Činggis* Qan) in the 'Xuebutai' biography, while it is designated *ren/shen* 壬申 in the 'Subutai' and Wang Yun biographies. The 'Subutai' and Wang

shi Wuliang shi xianmiao beiming 大元光祿大夫平章政事烏良氏先廟碑銘," in *Wang Yun quanji huijiao* 王惲全集彙校, ed. Yang Liang 楊亮 and Zhong Yanfei 鐘彦飛 (Beijing: Zhon-ghua shuju, 2013), 50.2346-48; and the earlier almost complete citation in Su Tianjue's Yu-an-era prosopographical history, the Su Tianjue 蘇天爵, *Yuanchao mingchen shilue* 元朝名 臣事略 [*The brief history of famous officials of the Yuan Dynasty*], ed. Yao Jing'an 姚景安 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 2.24-25.

¹⁹ That date is confirmed by the use of the posthumous title Yizong 義宗 "Righteous Ancestor," in place of the usual Aizong 哀宗 "Mournful Ancestor," for the last Jin emperor. This title was used only while Wang E was supervising the historiography academy, roughly from 1260 to 1266. See Hok-lam Chan, The Fall of the Jurchen Chin: Wang O's Memoir on the Ts'ai-Chou under the Mongol Siege (1233–1234), vol. 66, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien Band (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), pp. 11–15. This term is also found with the biographies of Čoči-Turgaq in YS, 122.3013-15 and Köke-Buqa in YS, 123.3022-23.

²⁰ Compare YS, 121.2975 with 122.3008.

Yun biographies also share certain indicative errors. Thus, they share a common lapse or typographical error of *Buhan* 不罕 for what should be Chinese *Muhan* 木 罕 for Mongolian Muġan (that is, the Muǧan steppe in Azerbayjan). Considering all of these factors, we can discern the following relationship between the biographies (see Table 1).

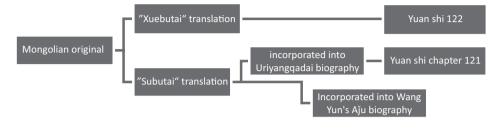


Table 1: Filiation of the versions of the Sübe'edei biography.

First there was a Mongolian biography, then there were two separate Chinese translation from this Mongolian-language biography. Then one of those translations was used by the anonymous biographer of Sübe'edei's son Uriyangqadai and by Wang Yun when writing the biography of his grandson Aju incorporated an identical Chinese language base text, but made certain small changes in it.

If the contrast in transcriptions and dating between the 'Xuebutai' version and the other two proves definitively that they are two independent translations of the Mongolian original, then what was the date of the Mongolian original? The concluding date on the 'Xuebutai' version of 1264 makes that the likely date of the first Chinese translation; the Mongolian version would have to be at the same time or earlier. Conversely, the death of Sübe'edei in 1248 establishes the earliest possible date. The way in which the biography has the *Čingqisid* prince Batu submit to correction by Sübe'edei implies that the Mongolian original was composed during the time when Batu was in bad odor at the court, and this should be during the reign of his hostile cousin Güyük was on the throne, in 1246-49. Sixteen years later, then, when Sübe'edei was given a Chinese title, a translation into Chinese was made. Later on, perhaps in 1275 when his son Uriyanggadai passed away, a fresh translation from the Mongolian was made to add to a text justifying a Chinese-style posthumous title for Uriyanggadai, and that translation was reused with a few modifications again when Aju passed away in 1287 and also was granted such a title.

This complex filiation of the biographical versions is important for the interpretation of the text. All of the surviving versions were abbreviated—it is only by careful comparison of all three texts that we can establish the original text.²¹ This often has major implications for the interpretation. For example, the battle on the Jem River in western Kazakhstan that concluded his original campaign to the West against the Merkit Toqto'a Beki's sons, is dated in the 'Xuebutai' biography to *Činggis* Qan's year 11 or 1216. In the 'Subutai' biography, however, we find that the campaign began in year *bing/zi* or 1216 and only ended in year *ji/mao* or 1219.²² One can see that in the process of editing the Chinese translation, the *Yuanshi* editors of 'Xuebutai' biography took one date, that of the inception of the campaign, and anchored the whole narrative to that one date, thus creating a misleading impression of 1217 being the date of the campaign's culminating battle.

A more typical Chinese-style social biography can be seen in biography of Tutġaq, the famous Qïpčaq general of the *Ölberli* Qïpčaq house.²³ The earliest version of this dates to his death and memorialization in Dade 1 (1297). This version was compiled by a noted Chinese literatus Yan Fu 閻復,²⁴ showing how by this time

²¹ I have offered side-by-side comparisons of the three versions on two different episode: 1) the 1217-1219 expedition against the Merkits who had taken refuge among the Qïpčaqs in western Kazakhstan in Christopher P. Atwood, "Jochi and the Early Western Campaigns," in *How Mongolia Matters: War, Law, and Society,* ed. Morris Rossabi (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 45; and 2) the 1230-1232 campaign lead by Tolui in Atwood, "Pu'a's Boast and Doqolqu's Death," pp. 255–56.

²² Contrast YS, 121.2975-76 to 122.3008.

²³ On this general, see Vered Shurany, "Tugtuga and His Descendants: Cross-Regional Mobility and Political Intrigue in the Mongol Yuan Army," in Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals, ed. Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), pp. 120-40. There has been much dispute over the proper Uyghur-Mongolian spelling of his name. In Chinese it is $T\check{u}t\check{u}h\bar{a}\pm\pm$ 哈, which has been reconstructed as Tutugh or Tugtuga in Christopher P. Atwood, Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire (New York: Facts on File, 2004), p. 556, and Shurany, "Tuqtuqa and His Descendants," respectively. But Persian and Mongolian versions of his name indicate these reconstructions are incorrect. His name is given as *Tūqtāq* and read as Toqtaq in the editions of Rašīdu'd-Dīn (cf. Hodong Kim, "Qubilai's Commanders (Amīrs): A Mongol Perspective," Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 21 (2014), p. 156; Rashīd al-Dīn, The Successors of Genghis Khan, trans. John Andrew Boyle (New York - London: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 286), but as Tūtǧāq Bahādur in Qāšānī's "History of Öljeytü" (Qiu Yihao, email, June 8, 2021). That the latter is correct is demonstrated by texts related to the Činggis Qan cult in which his name is given as Tudaqaq Noyan or Tutqar Noyan, in Yang Haiying 楊海英, "'Kinsho' kenkyū-e no josetsu 「金書」研究への序説..," in Senri Ethnological Reports 7 (Suita: National Museum of Ethnology, 1998), pp. 99, 107. These two forms may be neatly reconciled with Qāšānī's by assuming a correct Uyghur-Mongolian archetype of *Tutgag~Tutgag. Rašīdu'd-Dīn's Persian form was produced by a metathesis of q and t, and the Mongolian was produced by the addition of a superfluous *a* in one MS tradition and a corruption of the final q to r in the other. Tutgaq is also consistent with the Chinese and is undoubtedly the correct form.

²⁴ See the complete version in Yan Fu 閻復, "Shumi Jurong Wuyi Wang bei 樞密句容武毅王碑," in *Quan Yuan wen* 全元文, ed. Li Xiusheng 李修生, vol. 9 (Nanjing: Jiangsu Classics Publishing

even Inner Asian generals were part of the circles of mutual esteem that produced social biographies. Later on, as Tutġaq's descendants Čong'ur and El-Temur gained even greater fame and higher position, Yan Fu's biography was incorporated into a history of the family written by Yu Ji 虞集 around 1330.²⁵ Both versions were then incorporated into their respective subjects' *Yuanshi* biography.²⁶

In both versions, we also see clear signs of Mongolian background. Yan Fu's version includes an exchange of colorful Mongolian metaphors:

When the Great Founder [*Činggis* Qan] conquered the Merkit, their ruler *Ġodu* fled to the Qïpčaqs. A messenger was sent to deliver a message to I-na-s,²⁷ saying: "Why do you hide the moose we marked with our arrow? Give it back this instant, lest the disaster reach you as well." I-na-s replied to the messengers saying "The sparrow that flees the falcon hides in the underbrush as if it can save its life; could I then be less than any plant?"²⁸

As György Kara has shown, these metaphors are well-attested ways in the Turco-Mongolian tradition of referring to asylum and its opposite.²⁹ And something very like the "moose we marked with our arrow" is found in the same historical context in the *Secret History of the Mongols* §199 (see below). While Yu Ji's version does not include this colorful metaphor, it does give the name of the Merkit as Merkis (Ch. *Mieqisi* 蔑乞思), an unusual plural form that could only have come from the Mongolian.³⁰

Thus, both versions independently preserve distinctive Mongolian vocabulary and language. This rather strongly suggests that they independently drew on a Mongolian version. Yet the wording of the Chinese also shows that Yu Ji certainly

House, 1999), 295.265-68; and the earlier, but incomplete citations under the name "His Honor Yan of Gaotang" (Gaotang Yan gong 高唐閣公) in Su Tianjue 蘇天爵, Yuanchao mingchen shilue 元朝名臣事略 [The brief history of famous officials of the Yuan Dynasty], 3.47-48.

²⁵ See Yu Ji's stele in the original block-printed edition of 1342 and the modern punctuated edition of 2004: Yu Ji (1342), 26.7r-18v; Yu Ji (2004), 871.229-37.

²⁶ YS, 128.3131-35.

²⁷ This name is very uncertain. The Chinese is usually *Yinasi* 亦納思, but *Yinesi* 亦訥思 appears in an early blockprint version: Yu Ji (1342), 26.7v. *Yinasi* would be early Mandarin *I-na-s*, and *Yinesi* would be *I-nu-s*. (A *p*, *t*, *q*, or *gh* could be inserted after the vowels.) Neither version can be easily identified with any known Turkic anthroponym.

²⁸ See Yan Fu 閻復, "Shumi Jurong Wuyi Wang bei 樞密句容武毅王碑," p. 265; and the citations in Su Tianjue 蘇天爵, *Yuanchao mingchen shilue* 元朝名臣事略, 3.47-48, and YS, 128.3131.

²⁹ On the metaphor of the bush protecting the little bird from the falcon, which occurs many times in Mongolian and Persian sources, see György Kara, "The Bush Protects the Little Bird," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* 48, no. 3 (1995), pp. 421-28.

³⁰ See Yu Ji (1342), 26.7v. The modern punctuated text omits the first character *mie* 蔑, see Yu Ji (2004), 58.229.

drew extensively on Yan Fu's version and both accounts are written in an elegant Chinese style that masks most traces of the Mongolian style. Social biographies were usually produced by a trained literatus working with the family of the deceased, using both written and oral records preserved among the family and the government. Thus, it is impossible to exclude the possibility that one or both of the Mongolian elements may be taken from oral versions supplied by the family. The biography of the Guo family (*YS*, 149.3520-26),³¹ for example, is a text in which much of the information concerns Mongol and Middle Eastern information, but which was evidently composed purely in Chinese on the basis of oral information. But as we can see in the Guo house biography, this oral transmission seems to have led to many confusions; by contrast, the clarity and consistency of the details about the *Ölberli* Qïpčaq house as found in the two Tutġaq biographies make it more likely they were working from a written source, presumably in Mongolian.

Other, shorter, biographies summarized in the *Yuan shi* were probably also translated from Mongolian. In one case, that of Hangqos, his son Aqtači, and more distant descendants down to Oros (*fl*. 1311-1335) we have the same situation as with Sübe'edei: two biographies of the same person, obscured by the different Chinese transcription adopted for the father's name: *Hanghusi* 杭忽思 vs. *Anghesi* 昂和思.³² Both biographies are quite brief, but there is no reason not to follow the obvious deduction that like Sübe'edei's biographies they are based on versions translated into Chinese from Mongolian at different times or contexts in the family history. The other biographies of Asut or Ossetians summarized in the *Yuan shi* were probably also translated from Mongolian. They supply fascinating glimpses of how indigenous people in the Caucasus were levied into the Mongol armies, forced to participate in the conquest of their own cities as vanguard or *ba'atur* soldiers,³³ and then rose to fortune in the princely *keśikten* of Möngke.

³¹ On the Guo house and its most famous member Guo Kan, see Florence Hodous, "Guo Kan: Military Exchanges between China and the Middle East," in *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals*, ed. Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), pp. 27–43.

³² YS, 132.3205-06 and 135.3280-81, translated in Agustí Alemany, Sources on the Alans: A Critical Compilation (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 409–12, 417–18. Alemany recognized them as 'probably' identical, but that identity is beyond a doubt. The Uyghur-Mongolian original of their name may be reliably reconstructed from the Chinese as AANKKOS. The variation in reading comes from different resolution of two possible ambiguities: unwritten initial *h*- absent or present, and round vowel disambiguated as -o- or -u-.

³³ On ba'atur 'hero' as a technical term for soldiers on political probation forced to demonstrate their loyalty by fighting in the front ranks against their previous friends and allies, see Christopher P. Atwood, "Some Early Inner Asian Terms Related to the Imperial Family and the Comitatus," Central Asiatic Journal 56 (2012), pp. 53–57, drawing on Rashīd al-Dīn, The Successors of Genghis Khan, p. 53, and the report of the Chinese diplomat Peng Daya translated in Atwood, The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources, pp. 113–14.

- 1. 1. Ba'atur, who was captured with his brothers and fought in the levy against Magas, down to his great-great-grandson Yi-len-di, fl. c. 1330.³⁴
- 2. 2. Arslan, captured "in his city" (probably Magas), and his family, down to his great-grandson Qutuq-Temür who died in Zhida 4 or 1311.³⁵
- 3. 3. Nekula and his son Aqtači.³⁶
- 4. 4. U'aš (Uġaš), his father Ile Ba'atur, and his descendants down to his grandson Baiju.³⁷
- 5. 5. Śira Ba'atur, his father Yol-Damu and son Noqaičar (fl. 1309-1325).³⁸
- 6. Keürgi, his father Fu-diy-lai-či, and descendants down to his grandson Fu-diy-lai-či (fl. 1328).³⁹

Although these materials are usually seen as "Chinese sources," having survived only in Chinese language,⁴⁰ their perspective and institutional background, and phrasing is mostly Mongolian. This is demonstrated by the mostly Mongolian personal names that their protagonists acquired. The relatively large number of such Asut biographies together with the tendency of most to carry the story down to *c*. 1330 but not further suggests the possibility that they all derive from a single pulse of writing, aiming to document the famous Asut guard, of which they were members.

Authentic Chronicles

Another genre of historical literature actively pursued under Qubilai Qa'an was that of "Authentic Chronicles." This genre developed under the Tang dynasty, as *shilu* 實錄 in Chinese, often translated by Sinologists rather stiltedly as "Veritable Records."⁴¹ As Thomas Allsen pointed out, this genre was known in its Mongolian form to the Persian historian Rašīdu'd-Dīn as "a reign-by-reign authentic chronicle"

- 36 YS, 123.3037; translated in Alemany, pp. 407–8.
- 37 YS, 132.3208-10; translated in Alemany, pp. 412–14.
- 38 *YS*, 135.3284; translated in Alemany, pp. 418–20.

³⁴ YS, 132.3212-13; translated in Alemany, *Sources on the Alans: A Critical Compilation*, pp. 415–16.

³⁵ *YS*, 123.3038; translated in Alemany, pp. 407–8.

³⁹ *YS*, 135.3277-78; translated in Alemany, pp. 416–17.

⁴⁰ See, for example, their placement in Alemany, p. 396.

⁴¹ On the origin and early history of this genre, see Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang*, pp. 119–59. For the complete translation of an early "Veritable Record", see Bernard S. Solomon, trans., *The Veritable Record of the T'ang Emperor Shun-Tsung (February 28, 805-August 31, 805): Han Yü's Shun-Tsung Shi Lu* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955).

(*'ahd ba-'ahd ta'rī*b-*i ṣaḥi*b).⁴² The Mongolian name was probably *Maġat tobčiyan*, although so far no translation of this term is attested in Middle Mongolian.⁴³ As the name indicates, they were composed reign by reign. Although biographical writing had begun before Qubilai's reign, there is no evidence for Mongolian-sponsored "Authentic Chronicles" before his reign, although there were some chronological campaign histories.

About the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan," we are rather well informed, as we have three different witnesses to the original text: 1) a Persian translation made from the Mongolian which is preserved as the base text for Rašīdu'd-Dīn's *History of Činggiz Qan*;⁴⁴ 2) a Chinese version included around 1319 in a multi-reign chron-icle, called the *Campaigns of Činggis Qan* or *Shengwu qinzheng lu*;⁴⁵ and 3) a much edited version turned into the first chapter of the "Basic Annals" in the *Yuanshi* in 1370.⁴⁶ For the "Authentic Chronicle of Öködei Qa'an," we have the second and third witnesses, while for those of Tolui, Güyük, and Möngke Qa'an we have only the "Basic Annals." This is very unfortunate, because it is the later reigns which tell us the most about the Great Western Expeditions.

⁴² See Thomas T. Allsen, Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 100.; and the passage in Cf. Rashīd ad-Dīn, Dzhāmi' at-tavārīkh, ed. Aleksandr A. Romaskevich, Lev A. Khetagurov, and Abdul-Kerim A. Ali-Zade, vol. 1, part 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), p. 67; Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols. Parts 1-3, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 45 (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998), p. 18. Khetagurov and Thackston translate it generically as "from age to age the authentic history."

⁴³ During the Qing dynasty (1636-1912), *shilu* 實錄 was translated into Mongolian as *maġat qauli*. However, the use of *qauli* was influenced by the Manchu and would not have been used in Middle Mongolia. *Tobčiyan* was the general Middle Mongolian term for all sorts of history and *maġat* is the usual Mongolian equivalent of *shi* 實 "real; authentic." See s.v. *maqat*, in Kuribayashi Hitoshi 栗林均, "Genchō Hishi" Mongorugo Kanji Onyaku, Bōyaku Kango Taishō Goi 「元朝秘史」モンゴル語漢字音訳·傍訳漢語対照語彙 [The "Secret History of the Mongols": Mongolian Kanji Transliteration and Parallel Chinese Translation] (Sendai: Tohoku University, 2009), p. 285.

⁴⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Muḥammad Rawshan and Muṣṭafā Mūsavī (Tehran: Alborz, 1994), pp. 309–537, in discontinuous blocks. For an English translation, see Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, 1:152-2:261, in discontinuous blocks; for a Russian translation, see Rashid-ad-Din, Sbornik letopiseĭ, trans. O. I. Smirnova, vol. I, pt 2 (Moscow – Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1952), pp. 74–230, in discontinuous blocks. For the Persian text, see Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, edited by Muḥammad Rawshan and Muṣṭafā Mūsavī (Tehran: Alborz, 1994), pp. 309-531, in discontinuous blocks.

⁴⁵ See Jia Jingyan 賈敬顏 and Chen Xiaowei 陳曉偉, Shengwu qinzheng lu (xin jiaoben) 聖武親 征録 (新校本) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2020).

⁴⁶ See YS, 1.3-25. For an English translation, see Christopher P. Atwood, "History of the Yuan, Chapter 1," *Mongolian Studies* 39 (2018 2017): pp. 9–34.

What we learn particularly from reconstructing the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan" is that it was composed in a bilingual fashion. Relevant sources in Mongolian were assembled and then translated from Mongolian into Chinese with the two versions being merged in an interlinear format. Then these interlinear Mongolian-Chinese texts were cut and pasted, more or less literally, to form a new text which could then be read either in Mongolian or in Chinese. Thus, Rašī-du'd-Dīn translated the Mongolian of the bilingual Mongolian-Chinese edition into Persian, while the later versions in East Asia were based on the Chinese of the bilingual Mongolian-Chinese edition. The later "Authentic Chronicles," from Öködei to Möngke, were probably composed in a simpler fashion, with a Mongolian original being written out in full and then a Chinese translation being made.

The earlier expeditions of 1217-1219 and 1220-1223 correspond to the reign of Činggis Qan. Both are mentioned but with very relatively little detail. The first passage as reconstructed from the witnesses may be translated as follows:

In the Cow Year [1217], Činggis Qan send the great general Sübe'edei Ba'atur with carts having iron-shod wheels⁴⁷ to wage war on the Merkit and to combine forces with Toqučar who had previously been sent to wage war in the west as a vanguard with 2,000 cavalry. Upon reaching Čem River, they met the Merkit's chief Ġodu, gave battle, and completely destroyed them before returning.⁴⁸

And later, under the Horse Year or 1222, which is in fact an error for the Snake Year or 1221, we read:

At the time, the Sultan of the Sarta'ul, Ĵalaldin, fled. Ĵebe was thus ordered to pursue him as vanguard, and Sübe'edei Ba'atur was also sent as his reserve. Toqučar was also sent to bring up their rear. Ĵebe reached the cities of Melik Qa'an and passed by without molesting them. Sübe'edei Ba'atur did the same. When Toqučar

^{47 &#}x27;iron-shod wheels': *tiěguǒ chēlún* 鐵裹車輪. Rašīdu'd-Dīn expands this: "He ordered many carts to be made for the army and reinforced with iron spikes so that they would not break down on the rocks." These carts are mentioned in *Secret History of the Mongols*, §§199 and 236 as a classic attribute of Sübe'edei. There Sübe'edei is called *temür telege-tü* a phrase glossed in the interlinear translation as 鐵車子有的 "having an iron cart" and translated in the running translation as—個鐵車 'one iron cart'. The *Secret History of the Mongols* mistakenly placed this episode under the earlier Cow Year in 1205.

⁴⁸ Translation based on: Jia and Chen, *Shengwu qinzheng lu*, p. 268; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, pp. 456–57; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh*, A Compendium of Chronicles, pp. 226–27; Rashid-ad-Din, Sbornik letopiseĭ, I, pt 2:177–78.

arrived, he gave battle in his frontier cities. Melik Qa'an was afraid and fled, abandoning the cities.⁴⁹

This expedition then turned into the first foray into the western steppe in 1223, but that fact is not mentioned in the "Authentic Chronicle" passage.

Even more disappointing is the "Authentic Chronicle" of Öködei's reign, during which the Great Western Expedition happened. In the earlier and more extensive witness of the *Shengwu qinzheng lu*, no mention of the Great Western Campaign is made at all! The *Yuanshi*'s "Basic Annals" of Öködei, drawn from the "Authentic Chronicle," records only the bare bones, recording only how Batu, Güyük, and Möngke were assigned to campaign in the West in 1235, and two telegraphic notices each about the victories of Güyük, and Möngke:

- 1. Under 1235: "[Öködei] sent the prince Batu, the imperial prince Güyük, and the imperial nephew Möngke to campaign in the West."
- 2. Under 1237: "Spring. Möngke campaigned against the Qïpčaq tribe, defeated them, and captured their chieftain Bačman."
- 3. Under 1239: "Winter. Moon XI. Möngke led their forces to besiege the walled city Magas of the Asut, and took it after three months."
- 4. Under 1240, Moon I: "The imperial prince Güyük, having conquered the tribes in the West which had not yet submitted, sent messengers with a report of his victories."
- 5. Under 1240, Winter, Moon XII: "By imperial edict, Güyük was to withdraw his forces."⁵⁰

In fact, given their complete absence in the other witness, the passages specifically about Güyük and Möngke were probably taken from the earlier, pre-coronation, sections of their own "Authentic Chronicles" and added in to the "Basic Annals" of the *Yuanshi* in 1370. Of the two events in Güyük's victories in Öködei's "Basic Annals," one, the Asut victory passage, is also found in Güyük's own "Basic Annals": "

[Güyük] also followed the prince Batu campaigning to the west; he camped in the Asut territory and launched a siege of a mountain fortress with a wooden palisade, giving battle with more than thirty men; both [Güyük] and [Möngke] were there.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Translation based on: Jia and Chen, Shengwu qinzheng lu, 294; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' altawārīkh, p. 577; Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, 1:291; Rashid-ad-Din, Sbornik letopiseĭ, I, pt 2:257; YS, 1.22; Atwood, "History of the Yuan, Chapter 1," p. 31. The Rašīdu'd-Dīn parallel here comes from the "Short Chronology of Činggiz Khān by the Years of His Life" and is hence very brief.

⁵⁰ See YS, 2.34, 35, 36, 36, and 37.

⁵¹ See YS, 2.38. In this passage, following Chinese imperial etiquette Güyük is referred to throughout simply as 'the emperor' (even though he was not enthroned yet) and Möngke is

This mountain fortress with a wooden palisade appears to be a reference to the Asut or Ossetian fortress of Magas in the Caucasus. It appears also in Öködei's "Basic Annals," with different details; the account here seems to have been also quite abbreviated.

The pre-coronation sections of Möngke's own annals mention his famous 'parting of the waters' (the Volga this time, not the Red Sea) to capture the Qïpčaq chief Bačman and his subsequent valor in the siege of Irezan (Ryazan'):

Following the campaigns and conquest, he repeatedly displayed uncanny achievements.

Once when they were attacking the Qïpčaq tribe, its chieftain Bačman ran away to an island in the sea. [Möngke] heard this and urgently pressed his force forward, and when he arrived at the place, suddenly a great wind blew over the sea and pushed back the waters, so that it became shallow enough to be crossed. [Möngke] rejoiced and said, "This is Heaven opening a road for me"; then he advanced and butchered Bačman's followers. Bačman was taken captive, and he was ordered to kneel before the emperor. Bačman said, "I was the sole master of a kingdom, how could I stoop to beg for my life? I am no camel, so why should I live by kneeling to other men?" He was thus ordered to be put in prison. Bačman spoke to his guards, saying, "When I took flight into the sea, how did I differ from a fish? Yet in the end I was captured—it was Heaven. Now the time for the water to swing back has arrived, so the army should return soon." [Möngke] heard this, and then withdrew his forces, and the water was already coming back, so that some in the rear of the army had to make the ford swimming.

Again, when [Möngke] was campaigning against the Orus tribe with the prince Batu, when they came to the walled city of Irezan the emperor personally engaged in hand-to-hand combat and captured the town.⁵²

The reference to the capture of Bačman in Öködei's annals adds nothing to the account here and was presumably just a summary. The "Basic Annals" of Öködei also had a reference to Möngke's conquest of the Asut city of Magas; as will be mentioned below, this battle is something which Persian sources of demonstrably

referred to by his posthumous Chinese temple title *Xianzong* or 'Model Ancestor'. For ease of comprehension, I substituted the proper names.

⁵² YS, 3.43-4. Here, in Möngke's annals, he is referred to throughout as 'the emperor' ($di \stackrel{.}{m}$), even before his coronation. I have replaced 'the emperor' with Möngke's name, to ease comprehension.

Mongol origin pair with the Moses motif as part of the legitimating legend of Möngke's martial exploits. Thus, it too was probably originally part of the prefatory pre-coronation section of Möngke's Mongol Yuan-era bilingual "Authentic Chronicle," but was then removed to Öködei's "Basic Annals" by the Ming dynasty editors to rectify the lack of material on the Western Expedition under Öködei. Thus, the Qubilai-era "Authentic Chronicles" of the early Mongol emperors are most disappointing as material for the Western expeditions. In their original state, probably only those of Güyük and Möngke preserved any information about battles west of the Urals. Yet, the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan" remains important for any discussion of sources, however, because its literal cut and paste method of compilation preserves in other passages important information on the sources.

Persian Sources

Next, I will consider the possible Mongolian material preserved in the Persian sources. Here I will not work backward from the latest materials as I did with the Chinese sources, but forward from those with no Mongolian-based material on these expeditions (Jūzjānī), to those with some (Juvaynī), ending with those with quite a bit (Rašīdu'd-Dīn). In so doing, we can see how Mongolian sources played a key role in enriching what is originally a very bare bones account. At the same time, the step-by-step insertion makes it the suture points between discrete text blocks rather clear.

J'ūzj'ānī and Ibnu'l-At-īr

The account of the historian Jūzjānī, working in the Sultanate of Delhi and writing in Persian around 1260, shows us what accounts of the Western Expeditions might have look like based on Persian sources alone. He mentions all three of the expeditions but very briefly each time. The first one, of 1217-1219, led by Ĵoči and Sübe'edei he mentions only because of the battle with the Ḫwārazm-Šāh that followed.⁵³ Then under 617 H (AD 1220) he mentions how Činggis Qan dispatched

^{53 [}Jūzjānī], Minhāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Ūmar-i-'Uşmān Siraj, Ţabaķāt-i-Nāşirī: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Including Hindustan; from A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam, trans. H. G. Raverty (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, [1881] reprint; 1995), pp. 268–70, 1096–97.

'Yeme' (the Turkic pronunciation of Ĵebe's name) Noyan and Sübe'edei Ba'atur to pursue the fleeing Ḫwārazm-Šāh until he died.⁵⁴ After mentioning the Sultan's death, he writes:

Respecting the movement of both these armies, no further information, such as might be considered certain, reached Ḫurāsān. Some said that, not finding Sultan Muḥammad Ḫwārazm-Šāh, in Māzandarān and Iraq, they fell upon the son of that Sultan, whom they were wont to style Sultan Ruknu'd-Dīn Ğūrī-Šānastī and martyred him and the force of Iraq; and, by way of Azerbayjan, came out in the direction of the Ḫïfčāq Wastes (*Dašt-i Ḫïfčāq*);⁵⁵ but God knows best.⁵⁶

Finally, with regard to the Great Western Expedition, he places this under his account of Batu, saying only that "he subjugated all the tribes of Hïfčāq, Qanqlï, Yemäk, Ölbärī, Rūs, Čerkäs, and Ās,⁵⁷ as far as the Sea of Darkness,⁵⁸ and the whole submitted to his authority."⁵⁹

Of course, other Islamic historians were able to investigate these movements much more thoroughly. As for the expedition of 1220-23, Ibnu'l-Atīr wrote what is to this day the most detailed account of the entire campaign, up to the sack of Sudaq in the Crimea and the Battle with the Russian and Qïpčaq forces at the Kalka River.⁶⁰ But his account of the 'Westward Tatars' is drawn entirely from the view point of the conquered peoples, not the Mongols.

^{54 [}Jūzjānī], pp. 276–78, 987–92.

⁵⁵ That is, of the Qïpčaq. This is the central and western portion of the great Central Eurasian steppe stretching from what is now central Kazakhstan, past the Caspian Sea, across southern Russia and Ukraine, and up to the Carpathian Mountains, and the Danube River.

^{56 [}Jūzjānī], p. 992.

⁵⁷ The Hïfčāq (or Qïpčaq) and Qanqlï were closely related Turkic pastoralists, the Qïpčaq west of the Jayïq (Ural) river, and the Qanqlï to the east of it. The Yemäk and Ölbärī were remnants of an earlier, probably mixed Turco-Mongolic speaking pastoralist dynasty, living along the Jayïq-Jêm (Ural-Emba) river basins and the southern Ural Mountains. Rūs are the Ruthenians, Čerkäs are the Circassians, and Ās are the Alans or Ossetians, Asut in Mongolian.

⁵⁸ Persian *Baḥr-i Zulmat* or the Arctic Ocean, so called from the six months of darkness during the winter.

^{59 [}Jūzjānī], p. 1168-71.

⁶⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil Fi'l-Ta'rīkh, Part 3: The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace,* trans. Donald S. Richards (Aldershot – Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 210–24.

J'uvaynī's account

Writing at around the same time as Jūzjānī, Juvaynī's account is much richer, due in large part to the incorporation of Mongolian-language materials into his history. His account of the 1217-1219 expedition adds a correct understanding of its purpose—to pursue Toqto'a Beki's sons—and adds two place names and an understanding of the battle's course that agrees with Mongolian biographical sources preserved in Chinese translation, that of Sübe'edei and of (Yêrud) Liuge.⁶¹ The account of the course of the battle is also found in Ibnu'l-Atīr,⁶² who used no Mongolian sources, but the battle place names may derive directly or indirectly from Mongolian accounts.

On the 1220-1223 expedition, Juvaynī has two accounts, one from the point of view of the pursuing Mongols under Yeme (Ĵebe) and Sübe'edei and one from the point of view of the fleeing Hwārazm-Šāh.⁶³ Neither account, however, has much trace of Mongolian sources except that he explicit quotes a document bearing the *"al-tamġa* [red seal] in the Uiġur script and a copy of a *yarliğ* of Čingiz Qan" as evidence of the Mongol intentions.⁶⁴ This decree is, however, quite generic, without even the value of a list of names, that Juvaynī derived from another such *yarliğ*.⁶⁵

For the Great Western Expedition, Juvaynī has a list of commanders and targets for the preliminary operations of 1229-1234 and of the final operations of 1236-1243 under his annals of Öködei.⁶⁶ Like Jūzjānī, however, he subsumes his most detailed account under the annals of Batu. The actual content consists of: 1) a list of commanders and targets, much more detailed than Jūzjānī's; 2) an account of the siege of Asut city of Magas centered on Möngke's actions; and 3) an account of the battle of Mohi centered on Batu's actions.⁶⁷ Finally, in Juvaynī's pre-coronation annals of Möngke, he also includes a version of Möngke parting the waters and capturing Bačman.⁶⁸

^{61 &#}x27;Alā' al-Dīn 'Aţā Malik Juvaynī, *The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. John Andrew Boyle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), pp. 370–73. For details on this campaign and references to East Asian sources, see Atwood, "Jochi and the Early Western Campaigns," pp. 45–50.

⁶² Ibn al-Athīr, The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athīr, Pt 3: The Years 589–629, pp. 206–7.

⁶³ Compare Juvaynī, *The History of the World Conqueror*, pp. 142–49, and 375–90., respectively.

⁶⁴ Juvaynī, p. 145.

⁶⁵ Juvaynī, p. 121–22.

⁶⁶ Juvaynī, pp. 190, 199.

⁶⁷ Juvaynī, pp. 268–71; Vladimir Minorsky, "Caucasica III: The Alān Capital *Magas and the Mongol Campaigns," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 14, no. 2 (1952), pp. 222–23.

⁶⁸ Juvaynī, The History of the World Conqueror, pp. 553–54.

For these accounts, Juvaynī was certainly making use of Mongolian sources, probably written. Several things indicate this: First, in describing the city of Magas, he describes its inhabitants "as numerous as ants or locusts, while its environs were entangled with woods and forests such that even a serpent could not penetrate them."⁶⁹ The first metaphor is rather generic, although one can imagine a Mongol more easily than a Muslim being impressed with the density of population of a Caucasus forest town. The second metaphor is, however, directly paralleled in the *Secret History of the Mongols*. When young Temujin is escaping the Merkit in the mountains of Burgan Qaldun, the mountains are described as: "with the clinging sands and tangled woods, the deep forests so tangled a glutted snake could not slither into them."⁷⁰

Secondly, the two terms Keräl and Bašğird which he uses for the kingdom of Hungary and the Bashkir, respectively, are not attested in any previous Persian source, but are found in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, and are clearly Mongolian in origin. Likewise, the use of the diminutive Sïbaqan ('Little Sïban') for the Ĵočid prince Sïban indicates translation from a Mongolian source.

Thirdly, his three new episodes each parallel those known to have been of interest to Mongolian-language compilers of biographies and "Authentic Chronicles." The story of Möngke parting the waters is obviously quite parallel, and the account of the siege of Magas seems compatible with the highly abridged version told of Güyük and the other princes. The battle of Mohi appears in the biography of Sübe'edei; Juvaynī's account, however, highlights the role of Batu and his brother Sïban. All of the three accounts center on Mongolian personalities in ways that reflect a Mongolian point of view.

It is most unlikely, however, that all three of these episodes came from a single source. The account of Möngke parting the waters obviously comes from the court of the newly victorious Qa'an after 1251. The account of the siege of Magas does not single out any one Mongol hero, and hence is hard to place ideologically. By contrast, in Juvaynī's account of the Battle of Mohi, the Ĵočid princes Batu and Sïban are clearly the heroes, unlike in the Güyük-era account of Sübe'edei which glorified the Ba'atur and denigrated Batu's contribution. Juvaynī's Mohi account appears to have been produced in a milieu that was different both from the Sübe'edei biography's Güyük-era criticism of Batu and from the rather sly Möngke-era criticism

⁶⁹ Juvaynī, p. 269.

⁷⁰ Secret History of the Mongols, §102. The Mongolian is "ümbü śibar berke hoi inu catqulang moġay-a śirġu'asu ülü bolqu berke śiġui." Cf. the translation in Igor de Rachewiltz, trans., The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century, Brill's Inner Asian Library, 7/1 and 7/2 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 32.

of the Jočids as a whole.⁷¹ These three accounts may have been oral, but given the borrowings of phrasing and terminology borrowings from Mongolian noted above, a written origin is more plausible.

Rašīdu'd-Dīn's account

Completing his "Ğazanid Chronicle" around 1304,⁷² Rašīdu'd-Dīn moved further on the process of 'Mongolizing' the narrative of the Western expeditions. Although he had no new information on the 1217-1219 campaign of Joči and Sübe'edei, he greatly expanded the narrative on the 1220-1223 hunt for the Hwārazm-Šāh and subsequent reconnaissance around the Caspian Sea. Even so, almost all of the narrative events of this account can be traced to Juvaynī's account of the chase and of the Hwārazm-Šāh's flight, or else to Ibnu'l-Atīr's account of the 'westward Tatars' and their campaign.⁷³

But in addition to concrete events taken from Islamic sources, his narrative of the 1220-1223 expedition also adds two lengthy rhetorical passages that have every sign of having been directly translated from Mongolian. The first is the text of the charge issued by Činggis Qan to Ĵebe Noyan, Sübe'edei Ba'atur, and Toqučar Ba'atur, ordering them to pursue the sultan and then to pass through the Qïpčaq steppe and return to Mongolia.⁷⁴ That this charge is translated from Mongolia is evident from the following features:

- 1. It replaces a much simpler charge in Juvaynī, and hence was not derived from Rašīdu'd-Dīn's Persian or Arabic sources.
- 2. The Mongolian term *gejige* (literally pig-tail, but here meaning backup or reinforcement) is used, in exactly the same way the *Secret History of the*

⁷¹ On this criticism of the Jočids, which reflected Möngke and the Toluid camp's resentment of Jočid autonomy, and was built into the later 'standard narrative' of the Western campaigns, see Atwood, "Jochi and the Early Western Campaigns."

⁷² Kamola 2019a set a new bar for understanding the composition of this work. Kamola, *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jami' al-Tawarikh*.

⁷³ See Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, pp. 249–53, 258–60., and compare to Juvaynī, The History of the World Conqueror, pp. 142– 49, 375–86; Ibn al-Athīr, The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athīr, Pt 3: The Years 589–629, pp. 210–14. There are a few episodes that do not seem to be so traceable, but they are almost certainly cases where our editions of Juvaynī and Ibnu'l-Atīr are incomplete or diverge from those used by Rašīdu'd-Dīn.

⁷⁴ Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, pp. 249–50.

Mongols uses it, in describing how these three commanders are to aid each other.⁷⁵

- The ruler they are chasing is first called simply 'the sultan' which is the usual Mongolian term for the Hwārazmian ruler; Hwārazm-Šāh and the name Muhammad was added by Rašīdu'd-Dīn.
- 4. The phrase "with the strength of the great God" occurs twice, translating the Mongolian "by the power of eternal Heaven."
- 5. A set of phrases describing how the Sultan might escape and how they must chase him strongly recalls similar phrases which Činggis Qan addresses to Sübe'edei in the Secret History: "If he cannot withstand you and takes refuge with some men on a steep mountain, or in a narrow cave, or if he hides himself from the sight of men like a perī,⁷⁶ you must blow into his territory like a strong wind." Compare to the Secret History: "If they have wings and fly up into heaven, then you, Sübe'edei, will you not become a falcon and fly to catch them? If they become marmots and dig with their claws into the earth, will you not become a spade sounding them out and reaching down to strike them? If they become fish and slip into the oceans and seas, then you, Sübe'edei, will you not become a cast net or a dragnet and entangle them?"⁷⁷

Without question, Rašīdu'd-Dīn is quoting, in his usually Persianized paraphrase, a Mongolian document. Could it have been the actual charge issued to the commanders? That is most unlikely. The document predicts a three-year campaign ending with them circling the Caspian Sea and returning via the Qïpčaq Wastes (*Dašt-i Qïpčaq*): such an *ex eventu* prophecy must be retrospective which means Rašīdu'd-Dīn cannot be citing a contemporary document; he must be citing a history. This history was, as we will see, also used by the Secret Historian and by the compilers of the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan."

Following the account of the pursuit of the Sultan and his death, Rašīdu'd-Dīn quotes another piece of rhetorical intra-Mongol communication with no parallel

⁷⁵ Secret History of the Mongols, §257: "He sent Jebe as the vanguard (manglai, lit. 'forehead'). He sent Sübe'edei as Jebe's backup (lit. gejige, lit. 'pig-tail'). He sent Toqučar as Sübe'edei's backup." Cf. Atwood, Secret History of the Mongols, p. 139; Rachewiltz, Secret History of the Mongols, p. 189.

⁷⁶ A type of goddess or female spirit in Iranian mythology.

⁷⁷ Secret History of the Mongols, §199; cf. Atwood, Secret History of the Mongols, p. 93; Rachewiltz, Secret History of the Mongols, p. 127. Ila Chucai, the famous Kitan statesman in Öködei's service, is said to have given a similar reply to a Song ambassador about the Mongols' relentless pursuit: "You are relying only on the Great River, but if the horse hooves of our dynasty need to go up to the heavens, they will go up to the heavens; if under the seas, they will go under the seas." See Atwood, *The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources*, p. 129.

in the Persian sources. Hearing of the Sultan's death and the flight of his son to eastern Afghanistan, they now ask for permission to return to Mongolia via the Qïpčaq Steppe:

When Sultan Jalālu'd-Dīn took flight from Nīšāpūr and headed for Ğaznīn, Ĵebe and Sübe'edei sent a messenger to Činggiz Qan to say, 'Sultan Muḥammad has died and his son Jalālu'd-Dīn has fled in that direction. We are no longer worried about him, and in accordance with your command we will spend a year or two conquering as many lands that lie before us as we can and then return via the Qïpčaq Gates to the rendezvous point commanded in Mongolia, God willing and through Činggiz Qan's fortune.' Thereafter [Činggiz Qan] dispatched envoys for the purpose of taking care of necessary business, and since he had not yet settled down, no fewer than three or four hundred envoys went.⁷⁸

Although the message is somewhat contradictory to the previous, since passing through the Qïpčaq lands is now advanced as a new idea, this passage clearly refers to the previous charge ("in accordance with your command"). Moreover in "God willing and through Činggiz Qan's fortune" we find once again the famous Mongolian formula "By the Power of Eternal Heaven, by the Fortune of the Qan." I thus tentatively associate this second rhetorical passage with the first, seeing both as part of a single history.

In his account of the Great Western Expedition of 1236-1243, as well, Rašīdu'd-Dīn works from the framework established by Juvaynī, but then also adds an additional Mongolian document, this time a narrative chronicle. Rašīdu'd-Dīn's basic editorial disposition of his material on this expedition was to divide it into two parts, with one part under placed in the main narrative of the reign of Öködei and the other placed under the rubric of a narrative about the Qïpčaq princes during Öködei's reign.⁷⁹ From the point of view of sources, however, this division is artificial and he clearly derived the material in both sections from Juvaynī's history and from a Mongolian outline of events.

When we reunite the two artificially divided parts, we see that one of his basic documents was a continuous Mongolian outline, dated year by year to the Twelve Animal Cycle from the Monkey Year (1236) to the Snake Year (1243). This document

⁷⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, p. 258.

⁷⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, The Successors of Genghis Khan, 56–61; Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, pp. 325–28; Minorsky, "Caucasica III: The Alān Capital *Magas and the Mongol Campaigns," pp. 224–27, 227–28, with notes from pp. 228 to 231.

is festooned with several Mongolian names that neither Rašīdu'd-Dīn nor modern scholars have been able to identify, which is a good sign that it was translated with little editing from a newly-accessed source document. Into his translation of that year-by-year outline he inserts two of the accounts from Juvaynī that we have already examined, both ultimately of Mongolian origin but already molded to Persian sensibilities: 1) Möngke capturing Bačman; and 2) Batu and the battle of Mohi. (The account of the siege of Magas he omitted, however.) To those Juvaynī-based materials, he adds a few new touches: to the account of the capture of Bačman he added the name of an Asut chieftain captured at the same time and to the commanders at Mohi he added the name of Boroldai Noyan. He also replaced Juvaynī's Keräl with Bular—incidentally, another sign that Kelär was not easily recognized by Persian audiences.

Finally, since Rašīdu'd-Dīn had moved the "Möngke parts the waters" story from the story of his rise, where Juvaynī had placed it, into the annals of Öködei, this gave him an opportunity to use a different account of that event when telling of the rise of Möngke. For that part of the narrative, he used a new text, one cast as a nomination speech by Batu, narrating the heroic deeds of Möngke and recommending his enthronement at the Alaq-Toġara'u *quriltai* of 1251.⁸⁰ This speech too bristles with names mentioned nowhere else, a good sign that it a citation from a Mongolian original. Moreover, the names do not agree with those cited in the earlier Mongolian-origin outline, but in one case, the name of the Asut leader who resisted Möngke, actually contradicts it. Evidently this speech's text is from a different Mongolian source than the Mongolian outline which Rašīdu'd-Dīn used in the annals of Öködei.

Secret History of the Mongols

Finally, we come to the *Secret History of the Mongols*. Obviously, this is a Mongolian source. But as I have shown in a number of articles, it is not just a Mongolian source of the early Möngke Qa'an period, first drafted in the Mouse Year of 1252,⁸¹

⁸⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, The Successors of Genghis Khan, pp. 201–2; Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, p. 402.

⁸¹ This is the dating proposed in Christopher P. Atwood, "The Date of the 'Secret History of the Mongols' Reconsidered," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 37 (2007), pp. 1–48. Igor de Rachewiltz's rejoinder seems to me to miss the mark. Igor de Rachewiltz, "The Dating of the Secret History of the Mongols: A Re-Interpretation," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* n.s. 22 (2008), pp. 150–84. Most importantly, no proponent of a two-stage composition, whether divided at §247 or at §269, has ever attempted to provide a clear-cut, quantifiable, analysis

it is also an anthology of previous Mongolian sources, albeit used with considerable freedom. In many cases, the Secret Historian seems to be quoting earlier Mongolian sources as part of a stealthy war conducted against the views embedded in those very sources.⁸² Certainly, the Secret Historian's account of the Western Expeditions shares little with any of the other accounts, even though, as I will demonstrate, the historian used some of the same sources. But as elsewhere, the *Secret History* is an example of how creative editing and placement of the texts in the final work can radically change the overall message conveyed by those same source texts in their original context.

The Secret History begins its discussion of the conquest of the Qïpčaq West with a lengthy charge given by Činggis Qan to Sübe'edei to pursue the sons of the Merkit ruler Toqto'a Beki into the Qïpčaq West.⁸³ Many phrases in this charge recall those in the charge quoted by Rašīdu'd-Dīn. Other recall the warning which in the early parts of the biography of Tutġaq Činggis Qan gives to the Ölberli Qïpčaq ruler I-na-s, warning him from sheltering the Merkit. Compared to this lengthy charge, the actual execution is dispatched in a single, albeit complex, sentence—the charge and the narrative are probably not from the same source.⁸⁴ Factually, however, the Secret Historian confused numerous later scholars by guessing that the Cow Year was not the 1217 one, but the 1205 one and by changing the Čem (or Ĵem) River of the sources to the Čui, thus moving the final battle from far western Kazakhstan on the Ĵem or Emba River to the Čui river in southeastern Kazakhstan.

Similarly, the *Secret History* quoted an historical source on the dispatch of Jebe, with Sübe'edei as his *gejige* (literally pig-tail, but here meaning reinforcement), and Toqučar as Sübe'edei's *gejige*. It then follows with a narrative of how Toqučar violated his charge, drove Qan Melik into opposition, and ultimately resulting in Činggis Qan having to pursue him and the young Hwārazmian Sultan Jalālu'd-Dīn down to the banks of the Indus River. For reasons I will discuss below, this passage can be linked to both to the charge and message cited by Rašīdu'd-Dīn in his account of Jebe and Sübe'edei's expedition and to a history of the campaign in Afghanistan and India cited by the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan." But by placing it at the

of differences in language between the 'before' and 'after' sections, or any explanation of how a two stage process of original author and continuator resulted in so many numerous and lengthy verbatim passages on both sides of the putative divide.

⁸² This analysis of the Secret Historian's stance towards earlier sources is developed in Atwood, "How the Secret History of the Mongols Was Written."

⁸³ Secret History of the Mongols, §199; cf. Atwood, Secret History of the Mongols, pp. 93-94; Rachewiltz, Secret History of the Mongols, pp. 126–28.

⁸⁴ Secret History of the Mongols, §236; cf. Atwood, Secret History, p. 120; Rachewiltz, Secret History, pp. 162–63.

beginning of the campaign against Hwārazm, not in the middle, the Secret Historian once again confused a generation of scholars.

Following the conclusion of the Hwārazmian campaign, we find three groups of passages derived from what must ultimately be a single campaign, the Great Western Campaign of 1236-1243. These passages cover the *Secret History of the Mongols*, §§262, 270, and 274.⁸⁵ These passages share a highly distinctive set of attributes:

- a common list of eleven target nations (*ayimaq qarin*), including, strangely enough, Kashmir (Mo. *Kešmir*), two rivers to cross, the Volga (variously written as *Adil*, *Idil*, *Ejil*) and Ural (Mo. *Ĵayaq*), and two or three cities to sack, Magat (a variant of Magas), Man-Kermen, and Kiev (Mo. *Kiwa* or *Keyibe*);
- 2. a conception that Sübe'edei was the leader of this expedition from late in Činggis Qan's reign up through Öködei's;
- 3. a common list of four princes heading off as reinforcements (*gejige*) for Sübe'edei, representing all four branches of the Činggisid family, Batu, Böri, Güyük, and Möngke in that order;
- 4. a placement of this expedition in a list of other expeditions: that of Čormaqan against Baghdad (three times) and those against the Jin, India, or Korea (once each).

Are these passages cited from other sources or are they original to the Secret Historian? The frequent repetition of the same material across the Činggis-Öködei line seems more likely to indicate a citation from a previous source. Yet the whole historical scenario is so idiosyncratic to the Secret Historian that it seems impossible for it to have all been derived from some other document.

Moreover, we encounter a paradox. On the one hand there a consistent, repeated, core in these passages in which Sübe'edei is dispatched across the Volga and Ural rivers against eleven people and three cities are sacked. We also find in two of the three cases a unique, idiosyncratic spelling of Magat for the Asut or Ossetian capital, when all other sources of Mongol origin call it Magas.⁸⁶ But at the same time, the spelling used for the Volga River and for Kiev each time is different:

Cf. Atwood, Secret History, pp. 141-42, 146-47, 150; Rachewiltz, Secret History, pp. 194, 201– 2, 205–6.

⁸⁶ The spelling in a strict transliteration of the Uyghur-Mongolian script was MAKAS. One may assume that the correct reading as a foreign word was as *Magas*, with a back vowel -*a*- and a front -*g*-, as in many Sanskrit loan words into Middle Mongolian. Those unfamiliar with specific name would naturally, however, read it simply as a word of front vowel harmony, thus 'Mekes' or 'Meges', and in fact that is the universal reading. Since Uyghur-Mongolian K stood for both k and g, that ambiguity was unresolved, and both readings are attested. Thus, when transcribed into Chinese characters, we find both *Mekes* (*Mieqiesi* 蔑怯思, in YS 2.36; *Mieqiesi* 滅怯思, in YS, 3011, and *Maiqiesi* 麥怯斯, in YS, 128.3131) and *Meges* (*Maigesi* 麥

- 1. Volga River: Idil in §262, Adil in §270, and Ejil in §274;
- 2. Main Ruthenian City or Cities: Kiwa Menkermen in §262, Menkermen and Keyibe in §270, and Menkermen Kiwa in §274.

Normally, principles of source criticism would hold that these divergences in spelling from the paradigm are likely to be primitive and hence would suggest that the Secret Historian had three different descriptions of this Great Western Expedition, which wee independently cited. However, such a consistent, idiosyncratic, and factually erroneous historical understanding could hardly be found in three different historical sources. How then to explain this puzzle?

The key, I believe, is to be found in the following famous passage in Secret *History of the Mongols*, §§275-77,⁸⁷ describing the guarrel between Batu and rival princes Böri and Güyük. This passage begins with a lengthy citation from a message which Batu had reported to the qa'an Öködei describing the quarrel and asking for the *qa'an's* decision. This message begins with the classic formula of Mongolian official communication ("By the Power of the Eternal Heaven, by the Majesty of the Qa'an-Uncle") and mentions the 'eleven foreign folk' (*garin irgen*). Apart from Magas city (Magat balagasun), spelled as Magat, and the Ruthenian folk (Orusut irgen), however, it does not name them. Moreover, it is striking that while the spelling of some of the other eleven foreign folk's names varies, the spelling of Magat and *Orusut* with their idiosyncratic plurals do not vary in the *Secret History* text. This is would be an odd coincidence, unless Batu's message was actually the only written source the Secret Historian disposed of. I thus hypothesize that the Secret Historian had little information about the western campaign, but did have a copy of Batu's message. The historian then fleshed out the list of eleven foreign peoples, adding nine others, including the erroneous Kashmir. But lacking a written template for those nine names, some of which were hard to pronounce, the spellings and seguences varied somewhat between each iteration. If this scenario is correct, then the list of the eleven foreign folk conquered has no written source, but is rather an expansionistic commentary on the initial formula in Batu's message.

各思, in YS, 132.3212). The Meget of Secret History of the Mongols, §§274-75 and the Meket of §270 is likewise a difference in the transcriber's reading, not in the script. Meget appears to be a back-formation in Mongolian from Meges. As was seen earlier in the biography of Tutgaq, where Merkis is found as an unusual alternative to Merkit, both -s and -t are plurals in Mongolian. Evidently Magas was understood by the Mongols as Mekes "deceits, tricks, ruses"; the rarer -s plural was then replaced with the more common -t plural to become Meget.

⁸⁷ Cf. Atwood, Secret History, pp. 150-52; Rachewiltz, Secret History, pp. 206–9.

Drawing Connections

So what sort of previously unidentified Mongolian language materials do these analytical observations excavate from the body of sources? Let me review the sources I have identified in rough chronological order of the topic they deal with:

- 1. A biography of Sübe'edei, probably written in Mongolian in 1248 and translated into Chinese for the first time in 1264;
- 2. A biography of Ismail, probably written 1262;
- 3. Sübe'edei's campaign against the Merkit and Ölberli Qïpčaq, cited in the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan";
- 4. Another, lengthy charge to Sübe'edei on occasion of his campaign against the Merkit used by the *Secret History of the Mongols*;
- 5. A biography of the Qïpčaq family of Tutgaq, that may have existed by 1297;
- 6. An account of the dispatch of the three commanders to pursue the Sultan, with a charge from Činggis Qan and a message from them to Činggis used by the Secret History, the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan," and Rašīdu'd-Dīn;
- 7. The text of Batu's message reporting his quarrel with Böri and Güyük, together with an expansionistic oral commentary by the Secret Historian;
- An annalistic description of the conquests of the Mongol princes from 1236 to 1243, used by Rašīdu'd-Dīn;
- An account of Güyük's pre-coronation victories in the west, used for his "Authentic Chronicle";
- 10. A set of biographies of Asut (Ossetian) commanders, recounting their histories, beginning with their capture and mobilization before and after the siege of Magas.
- 11. An account of Möngke's pre-coronation victories in the West, used for his "Authentic Chronicle";
- 12. An account glorifying Möngke's pre-coronation conquests used by Juvayni;
- 13. An account glorifying Batu's role at Mohi, used by Juvaynī;
- 14. A speech by Batu glorifying Möngke's conquests and nominating him as Qa'an, used by Rašīdu'd-Dīn.

A large pot pourri, indeed. Can we simplify the picture by connecting any of these sources to each other? Perhaps. It seems likely that behind all the versions of Möngke parting the waters and sacking Magas is a single literary description in Mongolian that was then abbreviated and modified by later authors. Interestingly, Sübe'edei's biography of 1248 knows nothing of this great capture of Bačman by Möngke, attributing it to Sübe'edei instead. Thus, the account of Möngke parting the waters and capturing Bačman was probably written right around his coup in 1251 as a fairly transparent piece of political propaganda.

Other sources may be linked to outside sources in ways that draw them away from the Western conquests theme. Thus, the third source, containing a relatively brief description of Sübe'edei's conquest of the Merkit who fled to Western Kazakhstan is probably part of a narrative that I have called the "Indictment Narrative Continuation." This source follows the fall of the Naiman kingdom and the following disposal of their refugee king Küčülüg and their refugee allies the Merkit. This source appears to have ended with the final conquest of the Merkit, and not followed on to the later conquests in the West.

The sixth source in the list above, the account of the dispatch of three commanders, Ĵebe, Sübe'edei, and Toqučar, can be linked up to several other sources together forming a fairly lengthy narrative. In the charge cited by Rašīdu'd-Dīn Činggis Qan mentions that he will dispatch Tolui against cities in Ḫurāsān, listed by name, and his older sons, Ĵoči, Čaġadai, and Öködei against Urgenč, the capital of Ḫwārazm. In the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan," we have a virtually identical statement of Činggis Qan's plans, in which Nīšāpūr is spelled with in Mongolian as Niša'ur. Elsewhere in the "Authentic Chronicle," however, the city is spelled Niča'ur.

Working off this distinction and others too complex to go into here, I have analyzed the narrative of the conquest of Hwārazm in both the *Secret History of the Mongols* and the "Authentic Chronicle of Činggis Qan" as built by combining two main sources: the C Source (so-called from the C in the transliteration of Uyghur-Mongolian NICABOR) and the S Source (so called from the S in NISABOR). The C Source, a seemingly dry narrative detailing which Mongol prince or commander sacked which city when, was also used by Juvaynī in Uyghur translation as the narrative outline on which he hung his detailed narrative. The S Source is probably also the source of a lengthy secret message from the Hwārazmian commander Qan-Malik found in Rašīdu'd-Dīn complaining to Činggis Qan that he was hoping to go over to his side, but was deterred by the rash attack of Toqučar.⁸⁸ However, the S Source does not appear to have followed Sübe'edei into the Qīpčaq Steppe, but instead followed Qan-Malik into India, where he was finally killed. Thus, it is not very relevant to the expeditions against the Qīpčaqs and Eastern Europe.

Most frustrating is that none of the Mongolian-origin summary descriptions of the battles in the Great Western Expedition seem to really match. Whether Sübe'edei's 1248 biography, the annalistic survey by Rašīdu'd-Dīn from 1236 to 1243, the brief summary in the *Secret History*, or the speech attributed to Batu praising Möngke Qa'an—all of them have a fair number of specific names and events, but

⁸⁸ Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopiseĭ*, I, pt 2:220–21; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, p. 521.

mostly not the same names, and not the same events. How they are interrelated, if at all, and what their original format may have been remains mysterious.

Conclusions

In conclusion I would like to briefly touch on a peculiar feature of the Mongolian sources as described. With a few exceptions they show very little interest in battles. They seem much more interested in rhetoric and in human relations between commanders. Battles are at most listed one by one in order. One of the few exceptions is the biography of Sübe'edei which has, as a result, become a common source for the study of the battle of Mohi. But in this regard, it seems quite exceptional. And even in that case, the main point of the description of the battle seems to be to show how Batu was dependent on Sübe'edei's help—once again, human relationships.

This lack of *military* detail is quite puzzling, since all the other evidence points to a clearly highly precise, professional, and cumulative knowledge base of the Mongolian commanders. One can only conclude that this professional military knowledge was held by a separate body of people who were not part of the Mongolian-language historical conversation. Whether entirely oral, or to some extent written, the knowledge base of the Mongolian commanders was never communicated in real time to historians. Only after death, it seems, was some of this knowledge communicated to biographers, and that very slowly. Historical texts are thus likely to show only a small part of the Mongol conquests, and even if Mongolian sources give something of an 'insider view' that insider view does not seem to have included the specific insiders who planned its conquests.

Bibliography

Alemany, Agustí. Sources on the Alans: A Critical Compilation. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

- Allsen, Thomas T. *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Atwood, Christopher P. "Alexander, Ja'a Gambo and the Origin of the Jamugha Figure in the Secret History of the Mongols." In 内陆欧亚历史文化国际学术研讨 会论文集/ Proceedings of the International Conference on History and Culture of Central Eurasia, edited by Terigün 特力更 and Li Jinxiu 李锦绣, 161–76. Höhhot: Inner Mongolia People's Press, 2015.

- ———. "Chikü Küregen and the Origins of the Xiningzhou Qonggirads." Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 21 (2014), pp. 7–26.
- ———. *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*. New York: Facts on File, 2004.
- ———. "Historiography and Transformation of Ethnic Identity in the Mongol Empire: The Öng'üt Case." *Asian Ethnicity* 15, no. 4 (2014), pp. 514–34.
- ———. "History of the Yuan, Chapter 1." Mongolian Studies 39 (2017–2018), pp. 2–80.
- ———. "Informants and Sources for the Secret History of the Mongols." Mongolian Studies 29 (2007), pp. 27–39.
- ———. "Jochi and the Early Western Campaigns." In *How Mongolia Matters: War, Law, and Society,* edited by Morris Rossabi, 35–56. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- ———. "Pu'a's Boast and Doqolqu's Death: Historiography of a Hidden Scandal in the Mongol Conquest of the Jin." *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 45 (2015), pp. 239–78.
- ———. "Rashīd al-Dīn's Ghazanid History and Its Mongolian Sources." In New Approaches to Ilkhanid History, edited by Timothy May, Dashdondog BayarsaiQan, and Christopher P. Atwood, 53–121. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- ———. *The Secret History of the Mongols*. London: Penguin Books, 2023.
- ———. "Some Early Inner Asian Terms Related to the Imperial Family and the Comitatus." *Central Asiatic Journal* 56 (2012), pp. 49–86.
- ———. "The Date of the 'Secret History of the Mongols' Reconsidered." Journal of Song-Yuan Studies 37 (2007), pp. 1–48.
- ———. "The Indictment of Ong Qa'an: The Earliest Reconstructable Mongolian Source on the Rise of Činggis Qan." *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions* 9 (2017), pp. 272–306.
- ———. The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2021.
- Chan, Hok-lam. *The Fall of the Jurchen Chin: Wang O's Memoir on the Ts'ai-Chou under the Mongol Siege (1233–1234)*. Vol. 66. Münchener Ostasiatische Studien Band. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993.

- Endicott-West, Elizabeth. *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- Hodous, Florence. "Guo Kan: Military Exchanges between China and the Middle East." In Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals, edited by Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti, 27–43. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020.
- Ibn al-Athīr. The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil Fi'l-Ta'rīkh, Part 3: The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace. Translated by Donald S. Richards. Aldershot – Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- Jia Jingyan 賈敬顏 and Chen Xiaowei 陳曉偉. Shengwu qinzheng lu (xin jiaoben) 聖武親征録 (新校本). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2020.
- Juvaynī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik. *The History of the World Conqueror*. Translated by John Andrew Boyle. 2 vols. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958.
- [Jūzjānī], Minhāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Ūmar-i-'Uşmān Siraj. Ṭabaķāt-i-Nāşirī: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Including Hindustan; from A.H. 194 (810 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (1260 A.D.) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam. Translated by H. G. Raverty. Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1881 (Reprint: Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1995).
- Kamola, Stefan. *Making Mongol History: Rashid al-Din and the Jami' al-Tawarikh*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019.
- ———. "Salghurid History in the Jāmi' al-Tawārikh: A Preliminary Exploration of Its Composition and Transmission." In *New Approaches to Ilkhanid History*, edited by Timothy May, Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, and Christopher P. Atwood, 122–44. Leiden: Brill, 2020.
- ———. "Untangling the Chaghadaids: Why We Should and Should Not Trust Rašīd al-Dīn." *Central Asiatic Journal* 62, no. 1 (2019), pp. 69–90.
- Kara, György. "The Bush Protects the Little Bird." Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. 48.3 (1995), pp. 421-28.
- Kim, Hodong. "Qubilai's Commanders (Amīrs): A Mongol Perspective." Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 21 (2014), pp. 147–60.
- Kuribayashi Hitoshi 栗林均. "Genchō Hishi" Mongorugo Kanji Onyaku, Bōyaku Kango Taishō Goi 「元朝秘史」 モンゴル語漢字音訳·傍訳漢語対照語彙 [The "Secret History of the Mongols": Mongolian Kanji Transliteration and Parallel Chinese Translation]. Sendai: Tohoku University, 2009.

- Minorsky, Vladimir. "Caucasica III: The Alān Capital *Magas and the Mongol Campaigns." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14, no. 2 (1952), pp. 221–38.
- Olbricht, Peter. "Die Biographie in China." Saeculum 8 (1957), pp. 224-35.
- Pow, Stephen. "The Last Campaign and Death of Jebe Noyan." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Series 3* 27, no. 1 (2017), pp. 31–51.
- Rachewiltz, Igor de. "The Dating of the Secret History of the Mongols: A Re-Interpretation." *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* n.s. 22 (2008), pp. 150–84.
- Rachewiltz, Igor de, trans. The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century. 2 vols. Brill's Inner Asian Library, 7/1 and 7/2. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Rashīd ad-Dīn. *Dzhāmiʿ at-tavārīkh*. Edited by Aleksandr A. Romaskevich, Lev A. Khetagurov, and Abdul-Kerim A. Ali-Zade. Vol. 1, part 1. Moscow: Nauka, 1965.
- Rashīd al-Dīn. *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*. Edited by Muḥammad Rawshan and Muṣṭafā Mūsavī. 4 vols. Tehran: Alborz, 1994.
- ———. Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols. Parts 1-3. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 45. Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998.
- ———. The Successors of Genghis Khan. Translated by John Andrew Boyle. New York – London: Columbia University Press, 1971.
- Rashid-ad-Din. *Sbornik letopiseĭ [Compendium of chronicles]*. Translated by O. I. Smirnova. Vol. I, pt 2. Moscow Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1952.
- Schneewind, Sarah. "Reduce, Re-Use, Recycle: Imperial Autocracy and Scholar-Official Autonomy in the Background to the Ming History Biography of Early Ming Scholar-Official Fang Keqin (1326-1376)." Oriens Extremus 48 (2009), pp. 103–52.
- Shurany, Vered. "Tuqtuqa and His Descendants: Cross-Regional Mobility and Political Intrigue in the Mongol Yuan Army." In Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals, edited by Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti, 120–40. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020.
- Sima, Guang. The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms (220-265): Chapters 69-78 from the "Tzŭ Chih T'ung Chien" of Ssŭ-Ma Kuang (1019-1086). Edited by Glen W. Baxter. Translated by Achilles Fang. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies 6. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965.

- Solomon, Bernard S., trans. *The Veritable Record of the T'ang Emperor Shun-Tsung* (*February 28, 805-August 31, 805*): *Han Yü's Shun-Tsung Shi Lu*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- Song Lian 宋濂 and Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, eds. Yuanshi 元史. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976. (= YS)
- Su Tianjue 蘇天爵. Yuanchao mingchen shilue 元朝名臣事略 [The brief history of famous officials of the Yuan Dynasty]. Edited by Yao Jing'an 姚景安. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996.
- Twitchett, Denis. *The Writing of Official History under the T'ang*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Wang Yun. "Dayuan guanglu daifu pingzhang zhengshi Wuliang shi xianmiao beiming 大元光祿大夫平章政事烏良氏先廟碑銘." In *Qiujian xiansheng daquan wenji* 秋澗先生大全文集, 50.519a-25b. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1922.
- ———. "Dayuan guanglu daifu pingzhang zhengshi Wuliang shi xianmiao beiming 大元光祿大夫平章政事烏良氏先廟碑銘." In *Wang Yun quanji huijiao* 王惲全 集彙校, edited by Yang Liang 楊亮 and Zhong Yanfei 鐘彥飛, 50.2345-2368.
 Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013.
- West, Martin L. *The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- ———. *The Making of the Odyssey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Yan Fu 閻復. "Shumi Jurong Wuyi Wang bei 樞密句容武毅王碑." In *Quan Yuan wen* 全元文, edited by Li Xiusheng 李修生, 9:295.265-68. Nanjing: Jiangsu Classics Publishing House, 1999.
- Yang Haiying 楊海英. "'Kinsho' kenkyū-e no josetsu 「金書」 研究への序説. :" In Senri Ethnological Reports 7. Suita: National Museum of Ethnology, 1998.
- Yu Ji 虞集. "Jurong Junwang shiji bei 句容君王世績碑." In *Yuan wenlei* 元文類, edited by Su Tianjue 蘇天爵, 26.7r-18v. Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1342. (= Yu Ji (1342))
- ———. "Jurong Junwang shiji bei 句容君王世績碑." In Quan Yuan wen 全元文, edited by Li Xiusheng 李修生, 27:871.229-37. Nanjing: Phoenix Press, 2004. (= Yu Ji (2004)

The Response of the West to the Mongol Invasion (1241–1242)

This study investigates the news, reports, relations, dispatches and letters that reached the West concerning the Mongol invasion of 1241 in Hungary and (partly) Poland. It also seeks to explore how the Christian princes reacted to the increasing number of exhortations to take up arms. I give an overview of which pieces and what kinds of related information were transferred, mainly to Germany, France, and England, and in what ways (through which channels). I explore how the Western courts were notified by personally affected princes, like Otto I, duke of Braunschweig (Brunswick-Lüneburg), and Wenceslaus I, king of Bohemia; and how the news arrived in Paris and London through the wide network of the church, especially the mendicant orders and some individually affected prelates—such as the Archbishop of Magdeburg, Berthold, patriarch of Aquileia. What did the West know of the Tartar devastation in Hungary and Silesia, and when? Who addressed this seriously from the outset, and took defence efforts into their own hands, particularly since Pope Gregory IX had died, and Emperor Frederick II was engaged in warring with his Guelph adversaries in Italy? It will be seen how some pillars of crusading zeal—the duke of Brabant, and Henry Raspe—made sacrifices on the altar of negotium Christi.

In the present work, I do not intend to examine how the country of the Plantagenets, and particularly the monastery of St. Albans, became a kind of a medieval news centre; nor how it was that England collected most of the information about the Mongols through the mediation of the most important Western "correspondent," Matthew Paris. Matthew is not addressed here, but by all means we need to take into account the letters he enclosed in his writings. A major question is how Matthew gathered information about Hungary, Silesia, Austria and which channels he used. The truth is that, in several cases, news from Silesia and the Bohemian and Austrian marches reached England earlier than it did Rome. Nobles in the Rhineland were often much better informed than the court of the Holy Roman Emperor in Italy. It is also of concern why contemporaries appealed for help primarily to the princes of the empire, rather than to Emperor Frederick II, or the Holy See, which was unable to elect a new pontiff. The kingdoms under threat could not wait until Frederick had defeated his sworn enemy in Italy once and for all. Therefore, the spread of information and the flow of communication throughout Europe were crucial to involving everyone in the defence against the Tartars—from Bordeaux and Mainz to Lusatia and Brabant. The reports in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*, and the letters inserted in his *Liber Additamentorum*, have long served as a starting point in historical literature for any investigation of the accounts that reached the West concerning the Mongol invasion.¹ There is still a long-standing, unresolved debate about whether Paris was credible, and the published letters authentic—but the framework of this study does not make it possible to give even a brief overview of the issue here.²

Regarding Matthew's references to Hungary, they have been addressed in the historical literature largely by Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, while László Veszprémy has also addressed them in recent pieces of writing.³ Matthew Paris has always been 'accused' of tampering with the letters, and adjusting details of their content to his own taste. He also embedded fictitious events in his work.⁴ Nonetheless, Matthew Paris was undoubtedly widely informed by trustworthy and genuine channels. He could have had access to contemporary diplomatic correspondence,⁵ and consciously 'collected' news considered 'internationally' relevant.⁶ The *Red Book*

¹ Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora,* ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols., Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores/Rolls Series 57 (London: Longman, 1872). (hereinafter CM).

² See for instance Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, California Studies in the History of Art 21 (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press in collaboration with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1987); Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series 6 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 111, 126.

³ Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, "Sitting on the Fence: Matthew Paris's 'Mongol Letters' at the Intersection of History and Literature," in *IV Ciclo Di Studi Medievali. Atti Del Convegno, 4–5 Giugno 2018, Firenze* (Arcore (MB): Edizioni EBS, 2018), pp. 273–79; See her recent monograph: *Matthew Paris on the Mongol Invasion in Europe*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022. László Veszprémy, "A Tatárjárás: Magyarország ismét bekerül a nyugat-európai világképbe [The Mongol Invasion in Hungary: Hungary's place in the contemporary medieval historiography]," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (2020), pp. 459, 463; László Veszprémy, "Levelek a tatárokról," [Letters on the Mongols] In *A levél mint történeti forrás*. ed. Katalin Mária Kincses (Budapest, Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem – L'Harmattan, 2022) pp. 73–82.

⁴ Karl Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242: Nachrichten und Wiedergabe, Korrespondenz und Historiographie," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 19 (1977), p. 96; CM 4: pp. 131, 298.

⁵ Hans-Eberhard Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in den Chronica majora des Matthaeus Paris*, Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London 9 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), pp. 90–119.

⁶ Björn K. U. Weiler, "Matthew Paris on the Writing of History," Journal of Medieval History 35, no. 3 (2009): 265; Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, "Magyarország-kép a 13. századi Angliában," in Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban [Anglo-Hungarian contacts in the Middle Ages], ed. Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky, and Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, vol. 1 (Gödöllő-Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2008), p. 237.

of the Exchequer, which also comprised copies of the correspondence of Pope Gregory IX and Emperor Frederick II, was most probably available to him.⁷ Thus, a considerable amount of authentic evidence may have landed in his hands—more than any other chronicler could have had access to at the time.⁸ The knowledge he had far surpassed either that of the papal or French courts.⁹ This is why even those of his accounts that have been received with doubt by researchers may be of relevance to us.

The fact that the narrative sources in more immediate geographical proximity— Austria and Bohemia—did not report on the Mongol invasion in such detail does not necessarily imply that the European public were not interested in what was going on in Hungary and Poland.¹⁰ In some courts, it was recognised that the Mongols would play an important part in European politics, and any related information was of high political value. For instance, in Hungarian literature László Veszprémy and Enikő Csukovits have shed light on those authors (such as Hayton/Het'um of Corycus) who came to recognize that the Mongols had to be reckoned with, and that all information regarding them was useful.¹¹ In a similar way, those princes will also be described in depth here who realized the imminence of the peril due to their being personally affected or the territorial proximity of their lands, like the duke of Brabant and the landgrave of Thuringia.

However, in the present investigation I do not intend to cover narrative sources; or only exceptionally if they provide details closely related to the communication of the Mongol threat to Western royal courts. However, occasionally some investigation of the field of narrative evidence is required, since it was not only Matthew Paris who was so well informed. For instance, the chronicler of St. Mary's Abbey in Melrose, Scotland, who was active before 1270, made a note as early as 1238 that the Tartars were planning to invade Christendom.¹² In this area, Judit Csákó

⁷ Hilpert, Kaiser- und Papstbriefe, pp. 53–61, 120–52.

⁸ Felicitas Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen nach Polen und Schlesien: Schreckensmeldungen, Hilferufe und die Reaktionen des Westens," in Wahlstatt 1241: Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz und zu ihren Nachwirkungen, ed. Ulrich Schmilewski (Würzburg: Bergstadtverlag Korn, 1991), pp. 77–86; Papp Reed, "Magyarország-kép a 13. századi Angliában," p. 248.

⁹ J. J. Saunders, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols," in *Essays of Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 131.

¹⁰ Enikő Csukovits, Magyarországról és a magyarokról: Nyugat-Európa magyar-képe a középkorban [On Hungary and Hungarians: The view of Hungary in Western Europe in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015), pp. 105–6.

¹¹ Veszprémy, "A Tatárjárás," pp. 465–68; Csukovits, Magyarországról és a magyarokról, p. 46.

¹² Joseph Stevenson, ed., Chronica de Mailros, e codice unico in Bibliotheca Cottoniana servato, nunc iterum in lucem edita (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1835), p. 149.

fortunately also undertook a most elaborate analysis of the French chronicles and annals that were of relevance from a Hungarian point of view, including those concerning the Mongol invasion.¹³

Pope and Emperor

It had already been noted as early as in the spring of 1241 in the Papal court that the most significant Christian authority, the Curia be involved in a crusade against the Mongols. The news about the Mongol invasion must have reached Rome by early spring; that is, the events in Poland and Hungary must have been known at the Holy See by mid-April. Before the battle of Legnica and Muhi, Albert von Beheim/Beham, papal legate, archdeacon of Lorsch and Passau, asked the Pope to send aid to the Hungarians, Polish, Germans, and Bohemians to ward off the Mongol threat.¹⁴ A few weeks afterwards, probably having learned of the defeats, the legate warned several Italian prelates and cities of the danger.¹⁵ By June 1241, it was known in Italy that most of Hungary and Poland had been invaded by the Mongols.¹⁶ King Béla IV of Hungary sent a letter on 18 May 1241, by way of an envoy, Stephen, of the kindred of Báncsa, bishop of Vác and former chancellor to the

¹³ Judit Csákó, "Az Árpád-kori Magyarország a francia területen keletkezett elbeszélő kútfők tükrében" [Árpád-age Hungary in view of narrative sources from France] (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Budapest, ELTE, 2015), pp. 103, 137. A broader monograph has just been published: Judit Csákó, Az Árpád-kori Magyarország francia tükörben. [Árpád-age Hungary in a French mirror] Arpadiana. (Budapest: HUN–REN Research Centre for the Humanities, 2023).

^{14 10} April 1241: Böhmer, Johann Friedrich, Julius Ficker and Eduard Winckelmann, eds. Regesta Imperii, V. Jüngere Staufer. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV., Friedrich II., Heinrich (VII.), Conrad IV., Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard 1198-1272. [Regesta Imperii V] 3 vols in 5 parts. Vol. 4. Nachträge und Ergänzungen, ed. Paul Zinsmaier, Paul-Joachim Heinig and Monika Karst. Cologne – Vienna – Weimar: Böhlau, 1983. http://www.regesta-imperii.de/unternehmen/abteilungen/v-juengere-staufer.html. (hereinafter RI), V,2,4: no. 11323; Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242 (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1893), p. 54.

^{15 6} May 1241: Karl Adolf Constantin von Höfler, ed., Albert von Beham und Regesten Pabst Innocenz IV. (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1847), pp. 28–30; RI V,2,4: no. 11330. Dated to May-June 1241 by Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," p. 84 nn. 22, 23.

¹⁶ Bartholomew, a Dominican from Trient/Trento to bishop Egno von Eppan (Egnone di Appiano) of Brixen/Bressanone: Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus, ed. Jean-Louis-Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles (Paris: Plon, 1852-1861) (hereinafter HDFS), V/2: p. 1146; RI V,1,1: no. 3209.

pope.¹⁷ It must have reached the city by mid-June,¹⁸ since the pope mentioned on 14 July that the 'horrible people' of the Tartars had attacked the church.¹⁹ Bishop Stephen gave a detailed report to the pontiff about the devastation,²⁰ and on 16 June Gregory IX entrusted him with preaching a crusade.²¹ The pope also sent a reply to King Béla and promised the same indulgences to those defending the Cross against the new Infidel as those who took a vow to fight in the Holy Land.²²

On his way to Rome, the bishop of Vác asked for help from Frederick II as well.²³ The Emperor had for long months—since September 1240—been busy with besieging Faenza, and the Hungarian envoy most likely met with him there, or, a few days later, in Fano or Spoleto, when the ruler made a detour.²⁴ On 20 June, probably after the latter talks, Emperor Frederick commissioned envoys to the Curia,²⁵ issued

¹⁷ Gergely Kiss, Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig: Báncsa nembeli István (1205 k.–1270) váci püspök, esztergomi érsek, az első magyarországi bíboros életpályája [From Southern Hungary to Italy: The life of István of the Báncsa Kindred, bishop of Vác, Archbishop of Esztergom, first Cardinal from Hungary] (Pécs: Kronosz, 2015), pp. 19–20; Tibor Almási and László Koszta, "Báncsa István bíboros (1205k. – 1270): Életrajzi vázlat" [Cardinal István Báncsa (c. 1205–1270): An outline of biography], Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae, Acta Historica Special Issue (1991), p. 9.

¹⁸ Imre Szentpétery, ed., Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke: Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica, 2 vols. vol. 1:2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1927), (hereinafter RA) no. 706; Augustin Theiner, ed., Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859), (hereinafter Theiner) no. 335; RI V,2,4: no. 11334.

^{19 &}quot;per incursum gentis horride": RI V,2,3: no. 7366; HDFS V/2: p. 1136; Karl Rodenberg, ed., Epistolae saeculi XIIIe regestis pontificum romanorum selectae, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), vol. 1, no. 820 (hereinafter Epp. saec. XIII); Karel Jaromír Erben, ed., Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae (600–1253), vol. 1 (Prague: Typis Gregorianis – Nakladatelství Československé Akademie věd, 1885), (hereinafter RBM 1), no. 1042.

²⁰ Kiss, Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig, p. 22; Almási and Koszta, "Báncsa István bíboros," p. 10.

²¹ August Potthast, ed., Regesta pontificum Romanorum: Inde ab a. post Christum natum MCX-CVIII ad a. MCCCIV, vol. 1 (Berlin: Rudolf Decker, 1874) (hereinafter Potthast), no. 11033; Gergely Kiss, Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig, p. 30; Theiner, 1: no. 338.

Lucien Auvray, Les registres de Grégoire IX, vol. 3 (Paris: Fontemoing, 1908) (hereinafter RGIX), no. 6057; Potthast, no. 11034; Theiner, 1: no. 337; RI V,2,3: no. 7367; Epp. saec. XIII, no. 821. Dated to 17 June: Balázs Nagy, ed., Tatárjárás (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), p. 173.

²³ Frederick to the Roman Senate: Spoleto, 20 June 1241: HDFS V/2: p. 1141; Veszprémy, "A Tatárjárás," p. 460.

²⁴ By early July he had returned to Faenza. RI V 1,1: nos. 3136–3202, 3210–3215, RI V,3: p. xxx; RI V,2,3: no. 7364a; Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii Chronica, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS rer. Germ. 53 (1864), pp. 146–47; HDFS V/2: p. 1150; CM 6: p. 116; Kiss, Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig, p. 23.

²⁵ He let King Henry III know of it in a letter of 3 July 1241: "ad sedem apostolicam nuncios misimus speciale supplicaturos summo pontifici": HDFS V/2: p. 1145.

a letter to the Roman Senate,²⁶ and responded to Béla.²⁷ However, since Báncsa must have been in Rome on 16 June at the earliest, he might have arrived at least a few days earlier at Frederick's court (or rather, siege camp) – that is, it took a particularly long time, perhaps even a week, for the Emperor to react to the news: surprising, given the extreme urgency of the situation. He did not seem to be especially worried about the Mongols; it appears that he was first of all consumed by the fight against his ardent Guelph enemies. Nevertheless, the Emperor could have by that time (late June) already been informed of the Mongol invasion through multiple channels, as news of the menace had reached the Silesian-Moravian border (that is, the marches of Germany itself), by the very beginning of April. This is clearly proven in a letter of Frederick's written to Henry III, king of England on 3 July, notifying him that he had indeed received news from his son, Conrad IV (king of Germany), Wenceslaus (king of Bohemia), the duke of Austria, and Otto II (duke of Bavaria), as well as their envoys.²⁸ However, according to the phraseology of his letters of late June, the ruler must have been truly committed to the struggle against the Mongols. He writes that the 'closest bulwark' is 'in flames' (proximo ardente pariete), as Hungary was now being subjected, and imperial dignity obliged him to protect the Christian religion, thus he and his enemies had to lay down arms and make peace.²⁹

Accordingly, it seemed that the emperor, because of the heathen peril, was heading to Rome to negotiate with the pope, instead of acting in accordance with his former scheme of turning towards his intended victim and starting a siege of Bologna.³⁰ However, as long as no peace was in fact made with Pope Gregory, the emperor could not himself recommend anything to Béla but to join his son Conrad and his forces.³¹

This situation is also pointed out by Paris, yet he reports that, after the king's appeal, the emperor came to Béla's aid, defeated the Mongols with a huge army, and relieved the country of the peril.³² The way the *Annals of Heiligenkreuz* reasons in this regard is even more intriguing: it infers that the emperor did not help King

- 26 HDFS V/2: pp. 1139-43.
- 27 HDFS V/2: pp. 1143-46.

30 HDFS V/2: p. 1146; RI V,1,1: no. 3209.

²⁸ HDFS V/2: p. 1150.

²⁹ RI V,1,1: no. 3211; Georgius Fejér, ed., Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, vol. 4:1 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), pp. 226–27.

³¹ RBM 1: no. 1045.; Johannes Rudolphus Iselius, Petri de Vineis judicis aulici et cancellarii Friderici II. Imp. epistolarum quibus res gestæ ejusdem imperatoris aliaque multa ad historiam ac jurisprudentiam spectantia continentur libri VI. (Basileae: Sumptibus Joh. Christ, 1740), Lib. 1, cap. 29; HDFS V/2: pp. 1139–1143.

³² Under the year 1244: CM 4: p. 298; Peter Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," The Journal of Ecclesiastical History 42, no. 1 (1991), pp. 10–11.

Béla, just because the ruler "contemptuously refused the call to join his banner."³³ In a letter to Henry III written on July 3 in Faenza,—of which the content has only survived in two Austrian manuscripts except those of Matthew Paris'³⁴—Frederick II speaks of the Mongol invasion, and also mentions the visit of the bishop of Vác.³⁵ However, it seems that the St. Albans chronicler must have tampered with the text of this letter on several occasions,³⁶ and several scholars have suggested that Paris's text lacks any credibility whatsoever in this regard.³⁷ It has been assumed that Paris "patched up," in his own way, an "imperial letter" from previous dispatches.³⁸ In any case, the "composer" of the letter must have had accurate knowledge about the battle of Muhi, since he is fully aware that Béla IV relied on the "natural defences" of the plain next to the river Sajó (that is, the floodplain woods), so that the Hungarians were "surrounded from all sides." He was also precisely informed of the field tactics with which the Hungarians were to withstand the massive Mongol charges with their field fortress of carriages.

The author also learnt that the king had been "fleeing to his brother to the Illyrian kingdom"—and, indeed, Béla's brother, Prince Coloman, after he was almost lethally wounded in the clash, headed through Segesd to Slavonia. I find it probable that there might have been an original, 'core' version of the letter in which Frederick II really wished to indicate that specific measures had already been taken, and that Conrad, king of Germany, and other imperial princes had been called on to raise an army against the Mongols. It is probable as well that the emperor was to warn the princes that the Mongols not only threatened Germany, but a "disaster overhung upon the whole of Christendom." As the former had already got close to the marches of Austria, defence must be arranged there, since the Tartars were now planning to intrude into Germany as well, which is the "gate of Christianity" (*velut Christianorum januam*).³⁹ By late spring that year, it might also have been realized that if the Tartars did not cross the Danube, they would rather put pressure on the northern Austrian and Bohemian-Moravian borders and direct their troops further to the west—to Germany, not the Austrian lands south of the Danube.

Several princely courts could have received an imperial letter like the one above, but apart from the latter, only one addressed to the king of France is

³³ Wilhelm Wattenbach, ed., "Continuatio Sancrucensis Secunda: 1234–1266," in *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, MGH SS 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1851), p. 641.

³⁴ CM 4: p. 112–119; RI V 1,1: no. 3216; HDFS V/2: pp. 1148–1154.

³⁵ HDFS V/2: pp. 1148–1154.

³⁶ Hilpert, Kaiser- und Papstbriefe, p. 154; Veszprémy, "A Tatárjárás," p. 463.

³⁷ Papp Reed, "Magyarország-kép a 13. századi Angliában," p. 236; Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 179.

³⁸ Papp Reed, "Magyarország-kép a 13. századi Angliában," p. 248.

³⁹ CM 4: p. 117.

known.⁴⁰ However, its subject is not the Mongol threat, yet it is still full of intrigues against Gregory IX.⁴¹ Moreover, the response of Louis IX, which is only known from Matthew Paris' account, does not at all indicate that the ruler was concerned with the peril against Christendom either.⁴² According to the theatrical setting of the chronicler, when the dowager queen, Blanche of Castile, asked her son whether there was any hope of escaping, the king responded thus: "let us hope that the grace of God may keep us all alive."⁴³ However, we do not know of anything that the king did in defence of Christendom against the Mongols at that time, while he simply could not have avoided the news about a venture against the Mongols being under preparation in the empire, the effects of which must have been felt near the border of France with the empire (Brabant, Pfalz, the Rhineland, and Lorraine).⁴⁴

Gregory IX wrote letters to Benedict, chancellor of Hungary,⁴⁵ and the Dominican priors of Zagreb and Csázma (Čazma, Croatia) on 16 June,⁴⁶ and also expressed his distress about the Tartars to the Hungarian prelates.⁴⁷ The pope called forth the Premonstratensian, Franciscan, and Dominican provincials in Germany to preach the cross, since the Mongols had attacked Bohemia and Germany as well.⁴⁸ Once again, he confirmed the licence of the *commutatio* of crusading vows made to fight the Infidel in the Holy Land.⁴⁹ By the end of June, reports of the devastation in Silesia had arrived in Rome, thus the pope sent word to Thomas, bishop of Wrocław.⁵⁰ Gregory IX wrote another letter to Béla IV on 1 July, in which he let him know that he had commissioned an embassy to the emperor to negotiate peace.⁵¹ He again made an appeal to all Christian princes for aid.⁵²

⁴⁰ Pertz, "Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii chronica," p. 381.

⁴¹ CM 4: p. 119; HDFS V/2: p. 1154; RI V/1,1: no. 3217.

⁴² Louis's reaction may be concluded from Frederick's September 1241 letter: RI V,1,1: no. 3218; HDFS VI: pp. 2–3.

⁴³ CM 4: p. 111–12; Gian Andri Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270): Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen* (Bern; Munich: Francke, 1974), p. 81.

⁴⁴ Dirk Reitz, Die Kreuzzüge Ludwigs IX. von Frankreich 1248/1270 (Münster: LIT, 2005), p. 70.

⁴⁵ RGIX 3: no. 6055; Potthast, no. 1036; Theiner, 1: no. 341.

⁴⁶ Potthast, no. 11032; Theiner, 1: no. 340; RGIX III: no. 6062; RI V,2,4: no. 11377,

⁴⁷ Potthast, no. 11035; Theiner, 1: no. 339.

⁴⁸ Potthast, no. 11038; RGIX 3: nos. 6072; 6073, 6074, 6075; RI V,2,3: no. 7368.

⁴⁹ Epp. saec. XIII, no. 822.; Jackson, "The Crusade," pp. 6–7.

⁵⁰ Potthast, no. 11042. See: Georg Bachfeld, *Die Mongolen in Polen, Schlesien, Böhmen und Mähren: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des grossen Mongolensturmes im Jahre 1241* (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1889).

⁵¹ Potthast, no. 11043; RGIX 3: no. 6094; Theiner, 1: no. 342; *Epp. saec. XIII*, p. 826.; *RI* V,2,3: no. 7372; Kiss, *Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig*, p. 30.

⁵² Theiner, 1: no. 339; Giovanni Soranzo, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari, un secolo di penetrazione occidentale in Asia* (Milan: Società editrice Vita e pensiero, 1930), p. 69.

Emperor Frederick II did not seem overly concerned by the peril in Hungary, even though the imperial chamberlain, Richard of San Germano, also found that the Mongols had indeed been at the "gates of Germany."⁵³ The emperor called to arms the nobility of Swabia and other principalities, but was still being engaged in warring with the Guelphs in Spoleto on 20 June.⁵⁴ In fact, it was the regent government of Germany—Conrad IV was still a minor—that had issued orders weeks before, in May, to summon the levy. It also issued specific commands concerning the forces to be recruited: they were to avoid open field battles, to supply fortified places—with grain, "not beer"—while crossbowmen and paid, heavy shield-bearers were to be raised.⁵⁵

The death of Gregory IX at the end of August 1241 interrupted preparations for the crusade. In August, the emperor once again addressed letters to the king of England and other Christian princes. He was not a little worried about the Mongol menace, but made inquiries about what stand the princes would take in light of the new situation after the death of the pope.⁵⁶ The next pope was only elected on 25 October in the shadow of the imperial army encamped alongside the walls of Rome.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Celestine IV died soon after, on 10 November. Frederick II now dreamed of enthroning his own pontiff. However, the College of Cardinals left in secret to Anagni. The fact that Tartars were still ravaging Hungary might already have been 'forgotten'.

^{53 &}quot;quod iam devicto rege Ungarie essent in foribus Alamannie": Pertz, "Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii chronica," p. 380.

⁵⁴ Encyclica contra Tartaros, 1241. lun. 20 in: Ludwig Weiland, ed., MGH Leges: Sectio IV; Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum: 1198–1272, MGH Const. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), 235.; HDFS V/2: p. 1142; RI V,1,1: no. 3210.

^{55 &}quot;Principes non ineant campestre bellum cum Tartaris, sed terminos suos defendant ne si contingeret eos succumbere [...] Habeant balistarios. [...] Non fiat cervisia, sed frumentum servetur. [...] Non ducantur victualia ad Rhenum, sed tantum ad loca defensionis. [...] Item habens tres marcas in redditibus habeat scutum." *Praecepta bellica*: Weiland, *MGH Leges: Sectio IV*, p. 335.; HDFS V/2: p. 1215, HDFS V/2: pp. 1165–1167; Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," p. 88.

⁵⁶ HDFS V/2: pp. 1165–67; RI V,1,1: no. 3225.

⁵⁷ Frederick's armies had by June captured Spoleto and Terni, then made their way towards Rome, laying waste to the countryside around Fano, Assisi, Rieti, Narni and Tivoli. RI V,1,1: nos. 3215a; 3219a; 3219b; 3222–3222a; 3223; RI V,2,3: no. 7364a; RI V,3,5: pp. xxx. In July 1241 the talks in Rieti failed, and the imperial army marched directly to Rome. RI V,1,1: no. 3221; HDFS V/2: p. 1158.

News from the Low Countries

The news of the Mongol invasion flowed especially rapidly to the Low Countries and the Rhineland. The *Annals of Worms* and *Cologne* both gave accounts of the situation of Poland and Hungary as early as in 1241.⁵⁸ The latter also speak about the many "German and French" casualties at the battle of Muhi, most likely referring to the military orders. The Annals particularly highlight the devastation in Moravia: the Mongols "covered four days' journey in a sole night," entered the territory of the Margravate of Meissen, and "killed a lot of people there." "Numerous Dominican and Minorite friars fled" who were then taking a large part in proclaiming the cross in Germany. The news hitting Cologne "[was] very alarming even in the farther countries, and fear did not only seize upon Gaul but also Burgundy and Hispania."⁵⁹ Significant sums of money were collected in many dioceses, including Worms, to support the crusade.⁶⁰

On 18 May, Béla IV warned the youthful monarch, Conrad, that the Mongols, "once winter has set in," would "push forward upon Germany," and "from there, unimpeded," without any difficulty, would capture all the countries and provinces."⁶¹ The king of course was not naïve and did not think that Frederick would take any significant steps in defence of Hungary while enmeshed in his life-long struggle against Gregory IX.⁶² Therefore, Béla turned directly to Conrad and, through him, to the regent governor, Siegfried von Eppstein III, archbishop of Mainz. Frederick II the Quarrelsome, duke of Austria was also to appeal to the young king.⁶³ Nonetheless, rarely does it appear in historiography that Conrad himself was hardly capable of

⁵⁸ Hermann Cardauns, ed., "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis Coloniensis," in *Historici Germaniae saec. XII.*, vol. 2, MGH SS 22 (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), p. 535; Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed., "Annales Wormatienses 873-1360," in *Annales aevi Suevici*, MGH SS 17 (Hannover: Hahn, 1861), pp. 46–47.

⁵⁹ Cardauns, "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis," 535; Csukovits, Magyarországról és a magyarokról, 106. The news reached the Iberian Peninsula: Antti Ruotsala, Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Sciences, 2001), p. 33.

⁶⁰ Pertz, "Annales Wormatienses," p. 47.

⁶¹ RA I/2: no. 707; Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., Árpád-kori új okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus. 1234–1260, vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1861), no. 71; RI V. 2: no. 11357.

⁶² Until July 1241, the Emperor was not at all interested in anything other than the Guelphs of Faenza. RI V,1,1: nos. 3136–3202, 3210–3215; HDFS V/2: p. 1139.

^{63 12} June 1241: Johann Friedrich Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen gegen Deutschland im Jahr 1241," Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen 4, no. 2 (1839), pp. 114–16.; Veronika Rudolf, "Cseh-magyar-osztrák kapcsolatok II. (Harcias) Frigyes uralkodása alatt (1230-1246)." [Bohemian-Hungarian-Austrian relations under the rule of Duke Frederick the Quarrelsome] Fons 35, no. 1. (2018): pp. 3–47. 34.

providing support since he was only thirteen years old and the *Reichsqubernator* was to oversee the country instead.⁶⁴ Yet neither the prelate of Mainz nor Conrad was indifferent. At the beginning of the year, the imperial heir-to-the-throne was far from the theatre of war in the Silesian-Lusatian marches—he spent March in Hagenau and Speyer, then left for Frankfurt in April—and even the letters issued and measures ordered in his name by the regent did not at all deal with the Mongols.⁶⁵ The first significant steps were only taken by the archbishop of Mainz when he learnt of a Mongol onslaught threatening the actual borders of the empire. He summoned a synod and a *Fürstentag* in Erfurt on 25 April,⁶⁶ and proclaimed a crusade.⁶⁷ Although the mendicant orders were licensed to call every Christian to arms, the influential prelates in the Regency Council—e.g., Wilbrand von Käfernburg, archbishop of Magdeburg—relied only on their own followers in imperial politics, and only a couple of bishops received direct orders to preach the cross in their own dioceses. There was no zealous mobilization in all dioceses as the Mendicants were not permitted to preach Christ's cause in several places—not even in the whole of the Diocese of Mainz, although the bishoprics of Prague and Olmütz/ Olomouc also belonged to this.⁶⁸ However, several prelates were full-heartedly enthusiastic about the mission—like Heinrich von Tanne, bishop of Constance.⁶⁹ The bishop urged the Franciscans to spread the word on 25 May, as the Tartars had already "reached and attacked the borders of the Diocese of Mainz."⁷⁰ This significantly affected the situation in the Rhineland and Swabia.⁷¹

There is no clear evidence whether Conrad IV was there in Erfurt. On his way before 25 April, the bishop of Mainz issued a *Landfrieden* until St. Martin's Day.⁷²

⁶⁴ Bezzola, Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht, pp. 77–81.

⁶⁵ RI V,4: nos. 576, 577.

⁶⁶ HDFS V/2: pp. 1188, 1189–1191, 1208, 1209.

⁶⁷ RI V,2,4: nos. 11326a; 11327; HDFS V/2: p. 1209; Pertz, "Annales Wormatienses," p. 47; Regesta archiepiscoporum Maguntinensium: Regesten zur Geschichte der Mainzer Erzbischöfe von Bonifatius bis Heinrich II. 742? – 1288, ed. Cornelius Will and Johann Friedrich Böhmer (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1886) (hereinafter RA), no. 1667; Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," pp. 2–3.

⁶⁸ RA II: no. 1669.

⁶⁹ HDFS V/2: p. 1209; RI V,1,2: no. 4437.

^{70 &}quot;fines Maguntinas invaserunt": RI V,2,4: nos. 11339, 11340; HDFS V/2: pp. 1213–1214.

⁷¹ Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," p. 16 n. 18; Ludwig Weiland, "Beschreibung einiger Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Giessen: Beilage: Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum Rhenense ab Innocentio III. usque ad annum 1429," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesammtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters* 4 (1879), p. 74.

⁷² Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410* (London; New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 66, 80 n. 69; Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 59–60; HDFS V/2: p. 1211,

He ordered the princes and other secular lords in Germany to arrange for the preaching of the cross in their lands.⁷³ Presumably, the young king did not leave for the eastern territories of the empire and Saxony and stayed in the central and western parts, but nonetheless started to organize the enterprise. A *Hoftag* was summoned to Esslingen (in Württemberg) on 15 May 1241.⁷⁴ Although mobilization and the first assemblies seemed to be centred in the east, Saxony, and Meissen (due to the presence of Conrad in Esslingen), and because of the Hohenstaufs's influence over the western German lands, the nobility became increasingly active and numerous crusaders took up the cross in Pfalz, the Rhineland, and Swabia. Conrad took the cross on 19 May, at Whitsun and inspired several princes to do the same.⁷⁵ He then called for the *exercitus*—that is, he issued orders to set up his camp at Nuremberg on 1 July.⁷⁶

The fact that Archbishop Conrad von Hochstaden, a protagonist of the events of May in the region, also committed himself to the cause of Christ contributed significantly to the mobilization in the Rhineland.⁷⁷ Several counts joined the crusading banner in the Duchy of Swabia.⁷⁸ The Low Countries and Flanders itself were at the centre of the information flow through Cologne and the Palatinate. England had a rather close relationship with the archbishop of Cologne, and Matthew Paris himself also pointed out that Archbishop Conrad had written to Henry III about the Tartar threat.⁷⁹ Conrad IV and his imperial government started to call the imperial army to arms, in fact; and although their departure was postponed until St. James's Day (25 July), it was encouraging that the king took up arms himself even earlier, arriving in Weiden (90 kilometres from Nuremberg and a couple of miles from the Bohemian border) by 16 June.⁸⁰ News spread fast through the northern trade routes from Saxony and Meissen to Paris and London via Flanders.⁸¹ The Dominican

^{73 &}quot;in partibus inferioribus": HDFS V/2: pp. 1214–1215.

Esslingen, May 1241: "Mandatum regis contra Tartaros": Weiland, MGH Leges: Sectio IV, pp. 336, 445.; RI V,1,2: no. 4438.

^{75 &}quot;Gestorum Treverorum Continuatio IV," in Annales aevi Suevici (Supplementa tomorum XVI et XVII) Gesta saec. XII. XIII. (Supplementa tomorum XX-XXIII), ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS 24 (1879), p. 404.

RI V,1,2: no. 4436a; Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," p. 116; HDFS V/2: p. 1215; Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," p. 80.

⁷⁷ Cardauns, "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis," p. 535.

^{78 &}quot;Demandaverunt principes [...] circa Renum manentibus, ut auxilium ferrent rebus christianis, et accensus est ignis Dei in populo": Waitz, "Gestorum Treverorum Continuatio IV," p. 404; Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols," pp. 4–5, 16 n. 20.

⁷⁹ CM 4: p. 111.

⁸⁰ RI V,1,2: nos. 4439; 4439a, 4440; Soranzo, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari*, p. 64.

⁸¹ Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," p. 2. News from Meissen are mentioned by both the Annals of Cologne and the Dominican of Trient: "fines Missinensis attigit": Cardauns, "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis," p. 535; HDFS V/2: p. 1146.

Bartholomew reported in June 1241 that the Mongols were pillaging in the eastern marches of Bohemia and Saxony.⁸² Baidar's troops were pushing ahead to the west in the Oder Valley, reached Meissen, and—according to some claims—Lusatia.⁸³ In many cases, only the river separated them from the empire. Hedwig of Andechs-Meran, mother of Duke Henry the Pious of Silesia-Wrocław, who was killed at the battle of Legnica, retreated to a monastery in Trzebnica, then left for Krosno Odrzański, where it was indeed only the Oder that stood between the Tartars and Lower-Lusatia. Nevertheless, Hedwig of Silesia, later to be canonized, was able to send first-hand information to the Christian princes and the church through her broad dynastic and ecclesiastic relationships—first of all, to her brother Berthold, patriarch of Aquileia, and the ruler of Bohemia, as the saintly duchess had in her company Anne, the widow of Duke Henry, a sister of King Wenceslaus.

Other Mongol troops forged ahead to the north and turned to Łęczyca and Kuyavia after ravaging Sandomierz. Foraying parties also reached the territories of the Teutonic Order at Toruń, and started to plunder in Prussia, which directly affected the Hanseatic cities.⁸⁴ It has been claimed in historiography that Teutonic knights might also have participated in the battle of Legnica,⁸⁵ led by Poppo von Osterna (the would-be *Landmeister* of Prussia), but contemporary research proves that this theory is wrong.⁸⁶ Although Conrad, bishop of Freising, offered an account that the ruler of Bohemia had stood up against the Tartars with 600 Knights of the Order, this claim is not supported by any other evidence.⁸⁷

^{82 &}quot;fines Boemie et Saxonie aggrediuntur." HDFS V/2: pp. 1146–1148; RI V,1,1: no. 3209; Soranzo, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari*, p. 64.

⁸³ Jackson, *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410*, p. 63. However, sources only speak of Meissen, and are not explicit about Lusatia itself.

^{84 &}quot;fines Theutonice attigerunt, potenter intrent Theutoniam deinde declinantes": CM 6: p. 82.

⁸⁵ The news might have spread from Jan Długosz. Jan Długosz, *Ioannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cro-nicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber Septimus et Octavus*, ed. Danuta Turkowska and Krystyna Pieradzka (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), p. 19. See James Chambers, *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe* (New York: Atheneum, 1979), p. 98.

⁸⁶ Jackson, The Mongols and the West, p. 78 n. 43; Tomasz Jasiński, "Zur Frage der Teilnahme des Deutschen Ordens an der Schlacht von Wahlstatt," in Wahlstatt 1241. Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz und zu ihren Nachwirkungen, ed. Ulrich Schmilewski (Würzburg: Bergstadtverlag Korn, 1991), p. 122; Zsolt Hunyadi, "Military-Religious Orders and the Mongols around the Mid-13th Century," in Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and Their Sedentary Neighbours: Papers of the 7th International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe, Nov. 9–12, 2018. Shanghai University, ed. Chen Hao (Szeged: University of Szeged, 2019), p. 115.

^{87 &}quot;cum [...] sexcentis millibus Teutonicorum venerat obvius Tartarorum": Joseph Freyherr von Hormayr-Hortenburg, Die goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau der Burg der Welfen, der Hohenstauffen und der Scheyren, vol. 2: Urkunden; Die große Mongolische Muth; Die Mutter Conradins und seine Mausoleum [...] (Munich: Franz, 1842), no. 10. RI V,2,4: no. 11337.

Another centre of preparations was Saxony, with the Archbishop of Magdeburg as an 'engine' of Christ's effort.⁸⁸ An assembly had been summoned in Merseburg by mid-April, and a Reichstag was held on 22 April,⁸⁹ at which the crusade was proclaimed.⁹⁰ Numerous nobles rallied for the cause in Saxony.⁹¹ Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, had already ordered the crusade and assumed the cross himself.⁹² Serious countermeasures were taken in Saxony. King Wenceslaus of Bohemia travelled to Königstein near Dresden to meet with Albert I of Saxony, imperial marshal. Even in the autumn the Mongol threat was taken seriously in Saxony, as Henry Raspe met with the ruler of Bohemia in Hradec Králové in October. negotiating the joint defence of the area.⁹³ Otto I, duke of Brunswick, and Conrad II von Reifenberg, bishop of Hildesheim, played a significant role. The Welf prince was informed about the Mongols conquering a large part of Hungary relatively early on, from King Wenceslaus.⁹⁴ Duke Otto joined the crusading banner, mainly through the intermediation of the bishop of Hildesheim, and made a vow to call all his forces to arms six weeks before the campaign itself was launched; and that they would stay in arms until Christmas.⁹⁵ Indirect information suggests that the king of Hungary even applied to Otto as well. The duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg did indeed fight the Mongols himself.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ Erroneously identified as Marburg by the editor in CM 6: p. 82 n. 6.

⁸⁹ RI V,2,4: nos. 11339, 11340; HDFS V/2: pp. 1213–1214; Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," p. 4; Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," p. 80; Soranzo, *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari*, p. 68.

⁹⁰ From Erfurt to the bishop of Constance: RA II: no. 1668; Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht*, p. 57.

⁹¹ May: Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed., "Annales breves Wormatienses a. 1165–1295," in Annales aevi Suevici, MGH SS 17 (Hannover: Hahn, 1861), p. 75. This was also recorded by Matthew Paris, in a letter of a Dominican and a Franciscan friar: CM 6: pp. 81–83; RI V,2,4: no. 11336; Georg Waitz, ed., "Sächsische Weltchronik," MGH Dt. Chron. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1877), p. 254.

⁹² Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," p. 5. Nobles in Thuringia took up the cross (in Breitungen, for instance, Ludwig von Frankenstein): Otto Dobenecker, ed., *Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria historiae Thuringiae*, vol. 3 (1228–1266) (Jena: Verein für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 1925), no. 1015.

⁹³ Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," p. 16 n. 65; RBM 1: nos. 1030, 1053; Gustav Kohler, ed., Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae superioris: Sammlung der Urkunden für das Markgrafthum Oberlausitz, vol. 1: Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Begründung des Bundes der Sechsstädte, 1346 (Görlitz: Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1851), no. 38.

⁹⁴ Antonín Boček, ed., Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae: Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte M\u00e4hrens, vol. 3: Ab annis 1241–1267 (Brno: Skarnitzl, 1841), no. 8; RI V,2,4: no. 11314.

⁹⁵ June (?) 1241: RI V,2,4: no. 11351.

⁹⁶ Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," p. 87.

Amongst others, German prelates also took necessary measures. Siboto von Seefeld, bishop of Augsburg, ordered the Franciscans to advocate for the crusade.⁹⁷ Conrad von Tölz und Hohenburg, bishop of Freising, urged the prelate of Constance to pile up supplies and amass food and fodder in Lower Austria in case of an intrusion.⁹⁸ The fervour of the prelates of Augsburg and Freising also shows that Bavaria, situated close to the territories under direct threat, took the danger seriously. Emperor Frederick II regularly received reports from Otto, duke of Bavaria.99 Otto II the Illustrious—also palatine of the Rhine—is known to have defeated a Tartar force—a fact which was 'newsworthy' even in the West, as this information made its way into the Annals of Tewkesbury Abbey.¹⁰⁰ Otto was personally involved, as his estates were located within the territories exposed to the danger. He maintained good relationships with the Hohenstaufs and Conrad: his daughter was engaged to the young ruler. He had trustworthy information at hand relatively early on. On 11 April, from Straubing, not far from the Bohemian border, Otto II wrote to Siboto, bishop of Augsburg, to say that three Mongol armies, attacking from several directions, had defeated the dukes of Krakow and Silesia, plundered their provinces, and reached the border of the Kingdom of Bohemia, where the Přemysl monarch marched out against them on 7 April. If overwhelmed, the whole empire would inevitably fall.¹⁰¹ (However, it is not known whether Wenceslaus did in fact have a serious encounter with the Mongols.)

The Hungarian Dominicans and Franciscans put it this way: "the whole of Germany is preparing to fight and join the crusade; the cities are being fortified."¹⁰² In the Empire several counts and many nobles assumed the cross, even in territories which were not directly threatened. The Grand Master of the Templars in France Ponce d'Aubon, reported that "all the barons of Germany, the king himself, the

^{97 30} June 1241: ÁUO 2: no. 83; RI V,2,4: no. 11354.

^{98 &}quot;contra tartaros [...] victualia hominibus et equis necessaria collocando in Danubio": Hormayr-Hortenburg, *Die goldene Chronik*, vol. 2: *Urkunden*, no. 10. In the edition of the RI: "north of the river": RI V,2,4: no. 11337.

⁹⁹ HDFS V/2: p. 1150.

¹⁰⁰ Henry Richards Luard, ed., "Annales monasterii de Theokesberia: 1066–1263," vol. 1, RS 36 (London: Stationery Office, 1864), p. 118. Also mentioned by Philippe Mouskés: "li dus de Bawiére / II et sa route et sa baniére / Les ot descomfis ausement": Philippe Mouskés, Chronique rimée, ed. Baron F. A. F. T. de Reiffenberg (Brussels: Hayez, 1836), 1: vv. 30960–30965. It is not held as valid by Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen, pp. 135, 147.

¹⁰¹ Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," p. 116; RI V,2,4: no. 11325; ÁUO 2: no. 82; Schlesisches Urkundenbuch, vol. 2: 1231–1250, eds. Heinrich Appelt, Winfried Irgang, and Josef Joachim Menzel (Wien; Köln; Graz: Böhlau, 1977), no. 206; Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," p. 84 n. 20.

¹⁰² CM 6: pp. 81–83; RI V,2,4: no. 11336; Nagy, Tatárjárás, p. 166.

whole of the clergy and every cleric" joined the banner of Christ.¹⁰³ It is mostly wills that testify whether individuals joined the crusade, but it is still difficult to even estimate how many of them accompanied Conrad to the frontier.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, the fact that some illustrious knights assumed the cross—like Albert IV, count of Tyrol, Count Ulrich of Ulten, and Louis, count of Helfenstein—was newsworthy and could have affected the response of the nobility.¹⁰⁵

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the army raised by Conrad between mid-June and September. However, Paris tendentiously speaks as if Hungary had been 'liberated' by the emperor.¹⁰⁶ He writes of "a vast crowd gathering from the entire [of] Germany, the dukes of Austria, Saxony, Bavaria and many prelates."¹⁰⁷ The half-brother of Conrad, Enzio/Enzo, lord of Sardinia, overran the Mongols with an army of 4,000 cavalry and a huge force of infantrymen not far from the Danube, by the river 'Delpheos', which, according to some interpretations, is a river "close to the Dnieper."¹⁰⁸ Yet, Enzio, an imperial vicar, spent the whole year in Italy, and won a naval battle against the Genoese at the time, in May 1241.¹⁰⁹ A new approach suggests that the rather obscure text might refer to a battle between the Mongols and the Latin Empire in Thrace by the river Sredetska, near Develtos ($\Delta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda\tau \acute{\alpha}$, Deultum, today's Debelt, near Burgas) in 1242. Paris might have misunderstood a report and confused the Holy Roman Emperor with the Latin one.¹¹⁰ Or, rather, the information might have been tampered with.

- 103 Georg Waitz, ed., "Continuatio Parisiensis Historiae regum Franciae," in Ex rerum Francogallicarum scriptoribus. Ex historiis auctorum Flandrensium Francogallica lingua scriptis. Supplementum tomi XXIV, MGH SS 26 (Hannover: Hahn, 1882), p. 604; Appelt, Irgang, and Menzel, Schlesisches Urkundenbuch, vol. 2: 1231–1250, no. 219; Gerhard Wolfing, Die Templer, ihr Einsatz an den Grenzen Mitteleuropas gegen die Mongolen 1241/1242 (Gnas: Weishaupt, 2010), pp. 49–51.
- 104 Boček, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, vol. 3, no. 19.
- 105 ÁUO 2: no. 84; RI V,2,4: nos. 11344, 11350, 11352, 11353, 11359.

¹⁰⁶ CM 4: p. 298.

^{107 &}quot;traxit exercitum inaestimabilem et innumerabilem ex tota Alemannia [...] ipso concomitantibus ducibus Austriae, Saxoniae, Baivariae, praelatis [...], cum populari multitudine": CM 4: p. 107.

^{108 &}quot;juxta ripam fluvii Delpheos, non multum a Danubio distantis": CM 4: p. 131; Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen*, p. 142; Papp Reed, "Magyarország-kép a 13. századi Angliában," pp. 238–39; Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," pp. 100–5; Stephen Pow, "Conquest and Withdrawal: The Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Budapest, Central European University, 2020). I thank László Veszprémy here for calling my attention to the text.

¹⁰⁹ RI V,3: p. cxli.

¹¹⁰ Pow, "Conquest and Withdrawal," p. 214. See Stephen Pow, "The Mysterious Delpheos River: Mongol Defeats in Europe during the 1241–1242 Invasion?" (Conference paper: Fourth Medieval Workshop in Rijeka, 30–31 May 2019, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Rijeka, 2019).

In fact, the army of Conrad was assembled in vain, since it scarcely reached the eastern borders. Some of the troops were disbanded by early autumn. Although Conrad IV appears as an active participant in the military resistance, as a matter of fact, the young ruler did not have the authority to take firm command of an imperial army. The days of Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, were numbered as a regent, since he increasingly confronted the emperor, while the two would-be imperial governors, King Wenceslaus of Bohemia, and Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, were ready, and could not wait to take advantage of the opportunity to take over. A new papal party opposition emerged in no time against Emperor Frederick and the army lost its leader, since Conrad had to return to the central and western territories of the kingdom. His whereabouts is not known until September, but by 11 September he was in Schwäbisch Hall, implying that he had left the eastern borders of the empire by late August at the latest.¹¹¹ Most of the remaining forces dispersed, while other troops were held in reserve by the Hohenstaufen league for the oncoming papal-imperial rivalry. The sum raised for the crusade melted away in the custody of the prelates. Only Landolf von Hoheneck, archbishop of Worms, gave refunds.¹¹² The country was on its way to a deepening internal crisis as the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne now took a joint stand against Frederick II.¹¹³ However, Frederick II was fully aware of the fact, even in October, that the threat to Hungary had not ceased to exist; furthermore, the internal strife was urging the Mongols to launch an assault against the empire.¹¹⁴ As friars "R. and I." from Hungary wrote to their fellows, "they have reached the borders of Germany, [...] six Mongol armies gathered [...] to intrude into Germany with a mighty force."115

The Hungarian situation became more and more acute: the king was forced to flee to the Dalmatian coast. A royal charter was still issued in September by Béla IV,¹¹⁶ but afterwards (until 19 January 1242),¹¹⁷ the Chancery ceased to issue diplomas, and the first time the monarch was heard of was in March, in Trau/Trogir.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ HDFS VI:817–18; Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," p. 5.

¹¹² Pertz, "Annales Wormatienses," p. 47; Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," p. 13.

¹¹³ RI V,2,4: nos. 11367a, 11367a.

¹¹⁴ RI V,1,1: no. 3239; HDFS VI: p. 3.

¹¹⁵ CM 6: p. 82.

^{116 2} September 1241: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény, Diplomatikai levéltár [Hungarian National Archives, Collection of Charters before 1526] (hereinafter DL), 1462, 1486; before 5 September 1241: DL 102 730; 23 September 1241: DL 66 477, 66 509, 66 515; Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1000–1301* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2011), p. 28.

¹¹⁷ RA I/2: nos. 709, 712.

^{118 10} March 1242: RA I/2: no. 713; DL 33 177; 18 March: RA I/2: nos. 715, 716.

He dispatched a second, then a third embassy to the Curia,¹¹⁹ but most probably, in the midst of his flight, he did not have the knowledge that a crusading army was making preparations to fight the Mongols. Even if the crusaders led by Conrad could not be finally relied on, the menace did not just vanish at once along the eastern marches of the empire.

News from Bohemia

During the spring of 1241, it was Wenceslaus I, king of Bohemia in the empire who was personally involved in the struggle against the Mongols and took related steps.¹²⁰ Through his dynastic relationships, he played a key role in the defence of the area. His mother, Constance, was born into the House of Árpád; one of his sisters married Bernhard von Spanheim, duke of Carinthia. Another sister, the widow of the martyr, the duke of Silesia, also had to flee from the Mongols in April. One of Wenceslaus's daughters married Otto III margrave of Brandenburg, and another one was the consort of Henry III, margrave of Meissen. Both latter princes were touched by the threat and became engaged in the defence.¹²¹ It was at the Bohemian court that King Conrad of Germany made inquiries about the military situation. King Béla IV also appealed to Wenceslaus for assistance.¹²²

Not only did the Tartars ravage through Moravia, but they also made inroads into Bohemia on their way from Legnica to Hungary. Moreover, they invaded Moravian and Bohemian territories once again after the battle of Muhi. According to the continuation of the *Annals of Heiligenkreuz*, the Mongols also forayed in Bohemian territories through the Lower Austrian borders.¹²³ Wenceslaus faced continuous threats. In July, Emperor Frederick II was to learn that the Tartars "were brought to a stand, having been attacked by the king" of Bohemia, "who has bravely met it

¹²⁰ Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," pp. 109–12.

¹²¹ Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," pp. 111–13; RI V,2,4: no. 11341; Josef Emler, ed., *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae (1253–1310)*, vol. 2 (Prague: Typis Gregorianis – Nakladatelství Československé Akademie věd, 1882), no. 1031; Hormayr-Hortenburg, *Die goldene Chronik*, vol. 2: *Urkunden*, no. 3; Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," pp. 79, 83 n. 16.

¹²² ÁUO 2: no. 79.

¹²³ Wattenbach, "Continuatio Sancrucensis II. a. 1234–1266, MGH SS 9," p. 641.

[the Tartar army] with all the forces at his command."¹²⁴ However, this is difficult to find proof of. Initially, the king of Bohemia also hoped that an army led by Conrad would be recruited. He also took up the cross himself. As there had been no news from the king of Hungary since early autumn, and Frederick II refused to leave Italy, while the crusaders of Conrad's did not set out until mid-June, it was Wenceslaus who had to undertake the task of the defence of the eastern territories of Germany. His alarms rang out around Europe.¹²⁵ He had already asked for assistance from Otto II, duke of Bavaria, and from Otto of Brunswick.¹²⁶ In April, as he had learnt of the defeat in Legnica, he warned the dukes that the whole of Christianity was in danger.¹²⁷ "Our soldiers have been called to arms on the borders, [...] even our country has been attacked, [...] if we fail, you will have to defend your life in your own countries."¹²⁸

At the end of April, King Wenceslaus reported that the Tartars had devastated Moravia and were still plundering the countryside.¹²⁹ Admittedly, it also turns out from the same letter that he was only one day's journey from the field during the battle of Legnica, but he kept himself away from the fight since his primary goal was to be cautious and preserve his army. In fact, he idly watched events while the Mongols made inroads into the eastern marches of Moravia, since he was afraid that further troops might be launched at his back from Silesia.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, he kept urging that the German crusaders set off immediately. He let Conrad know that since Easter (14 April) he had been fighting in the Polish, Moravian, and Austrian marches, and that he was also planning to march to Hungary against the Tartars. However, in the king's words, "seeing the slaughter in Moravia and Austria" that the enemy was causing through their forays from camps set up along the Danube, he thought that the imperial army should now be waited for, and his own forces were to bide their time: he thus called upon the king of Germany "to march against

130 László Veszprémy, "Újabb szempontok a tatárjárás történetéhez" [New perspectives on the history of the Mongol invasion], *Iskolakultúra* 4, no. 15–16 (1994), pp. 28–35.

¹²⁴ CM 4: pp. 112–19, 115; HDFS V/2: pp. 1148–54, 1151; Matthew Paris, *Matthew Paris's English History, from the year 1235 to 1273*, trans. J. A. Giles, vol. 1 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), (hereinafter EH), p. 343.

¹²⁵ Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," p. 79. See e.g.: Gustav Adolf Stenzel, ed., Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum oder Sammlung schlesischer Geschichtsschreiber, vol. 2 (Breslau: Josef Max & Komp, 1839), p. 462.

¹²⁶ Boček, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, vol. 3, no. 5; Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," p. 87.

¹²⁷ Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," pp. 110–11; RBM 1: nos. 1027, 1028; Hormayr-Hortenburg, Chronik von Hohenschwangau, vol 2: Urkunden, no. 4; RI V,2,4: no. 11328.

¹²⁸ Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," p. 79.

¹²⁹ Stenzel, Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum, 2:462; RBM 1: no. 1028; RI V,2,4: no. 11329.

them rapidly and they should be off to Hungary right away," together with the Bohemian troops.¹³¹ Supposedly, Wenceslaus really wanted to fight, but since the army of Conrad was late and Béla IV was still trying to get away, he did not attempt to attack the Mongols who were at the time ravaging Upper Hungary. Maintaining the Moravian border consumed enough energy already.¹³² Moreover, according to a letter by the bishop of Freising written to his companion in Constance, Wenceslaus desisted from directly and openly clashing with the Tartars "upon the advice of the king of Hungary."¹³³ However, current research does not share this viewpoint, and finds it more likely that he withdrew to protect the northern Bohemian borders.¹³⁴

News from Austria

Austria was also stricken with panic at the prospect that that the Mongol storm could not be stopped. Siboto, bishop of Augsburg, in a letter of 30 June sounded the alert that even Austria was in peril.¹³⁵ According to the *Annals of Worms*, now that they had broken into Austria, no one would be able to stop them.¹³⁶ Frederick II of Austria addressed a letter to Conrad IV on 13 June 1241.¹³⁷ He gave advice regarding the ways of waging war against the Tartars—since he had already crossed swords with the Mongols in Hungary—as well as called for haste in the recruitment of imperial forces. He claimed that the empire was in imminent danger since "Hungary, along the Danube, towards Bohemia was devastated," "pushed into utter decay," and that "vile acts" were being carried out in the marches of Austria. In parallel with the parties pursuing Béla IV up to Hainburg, the armies of Baidar and Orda, moving in from Moravia in late April, destroyed most of the northwest of the

¹³¹ Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," pp. 111–13; RI V,2,4: no. 11341; Boček, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, vol. 3, no. 29; Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," pp. 79, 83 n. 16.

^{132 &}quot;venerat obvius Tartarorum genti ex consilio Regis Hungarie secessit": Hormayr-Hortenburg, Die goldene Chronik, vol. 2: Urkunden, no. 10; Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," p. 116; RI V,2,4: no. 11337.

^{133 &}quot;scilicet quod Rex Boemie qui cum quadraginta millibus armatorum [...] venerat obvius Tartarorum genti ex consilio Regis Hungarie secessit": Hormayr-Hortenburg, *Die goldene Chronik*, vol. 2: *Urkunden*, no. 10; RI V,2,4: no. 11337.

¹³⁴ Tomáš Somer, "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241," *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 2 (2018), p. 239.

¹³⁵ The toponym 'Niunburch' is not Klosterneuburg, but Korneuburg on the left bank of the Danube. Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen*, p. 143.

^{136 &}quot;Et cum jam essent in introitu terre Austrie, nullus illis potuit resistere": Pertz, "Annales Wormatienses," p. 47.

¹³⁷ Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," pp. 114–16; RI V,2,4: no. 11349.

country except for a few castles, but the territories of Austria south of the Danube were not seriously exposed to attacks from April to June. The invaders could not cross the Danube in its Lower Austrian parts. Béla was able to travel to Zagreb through the western Transdanubian territories almost undisturbed. Due to his serious wounds, Prince Coloman could only make his way to Segesd from Pest slowly, but perhaps he was able to see his royal brother at his journeying court either in Zagreb or Csázma sometime in May. Moreover, Duke Frederick, still unimpeded, was able to capture Győr, south of the Danube. It appears that the Mongols were only able to reach the Danube by June, and until then were invading the territories to the north. However, the troops crossing the Austrian border could not have been the main bulk of the Mongol army, even though the duke boasted that they "came to a sudden halt and got frightened seeing how close we were," and "only killed a hundred commoners," while "ours put to death three hundred or even more of them."¹³⁸ He reported to the bishop of Constance that 700 of them were killed.¹³⁹ He assured the prelate that he would keep on with the resistance.¹⁴⁰ Even if we do not know whether this army was the advance guard pursuing Béla, or any other party approaching the northern banks of the Danube—Mongol troops arriving from Moravia in the spring might even have broken into Austrian territories at that early phase—this 'heroic deed' of Frederick's cannot not really be taken seriously since he himself did not find the danger grave at all. It has recently been found that the Austrian sources are remarkably reserved about Frederick's 'valour'.¹⁴¹

Frederick urged that the imperial army be assembled immediately; moreover, he made tangible suggestions regarding composition and armour: "after appropriate preparation" supplies were to be provided for, and crossbowmen (*balistarii*) raised; the emperor was to render primarily the Swabian, Frankian, Bavarian, and Rhineland forces to his side. The rest—Lorraine, Brandenburg, and the prelates'

¹³⁸ Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," p. 114; ÁUO 2: no. 80.

Hormayr-Hortenburg, Die goldene Chronik, vol. 2: Urkunden, no. 2; Böhmer, "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen," p. 116; ÁUO, 2: no. 81; RI V,2,4: no. 11338. Bradács puts the number of Mongols killed at 70, although it is unquestionably clear that 700 are mentioned in the text ("ex ipsis per exercitia nostre milicie septingenti uel amplius ceciderunt"). Gábor Bradács, "A tatárjárás osztrák elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája" [A critique of the Austrian narrative sources on the Mongol invasion], Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 127, no. 4 (2014), p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ The date of 22 June, shared by both Strakosch-Grassmann and Bradács: Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen*, p. 143; Bradács, "A tatárjárás osztrák elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája," p. 9. This is modified to 23 June by Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," p. 356. The Regesta Imperii—even the modern, digital edition—dates it to 23 May: RI V,2,4: no. 11338, accessed on 7 February 2021, <u>http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/1241-05-23 1 0 5 2 4 925 11338</u>.

¹⁴¹ Veszprémy, "A Tatárjárás," p. 463.

forces—should stay in reserve; the whole imperial strength should not engage in action on one front. The Saxons, Meissen, and Thuringia should stand out to protect Bohemia. They needed to unite later on and remain on alert. Letters need to be sent to the rulers of England, France, and 'Hispania' as the Tartars were just two days' journey from Vienna, and ready for subsequent assaults. This situation indeed became probable by June, and more and more likely during the summer.

According to the *Annals of Garste(i)n*, by early October the Tartars had broken in up to Korneuburg, farther to the west of Vienna, and put hundreds of Christians to the sword along the Danube.¹⁴² However, we still do not clearly see how and where the duke in fact clashed with the Mongols. On the other hand, it is not to be questioned that he was wisely able to foresee that the imperial army that had been raised for the defence of the empire could not possibly be solely supplied from Austria itself while marching through the whole duchy. It is nevertheless most probable that no considerable force entered Austria until the Tartars set out to invade the Transdanubian parts of Hungary. In any case, at that time it was not even Austria that was their main concern, but the capture of Esztergom. Duke Frederick most probably faced some skirmishing parties.

Reports to France, England, and the Low Countries

The question arose amongst contemporaries: who can we rely on if the emperor is occupied in his unceasing Italian war, and if there is no pontiff on St. Peter's throne, while internal strife is raging throughout the empire? It is for this reason that contemporaries also invested their hopes in princes and prelates in England and France.

A very early report was sent by a Hungarian bishop to William of Auvergne, magister of the university and bishop of Paris, in 1240.¹⁴³ Many students from the Low Countries and England went to the University, thus news travelled rapidly through this channel. The bishop warned Christendom that Europe would see the Mongol peril 'in five years'. The letter, or an extract thereof, found its way to England as well—even to the Annals of Waverley Abbey.¹⁴⁴ The reason for this may

¹⁴² Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed., "Continuatio Garstensis," in *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, MGH SS 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1851), p. 597.

¹⁴³ CM 6:75–76; CM 5: pp. 655, 661; RI V,2,4: no. 11310; Bezzola, Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht, p. 53.

Henry Richards Luard, ed., "Annales monasterii de Waverleia: A.D. 1–1291," in Annales Monastici, vol. 1, Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores 36 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1864), pp. 324–25; Hansgerd Göckenjan and James Ross Sweeney, eds., Der Mongolensturm: Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250, Ungarns Geschichtsschreiber 3 (Graz – Vienna – Cologne: Styria, 1985), pp. 277–79; Nagy, Tatárjárás, p. 201 n. 2.

be that Bishop William maintained good relations with Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln,¹⁴⁵ with whom Matthew Paris was closely acquainted.¹⁴⁶

Henry II. duke of Brabant, was informed very early on from a letter of Henry Raspe, landgrave of Thuringia, of 10 March.¹⁴⁷ (It has long been held in Hungarian historiography that the letter was written by Hermann, landgrave of Thuringia, which is absolutely out of the question, since Hermann had died by that time, and the real writer was Henry Raspe, the new landgrave.)¹⁴⁸ The landgrave reported that Orda and Baidar had defeated the Polish on March 18 at Chmielnik, stormed Krakow on 28 March, then moved towards Ratibor and Wrocław; that is. news about the assaults could have reached Thuringia by early March. The duke of Brabant and Henry Raspe had a close relationship: Henry II (IV) married Sophia, Raspe's niece and the daughter of St. Elizabeth. (The news could have reached the offspring of the saintly Hungarian princess in the Brabant court even earlier.) Raspe, on the other hand, married a daughter of the duke of Brabant. The couple married just before 10 March 1241, in Creuzburg, the date of the above letter.¹⁴⁹ Certain editions of the Matthew Paris corpus identify the author of the above letter, *Longrathungiae comes*, as "the count of Lorraine."¹⁵⁰ Some modern scholars have also identified him as the "duke of Lorraine,"¹⁵¹ but the MGH edition has for a long while clarified that the Longrathungiae comes is derived from landegravius/ lantgravius Thuringiae, and is its contracted form.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵ Axel Klopprogge, Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert: ein Versuch zur Ideengeschichte des Mittelalters (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 230–31. See Steven P. Marrone, William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste: New Ideas of Truth in the Early Thirteenth Century (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

¹⁴⁶ Hilpert, Kaiser- und Papstbriefe, pp. 174–200.

¹⁴⁷ RI V,2,4: nos. 11315, 11318; CM 4: pp. 109–11.

¹⁴⁸ The author is entitled *palatinus Saxonum*: Raspe was palatine of Saxony from 1231.

^{Hans Martin Schaller, "Heinrich Raspe," in} *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (1969), 8: pp. 334–36, accessed 7 February 2021, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118883690. html#ndbcontent; RI V,1,2: no. 4861; Felix Liebermann, ed., "Ex Mathei Parisiensis operibus: Ex Cronicis Maioribus," in *Ex rerum Anglicarum scriptoribus saec. XIII.*, MGH SS 28 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), p. 206; Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht*, p. 67; Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe*, p. 97.

¹⁵⁰ The English marginalia also give "Lorraine": CM 6: p. 110.

¹⁵¹ Saunders, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols," p. 124.

^{152 &}quot;Ex Mathei Parisiensis operibus," p. 206 nn. g and j; CM 6: p. 76. however, does explain that the title of the author in Raspe Henry's 1242 letter of similar content is to be read as 'langravius'—in the manuscript 'langoñ'. In the text edition, it is unequivocal: 'Langravius Turriginis'. Another regesta of the letter also made clear that 'Longrathungia' refers to 'landgravius Thuringiae'. Otto Dobenecker, ed., *Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria historiae Thuringiae*, vol. 3 (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1925), no. 954. Nonetheless, Karl Rudolf also writes, erroneously, of Henry III, duke of Brabant. Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," p. 99.

Raspe took the threat seriously from the outset, and took part in a clash against Mongols who were invading Moravia.¹⁵³ For this reason, he put it this way: the Mongols "attack the neighbouring borders," the "closest bulwark is set in flames," "a neighbouring country is threatened by destruction."¹⁵⁴ He presumably crossed swords with skirmishers from Silesia, even before Legnica. In Thuringia, processions and fasting were encouraged by Franciscans and Dominicans early in the spring, even before the German prelates issued a proclamation in April 1241 ordering joint prayers and fasting.¹⁵⁵

Raspe wrote another "Tartar" letter to Brabant before 9 April. (Paris dated it to 1242, but according to Dobenecker it should be March and April 1241,¹⁵⁶ while Rudolf dated it to before 9 or 11 April.)¹⁵⁷ The April 1241 dating might be grounded on the fact that Henry Raspe had not yet been informed of the withdrawal of the Cumans from Hungary after 17 March 1241, and was still hoping that they would confront the Mongols.¹⁵⁸ Raspe emphasized that he wanted to seize arms, reach Heaven as a crusader, and "die on the battlefield."¹⁵⁹ He also reported that Poland had been ravaged up to Bohemia, and central parts of Hungary were devastated.¹⁶⁰ The duke of Brabant soon forwarded the requests for aid to the bishop of Paris. Raspe particularly asked for the recruitment of more soldiers, and to have them armed well.¹⁶¹

Yvo/Ivo of Narbonne's 1241 "confession" to Gérard, archbishop of Bordeaux, is also known through and was preserved by Matthew Paris.¹⁶² Research has long

154 CM 4: pp. 110.

- 157 Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," p. 97.
- 158 CM 6: p. 77.
- 159 CM 6: p. 78.
- 160 CM 6: p. 77.
- 161 CM 4: pp. 110–11; Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," p. 80.
- 162 Gérard/Géraud III de Malemort, of the family of the barons of Donzenac. CM 4: pp. 270–77; RI V,2,4: no. 11356; Papp Reed, "Magyarország-kép a 13. századi Angliában," p. 237; Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," pp. 100–3. Veszprémy cites Johannes Gießauf's standpoint, which attributes these events in the summer of 1241 to a Cuman force, since the Mongols themselves had not crossed the Danube by that time. Veszprémy, "A Tatárjárás," p. 463; Johannes Gießauf, "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich und die Mongolengefahr 1241/42," in *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alpen-Adria-Raumes: Festgabe für Othmar Pickl zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Herwig Ebner and Othmar Pickl, Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Geschichte 9 (Graz: Institut für Geschichte, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1997), pp. 173–99, 192–95.

¹⁵³ Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht*, pp. 68–69; Schaller, "Heinrich Raspe," pp. 334–36.

¹⁵⁵ Schmieder, however, dates it between May and August, as she finds that the news of widespread devastation of about half of Hungary that the letter speaks of could not have yet reached Thuringia by that time. Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," p. 85.

¹⁵⁶ Dobenecker, *Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria historiae Thuringiae*, vol. 3, no. 969 n. 1.

doubted its authenticity.¹⁶³ Bezzola finds Yvo to be a "vagabond."¹⁶⁴ However, several scholars in modern German (and Austrian) historiography do not consider this letter to be a forgery of Paris's but rather think that a similar letter could just as possibly have been written in the Lower Austrian region.¹⁶⁵ Bordeaux was the centre of the English rulers' fief, Guyenne, and its clergy maintained close relations with the Westminster court. The archbishop himself, Gérard, also played an important role during Henry III's government.¹⁶⁶ Yvo spent time in Bordeaux as a clergyman in his youth, "a novice of Gérard's 'clerics'." He could have had direct information as he had met the Mongols on the border of Hungary near Vienna and Wiener Neustadt. According to his reports, Wiener Neustadt was under siege by the Tartars.¹⁶⁷ Yvo also emphasises that the Tartars were threatening the west: "they left their country to bring back the sacred bodies of the magi kings, which adorn the city of Cologne."¹⁶⁸ He begs the archbishop to "persuade the kings of France, England, and Spain, [...] by every means [...] to lay aside all their private guarrels, for ever, or at least for a time, and hold wise and speedy counsel among themselves, how they may be able safely to encounter so many thousands of such savages."169In Yvo's account, a whole army gathered to set Austria free, and all the neighbouring princes took up arms: beside Duke Frederick, King Wenceslaus of Bohemia, Bernhard von Spanheim, duke of Carinthia, Berthold of Merania, patriarch of Aquileia, and Hermann VI, margrave of Baden were "drawn up for battle."

However, it is doubtful whether these lords were present in person, since Duke Frederick's correspondence does not speak of any external support, and it seems obvious that he would otherwise have highlighted such illustrious company if the former ones had in fact been there.¹⁷⁰ According to Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, it is difficult to conclude when and where the "united army" stopped the Mongols' advance.¹⁷¹ Such a force—in Paris's words, led by "many princes of the neighbour-

¹⁶³ Veszprémy, "A Tatárjárás," p. 463.

¹⁶⁴ Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht*, pp. 82–86; Jacques Paviot, "England and the Mongols (c. 1260–1330)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10, no. 3 (2000), p. 305.

¹⁶⁵ Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe*, pp. 153–64. But it cannot be authentic, even according to him. Also see Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," pp. 100–3.

¹⁶⁶ Franck Roumy, "Le développement du système de l'avocat commis d'office dans la procédure romano-canonique (XIIe-XIVe siècle)," *The Legal History Review* 71 (2003), p. 367.

¹⁶⁷ The enemy "cruelly laid siege with countless soldiers to the aforesaid fortified town": its identification with Wiener Neustadt had already been questioned by Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen*, p. 145. Interpolations in the text: Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe*, pp. 160–62.

¹⁶⁸ Cologne: Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht*, 34–35; EH 1: p. 472.

¹⁶⁹ CM 4: p. 277; EH 1: p. 473.

¹⁷⁰ Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen, p. 144.

¹⁷¹ Papp Reed, "Magyarország-kép a 13. századi Angliában," p. 237.

ing" lordships—should have left a trace in other sources as well.¹⁷² Furthermore, at the sight of the army of the Christian princes "all the" Mongols "at a moment [...] vanished, all those riders returned into wretched Hungary. As suddenly as they had come, so suddenly did they disappear."¹⁷³ Nonetheless, it is possible that Wence-slaus stationed his army near the border and may have advanced towards Austria. (The presence of the king of Bohemia is also confirmed by the letter of Master Ponce.) It is also possible that the duke of Carinthia answered the call of the prince of Austria, since he found that his estates could likewise be in danger. However, the ruler of Bohemia is known to have preferred the defence of Bohemian territories, and did not even intervene in Moravia while the Mongols were marching through the territory from Silesia to Hungary,¹⁷⁴—or rather, he did not wish to engage in any other significant military clash, having his main army at hand.¹⁷⁵ Wenceslaus moved back to Bohemia proper and Olomouc was to be protected by its citizens.¹⁷⁶

The active participation of the patriarch of Aquileia in the struggle against the Mongol invasions is confirmed by other sources as well;¹⁷⁷ on the other hand, it is unlikely that Berthold would have sent a sizable army beyond the Alps, or that he himself, being more than sixty years old, would have mounted a warhorse and prepared to fight them. It is much more likely that the patriarch himself went to negotiate with Emperor Frederick in February 1242 and to ask for aid "pro facto Tartarorum."¹⁷⁸ The duke of Carinthia, Bernhard von Spanheim was also over sixty, although he may have appeared on the field since he was a champion of jousts and tournaments, and in the mind of the author (Yvo) and, Paris, of course, he presented himself as engaging in such an act of knightly honour-no matter that there is no evidence of this at all. Hermann of Baden was only sixteen and had only married Gertrude of Babenberg (the niece and successor of Frederick) in 1248, so we have no reason to "put him in the context" earlier, thereby pre-dating his close relationship to the Babenbergs to long years before he was actually involved in the matters of the House of Austria. There is no reason whatsoever to mention him here and now: why would this member of the distant Zähringen dynasty take up arms to fight on the eastern borderlands—a youthful teenager far away from his home estates, in a location where the prince of the duchy was alive and hearty, and there was no chance to marry an heiress? Matthew writes about the "margrave

¹⁷² CM 4: p. 273.

¹⁷³ CM 4: p. 273; EH 1: p. 470.

¹⁷⁴ Veszprémy, "Újabb szempontok a tatárjárás történetéhez," p. 34.

¹⁷⁵ Nagy, Tatárjárás, p. 202 n. 23.

¹⁷⁶ Rudolf, "Cseh-magyar-osztrák kapcsolatok", 34.

¹⁷⁷ Waitz, "Continuatio Parisiensis Historiae regum Franciae," p. 604.

¹⁷⁸ Pertz, "Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii chronica," pp. 382–83; Bezzola, *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht*, p. 110; Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols," p. 17 n. 61.

of Baden" although the latter did not even bear the title in 1241, as he was only installed thus after his father died in 1243.¹⁷⁹ This part is supposedly a passage that was inserted later on. Furthermore, Yvo also reports that the *princeps* of Dalmatia "took prisoners eight of the fugitive" Mongols.¹⁸⁰ In Matthew's mind, a whole—fictitious—army of the greatest military leaders in the region at the time of the Tartar invasion might have been gathered together; and in this way Coloman Duke of Slavonia may also have been added to it, even if he finally died of battlefield wounds in May 1241. Otto II (VIII), duke of Merania might also be considered a candidate. The Meranians often addressed themselves as dukes of Dalmatia. Otto was a relative of King Béla, being a nephew of the ruler's mother, Queen Gertrudis, and might have found that his Istrian and Carniolan territories were threatened by the Tartars, who were in fact advancing towards Dalmatia. However, it is highly unlikely that Duke Otto moved under arms towards Vienna.

Monastic and military orders

One of the most important channels of reports was military orders. The letter of Ponce d'Aubon to Louis IX reports on the battle of Legnica and the forthcoming events.¹⁸¹ He points out that whatever the Templars had in Bohemia and Moravia had been destroyed. There were Mongol troops in the empire, since after Hungary "Bohemia was destroyed" and the same fate "waits for Germany." However, it is unlikely that significant Mongol strength remained within the empire during or after the march through Moravia in April. It is more likely that they still threatened the borders themselves. King Wenceslaus also reports that "the Tartars set up their camps by the Danube."¹⁸² Yet it is not plausible that they reached the "confines of the Marches of Treviso" (*ad fines Marchiae Tarvisiae*).¹⁸³ It is also difficult to imagine that after the battles of Legnica and Muhi the Templars "recruited soldiers in Hungary, Poland, Germany and Moravia to rally against the Tartars." It seems realistic, however, that the Templars and the Hospitallers took part in the organisation of the crusader host in German territories. In Hungary, any recruitment is out of question, since the complete strength of the military orders was put to the sword

^{179 &}quot;marchione, ut dicebatur, [...] de Bade": CM 4: p. 273.

^{180 &}quot;Ex ipsis vero fugientibus princeps Dalmaciae cepit octo": CM 4: p. 274.

¹⁸¹ Waitz, "Continuatio Parisiensis Historiae regum Franciae," p. 604; Appelt, Irgang, and Menzel, Schlesisches Urkundenbuch, vol. 2: 1231–1250, no. 219.; RI V,2,4: no. 11355; Wolfing, Die Templer, pp. 49–51; Csákó, "Az Árpád-kori Magyarország," p. 258.

¹⁸² ÁUO 2: no. 79.

¹⁸³ CM 6: p. 79; CD 4/1: p. 236.

at Muhi. The situation is different in Poland, as a Templar army of more than 500 strong that took the field at Legnica were mostly not of the knights brethren, and only a few fell (six of the *fratres* and three knights), and reserves remained.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, it is true that the military orders did not have such an extensive network in Silesia as they did in Southern and Western Europe.

The Templar reports that the rulers of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as the two sons of the duke of Poland—who might be the sons of Henry the Pious, Bolesław II and Mieszko—mobilized a significant number of people, which "no Tartar army attempted to attack." Although Ponce d'Aubon supports the statements of Frederick the Quarrelsome about the Tartars halting at the sight of their forces, one can be reasonably doubtful whether the Mongol troops that led forays along the Austrian-Moravian border did in fact have a scheme to invade the empire. It is also unlikely that even these intruders were forced to retreat by Frederick, the patriarch of Aquileia, or the king of Bohemia. Furthermore, no other source implies that the sons of Henry the Pious would have come to defend Moravia and Austria—in fact, it is more likely that everyone who survived Legnica was working on their own defence. The most reasonable explanation is that the princes escaped with their own family members, including Hedwig, duchess of Silesia, to the border of Lusatia.

What is relevant from our perspective is how the information flowing through the channels of the knightly orders affected the West. It might have been a warning to Louis IX that once the imperial armies "are defeated no one will be found on the way to your country who will be able to resist them." Similarly, the mendicants largely fostered the flow of information. Henry of Thuringia also emphasises in one of his 'Tartar' letters that his information came from a refugee Dominican or Franciscan.¹⁸⁵

A letter of F. [Felix], abbot of the Schottenstift (St. Mary Abbey, Vienna), addressed to the Western clergy in January 1242, most probably reached the West the same year.¹⁸⁶ The 'couriers' were to go to Ireland.¹⁸⁷ Matthew Paris might have also received a copy because the monastery of the 'Scots' was in contact with England. This is the first message to have reached the West that reported that

¹⁸⁴ Most of them were footmen, and were probably peasants. Karl Borchardt, "The Templars in Central Europe," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity; in Memoriam Sir Steven Runciman (1903–2000)*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001), p. 237.

 ¹⁸⁵ Dobenecker, *Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria historiae Thuringiae*, vol. 3, no. 969 n.
 1; CM 6: pp. 76–78.

¹⁸⁶ Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," p. 98; Ruotsala, Europeans and Mongols, p. 33.

¹⁸⁷ CM 6: pp. 78–80.; RI V,2,4: no. 11376; Schmieder, "Der Einfall der Mongolen," p. 80 n. 27.

the Mongols had crossed the frozen Danube and now represented a real threat to Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia.¹⁸⁸

The letter of Jordanus, provincial of the Franciscans in Poland and Bohemia, was also added to Paris's work.¹⁸⁹ Previously, it was assumed in the scholarship that it was written in Pinsk, a town in the Principality of Turov, within the Kievan Rus'. This claim was supported by the place of issue ("Pyngensi").¹⁹⁰ The presence of the Friars Minor in Turov, far away even from the contemporary Polish border, is unlikely. However, instead of "Pyngensi," the term "conventus Pryngensis" appears in the first lines in fact, and the editor found that it should be read as "Prangensis"—that is, Jordanus was to be a friar of Prague. According to another letter by Jordanus copied into a letter sent by a "G.", another Franciscan of Cologne—the place is undoubtably Prague, since the co-author is named "A. custos Prangensis."¹⁹¹ The MGH editors of Matthew Paris were never yet deceived by the claims of Pinsk-the letter was always presumed to have been issued in Prague.¹⁹² According to information reported by the guardian Franciscan of Cologne, the Tartars were on the border of Germany and Bohemia, and the king of Bohemia did march against them with his army. However, what is important is that the Franciscans of Poland tried to send their letter to the duke of Brabant through their companion in Cologne. The duke, apparently, just like Henry of Thuringia, could have been seen by the clergy as a potential leader of the crusade; the Franciscans hoped that the Christian princes could be mobilized through him. The Cologne guardian forwarded the letter to the duke of Brabant indeed.¹⁹³ Even contemporaries found it probable that the duke of Brabant could have been involved in the fight. Balduin, a canon of Ninove, reports that the threat reached not only Germany, but Brabant and Flanders as well.¹⁹⁴

It has formerly been held that Western sources addressed the devastation in Hungary rather laconically, and the mostly brief accounts signify that the West was only slightly interested in a crusade against the Mongols. The information that reached the West has not been valued meaningfully.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, beyond

¹⁸⁸ Saunders, "Matthew Paris and the Mongols," p. 126.

¹⁸⁹ The chronicler puts it under the year 1242, but most probably it was dated 1241 as in Papp Reed, "Magyarország-kép a 13. századi Angliában," p. 238. The April dating is correct, since it says the Mongols intruded to Moravia, and they are not moving any further for the time being. CM 6: pp. 80–81; RI V,2,4: no. 11324.

¹⁹⁰ It cannot simply be Pinsk. Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," p. 99.

¹⁹¹ See Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," p. 18 n. 70.

¹⁹² Liebermann, "Ex Mathei Parisiensis operibus," 209, 210 n. 12.; RI V,2,4: no. 1335.

¹⁹³ Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," p. 99.

^{194 &}quot;cecidit super totam Alemanniam et pervenit usque ad fines Brabantie et Flandrie": Baldwin of Ninove, "Balduini Ninovensis chronicon," in *Gesta saec. XIII.*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 25 (1880), p. 543; Csákó, "Az Árpád-kori Magyarország," pp. 222–23.

¹⁹⁵ Csukovits, Magyarországról és a magyarokról, p. 106.

the narrative evidence, investigation of a larger range of sources indicates that the picture is much more complex. Through the wider flow of information (a broader scope of channels, correspondence, accounts, reports, etc.) it seems that there were princes and ecclesiastics who showed real concern about the threat, and were in fact aware of the scope of the danger that Europe might face. Matthew Paris was not only a unique, unrivalled "diver of news," but did precious service to the anti-Mongol crusading effort. The mendicants, and Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, as well as the landgrave of Thuringia, made all efforts to ensure the wider public knew of the real, oncoming threat.

Bibliography

- Almási, Tibor, and László Koszta. "Báncsa István bíboros (1205k. 1270): Életrajzi vázlat [Cardinal István Báncsa: A biographic outline]." Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae, Acta Historica Special Issue (1991): 9–17.
- Appelt, Heinrich, Winfried Irgang, and Josef Joachim Menzel, eds. Schlesisches Urkundenbuch. Vol. 2: 1231–1250. 6 vols. Schlesisches Urkundenbuch. Vienna
 – Cologne – Graz: Böhlau, 1977.
- Auvray, Lucien. *Les registres de Grégoire IX*. Vol. 3. 4 vols. Paris: Fontemoing, 1908. (= RGIX)
- Bachfeld, Georg. *Die Mongolen in Polen, Schlesien, Böhmen und Mähren: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des grossen Mongolensturmes im Jahre 1241*. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1889.
- Baldwin of Ninove. "Balduini Ninovensis chronicon." In *Gesta saec. XIII.*, edited by Oswald Holder-Egger, 521–46. MGH SS 25. Hannover: Hahn, 1880.
- Bezzola, Gian Andri. *Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270): Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen*. Bern – Munich: Francke, 1974.
- Boček, Antonín, ed. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae: Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte Mährens.* Vol. 3. 15 vols. Brno: Skarnitzl, 1841.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich. "Briefe über den Anmarsch der Mongolen gegen Deutschland im Jahr 1241." Neue Mittheilungen aus dem Gebiet historisch-antiquarischer Forschungen 4, no. 2 (1839): 105–17.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich, Julius Ficker and Eduard Winckelmann, eds. *Regesta Imperii, V. Jüngere Staufer. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV., Friedrich II., Heinrich (VII.), Conrad IV., Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard*

1198-1272. 3 vols in 5 parts. Vol. 4. Nachträge und Ergänzungen, ed. Paul Zinsmaier, Paul-Joachim Heinig and Monika Karst. Cologne – Vienna – Weimar: Böhlau, 1983. http://www.regesta-imperii.de/unternehmen/abteilungen/v-juengere-staufer.html. (= RI)

- Borchardt, Karl. "The Templars in Central Europe." In The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity; in Memoriam Sir Steven Runciman (1903–2000), edited by Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky, 233–44. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001.
- Borsa, Iván. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke: Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Edited by Imre Szentpétery. 2 vols. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1927.
- Bradács, Gábor. "A tatárjárás osztrák elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája [The critical analysis of Austrian narrative sources about the Mongol Invasion]." *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 127, no. 4 (2014): 3–22.
- Cardauns, Hermann, ed. "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis Coloniensis." In *Historici Germaniae saec. XII.*, 2:529–47. MGH SS 22. Hannover: Hahn, 1872.
- Chambers, James. *The Devil's Horsemen: The Mongol Invasion of Europe*. New York: Atheneum, 1979.
- Csákó, Judit. "Az Árpád-kori Magyarország a francia területen keletkezett elbeszélő kútfők tükrében [Árpád-age Hungary in view of narrative sources from France]." Ph.D. dissertation, Budapest: ELTE, 2015.
- ————. Az Árpád-kori Magyarország francia tükörben. [Árpád-age Hungary in a French mirror] Arpadiana. Budapest: HUN–REN Research Centre for the Humanities, 2023.
- Csukovits, Enikő. *Magyarországról és a magyarokról: Nyugat-Európa magyar-képe a középkorban* [On Hungary and Hungarians: The Perception of Hungary in Western Europe in the Middle Ages]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2015.
- Dobenecker, Otto, ed. *Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria historiae Thuringiae*. Vol. 3 (1228–1266). 4 vols. Jena: Verein für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde, 1925.
- ———, ed. Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria historiae Thuringiae. Vol. 3. 4 vols. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1925.

- Emler, Josef, ed. *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae* (1253–1310). Vol. 2. 8 vols. Prague: Typis Gregorianis – Nakladatelství Československé Akademie věd, 1882. (=RBM 2)
- Erben, Karel Jaromír, ed. *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae (600–1253)*. Vol. 1. 8 vols. Prague: Typis Gregorianis Nakladatelství Československé Akademie věd, 1855. (=RBM 1)
- Fejér, Georgius, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Vol. 4:1. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829.
- Gießauf, Johannes. "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich und die Mongolengefahr 1241/42." In Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alpen-Adria-Raumes: Festgabe für Othmar Pickl zum 70. Geburtstag, edited by Herwig Ebner and Othmar Pickl, 173–99. Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Geschichte 9. Graz: Institut für Geschichte, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1997.
- Göckenjan, Hansgerd, and James Ross Sweeney, eds. Der Mongolensturm: Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250. Ungarns Geschichtsschreiber
 3. Graz Vienna Cologne: Styria, 1985.
- Hilpert, Hans-Eberhard. Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in den Chronica majora des Matthaeus Paris. Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London
 9. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981.
- Höfler, Karl Adolf Constantin von, ed. *Albert von Beham und Regesten Pabst Innocenz IV.* Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1847.
- Hormayr-Hortenburg, Joseph Freyherr von. Die goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau der Burg der Welfen, der Hohenstauffen und der Scheyren, vol. 2: Urkunden; Die große Mongolische Muth; Die Mutter Conradins und seine Mausoleum [...].
 2 vols. Munich: Franz, 1842.
- Huillard-Bréholles, Jean-Louis-Alphonse, ed. *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus.* 6 vols. Paris: Plon, 1852. (= HDFS)
- ——, ed. Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus. Vol. 5:2. Paris: Plon, 1859.
- Hunyadi, Zsolt. "Military-Religious Orders and the Mongols around the Mid-13th Century." In *Competing Narratives between Nomadic People and Their Sedentary Neighbours: Papers of the 7th International Conference on the Medieval History of the Eurasian Steppe, Nov. 9–12, 2018. Shanghai University*, edited by Chen Hao, 111–23. Szeged: University of Szeged, 2019.

- Iselius, Johannes Rudolphus. *Petri de Vineis judicis aulici et cancellarii Friderici II. Imp. epistolarum quibus res gestæ ejusdem imperatoris aliaque multa ad historiam ac jurisprudentiam spectantia continentur libri VI.* 2 vols. Basel: Sumptibus Joh. Christ, 1740.
- Jackson, Peter. "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)." *The Journal of Ecclesi-astical History* 42, no. 1 (1991): 1–18.
- ———. *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410.* London New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Jan Długosz. *Ioannis Dlugossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Liber Septimus et Octavus*. Edited by Danuta Turkowska and Krystyna Pieradzka. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975.
- Jasiński, Tomasz. "Zur Frage der Teilnahme des Deutschen Ordens an der Schlacht von Wahlstatt." In *Wahlstatt 1241. Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz und zu ihren Nachwirkungen*, edited by Ulrich Schmilewski, 117–27. Würzburg: Bergstadtverlag Korn, 1991.
- Kiss, Gergely. Dél-Magyarországtól Itáliáig: Báncsa nembeli István (1205 k.–1270) váci püspök, esztergomi érsek, az első magyarországi bíboros életpályája [From Southern Hungary to Italy: The life of István of the Kindred of Báncsa, bishop of Vác, archbishop of Esztergom, the first cardinal from Hungary]. Pécs: Kronosz, 2015.
- Klopprogge, Axel. Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert: Ein Versuch zur Ideengeschichte des Mittelalters. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.
- Kohler, Gustav, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Lusatiae superioris: Sammlung der Urkunden für das Markgrafthum Oberlausitz*. Vol. 1: Von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Begründung des Bundes der Sechsstädte, 1346. 6 vols. Görlitz: Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1851.
- Lewis, Suzanne. *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*. California Studies in the History of Art 21. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press in collaboration with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1987.
- Liebermann, Felix, ed. "Ex Mathei Parisiensis operibus: Ex Cronicis Maioribus." In *Ex rerum Anglicarum scriptoribus saec. XIII.*, 107–389. MGH SS 28. Hannover: Hahn, 1888.
- Luard, Henry Richards, ed. "Annales monasterii de Theokesberia: 1066–1263," Vol. 1. RS 36. London: Stationery Office, 1864.

- ——, ed. "Annales monasterii de Waverleia: A.D. 1–1291." In Annales Monastici, Vol. 1. Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores 36. London: HM Stationery Office, 1864.
- Maier, Christoph T. *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Marrone, Steven P. *William of Auvergne and Robert Grosseteste: New Ideas of Truth in the Early Thirteenth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- Mouskés, Philippe. *Chronique rimée*. Edited by Baron F. A. F. T. de Reiffenberg. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Brussels: Hayez, 1836.
- Nagy, Balázs, ed. Tatárjárás. Budapest: Osiris, 2003.
- Papp Reed, Zsuzsanna. "Magyarország-kép a 13. századi Angliában [The perceptions of Hungary in thirteenth-century England]." In Angol-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban, edited by Attila Bárány, József Laszlovszky, and Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, 1:234–53. Gödöllő-Máriabesnyő: Attraktor, 2008.
- ———. "Sitting on the Fence: Matthew Paris's 'Mongol Letters' at the Intersection of History and Literature." In *IV Ciclo Di Studi Medievali. Atti Del Convegno, 4–5 Giugno 2018, Firenze,* 273–79. Arcore (MB): Edizioni EBS, 2018.
- -----. Matthew Paris on the Mongol Invasion in Europe. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022.
- Paris, Matthew. *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*. Edited by Henry Richards Luard. 7 vols. RS 57. London: Longman, 1872. (= CM)
- ———. Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Edited by Henry Richards Luard. Vol. 4. 7 vols. RS 57. London: Longman, 1877.
- —. Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Edited by Henry Richards Luard. Vol. 5. 7 vols. RS 57. London: Longman, 1880.
- Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora: Additamenta.
 Edited by Henry Richards Luard. Vol. 6. 7 vols. RS 57. London: Longman, 1882.
- Paris, Matthew. *Matthew Paris's English History, from the year 1235 to 1273*. Translated by J. A. Giles. Vol. 1. 3 vols. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852. (= EH)
- Paviot, Jacques. "England and the Mongols (c. 1260–1330)." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10, no. 3 (2000): 305–18.
- Pertz, Georg Heinrich, ed. "Annales breves Wormatienses a. 1165–1295." In Annales aevi Suevici, 74–79. MGH SS 17. Hannover: Hahn, 1861.

- — , ed. "Annales Wormatienses 873-1360." In Annales aevi Suevici, 34–73. MGH
 SS 17. Hannover: Hahn, 1861.
- ———, ed. "Continuatio Garstensis." In *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, 593–600.
 MGH SS 9. Hannover: Hahn, 1851.

———, ed. "Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii chronica a. 1189–1243." In Annales aevi Suevici, 321–84. MGH SS 19. Hannover: Hahn, 1866.

- Potthast, August, ed. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum: Inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV.* 2 vols. Berlin: Rudolf de Decker, 1874. (= Potthast)
- Pow, Stephen. "Conquest and Withdrawal: The Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century." Ph.D. dissertation, Central European University, 2020.
- ———. "The Mysterious Delpheos River: Mongol Defeats in Europe during the 1241–1242 Invasion?" Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Rijeka, 2019.
- Reitz, Dirk. Die Kreuzzüge Ludwigs IX. von Frankreich 1248/1270. Münster: LIT, 2005.
- Rodenberg, Karl, ed. *Epistolae saeculi XIIIe regestis pontificum romanorum selectae*. MGH Epistolae. Hannover: Hahn, 1883.
- Roumy, Franck. "Le développement du système de l'avocat commis d'office dans la procédure romano-canonique (XIIe-XIVe siècle)." The Legal History Review 71 (2003): 359–86.
- Rudolf, Karl. "Die Tartaren 1241/1242: Nachrichten und Wiedergabe, Korrespondenz und Historiographie." *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 19 (1977): 79–107.
- Rudolf, Veronika, "Cseh-magyar-osztrák kapcsolatok II. (Harcias) Frigyes uralkodása alatt (1230-1246)." [Bohemian-Hungarian-Austrian relations under the rule of Duke Frederick the Quarrelsome] Fons 35, no. 1. (2018): 3–47.
- Ruotsala, Antti. *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other*. Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Sciences, 2001.
- Saunders, J. J. "Matthew Paris and the Mongols." In Essays of Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson, edited by T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke, 116–32. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.
- Schaller, Hans Martin. "Heinrich Raspe." In *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 8:334–36, 1969. https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118883690.html#ndbcontent.

- Schmieder, Felicitas. "Der Einfall der Mongolen nach Polen und Schlesien: Schreckensmeldungen, Hilferufe und die Reaktionen des Westens." In Wahlstatt 1241: Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz und zu ihren Nachwirkungen, edited by Ulrich Schmilewski, 77–86. Würzburg: Bergstadtverlag Korn, 1991.
- Somer, Tomáš. "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241." *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 2 (2018): 238–51.
- Soranzo, Giovanni. *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari, un secolo di penetrazione occidentale in Asia*. Milan: Società editrice Vita e pensiero, 1930.
- Stenzel, Gustav Adolf, ed. *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum oder Sammlung schlesischer Geschichtsschreiber*. Vol. 2. 17 vols. Breslau: Josef Max & Komp, 1839.
- Stevenson, Joseph, ed. *Chronica de Mailros, e codice unico in Bibliotheca Cottoniana servato, nunc iterum in lucem edita*. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1835.
- Strakosch-Grassmann, Gustav. Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242. Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1893.
- Theiner, Augustin, ed. *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis*. 2 vols. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859–60. (= Theiner)
- Vaughan, Richard. *Matthew Paris*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series 6. London: Cambridge University Press, 1958.
- Veszprémy, László. "A Tatárjárás: Magyarország ismét bekerül a nyugat-európai világképbe [The Mongol Invasion in Hungary: Hungary's place in the contemporary medieval historiography]." *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (2020): 459–85.
- ------. "Levelek a tatárokról," [Letters on the Mongols] In A levél mint történeti forrás, edited by Katalin Mária Kincses, 73–82. (Budapest, Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem – L'Harmattan, 2022.
- ———. "Pannonhalmi oklevelek a 13–14. században [Thriteenth- and fourteenth-century charters from Pannonhalma]." In *Mons Sacer 996–1996*, edited by Imre Takács, 471–80. Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi Főapátság, 1996.
- ———. "Újabb szempontok a tatárjárás történetéhez [New perspectives on the history of the Mongol Invasion]." Iskolakultúra 4, no. 15–16 (1994): 28–35.
- Waitz, Georg, ed. "Continuatio Parisiensis Historiae regum Franciae." In *Ex rerum Francogallicarum scriptoribus. Ex historiis auctorum Flandrensium Francogallica lingua scriptis. Supplementum tomi XXIV*, 603–9. MGH SS 26. Hannover: Hahn, 1882.

- ———, ed. "Gestorum Treverorum Continuatio IV." In Annales aevi Suevici (Supplementa tomorum XVI et XVII) Gesta saec. XII. XIII. (Supplementa tomorum XX-XXIII), 390–404. MGH SS 24. Hannover: Hahn, 1879.
- ———, ed. "Sächsische Weltchronik," 1–279. MGH Dt. Chron. 2. Hannover: Hahn, 1877.
- Wattenbach, Wilhelm, ed. "Continuatio Sancrucensis Secunda: 1234–1266." In *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, 637–46. MGH SS 9. Hannover: Hahn, 1851.
- Weiland, Ludwig. "Beschreibung einiger Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Giessen: Beilage: Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum Rhenense ab Innocentio III. usque ad annum 1429." Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesammtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters 4 (1879): 74–85.
- ———, ed. MGH Leges: Sectio IV; Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum: 1198–1272. MGH Const. 2. Hannover: Hahn, 1896.
- Weiler, Björn K. U. "Matthew Paris on the Writing of History." *Journal of Medieval History* 35, no. 3 (2009): 254–78.
- Wenzel, Gusztáv, ed. Árpád-kori új okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus;
- 1234–1260. Vol. 2. 12 vols. Pest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1861. (=ÁUO)
- Will, Cornelius, and Johann Friedrich Böhmer, eds. Regesta archiepiscoporum Maguntinensium: Regesten zur Geschichte der Mainzer Erzbischöfe von Bonifatius bis Heinrich II. 742? 1288. Vol. 2: Von Konrad I. bis Heinrich II. 1161–1288. 2 vols. Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1877–1886. (= RA)
- Wolfing, Gerhard. *Die Templer, ihr Einsatz an den Grenzen Mitteleuropas gegen die Mongolen 1241/1242*. Gnas: Weishaupt, 2010.
- Zsoldos, Attila. *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1000–1301* [The secular archontology of Hungary]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 2011.

Abbreviations:

ÁUO

Wenzel, Gusztáv, ed. Árpád-kori új okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus. 12 vols. Pest–Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1860–1874.

СМ

Paris, Matthew. *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 7 vols., Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores [Rolls Series] 57 (London: Longman, 1872).

DL

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény, Diplomatikai levéltár [Hungarian National Archives, Collection of Charters before 1526]

EH

Paris, Matthew. *Matthew Paris's English History, from the year 1235 to 1273*. Translated by J. A. Giles. 3 vols. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852.

Epp. saec. XIII

Karl Rodenberg, ed., *Epistolae saeculi XIIIe regestis pontificum romanorum selectae*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae (Hannover: Hahn, 1883).

HDFS

Huillard-Bréholles, Jean-Louis-Alphonse, ed. *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi sive constitutiones, privilegia, mandata, instrumenta quae supersunt istius imperatoris et filiorum ejus.* 6 vols. Paris: Plon, 1852.

RA

Will, Cornelius, and Johann Friedrich Böhmer, eds. *Regesta archiepiscoporum Maguntinensium: Regesten zur Geschichte der Mainzer Erzbischöfe*. 2 vols. Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1877–1886.

RI

Böhmer, Johann Friedrich, Julius Ficker and Eduard Winckelmann, ed. Regesta Imperii, V. Jüngere Staufer. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV., Friedrich II., Heinrich (VII.), Conrad IV., Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard 1198-1272. [Regesta Imperii V] 3 vols in 5 parts. Vol. 4. Nachträge und Ergänzungen, ed. Paul Zinsmaier, Paul-Joachim Heinig and Monika Karst. Cologne - Vienna: Böhlau, 1983. http://www.regesta-imperii.de/unternehmen/abteilungen/v-juengere-staufer.html.

Potthast

Potthast, August, ed. *Regesta pontificum Romanorum: Inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV.* 2 vols. Berlin: Rudolf Decker, 1874–1875.

RGIX

Lucien Auvray, Les registres de Grégoire IX, vol. 3 (Paris: Fontemoing, 1908)

MGH

Monumenta Germaniae Historica

Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum

Dt. Chron.: Deutsche Chroniken

Epp. saec. XIII: Epistolae saeculi XIIIe regestis pontificum romanorum selectae

SS rer. Germ.: Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi

SS: Scriptores in folio

RBM

Erben, Karel Jaromír, Josef Emler, Jiří Spěváček, Blažena Rynešová, Bedřich Mendl, Milena Linhartová, Jana Zachová, and Lenka Blechová, eds. *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae (600–1378)*. 8 vols. Prague: Typis Gregorianis – Nakladatelství Československé Akademie věd, 1855–2017.

RS

Rerum Britannicarum medii ævi scriptores [Rolls Series]

Theiner

Theiner, Augustin, ed. *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis Vaticanis*. 2 vols. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859–1860.

The Sources on the Mongol Invasion

Zsuzsanna Reed Papp

Inscribing the Mongol Invasion into History: The Council of Lyon and the Mongols in Matthew Paris's *Chronica majora*¹

The study of the Mongol invasion in Eastern Europe rarely takes researchers to the banks of the Rhône or the Rhine, let alone the "gentle flood" of the Ver in Hertfordshire.² However, the history of the story of the Mongol invasion is known through the optic of the network of people who documented it, which indeed covered nearly the whole continent at the time of the attacks and thereafter, densely connected both in person and in writing. In 1241 and 1242, the people of Eastern Europe acquired first-hand knowledge about the Mongols in their own lands. Within a short time, the news made it to the westernmost edges of Christian Europe—so much so, in fact, that it was entered into annals and chronicles, resulting in surprisingly accurate accounts of the Mongol invasion in areas located far from the afflicted countries. In the papers by Attila Bárány and Matthew Coulter in the present volume, we can learn a great deal about how information was passed on across Central and Western Europe, involving royals, local rulers, monks, and friars alike. This paper will discuss one of the most important chronicles, which enshrines this busy correspondence: the Chronica majora, written by Matthew Paris and his team in the Benedictine monastery of St Albans, England.³

Although far from the events geographically, Matthew Paris's chronicle was written close in time, and more importantly, it also incorporated documents that were near-contemporaneous with the invasion and originated in the war-torn

¹ Research for this paper has formed the basis of chapters 3 and 5 in my monograph published after the conference: Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, *Matthew Paris on the Mongol Invasion in Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022).

² Michael Drayton, "Song 16," Poly-Olbion, accessed May 6, 2022, https://poly-olbion.exeter. ac.uk/the-text/full-text/song-16/.

³ Matthew Paris, Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora, 7 vols., Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 57 (London: Longman, 1872); Matthew Paris, Matthew Paris's English History, from 1235 to 1273, trans. J. A. Giles, 3 vols. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852). Hereafter CM and EH, respectively. Manuscripts mentioned in this study: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 16II (MS B) and London, British Library, Cotton MS, Nero D V (MS C).

countries or their neighbours. Although the Mongol story in the *Chronica majora* was necessarily and exclusively built from vicarious, mediated materials, it remains one of the most extensive and relatively coherent surviving 'witnesses' to the Mongol invasion in Eastern Europe. The *Liber additamentorum*, a separate volume containing a collection of letters and other documents pertaining to the history told in the *Chronica majora*, also includes a series of Mongol-related documents and letters that come straight from the eye of the Mongol storm in Eastern Europe.

Incorporating such documents into the chronicle's narrative is in the crosshairs here: I will focus primarily on how the Mongol news was inscribed into this chronicle—how news became history. Besides understanding what was recorded for posterity about the Mongol invasion in this particular chronicle and how, I believe that examining the narrative structure and the text's layers can tell us a great deal about Matthew's sources, agenda, and various phases of the receipt of information. I argue that this, in turn, is important for our present knowledge of the Mongol invasion itself, especially the contemporary news-gathering and the information networks that informed it.

In the Chronica majora, the story unfolds in entries that revisit the Mongol situation between 1238 and 1257. As with many other multi-episode stories that make up Matthew's universal history, that of the Mongol invasion in Eastern Europe is wrought out of narrative accounts, authentic letters, and even memorable illustrations, forming a distinctive narrative within the diverse plotlines of the chronicle. The Mongol invasion in Eastern Europe is often described as eliciting no response from neighbours and powerful contemporaries, which is no doubt true. Both the pope(s) and the emperor were preoccupied with fighting each other, and in countries that were not directly under threat, pervasive local feuds or their alliances with or against the empire kept lesser rulers busy, as usual. The situation on parchment, however, shows a very different picture. Reading the surviving letters and reports from all over Europe, one sees horror and alarm, deep concern, thoughtful analysis, exhortations to unite and respond, attempts to make sense of the alarming news, and even curiosity. In the following, I will concentrate on two important structural and narrative aspects of the English chronicle that provide glimpses into the immensity and diligence of the contemporary literate circles that informed one another and documented the shocking developments on the continent.

In the *Chronica majora*, the Eastern-European leg of the Mongol invasion starts in 1238-1240 in the region of *Hungaria major*, peaks in 1241 in Hungary, and ends in 1244. Before 1238 and after 1244, the Mongol army is shown to be busying itself with the ravaging of the East. The Mongols first appear as emerging from the northern mountains, destroying the Assassins' strongholds and *Hungaria major* (1238-39). In 1241, in a progressively fast-paced series of longer chronicle entries,

the onslaught is reported to have turned against Russia and Poland, eventually arriving at the Hungarian border with devastating force and speed. Under this year, increasingly horrific descriptions of the attackers are wedged among letters and information attributed to European rulers, ranging from the emperor, and Eastern and Central European kings, to members of the Western European nobility. After a long pause, Matthew gradually relocates the Mongol presence to the Holy Land in the third phase between mid-1244 and 1257.

Compared to one another, the phases of the Mongol story are distinct in their content and voice, which is partly due to the sources that informed the historian. A closer look at how the sources are inserted sheds light on unexpected connections that go beyond Matthew Paris's text. The letters and narrative entered under the year 1241 are well-known—Attila Bárány also quotes several important passages from these in his essay in the present publication. The entries before and after the cataclysm, however, show different concerns about the Mongols, which suggest different networks of information. Both the early and the later Mongol entries seem to be strongly associated with European prelates, primarily cardinals and legates; the engines behind Christendom's—or rather, the popes'—foreign policy at the time. As noted above, and as often pointed out in scholarship, at the time of Hungary's invasion neither the pope nor the emperor seems to have treated the Mongol problem in Eastern Europe as a priority. Indeed, the pope's court, a veritable hub for relaying Mongol-related information to St Albans and elsewhere, turned to the issue only a couple of years after the Mongols had left Europe. Even though much of the material in the Chronica majora is inserted under the year 1241, a closer look at some of the entries before and after these passages suggests that the information exchange involving the Curia once again peaked around 1245 and thereafter. The people and themes addressed in these entries expose the nearly monolithic significance of sources from and about the First Ecumenical Council of Lyon in 1245.

The phases are conspicuous in the *Chronica majora* because the materials coming from different sources focus on very different themes. The 1241 entries concerned with military defence, ravaging, and crusade preparations are largely based on letters from the empire. Together with Matthew's interpretive passages, they glorify the emperor who is shown to be responding to the threat with his usual efficiency. In contrast, those inserted before and after the cataclysm place the military threat at the eastern ends of Christianity in a different context: dissent, heterodoxy, and conversion. In addition, while much of Matthew's narrative was created from received material that was already intrinsically biased, he, as a chronicler very much reliant on similar letter collections for his overseas history, also uses ordering and placement, narrative devices, and his own words to make sense of the events. I would like to cite Matthew Coulter's paper at the conference in which he noted that the Ottobeuren letter collection is "a piece of monastic history-writing in which meaning is imparted through the conscious arrangement of material." Similarly, in the study of the 'original letters' preserved in his chronicle, Matthew's own efforts to consciously re-arrange and add his own commentary comprise an additional editorial layer to reckon with.

Matthew's methods of inserting letters into his narrative entail two distinct, albeit often overlapping, methods of sequencing: embedding and alternation. On the level of individual entries, Matthew uses embedding in single entries to enhance the depth of his narrative. Passages in his own voice introduce and conclude those by illustrious 'guest performers', ranging from powerful Saracens, noblemen's correspondence, even private exchanges between the crowned heads of Europe. In turn, following a pre-existing pattern, he embeds letters and documents that already contain received material themselves. This is true of most 'reported' entries throughout the chronicle, including the letter that contains the first fleeting reference to the Mongols in 1237. In a brief preface, Matthew explains that Brother Godfrey, the "papal penitentiary" who is probably identical with Godfrey of Trano,⁴ had distributed copies of a letter to the Dominicans in France and England, having received it from a certain Brother Philip:

In the same year, pleasing news arrived from the Holy Land that a certain chief of the heretics of the East [...] had been converted to Christianity by [...] brother Philip, prior of the order of Preachers in the Holy Land, who without delay sent a word of this to the pope and to brother Godfrey, the confessor of the pope to delight them with the gratifying intelligence. The said brother Godfrey then wrote to all priors of the order of Preachers in England and France, informing them of this circumstance.⁵

⁴ Scholar and canon jurist Godfrey was the famous author of *Summa super titulis Decretalium*, a treatise on Gregory IX's *Decretals*, which survives in over 280 manuscripts, yet little is known about his life. He appears in the sources as "domini papae capellanus et subdiaconus," and in 1240 as "auditor litterarum contradictarum" for Pope Gregory IX. He was appointed as cardinal by Innocent IV in 1244. As Matthew writes *s.a.* 1245: "Eodem quoque tempore, obiit Galfridus de Trane cardinalis, quo non erat aliquis domino Papae alius specialior vel utilior, vel scientia et moribus clarior." (In this same year, too, died Cardinal Geoffrey de Turne [*sic*], a most particular and useful friend of the pope, than whom no one was more renowned for his learning and morals.) CM 4:415; EH 2:52.

^{5 &}quot;Anno quoque eodem, venit jocundus rumor de Terra Sancta, quod scilicet quidam magnus orientalium haereticorum princeps [...] conversus [est] religionem, [...] fratris Philippi de ordine Praedicatorum in Terra Sancta prioris [...]. Qui sine dilatione hoc domino Papae, fratrique Godefrido, domini Papae poenitentiario, ut eosdem tam jocundo rumore exhilararet, significavit. Ipse autem frater Godefridus prioribus ordinis Praedicatorum in Anglia et Francia constitutis haec omnia significans, scripsit." CM 3:396–97; EH 1:55–56, more recently also in:

It is noteworthy that Godfrey's letter also refers to previous missives sent to him by a certain William of Monferrat. This complicated, multi-layered form characterises many of the letters and documents embedded in Matthew Paris's text, not only creating the impression of depth due to the recursive embedding but also validating the content by providing the chain of transmission:

Concerning another man, also, who is at the head of all those whom the Nestorian heresy separated from the Church, and whose prelateship extends through Greater India, the kingdom of Prester John, and other kingdoms nearest to the East, we [Philip] have already received several letters, informing us that he has promised brother William of Monferrat, who, with two other brothers learning that language, has stayed some time with him, that he would be obedient and return to the bosom of the united church.⁶

While unravelling the recursive embedding in letter transcripts formulated as chronicle entries is informative about the chain of informants, the placement of entries can be used to detect less explicit connections. Throughout the entire *Chronica majora*, alternating episodes of two (sometimes three) subplots is a technique Matthew uses to weave parallel histories into a linear narrative. Unstitching the alternating strands reveals a great deal about the networks behind the information. This requires a closer look at the immediate textual environment of the note about the Mongols, hidden in a complex letter that, in turn, is part of a series of entries about the Holy Land. As can be seen in the table below, the year 1237 in the chronicle is woven out of episodes about Frederick II, English events, and intelligence from the Holy Land and beyond. These rhythmically alternate as the chronicle progresses. Following Emperor Frederick's rejected invitation to an assembly at Vaucoleur, Matthew continues with local news from the English countryside and the arrival of Legate Otto in England. Then he cites the letter by Godfrey—and ultimately Friar Philip—to the pope. It is notable that the Dominican letter from the

Malcolm Barber and A. K. Bate, eds., *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, Crusade Texts in Translation 18 (Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), p. 133. More on Prior Philip and this letter in: Bernard Hamilton and Andrew Jotischky, *Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 285–86.

^{6 &}quot;De alio quoque, qui praeest omnibus quos Nestoriana haeresis ab ecclesia separavit, cujus praelatio per Indiana majorem, et per regnum Sacerdotis Johannis, et per regna magis proxima orienti, dilatatur, jam plures recepimus literas; quod fratri Willelmo de Monte Ferrato, qui cum aliis duobus fratribus linguam illam scientibus apud eum aliquandiu commoratus est, promisit quod velit obedire et redire ad gremium ecelesiasticae unitatis." CM 3:398; EH 1:57, Barber and Bate, Letters from the East, p. 134.

Holy Land itself is essentially about the conversion of the patriarchs of Jerusalem, and it goes hand in hand with the subsequent entry about the Nestorians' error. After the sequence about the eastern heresies, Matthew returns to domestic affairs and Legate Otto, then back to the Templars and the Hospitallers in the Holy Land. Then Frederick again, then Otto in England again, and so on:

Frederick II	Quomodo imperator Frethericus reversus est ab Italia impeditus a proposito (The cause of the emperor's return from Italy ⁾ MS B, fol. 106r, col. b; CM 3:392; EH 1:53. Quomodo imperator vocavit omnes magnates Christianitatis (The emperor summons all the princes of Christendom) MS B, fol. 106r, col. b; CM 3:392; EH 1:53.
England / Legate Otto	Confectum est crisma in ecclesia Sancti Albani (The holy unction in the church of St. Albans is consecrated) MS <i>B</i> , fol. 106 ^v , col. a; CM 3:394; EH 1:54.
	De morte J[ohannis] comitis Cestriae (The death of John of Chester) MS B, fol. 106v, col. a; CM 3:394; EH 1:54.
	De quodam mirabili grandine et pluvia diuturna (Hailstorm in Chiltern) MS B, fol. 106°, col. a; CM 3:394; EH 1:54.
	De adventu O[ttonis] legati in Anglia (Arrival in England of Otto the legate) MS B, fol. 106 $^{\circ}$, col. a; CM 3:395; EH 1:54.
Holy Land	De jocundo mandato fratris Philippi de ordine Praedicatorum [enclosing Literae ad dominum Papam] (Letter of Philip, a brother of the order of Preachers, to the pope) MS B, fol 106 ^v , col. b; CM 3:396; EH 1:55.
	De haeresi Nestorianorum (The heresy of the Nestorians) MS C, fol 264 ^v ; CM 3:403; EH 1:58.
England / Legate Otto	Quomodo legatus moderate se habebat (Of the legate's modesty)
	MS C, fol 264 ^v ; CM 3:403; EH 1:61.
	Pacificati sunt magnates (Pacification of the nobles) MS C, fol 264 ^v ; CM 3:403; EH 1:61.

Holy Land	De strage militum Templi circa partes Anthiochenas (The slaughter of the Knights of the Temple, near Damietta) MS B, fol 107 ^r , col. a; CM 3:404; EH 1:62.
	Theodoricus prior Hospitalis mittitur in succursum Terrae Sanctae (Theodoric, prior of the Hospitallers, is sent to the assistance of the Holy Land) MS <i>B</i> , fol 107 ^r , col. a; CM 3:406; EH 1:63.
Frederick II	<i>Quomodo reversus est dominus imperator in Ytaliam in manu hostili</i> (The emperor returns to Italy with a large army) MS <i>B</i> , fol 107 ^r , col. b; CM 3:406; EH 1:64.
	De bello commisso inter imperatorem et Mediolanenses (The war between the emperor and the Milanese) MS B, fol 107 ^r , col. b; CM 3:407; EH 1:64.
England / Legate Otto	Quomodo cum magna cordium amaritudine et quanta difficultate con- cessa fuerit regi tricesima et collecta (The indignation of the nobles of England with the king) MS <i>B</i> , fol 107 ^v , col. b; CM 3:410; EH 1:67.
	Quomodo comes Ricardus frater regis regem increpaverit (Earl Richard reproaches the king) MS B, fol 108 ^r , col. a; CM 3:411; EH 1:68.
	Quomodo legatus saginatus est bonis Angliae (The legate fattens himself on the good things of England) MS B, fol 108 ^r , col. a; CM 3:412; EH 1:69.

The textual environment of Mongol-related entries reveals that this first fleeting mention is part of a pattern that is conspicuous throughout the whole chronicle: although not a historical figure one would readily associate with the Mongol invasion in Eastern Europe, when something Mongol-related is recorded in the *Chronica majora*, Otto of Montferrat, papal legate to England, often crops up in the immediate vicinity of the entry.

Otto's connections can be detected both in embedded material and when examining the context of letters recorded in the proximity of his personal exploits. This is readily seen in the case of the 1237 letter, and it is also highly probable that the William of Montferrat cited in Philip's letter was related to the large and powerful Montferrat family, kin of Legate Otto.⁷ More importantly, the aforemen-

⁷ William is known mainly because he is mentioned more than once in hagiographies of Saint Dominic. It is also clear from other sources that Pope Gregory IX nurtured intimate friendships with various members of the family of di Monferrato. Antoine Touron, "The First Disciples of Saint Dominic, Adapted and Enlarged from Father Anthony Touron's *Histoire Abrégée des Premiers Disciples de Saint Dominique*," trans. Victor F. O'Daniel (Somerset, OH: The Rosary Press, 1928), http://www.domcentral.org/trad/disciples/09wmdimonf.htm.

tioned Brother Godfrey, probably identical with Godfrey of Trano, was also closely connected to Otto and other cardinals. Godfrey and Otto were both accompanying the pope during his flight to Sutri in April 1244, where they jointly worked on disseminating the pope's declaration *Non solum* concerning the "annus probationis" stipulated for the Benedictine Order.⁸ After separating from the pope, Godfrey joined a group of six other cardinals on their overland journey to Lyon, where he rejoined the pontiff and worked there until his death in April 1245.⁹

Otto's connections to Mongol material are less and less tenuous in entries from 1241 onwards. For example, Matthew explicitly names him as his source in a marginal rubric added to a page containing a textual and visual description of the Mongols on fol. 145^{r} .¹⁰ Even more pertinent here is Matthew's brief note at the very bottom of the first column on fol. 166^{v} recounting that Otto was made bishop of Portugal in 1243. The significance of the placement of this sentence is that directly after it, at the top of the next column on the same page, begins one of the best-known and most puzzling Mongol-related documents in the *Chronica majora*—yet another example of a letter embedded in another letter, and then some. It is by a man called Ivo of Narbonne, who is writing to his former patron, Gerald of Malemort, archbishop of Bordeaux.

⁸ Otto and Godfrey's *rescriptum* of the pope's letter is inserted in the *Chronica majora* under 1244, right after another embedded letter and its rejoinder about "the wolfish treacheries under a sheep's clothing" committed by the Templars and the Hospitallers undermining the cause of the Holy Land. CM 4:292; EH 1:485–86.

⁹ Bertram di Martin, "Goffredo da Trani," Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, accessed June 6, 2022, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/goffredo-da-trani_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. Citing August Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, vol. 1. inde ab a. post Christum natum 1198 ad a. 1304* (Berlin: Rudolf de Decker, 1874), no. 11416b. See note 4 above.

^{10 &}quot;Dicuntur Tartari, ut ait Otto aliquando legatus in Anglia, a Taraconta insula, quae maxima est in eorum regione, vel quodam fluvio Tartar, qui est maximos penes eos, sicut Farfar penes Damascenos. Quidam dicunt quod Tartari sunt Sicii, qui sunt Cumanis contermini; et hoc est probabilius, quia eis jam confoederantur. / Alii quod a Tharsi spatiosissima terra dicuntur / secundum alios Tattari dicuntur." (They are called Tartars, according to Otto the onetime legate in England, from Taraconta Island, which is the largest in their country, or from a certain Tartar River, which is the greatest one in their hands, just as the Orontes is in the hands of the Damascenes. Some say that the Mongols are the Sicii, who are neighbours of the Cumans, and this is probable, because they are presently allies. Others that they are called Tartars from the spacious land of Tars; according to others they are called Tatars.) MS *B*, 145^r, CM 4:109, n. 2. Caesurae marking the tripartite articulation of the rubric are mine. Translation from Mark Dickens, "Tarsā: Persian and Central Asian Christians in Extant Literature," in *Artifact, Text, Context: Studies on Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, ed. Li Tang and Dietmar W. Winkler, Orientalia - Patristica - Oecumenica 17 (Zurich: Lit, 2020), p. 22.

At the same time, the following letter, sent to the archbishop of Bordeaux, very greatly alarmed even the most undaunted men. The letter agrees in many things with the imperial letter directed to many Christian kings [...] concerning the horrible devastations of this inhuman people whom they call Tartars, but in this letter they are called Tattars, or Tatars.¹¹

As usual, the letter cites another report, which Ivo attributes to an English interpreter employed by the Mongol khan. The truthfulness of his words is confirmed both by noting his intimate familiarity with the subject and by recording his copious oaths:

The prince of Dalmatia took prisoners eight of the fugitives, one of whom was known by the duke of Austria to be an Englishman, who, for certain crimes, had been banished for ever from the kingdom of England. This man had twice come as an envoy and interpreter from the king of the Tattars to the king of Hungary, and plainly threatened and warned them of the evils which afterwards happened, unless he should give up himself and his kingdom to be subject to the Tattars. The princes persuaded him to speak the truth about the Tattars, and he, without hesitation, under every form of oath, made his statements so strongly that the devil himself might have been believed.¹²

The recursive embedding—Ivo's first-person singular letter in Matthew's chronicle, and the Englishman's reported words in Ivo's letter—allows the voices of the subaltern to seep into the text, normally dedicated to the deeds of the powerful and the holy. The former Patarene Ivo's very personal recollections include those of a man even more of an outcast and a drifter than himself: an Englishman in the service of the khan who not only describes the Mongols, but (much like Ivo) also embarks on his own story of losing his faith. Once again, in addition to the Russian dolls of text within the entry, the letter makes more sense in the context of the

^{11 &}quot;Eisdem diebus, hsec epistola archiepiscopo Burdegalensi transmissa, quae in multis consonat epistoli imperiali, regibus multis Christianis directa, de horribili vastatione inhumanse gentis, quam Tartaros vocant, sed in hac Tattari, vel Tatari, nuncupantur, multos etiam constantes viros vehementer perterruit." CM 4:270; EH 1:467.

^{12 &}quot;Ex ipsis vero fugientibus princeps Dalmatiae cepit octo, quorum dux Austriae novit unum, Anglicum natione, sed propter quaedam maleficia de regno Angliae perpetua banniatione proscriptum. Hic ex parte regis nequissimi Tattarorum, bis venerat ad regem Hungariae nuntius et interpres, et mala quae postmodum contigerunt, satis manifeste praemuniendo comminatus est, nisi se et regnum suum Tattareae dederet servituti. Hic a principibus nostris inductus ad dicendum veritatem de Tattaris, nullum visus est praetermittere juramentum, sed tanta contestatus est, ut et ipsi credi posset diabolo." CM 4:273-74; EH 1:470.

alternating strands that make up the story around it. Although it does seem to be a letter primarily about the Mongol invasion in Eastern Europe, Ivo's account is more than a simple 'Mongol entry', despite all the Tartars in it.

Although irresistibly gory, with an illustration to boot, the Mongol episode is but one of the many examples of godlessness collected in one graphic picaresque novella. Conspicuous themes of dissent emerge in the letter and the other one embedded in it—namely Catharism, the rise of the Beguine movement, as well as the controversies associated with the expansion of the mendicant orders and the general disunity eating away at the Church. At the end especially, Ivo's account trails off and continues seamlessly with acerbic criticism of the idleness and discord prevailing in the Church, which—though unremarked—is certainly not originally part of the Englishman's story, and maybe not even Ivo's:

Seeing, then, that such dangers are arising to the whole of Christendom, what are these holy brothers doing, with their new religious rites, and fresh from the fire of the furnace out of which they have been fashioned, who wish it to be believed that they alone have found out the way of perfection beyond all others? By confession, and other intimacies, they should gain the favour of the princes and nobles, and earnestly and importunately cry into their ears against the Tattars: they do badly, if they do not so cry; they do worse, if they only make pretences; but worst of all, if they assist the enemy. What are the Black and White friars doing? And the Norbertine canons, who wish to be thought dead unto the world? Why do they not preach a crusade against the Tattars, when they see all these perils approaching. Oh the foolish counsels of kings! the supine silence of bishops and abbats!¹³

Connecting Ivo's letter to its immediate textual environment, it is also telling that the complex epistle is preceded by Legate Otto's episcopal appointment and followed by the entry "De Beguinorum multiplicatione." The fact that the Beguine movement is expressly mentioned in both Ivo's letter and in a separate entry thereafter suggests that the string of seemingly disparate entries came from the same source. Another interesting connection here is the allusion to Cologne, a hotbed

^{13 &}quot;Tantis igitur emergentibus toti Christianissimo populo periculis, quid rudium religionum, et adhuc fornacis, ex qua prodierunt, igne flagrantium, faciunt sancti fratres, qui credi volunt viam se perfectionis prae caeteris elegisse? Confessionibus siquidem et aliis familiaritatibus principum et magnatum sibi favorem conciliantes, in auribus ut causam eorum contra Tattaros instanter et importune clamare deberent; male faciunt, si non clamant: pejus se si simulant; pessime, si succurrant. Quid monachi Narbonne nigri et albi, et canonici Norbertini, qui mundo mortui credi volunt, quare haec videntes imminere pericula, contra Tattaros crucem non praedicant bajulandam? O regum stulta consilia! Episcoporum et abbatum taciturnitas supina!" CM 4:276–77; EH 1:472-73.

of one branch of Catharism as well as the Beguines at the time—not to mention the chastised Norbertines.¹⁴

I [Ivo] passed alone through Carinthia, and continued my route into Austria, put up at a town called in the Teutonic tongue Neustadt, i.e. New-city, where I was hospitably entertained by some religious of a new order, called Beguins.

At the same time, chiefly in Germany, certain persons of both sexes, but principally women, declaring themselves religionists, took a religious habit, though not a very heavy one, and made profession of continence and simplicity of life by a private vow, without, however, being straightened by the rules of any saint, nor as yet shut up within the precincts of any cloister. In short, their number was increased to such an extent, that in the city of Cologne and neighbourhood, two thousand of them were found.¹⁵

Tracking the potential journey of the entry from the addressee, Bishop Gerald, Peter Segl suggests that Matthew Paris's informant in England was none other than Henry III of England.¹⁶ But as with many other letters in this portion of the chronicle, the material probably came the long way round. Quite out of chronological order, being the only Mongol entry inserted under 1243, this letter is found in the middle of a subplot that traces the progress of the enmity between pope and emperor. The entries preceding the letter detail the treachery and desertion of Frederick's allies such as Henry Raspe,¹⁷ as well as the marquis of Montferrat,

¹⁴ Peter Segl, Ketzer in Österreich: Untersuchungen über Häresie und Inquisition im Herzogtum Österreich im 13. und beginnenden 14. Jahrhundert, Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, N. F. 5 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1984), p. 105. In the absence of other sources supporting the validity of Ivo's claims, all scholarly reconstructions of a Mongol push into the territory of Austria are based on this letter. There are, of course, more cautious approaches as well, Peter Jackson, for example, hastens to add that the incident must have been a relatively insignificant skirmish "if any of the victories over the Mongols which are reported by the annalists are authentic." Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410* (London – New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 67.

^{15 &}quot;Sed ab eodem fratre postero mane solus relictus, Carinthiam pertransivi solivagus, ac deinde in quodam oppido Austriae, quod Theutonice Neustat dicitur, id est, nova civitas, inter quosdam novos religiosos, qui Beguini vocantur, hospitabar." "Eisdemque temporibus, quidam, in Alemannia praecipue, se asserentes religiosos, in utroque sexu, sed maxime in muliebri, habitum religionis, sed levem, susceperunt, continentiam et vitae simplicitatem private voto profitentes, sub nullius tamen sancti regula coarctatae, nec adhuc ullo claustro contenti. Earumque numerus in brevi adeo multiplicabatur, ut in civitate Coloniae et partibus adjacentibus duo milia invenirentur." MS *B*, 167^r, col. a; CM 4:272, 274; EH 1:469, 474.

¹⁶ Segl, Ketzer in Österreich, p. 106.

¹⁷ The fact that Matthew inserts this piece of news under 1246 again also shows that the chronology was mixed up due to writing in hindsight. CM 4:544–45; EH 2:163.

none other than the brother of Legate Otto.¹⁸ In reality, this did not take place until Raspe changed sides and was elected anti-king in opposition to Conrad in 1246. Thus, the *terminus post quem* of entering the news of the election in the chronicle is May 1246 or later. Dissecting both the themes addressed within the letter and the entries surrounding it, it seems evident that this is not the kind of missive that a bishop would share with the English king to disseminate in his realm. Rather, its themes are resonant of prevalent ecclesiastical anxieties found not only in chronicles, but also in letters, encyclicals, disputes, canon law, and so on.

What were these ecclesiastical anxieties in the mid-1240s that brought together such a catalogue of godlessness? Ivo's is the kind of letter that would have been used to learn and preach about various forms of internal dissent and external threats that the Church was facing. In fact, it illustrates with first-hand accounts nearly all the so-called 'pains' that the Church was expressly dealing with at this time, specifically during the First Ecumenical Council of Lyon in 1245: "The first was the indignity of the prelates and their subordinates, the second the arrogance of the Saracens, the third the schism with the Greeks, the fourth the cruelty of the Tartars, the fifth the persecution by Emperor Frederick."¹⁹ Similar to Christ's five wounds, the Church was suffering from pains that were increasingly in the forefront of the dogmatic and ecclesiastic thinking of the age, which, in turn, very much affected the foreign policy of both the pope and secular leaders waging war on various fronts.²⁰

Thus, both Prior Philip's and Ivo's letters, albeit very different in nature and content, focus on external threats (Saracens, Mongols), as well as the internal pressures facing the Church such as heterodoxy/conversion (Nestorians), dissent (Patarenes, Beguines), and disunity in the fold (friars and the "supine silence of bishops and abbats"). It is perhaps not surprising that the people who appear in proximity to these entries, and consequently the pervasive themes associated with them, all seem to have congregated in Pope Innocent IV's new court in Lyon.

¹⁸ The marquis of Monferrat at this time was Boniface II of Monferrat. Legate Otto, Matthew's recurring character on the papal side of the story, was his brother. Though occasionally changing sides – for example, his dalliance with the Guelphs in 1243—Boniface belonged to Frederick's sphere of interest more often than not.

^{19 &}quot;Primus erat de deformitate prelatorum et subditorum, secundus de insolentia Sarracenorum, tertius de scismate Grecorum, quartus de sevitia Tartarorum, quintus de persecutione Frederici imperatoris." *Brevis nota*, Bologna, Colegio de España, 275, fol. 83r. "Innocentii concilium Lugdunense, 1245," in Ludwig Weiland, ed., *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum, vol. 2, 1198-1272*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Const. (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), p. 514. Also recorded by Matthew Paris in a slightly different order, MS *B*, fol. 188r, col. a; CM 4:434–35; EH 2:67–68.

²⁰ For the intellectual-theological discourse set forth by the University of Paris and leading to the main concerns of the Lyon council, see Deborah Grice, *Church, Society and University: The Paris Condemnation of 1241/4* (London; New York: Routledge, 2019).

Letters about such abundant and varied cases of heresy as these were extremely valuable pieces of evidence in their line of work.

Many connections unearthed in the brief analysis of the content and placement of a couple of Matthew Paris's Mongol entries above point to networking prelates building a coherent program for the papacy. Legate Otto's consistent and telling proximity to Mongol-related entries not only suggests that the information was received from him (or his *familia cardinalizia*) but smaller clues also bear out that these texts were probably compiled at the time of the Council of Lyon. When they arrived at St Albans, presumably in a collected bundle, Matthew Paris cut them up and inserted the pieces into his narrative where he deemed fit. Understanding Otto's networks and presence in Lyon explains a number of seemingly odd interpolations and segues in Matthew's Mongol story.

Although St. Albans is known to have delegated a group of monks, and one of Matthew's known informants, Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, was also in attendance, the chain of transmission of these materials to England was probably not always straightforward, and is now impossible to reconstruct with complete certainty.²¹ Matthew's other possible informant, our Legate Otto, was an extremely important figure both in the *Chronica majora* and in real life, although the evidence for their potential exchange of information may have been mediated and remains circumstantial. Considering the relative dearth of information elsewhere, it is surprising how much Matthew knows about him. Between 1237–1240, he was the papal legate in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but his figure looms large in the chronicle even after he had left the country. As opposed to the other individuals mentioned in and around the Mongol entries examined here, monks from St Albans had many opportunities to actually meet him, for example, at the provincial chapter of Benedictine abbots and priors in 1238 or at the council.²² Therefore, it is likely that out of all the people associated with Matthew's Mongol material, he was the informant most certifiably connected to St Albans in one way or another.

²¹ He names three representatives from St Albans who were sent in place of the abbot (an aged and obese man no longer fit to travel): 'Inter quos abbas Sancti Albani, corpora gravis et jam ad senilem declinans aetatem, magistro Martino, qui tunc temporis in Anglia prospere commorabatur, testimonium veritati super hoc perhibente, rationabiliter per quendam monachum suum, Johannem videlicet de Bulum, et quendam clericum suum, magistrum Rogerum de Holderne, suam excusavit absentiam; et sic indempnis et quietus remansit, domino Papa per ipsos civiliter salutato'. ([...] the abbat of St. Alban's, who was a corpulent man and now verging on old age, sent reasonable excuses for his absence by a monk of his convent, named John de Bulum, and Master Roger de Holden, a clerk, and to the truth of his statements in this matter, Master Martin, who was at the time dwelling in England, gave this testimony, and thus he remained indemnified and peaceable, sending civil greetings to the pope by the said messengers of his). MS *B*, fol. 187^v col. a; CM 4:430; EH 2:64.

²² CM 3:499; EH 1:139.

Otto arrived in Lyon with the pope and seems to have remained there with the exception of a trip to Germany in May 1245, when the pope sent him to negotiate peace with Frederick.²³ As an auditor in the Curia, his main task was to regularise the Humiliati, and Innocent later appointed him as the first cardinal protector of the order.²⁴ He is known to have met (or had the distinct opportunity to meet) a number of other important nodes in the network behind the dissemination of news about heresies and other threats to Christendom. For example, even before his German, trip he may have met the real holders of royal authority in northwest Germany, imperial electors Conrad of Hochstade, archbishop of Cologne and Siegfried III of Eppstein, archbishop of Mainz, when they visited Lyon at the end of 1244, right before the pope announced the call for the council. Their mission was to convince the pope, if he was still in doubt, to excommunicate Frederick II for the second time and depose him, but it is beyond doubt that they also carried documents about equally distressing developments involving the spread of various heresies in their realm.²⁵

Otto was also a personal acquaintance of Gerald of Malemort, the primary addressee of Ivo's letter, which (besides the textual connections described above) makes him a more likely candidate as Matthew's informant than Henry III as Segl suggested. What is more important here is that Otto and Gerald did not meet in Lyon for the first time. They—especially Otto—were extremely well connected on the continent; they knew each other intimately, along with some others who can be directly connected to the Mongol question. Going back in time a few years, this story takes us to Tuscany where an ill-fated boat trip in 1241 also places Otto in the centre of a network of prelates involved in the communication of the (then) imminent Mongol onslaught.

On 9 August 1240, Pope Gregory IX called for an ecumenical council to be held in Rome, to provide counsel for the "ship of Saint Peter", which was threatened by

²³ Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta*, vol. 2 (Milan: Galeatius, 1767), pp. 198–200.

²⁴ Alongside the Cathars and Waldensians, the Humiliati were listed as heretics in 1184 by Lucius III and Barbarossa, but by the turn of the century they were sufficiently established to approach the pope for approval. It was not until 13 October 1246, in Lyon, that Innocent IV confirmed brother Beltramus, provost of San Luca in Brescia, as Master General of the Order, and following a request for help from the Humiliati, Innocent appointed Otto to assist them in making the appointment. See references to the charters in: Frances Andrews, *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 206, 254, 269.

²⁵ Thus, while Ivo of Narbonne's letter is likely to have come from Lyon, internal evidence shows that the Cologne archbishop may also have been instrumental in collating and transmitting a whole bundle of texts about current problems of heresy in his neck of the woods—which may have included parts of Ivo's letter as well. Joseph P. Huffman, "Potens et Pauper: Charity and Authority in Jurisdictional Dispute over the Poor in Medieval Cologne," in *Plenitude of Power: The Doctrines and Exercise of Authority in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Robert Louis Benson*, ed. Robert C. Figueira (Oxford; New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 119.

stormy waters. Within little more than six months his marine metaphor turned out to be terrifyingly true for some of his subordinates. In March 1241, high-ranking prelates gathered at Lyon, including the cardinals Otto of Montferrat and James of Pecorari, joined by Robert, patriarch of Jerusalem, and prominent bishops and abbots. They travelled to Nice, where Genoese ships picked them up and brought them to Gregory of Romagna (da Romano), the papal chaplain who was arranging the onward travel of a considerable group of ecclesiastics and their retinue headed for the council.²⁶ As Matthew Paris himself reports, on 3 May 1241, Enzio, Frederick II's natural son, attacked the fleet near the island of Giglio, capturing almost all the cardinals, many high prelates, and rich booty.

Matthew drew the galleys of the Pisan and Genoese troops that clash upon the waves in the bottom margin of fol. 147°. Otto is squeezed in right next to the archbishop of Bordeaux, the addressee of Ivo of Narbonne's letter.²⁷ The cardinals' case became an issue of heightened importance when Gregory IX died, and the College of Cardinals was missing several members for the quorum. The captives were transported from prison to prison until, under increasing international pressure, Frederick began to release them. Their captivity was long and strenuous: Otto of Montferrat was once released only to be incarcerated again, and James of Pecorari, Frederick II's archnemesis, was finally released only in 1243. Those who survived the trials and tribulations of their internment continued their ecclesiastical careers and remained in regular contact.

Besides Gerald's and Otto's personal acquaintance, it is also apposite here that James of Pecorari was a significant node in the information network that disseminated news about the Mongols. He travelled to Hungary as Pope Gregory IX's legate in the early 1200s, together with Master Roger of Torre Maggiore, bishop of

²⁶ Brett Edward Whalen, *The Two Powers: The Papacy, the Empire, and the Struggle for Sovereignty in the Thirteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), pp. 116, 118–19.

MS B, fol. 147^v; CM 4:125. Rothomagensis, Burdegalensis, Rothomagensis [sic] et alii archiepiscopi et episcopi; Praenestinus episcopus, Otto cardinalis, Gregorius de Romagna, legati; Cluniacensis, Cisterciensis, Clerevallensis, Pontiniacensis et alii abbates capti. (Peter II of Colmieu, archbishop of Rouen; Gerald of Malemort, archbishop of Bordeaux; Amanian (Amanevus) of Grisinhac, archbishop of Auch (erroneously cited as Rouen); James (Giacomo) of Pecorari, bishop of Palestrina; legates Otto of Monferrat, cardinal of S. Nicholas in carcere Tulliano, and Gregory of Romagna, chaplain of the pope and legate to Genoa; Hugh de Courtenay, abbot of Cluny; English Cistercian Stephen of Lexington, abbot of Citeaux and representative of Henry III of England; the abbot of Clairvaux (probably William of Dongelbert or Dongebert), the abbot of Pontigny (probably John III of Pontigny), and many others.) For a fuller list of the prelates in a letter from the archbishops of Arles and Tarragona reporting the incident to the pope: no. 58 in Cesare Baronio, Annales Ecclesiastici, vol 21: 1229-1256, ed. August Theiner (Barri-Ducis: Ludovicus Guerin, 1870), pp. 245–46.

Várad (Oradea). In fact, Roger dedicated to him the well-known *Carmen miserabile*, one of the most important surviving narratives about the Mongol invasion written immediately after the Mongol attack and withdrawal.²⁸ Legate Otto, thus, was not only located near the Mongol news on the pages of the *Chronica majora*, but in real life as well. As noted above, after their prolonged incarceration, the next time some of these people met again was at the Council of Lyon in 1245.

The *Chronica majora*'s letters and narrative that weave together threats within and outside Christendom with the Mongol question mirror the realities and official remit of the prelates at Lyon. And soon enough, entered under the year 1249, the first news of the Mongols' conversion crops up in the chronicle, too—rendering the erstwhile threat a question of conversion in the East with all the associated problems of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the future.²⁹ Thus, although the descriptions in the letters relate the 1241-1242 attacks, the Mongols were no longer on the agenda

28 Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta: Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars," in Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, trans. Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest - New York: Central European University Press, 2010). Although it has been suggested that Roger attended the council in Lyon, no certifiable evidence exists to prove this assumption. It is notable, however, that after James's death, Roger entered the familia cardinalizia of the English John of Toledo (who was also captured at Giglio), with whom he maintained a close relationship. Attila Bárány, "A Tatárjárás híre Nyugat-Európában" [News and reports of the Mongol invasion of 1241 in Western Europe], Hadtörténeti Közlemények 113, no. 3 (2020), p. 514. In fact, Matthew reports s.a 1246, that he gave an impassioned speech urging the pope to edit his rapacious behaviour in times so turbulent for European powers including Hungary, which "cum suis terris sibi nihil aliud nisi a Tartaris expectat exterminium" (with its coterminous lands, expects nothing short of ruin from the Tartars). MS B, fol. 208^r, col. b; CM 4:579; EH 2:190 James of Pecorari was also connected to Stephen Báncsa, bishop of Vác, who followed him in the episcopal see of Palestrina. At the time of the Battle of Giglio, Stephen, who had accompanied Béla IV of Hungary during his flight from the Mongols, was on his way to both Rome and Frederick's court in Faenza, trying to drum up some support for the kingdom. He is mentioned in the Chronica majora, as an informant in Frederick II's alleged letter about the Mongols s.a. 1241: "venerabilem Vatiensem episcopum," in CM 4:114; EH 1:352.

MS B, fols 229^r col. a, and 229^v col. b; CM 5:80, 87; EH 2:314, 319. Interestingly, ten years earlier another famous witness to the Mongol attacks, Thomas of Split (Spalato), had also met Otto in Perugia where he asked Pope Gregory to arbitrate in a bitter conflict over clerical appointments back home. Instead of his vice-chancellor Rainer of Capocci, he instructed Otto to end the dispute: "Then the venerable Otto, with circumspection, having first absolved the archdeacon [Thomas] and restoring him to the fullness of his office, instructed the archbishop to treat the archdeacon with fatherly love as he would a son and associate, and never again to allow such wicked intrigues of ignorant men to flourish against him." Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, ed. Olga Perić et al. (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2006), pp. 205–11.

on account of their military campaign in Europe, but rather because of the Holy Land, where they were increasingly considered a potential ally of the crusaders. The fact that a couple of months before the council, Innocent IV dispatched John of Plano Carpini and his fellow friars to explore the Mongol court and gather information, underpins that he was actively seeking information about the current whereabouts and plans of the Mongol armies. Since they did not return until two years later, the prelates at the council had to rely on previous intelligence, such as Ivo's letter and similar accounts, which no doubt circulated in many versions at the time.

Although not much of the discussion or any pertinent resolutions about the Mongol question are recorded in the surviving documentation of the council, outside the council chambers the prelates, clerics, abbots, monks, friars, and lay delegates were exchanging information, letters, rescripta, and reports. Some of the Chronica majora's Mongol material, primarily the entries before and after the long year of 1241, attest to this increased flow of texts about the Mongols, which may have reached Matthew through many stages of mediation from Lyon. But perhaps the transmission is less important than the beginning of the chain, which left a more lasting mark on the content and arrangement of these texts in the chronicle. In this vein, the role of the Lyon council and the pope's stated 'pains' are crucial by framing the papacy and its function in varied terms of Christian vulnerability, it gave renewed impetus to Mongol-related news, which at this point had to rely on intelligence gathered at the time of the first, violent encounter. Matthew Paris's Mongol entries in the context of his ultimate sources tell us a little about the Mongols and a great deal about the historian's craft and the Englishman who captured their story. The examination of their probable origin and the themes that glimmer through the recursive embedding and alternating storylines described above draw attention to an undeniably poignant situation; a historiographical moment which, to my mind, shows the historian in a sharper light than usual. On the whole, the Mongol episodes are but building blocks in one of the most lasting and spellbinding historiographical monuments to Frederick II's greatness.³⁰ This is precisely why the references to the Mongols before and after 1241-42 are so compelling: they show Matthew in the middle of his perceptibly pro-imperial enterprise, working from materials forwarded to him by the emperor's most powerful and vocal adversaries.

^{30 &}quot;Matthew Paris, a problematic source in view of the author's tendency to insert material of his own fashioning and of his desire to glorify the Western Emperor Frederick II and denigrate the Pope." Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, p. 58. See references to previous literature concerning this statement in: Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, p. 76, n. 6. Also note that Matthew's bitter anti-papal stance is consciously edited out in later redactions of the *Chronica majora*, just as the *Historia Anglorum* written in 1253. See, e.g., Jessalynn Bird, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell, *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 405.

Bibliography

- Andrews, Frances. *The Early Humiliati*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Bárány, Attila. "A Tatárjárás híre Nyugat-Európában" [News and reports of the Mongol invasion of 1241 in Western Europe]. *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 113, no. 3 (2020): 486–527.
- Barber, Malcolm, and A. K. Bate, eds. *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*. Crusade Texts in Translation 18. Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.
- Baronio, Cesare. *Annales Ecclesiastici, vol 21: 1229-1256*. Edited by August Theiner. Barri-Ducis: Ludovicus Guerin, 1870.
- Bird, Jessalynn, Edward Peters, and James M. Powell. *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291.* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Dickens, Mark. "Tarsā: Persian and Central Asian Christians in Extant Literature." In *Artifact, Text, Context: Studies on Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia,* edited by Li Tang and Dietmar W. Winkler, 9–42. Orientalia Patristica Oecumenica 17. Zurich: Lit, 2020.
- Drayton, Michael. "Song 16." Poly-Olbion. Accessed May 6, 2022. https://poly-olbion.exeter.ac.uk/the-text/full-text/song-16/.
- Grice, Deborah. *Church, Society and University: The Paris Condemnation of 1241/4*. London; New York: Routledge, 2019.
- Hamilton, Bernard, and Andrew Jotischky. *Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Huffman, Joseph P. "Potens et Pauper: Charity and Authority in Jurisdictional Dispute over the Poor in Medieval Cologne." In *Plenitude of Power: The Doctrines and Exercise of Authority in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Robert Louis Benson*, edited by Robert C. Figueira, 107–24. Oxford; New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410*. London New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Martin, Bertram di. "Goffredo da Trani." Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani. Accessed June 6, 2022. https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/goffredo-datrani_(Dizionario-Biografico)/.

- Matthew Paris. *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*. 7 vols. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 57. London: Longman, 1872.
- ———. Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Edited by Henry Richards Luard. Vol. 4. 7 vols. Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores/Rolls Series 57. London: Longman, 1877.
- ———. *Matthew Paris's English History, from 1235 to 1273*. Translated by J. A. Giles. 3 vols. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852.
- Matthew Paris's English History, from 1235 to 1273. Translated by J. A. Giles.
 Vol. 2. 3 vols. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852.
- — Matthew Paris's English History, from 1235 to 1273. Translated by J. A. Giles.
 Vol. 1. 3 vols. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852.
- Papp Reed, Zsuzsanna. *Matthew Paris on the Mongol Invasion in Europe*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022.
- Potthast, August. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, vol. 1. inde ab a. post Christum natum 1198 ad a. 1304.* Berlin: Rudolf de Decker, 1874.
- Rogerius magister. "Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta: Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars." In Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, translated by Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak. Central European Medieval Texts 5. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010.
- Segl, Peter. *Ketzer in Österreich: Untersuchungen über Häresie und Inquisition im Herzogtum Österreich im 13. und beginnenden 14. Jahrhundert*. Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, N. F. 5. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1984.
- Thomas of Spalato. Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of Salona and Split. Edited by Olga Perić, Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2006.
- Tiraboschi, Girolamo. *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta*. Vol. 2. Milan: Galeatius, 1767.

- Touron, Antoine. "The First Disciples of Saint Dominic, Adapted and Enlarged From Father Anthony Touron's *Histoire Abrégée Des Premiers Disciples de Saint Dominique* by the Very Rev. Victor F. O'Daniel." translated by Victor F. O'Daniel. Somerset, OH: The Rosary Press, 1928. http://www.domcentral.org/trad/disciples/09wmdimonf.htm.
- Weiland, Ludwig, ed. *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum, vol. 2, 1198-1272*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Const. Hannover: Hahn, 1896.
- Whalen, Brett Edward. *The Two Powers: The Papacy, the Empire, and the Struggle for Sovereignty in the Thirteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.

Stephen Pow

Ivo of Narbonne's Account of a Mongol Attack on Austria: Fact or Fiction?

The Problem of Ivo of Narbonne's Account and a Revisionist Solution

There is a remarkable account of a Mongol attack on Austria by a certain Ivo of Narbonne, inserted into the *Chronica Maiora* of the English chronicler Matthew Paris (d. 1259). A cleric and drifter unknown in historical records outside of his surviving letter, Ivo wrote to the archbishop of Bordeaux, Géraud de Malemort (r. 1227–1261), to alert him of the danger of the sudden arrival of "Tattari"—the Mongols—in Latin Christendom.¹ Ivo reported on the invaders' shocking violence and savagery during an attack on a town in Austria where he was staying at the time. He noted that it was called "Neustat," adding that this term meant *nova civitas* ("new city") in the German language.² There have been many sites with that name in Central Europe, but it is assumed in scholarship to be Wiener Neustadt in this case. Ivo wrote his letter with the expressed hope and purpose that the

¹ For the variations of "Tartar" and "Tatar" in medieval Latin sources of the thirteenth century, see: Felicitas Schmieder, *Europa und die Fremden: Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. Bis in das 15. Jahrhundert* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1994), pp. 22–23. I have argued that the reason for the widespread use of the term "Tatar" or "Tartar" in Europe and across the whole of Eurasia to denote the Chinggisid-ruled Mongols in the period of the invasion of Europe and prior does not reflect a mistake made by outsiders. The almost global spread of this so-called error makes one at least consider that the Mongols used "Tatar" as an autonym for some period of their conquests, at least to outside peoples such as the Europeans. For a partial outline of this argument which requires further explication, see: Stephen Pow, "Nationes que se Tartaros appellant: An Exploration of the Historical Problem of the Usage of the Ethnonyms Tatar and Mongol in Medieval Sources," *Golden Horde Review* 7.3 (2019), pp. 545–567.

² Henry R. Luard, ed., Chronica Majora, Vol. 4 (London: Trübner & Co., 1877), p. 272; J.A. Giles, trans., Matthew Paris, English History: From the Year 1235 to 1273, Vol. 1 (London: George Bell & Sons, 1889), p. 469. The term "Neustat" in the Latin text is still easily recognizable in modern German as "Neustadt," meaning "New City."

archbishop would use his influence to spread the warning widely throughout Europe of the dangerous "cunning and cruelty" of the invaders which had been observed in Austria.

The present re-assessment probes the overarching historicity of the episode described by Ivo of Narbonne by establishing its rough date and location, as well as comparing it with other medieval accounts of a significant Mongol attack on Austria and similar atrocities. Presently, the major obstacle to reconciling lvo's account with other sources is that the ambiguous name "Neustat" has persistently been understood by historians to mean Wiener Neustadt, located almost 50 kilometers south of Vienna and southwest of the Danube River. In the present analysis, I argue that we should understand "Neustat" to in fact refer to Neuburg, i.e., the joint settlements of Korneuburg on the northeastern (left) bank of the Danube and Klosterneuburg on the southwestern bank. The smaller and newer Korneuburg would have been particularly vulnerable to Mongol attack in the summer of 1241—something which is independently described by Austrian sources like the Continuatio Garstensis.³ However, it is important to note that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these two settlements, the old Babenberg residence of Klosterneuburg and the market town of Korneuburg, were not yet separated; in administrative and ecclesiastical terms, they were the same place though being increasingly separated in geographical terms by frequently changing courses of the Danube and flood disasters.⁴ Accepting this identification allows for a relatively precise dating and contextualization of the episode described by Ivo of Narbonne

Wilhelm Wattenbach, ed., "Continuatio Garstensis," in Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores (abbreviated MGHS) IX, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hanover: Bibliopolium Aulicum Hahnianum, 1851), pp. 594–600; Albin F. Gombos, ed., Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae, Vol. 1 (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1938), p. 769; For a Hungarian translation of the text, see: Balázs Nagy (ed.), Tatárjárás [Tatar Invasion] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 43. For scholarly commentary on the source, see: Julius Reinhard Dieterich, Streitfragen der Schrift- und Quellenkunde des deutschen Mittelalters (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1900), pp. 113–164; Konrad Schiffman, "Zur Garstener Geschichtschreibung," Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 23 (1902), pp. 290–292. For new literature on the Austrian sources of the period with critical evaluations of their source value, see: Matthew Coulter, "Patterns of Communication during the 1241 Mongol Invasion of Europe: Insights from the Ottobeuren Letter Collection," Journal of Medieval History 48.4 (2022), pp. 496–523; Gábor Bradács, "A tatárjárás osztrák elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája" [The critique of the medieval Austrian narrative sources on the Mongol invasion of Hungary (1241–42)], Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 127 (2014), pp. 3–22.

⁴ Felix Czeike, Renate Banik-Schweitzer, and Ferdinand Opll, eds., Österreichischer Städteatlas, 5. Lieferung, 2. Teil 1997. Kommentar in "Korneuburg"; Österreichischer Städteatlas, 4. Lieferung, Teil 1, 1991. Kommentar in "Klosterneuburg." <u>https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/OsterreichischerStadtatlas-osterreichischer-stadteatlas-1/</u> Accessed 15 December, 2023.

within the larger picture of events during the Mongol invasion of Europe (1241–42) already established on the basis of a wide range of European and Asian sources.

To begin, it is important to provide an overview of Ivo of Narbonne's account. Having opened his missive by announcing the pressing danger that was compelling him to write, Ivo described his own fall from grace after being accused of heresy by "rivals" before the papal legate, Robert of Courçon (d. 1219), and his gradual wandering over a span of years through the cities of northern Italy, staying always with members of the burgeoning heretical communities of the Paterinians.⁵ Ivo wandered through Carinthia to Austria where he claims that he "put up at a town called in the Teutonic [German] tongue Neustadt, i.e. New-city, where I was hospitably entertained by some religious of a new order called Beguines."⁶ The Beguines were another incipient and controversial lay religious organization growing up in thirteenth-century Western Europe, and it seems Ivo was drawn to fringe groups offering an alternative or even challenge to the mainstream religious hierarchy. It was among them in Neustadt, "in the neighboring city of Vienna and the surrounding places" (*in proxima civitate Wienna locisque circumjacentibus*), Ivo confessed, that he lived an immoral life at the instigation of the devil for several years.⁷

Ivo's narrative, at this point, segues from a confession of his personal sin amidst a backdrop of religious politics and doctrinal debates, characteristic of the period in Europe, to the description of an unprecedented and shocking attack on Austria by the Mongols (*Tattari*) which resulted from sin. Ivo was by chance staying in "the aforementioned town" (*dictum oppidum*), unequivocally signifying Neustadt (*Neustat*),⁸ when the Mongol forces arrived and started to besiege it. The town's garrison amounted to a mere fifty knights and twenty crossbow men of Duke

⁵ The Paterinians resembled the Cathar and Bogomil heretics. Matthew Paris first mentioned the Paterinians under the heading of 1236 as dangerous and vile heretics in the Alps region whose beliefs were gaining adherents even in France and Flanders at the time. See: Giles, *Matthew Paris*, Vol. 1, p. 28.

⁶ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, p. 272. The passage reads: in quodam oppido Austriae, quod Theutonice Neustat dicitur, id est, nova civitas, inter quosdam novos religiosos, qui Beguini vocantur, hospitabar. As well as being a sort of women's movement, the Beguines come across almost as proto-hippies in their communal living and rejection of authorities, all of which evoked inevitable distrust among such authorities and the wider public. See: Tanya Stabler, The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Laura Swan, The Wisdom of the Beguines: The Forgotten Story of a Medieval Women's Movement (New York: BlueBridge, 2016); Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, p. 278.

⁷ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, p. 272.

⁸ Karl Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242: Nachrichten und Wiedergabe, Korrespondenzen und Historiographie," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 19 (1977), p. 101.

Friedrich II of Austria (r. 1230–1246).⁹ Evidently the Neustadt in guestion was not a major town or a heavily defended center; it had not been expecting a largescale attack and its defenders were bewildered by the invaders' arrival. Ivo described how some troops ascended a nearby hill and noted the size of the Mongol army. Meanwhile, the miserable groans of the dying Christians "were heard ascending" (ascendentes ad Deum Christianorum planctus miserabiles audiebantur) in the surrounding countryside as the invaders fell upon the inhabitants and committed atrocities.¹⁰ There were, Ivo asserted, selective acts of rape and cannibalism. As this was happening, however, a combined relief force of the duke of Austria, king of Bohemia, patriarch of Aquileia, duke of Carinthia, and margrave of Baden showed up, advancing in combat formation. The Mongol army took flight, but some prisoners were taken by a so-called "prince of Dalmatia," and one of these prisoners was subsequently recognized by Duke Friedrich II of Austria as a polyglot Englishman who had previously acted as the Mongol khan's envoy to the court of King Béla IV of Hungary (r. 1235–1270). Ivo then proceeded to offer a long and detailed description of how this Englishman ended up in the service of the Mongols and details on the Mongols' physical description, character, military equipment and practices, as well as their larger strategic intentions. Unfortunately for the curious reader, after all that, Ivo failed to provide any information about the fate of the English prisoner, rather using this upsetting incident in Austria to ask his reader, the archbishop of Bordeaux, why a Crusade was not being called with greater urgency to combat such dangerous new arrivals in Christendom. He noted that six Christian kingdoms had already fallen to the Mongols and their example showed what awaited the others if they did not react more energetically to the threat. Ivo strongly urged the archbishop to use every means at his disposal to pressure the kings of England, France, and Spain to put feuds aside to effectively combat "so many thousands of savages" that were threatening their mutual destruction.¹¹ With that, the letter concludes.

This extraordinarily personal and vivid text by an otherwise unknown individual on the larger Mongol invasion's impact on Austria occupies an awkward position in the scholarship, existing in a state of being neither accepted nor totally dismissed by modern authors. On one hand, it is a standard claim that the

⁹ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, pp. 272–273; Giles, Matthew Paris, Vol. 1, p. 469. The passage on the garrison reads: Nec erant ibidem in ipso ex nostris viri bellici, praeter milites quinquaginta, quos cum viginti balistariis dux in munitione reliquerat. Fifty knights were not negligible, but Ivo's phrasing suggests this was inadequate for the threat.

¹⁰ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, p. 273; Giles, Matthew Paris, Vol. 1, p. 469.

¹¹ For Ivo's entire letter in the standard Latin edition or in English translation respectively, see: Luard, *Chronica Majora*, Vol. 4, pp. 273–277; Giles, *Matthew Paris*, Vol. 1, pp. 469–473.

westernmost advance of the Mongols in Central Europe in 1241–42 was Wiener Neustadt, though this information originates from Ivo of Narbonne's letter and is found in no other source. The location is cited regularly in popular historical works that describe the overall 1241–42 campaign, being understood in all cases as the Wiener Neustadt established by Duke Leopold V of Austria in 1194 and located about 46 kilometers south of Vienna.¹² In scholarship, this detail continues to show up, though often with the clarification that Ivo of Narbonne is our only source behind the claim that the Mongols besieged Wiener Neustadt.¹³ For historians who look at the larger picture of the Mongol invasion of Europe in 1241–42, a problem with accepting the isolated account wholesale is that there is much primary source evidence, including histories and contemporary letters, that the Mongols did not cross the Danube River until the winter, December or January, of 1241–42.¹⁴ The

- 13 Peter Jackson, The Mongols and the West (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), p. 67.
- 14 For sources suggesting a January crossing, see: Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text edition by Olga Perić. Edited and English translation by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), pp. 288–289; Oswald Redlich and Wilhelm Bauer, eds., *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. 36 (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagnerischen K.K. Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1915), pp. 668–670. The latter, a contemporary letter from Hungarian magnates to the papal curia dated to 2 February 1242, reveals that the Mongols had already crossed the frozen Danube at a point before February 1242. In a letter dated to 19 January 1242 and addressed to the papal curia, King Béla IV of Hungary stated that the Mongols had not yet crossed the Danube. For that document, see: Nagy, *Tatárjárás*, p. 176. However, an-

¹² For examples of this claim of the Mongol advance extending to Wiener Neustadt, see: John Man, The Mongol Empire: Genghis Khan, His Heirs, and the Founding of Modern China (London: Corgi Books, 2015), pp. 143–144; James Chambers, The Devil's Horsemen (New York: Atheneum, 1979), p. 110. James Chambers suggested that Ivo of Narbonne was in modern Wiener Neustadt, which was attacked in 1242, but confused the clash between European forces and the Mongols with an incident that occurred at Korneuberg in 1241. It is difficult to support that Ivo of Narbonne could have been present at the site of a siege, but then could have mistaken the relief of the town with events that occurred elsewhere a year earlier. The chief scholarly literature on the topic of Wiener Neustadt sheds no light on a Mongol attack. Josef Mayer states that the Mongol attack on the town happened around 1243 but with no citation or argument. Ostensibly, he just relied on historical arguments tied to Ivo of Narbonne's letter. See: Josef Mayer, Geschichte von Wiener Neustadt, Vol. 1 (Wiener Neustadt: Selbstverlag, 1924), p. 126, pp. 135–139. Documents from Austria in the precise period of the reign of Duke Friedrich II are similarly absent of references to a Mongol attack on Wiener Neustadt. Duke Friedrich himself took refuge from an invading imperial army behind Wiener Neustadt's completed walls in 1236. An existing document from Friedrich to the citizens of Wiener Neustadt expressed gratitude for this service and affirmed their wall-building privilege. Yet, bafflingly, other existing charters (even from the duke) in 1244 and 1245, addressing directly Wiener Neustadt's continued urban and fortification development, make no reference to any previous Mongol attack on it. See: Thomas Winkler, "Die städtebauliche Anlage und mittelalterliche Befestigung von Wiener Neustadt" (Mag. Phil. diss., University of Vienna, 2009), pp. 19–20.

view in modern scholarship, which will be discussed below, is that any such attack must have occurred in the summer of 1241, if at all, so it is problematic that Wiener Neustadt is located securely west of the Danube River and considerably to the south of Vienna. On the basis of a range of sources, such an attack deep into Austrian territory would not have been possible in the spring or summer of 1241.

There have long been attempts, at least in the German-language literature, to reconcile the seemingly authentic aspects of Ivo of Narbonne's report of an attack on Wiener Neustadt with the contextual detail that a Mongol force, especially a large, well-organized one, should not have been able to reach it in 1241. Already in 1893, Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann suggested the trustworthiness of Ivo's account was heavily disputed in part because of its shocking content. Granting that the letter's author was an unreliable rascal who played with details, Strakosch-Grassmann nonetheless argued that the lack of corroboration in other texts is not an argument against the described episode's historicity; the paucity of mid-thirteenth century sources made it quite possible to have only a single mention of a military engagement. Suggesting that the episode could only have happened in 1241, he then argued that the most significant detail—the presence in Austria that summer of the coalition of Central European leaders named by Ivo of Narbonne—is a possibility since existing sources do not prove that any of the named leaders was elsewhere at the time. His view was that a minor raiding party must have managed to cross the Danube in small leather boats which Mongol armies employed, briefly besieging Austria's capital of Vienna itself, rather than the distant Wiener Neustadt, in the summer of 1241.15

While it makes a very useful contribution by demonstrating the possibility, at least, of a coalition of regional magnates having formed in Austria in 1241, there are major problems with Strakosch-Grassmann's line of argument. First, a Mongol siege of the ducal capital of Vienna being exclusively mentioned in the letter of a single wandering heretic is even more implausible than if the Mongols had attacked the relatively minor town of Wiener Neustadt. Moreover, it makes no sense that the duke would defend his city with less than a hundred troops and that an eyewitness participant in the siege would go out of his way to make clear that the episode did not happen in the *civitas* of Vienna, but rather a smaller town where

other contemporary letter written by a friar in Vienna on 4 January 1242 stated the Mongols had already crossed the Danube on Christmas in 1241, see: T. Smičiklas (ed.), *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, Vol. 4 (Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke Tiskare, 1906), p. 139; Giles, *Matthew Paris,* Vol. 3, p. 454.

¹⁵ Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242 (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1893), pp. 187– 191.

he happened to be staying. Ivo's terminology makes that clear. Because of such irreconcilable issues, Karl Rudolf offered the newer suggestion that the attacks on Austria, confined to the Danube area according to contemporary chronicles, must have been exclusively the work of the passing army of Chinggisid princes, Orda and Baidar, who overran Poland, triumphed over Henry II at Liegnitz, rampaged across Moravia, and then joined the main Mongol force of Batu (r. 1227–1255/56) in Hungary. As they advanced along the Danube, they would have attacked the frontiers of Austria.¹⁶ The assault of Wiener Neustadt described by Ivo of Narbonne, Rudolf argued, must have been carried out by Cumans rather than Mongols. He conflated Ivo's siege of Wiener Neustadt with an account provided by Master Roger (c. 1205–1266), a witness of the Mongols' invasion of Hungary who was temporarily their prisoner. Rudolf argued that Roger's description of the Cumans attacking the Hungarians to avenge their leader Kuten's murder by a lynch mob in Pest in the spring of 1241, crossing the Danube, and raiding Marchia all in fact referred to the same larger episode that included the attack on Neustadt in Austria recounted by Ivo.¹⁷

In more recent decades, Johannes Gießauf noted that there are plausible reasons to support Rudolf's thesis of a Cuman attack in Austria. However, as Gießauf noted, such a scenario would in no way explain why Kuten's former followers had a polyglot English envoy of the Mongol khan in their company, and Rudolf's identification of Master Roger's Marchia as the border region of Austria and Hungary is not defensible—it was rather Srem (Syrmia/Sirmium) between the Danube and Sava. Gießauf suggested that perhaps it was a Mongol force after all, but if so, the claim of it being a massive army must be an imaginative insertion by Matthew Paris. Rather, it would have been a small reconnoitering force.¹⁸ A recent study by Aleksandar Uzelac confirms that the Marchia described by Master Roger was indeed Srem, and he notes that archaeological traces now confirm written accounts of the destruction of several important localities there, including monasteries. Although Pope Innocent IV noted in a missive of 1247 that the Mongols themselves had devastated it, Uzelac suggests that the Cuman refugees were the major culprits since a range of other sources outline major Mongol military activity in regions distant from Srem in 1241-42.19

¹⁶ Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," pp. 101–103.

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 103-105.

¹⁸ Johannes Gießauf, "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich und die Mongolengefahr von 1241/42," in Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alpen-Adria-Raumes: Festgabe für Othmar Pickl zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. H. Ebner, P.W. Roth, and I. Wiesflecker-Friedhuber (Graz: Instituts für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität, 1997), pp. 190–192.

¹⁹ Aleksandar Uzelac, "МОНГОЛИ У СРЕМУ (1241–1242): ДОГАЂАЈ КОЈИ СЕ НИЈЕ ОДИГРАО" [The Mongols in Srem (1241-1242): A Non-Event], *Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies* 10 (2022), pp. 29–49.

Though Austrian chronicles were especially prone to assert that the Cumans were subordinated to the Mongols, claiming that the two peoples were comingled and operating together in the invasion of Europe (and hence, they could be mistaken for one another),²⁰ I share Gießauf's same doubts about Rudolf's thesis. It makes no sense that an English envoy of the khan would be among a party of Cuman refugees that had been living in Hungary under the protection of the Hungarian king for several years. The Englishman's life story, apparently told to his captors in Austria, is focused entirely on how he came into Mongol imperial service; he never mentioned joining the Cumans. His explanation of how he came to serve the khan forms much of the entire letter. More importantly, Master Roger's account clearly does not describe events in Austria or even near the western bank of the Danube in Hungary. According to his well-informed narrative, the Cuman leader, Kuten, was murdered in Pest—on the eastern side of the Danube. When the Cumans gathered there and learned of Kuten's death, they fought against Hungarian peasants. On their march out of Hungary, they collided with the forces of the bishop of Cenad which were marching to Pest to join the larger Hungarian army.²¹ As such, this creates an image that the Cumans were moving southward and eastward; they likely confronted the army from Cenad either on the eastern bank of the Danube, somewhere far south of Pest, or near the Tisza River. Moreover, any sites mentioned in Master Roger's account of Cuman actions after the murder of Kuten are nowhere near Austria, but rather on the opposite side of the Hungarian kingdom. The term "Marchia" was in fact used to denote Srem, and its notable villages of "Franka" and "Sancti Martini" destroyed by the Cumans are Mandelos (Nagyolaszi) and Martinci in modern Serbia.²² When the Cumans crossed the Danube and sacked those villages, they were in the Balkans and well on their way to their destination of Bulgaria as is documented in other sources.²³ Gießauf's speculation that a

H. G. Pertz et al., ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores (abbreviated MGHS) IX (Hannover: Hahn, 1826–1892), p. 508, p. 559; Matthew Coulter, "The Mongol Invasion of Europe (1241) through the Lens of Austrian Sources." (MPhil Diss., Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2019), p. 65.

²¹ Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, Notary of King Bela The Deeds of the Hungarians. Edited, translated and annotated by Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy, Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta. Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars. Translated and annotated by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, (Central European Medieval Texts, 5) (Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 172–177. (hereinafter Anonymus and Master Roger)

²² Ibid., pp. 176–177, especially notes 3 and 4. Uzelac, "МОНГОЛИ У СРЕМУ (1241–1242)," p. 34, pp. 47–49. Uzelac notes that archaeological findings confirm destruction in other places close to these two locations that were specifically cited by Master Roger.

²³ J. A. Boyle, The Successors of Genghis Khan (New York: Columbia, 1971), p. 71, note 350. The

small Mongol reconnaissance force may have been active in the vicinity of Wiener Neustadt rests again on no textual evidence outside of a selective reading of Ivo of Narbonne's account.

For over a century of historical scholarship, the studies that have most closely analyzed Ivo of Narbonne's narrative seem to accept the general claim that Wiener Neustadt came under attack during the Mongol invasion. As Gießauf points out, Ivo of Narbonne's consistent use of "Tattari" —a rendering that matches Asiatic sources rather than the Western European convention of "Tartar" —points to a degree of authenticity in the letter, and it could well be a legitimate account of a historical event.²⁴ I would add that the detailed description of an English interpreter in the khan's service who was captured and provided a whole backstory of how he ended up in the Mongol army—along with the detail that he was recognized by the duke of Austria as being a former envoy to the royal court of Hungary-lends further credence to the report. We know from independent sources, including a surviving ultimatum of the Great Khan dated to 1237, that the Mongols had sent envoys frequently to the Hungarian court in the lead-up to the invasion of 1241-42.²⁵ Moreover, the typical reasons for the forgery of medieval documents-to advance a land claim, or to prove a noble family's prerogative, or to promote a site of pilgrimage, or to excite national pride via claims of past military glories—do not apply at all in the case of the letter of a French drifter, Ivo of Narbonne, who simply described a brief and terrifying disaster in Austria in which he was caught up by chance.²⁶

Yet, there has been much skepticism toward the finer details of Ivo's letter. As Matthew Coulter has noted in his recent work on Austrian sources related to the Mongol invasion, the consensus is that it is a "problematic source" which at least contains much exaggeration.²⁷ The letter is often viewed as the product of Euro-

Greek contemporary, George Akropolites, noted that Cumans had been settling in Bulgaria prior to the Mongol invasion. Ruth Macrides, trans., *George Akropolites: The History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 199.

²⁴ Gießauf, "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich," pp. 189–191.

²⁵ For the ultimatum of the khan to the Hungarian monarch, recorded by Friar Julian, see: Heinrich Dörrie, ed., *Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), p. 179. Emperor Frederick II noted that the bishop of Vác had personally informed him that envoys from the Mongols used to regularly show up at the Hungarian royal court to demand submission from King Béla IV. See: Luard, *Chronica Majora*, Vol. 4, pp. 113–114; Giles, *English History*, Vol. 1, pp. 342–343.

²⁶ For demonstrated forgeries of documents such as charters tied to the Mongol invasion in the Czech lands and the motivations behind their creation, see: Tomáš Somer, "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241," *Golden Horde Review* 6.2 (2018), pp. 238–251. For the means by which mythology and misrepresentation of Austria's history have been used vis-à-vis the Mongol invasion to shore up nationalistic sentiments, see: Gießauf, "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich," pp. 173–199.

²⁷ Coulter, "The Mongol Invasion of Europe (1241) through the Lens of Austrian Sources," 11.

pean fears and imagination regarding the little-understood Mongols.²⁸ It has been argued that the section about Mongol acts of cannibalism is a mere interpolation by Matthew Paris, a monk of St. Albans Abbey, who chose to include Ivo's missive in his chronicle.²⁹ Indeed, there is an unmistakably lurid, almost tabloid quality to the description—a perception which is not at all counteracted by Matthew Paris' vivid drawing of a virgin tied to a tree as savage Mongols feast on dismembered limbs. Matthew Paris' image of the Mongols seems inspired by the legendary peoples of Gog and Magog, but, as Zsuzsa Papp Reed notes, the illustration closely resembles the man-eating Essedones that we likewise see depicted on the Hereford Map, an English Mappa mundi from the thirteenth century. While containing genuine details from Ivo's letter, such drawings might reflect folkloric and inaccurate notions about monsters inhabiting the world beyond Europe.³⁰ Not surprisingly then, there is reservation among modern historians to accept Ivo's shocking claims of Mongol cruelty during the attack on Austria. There is a well-known general scepticism in modern scholarship to accept wholesale claims in medieval writings of barbarity committed by "the other," and there is a sensationalistic, horror-story quality to what is described in the letter. While Felicitas Schmieder in Europa und die Fremden accepts many of the claims made in Ivo of Narbonne's letter regarding Mongol attitudes and practices as useful material, she notes that claims about the inhuman brutality of the Mongols and their reported atrocities against maidens and children were a constantly recycled theme in Eastern Europe through the centuries, being regularly employed as propaganda.³¹

Whether it is the monstrous depiction of the Mongol invaders or the extraordinary account of an English adventurer who ended up in the service of the Great Khan, the overall impression of Ivo of Narbonne's letter is one of sensationalism. The Englishman's story was adapted into a "biographical" work which has been very popular despite being understandably decried by academic historians as speculative historical fiction.³² It sometimes comes across that historians are overly critical of Ivo's letter. As a slightly frivolous example, the term "dog-headed cannibals" in its text—perhaps an interpolation—evokes persistent European images

²⁸ Gian Andri Bezzola, Die Mongolen in Abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270): Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1974), pp. 82–86.

²⁹ Coulter, "Patterns of communication," p. 499.

³⁰ Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, Matthew Paris on the Mongol Invasion of Europe (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022); Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, "Perceptions of Eastern Europe: Peoples, Kingdoms and Region in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century English Sources," (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2009), pp. 156-158.

³¹ Schmieder, Europa und die Fremden, p. 239.

³² Gabriel Ronay, *The Tartar Khan's Englishman* (London: Orion Publishing Group, 1978).

of monstrous peoples of the East. Yet, when Achilles calls Agamemnon "dog face" at several points in the *lliad*, readers understand it figuratively. Likewise, when Amir Khusrau (1253–1325), poet-courtier of the Delhi Sultanate who was briefly taken prisoner by the Mongols, refers to the "carcass eaters of Qaidu" and "elephant-bodied Mughals,"³³ readers understand the intention as the degradation of an enemy people.

To reiterate the central argument of this paper, it appears that the letter of lvo of Narbonne is, regardless of whatever interpolations, a document based on a genuine historical episode. It is essentially a valid and accurate report, but it has been misunderstood. If we reinterpret it as a description of a documented Mongol attack on Austria's frontier, certainly at the exposed *oppidum* of Korneuburg and either directly or by association at the walled *civitas* of Klosterneuburg, in the early summer of 1241, it is supported by, and supports, other sources. Justifying such a revisionist interpretation requires that we briefly establish and analyze four key aspects of the narrative: the timeframe of the attack on Austria; the location, *viz.*, the town where the military clash took place; the validity of the claims of Mongol atrocities; corroborating accounts of a European military coalition and fighting in Austria.

The Timeframe: When did the attack on Austria take place?

It is important to narrow down the timeframe of the Mongol attack on an Austrian settlement described by Ivo of Narbonne. No date is provided in the letter itself and Ivo's only direct clue to when the episode took place is that it was "this very summer" (*in hac demum aestate*).³⁴ If one goes simply by the date provided in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Maiora*, Ivo's letter is placed under the year of 1243,³⁵ so we must at least consider that it might have been the summer of 1241, 1242, or 1243. Though I firmly agree with a viewpoint advanced in German-language works of the

³³ S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, trans., *Khaza'inul Futuh (Treasures of Victory)* (Madras: Diocesan Press, 1931), p. 24, p. 27.

³⁴ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, p. 272; Giles, Matthew Paris, Vol. 1, p. 469.

³⁵ Luard, *Chronica Majora*, Vol. 4, pp. 270–277. Shortly before Ivo of Narbonne's letter, Matthew Paris described a meteor shower in late July 1243 that was reported separately in the same timeframe by chronicler Richard de San Germano and the *Annales S. Benigni Divionensis*. See: Umberto Dall'Olmo, "Meteors, Meteor Showers and Meteorites in the Middle Ages: From European Medieval Sources," *Journal of the History of Astronomy* 9 (1978), p. 131; Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," p. 100. For the meteor shower, see: Luard, *Chronica Majora*, Vol. 4, p. 249.

last century that it must have been the summer of 1241, it is a necessary exercise to rule out other possibilities.

Working backward chronologically, we can dismiss 1243 though there exists a strangely persistent and early statement in the sources that the Mongols occupied Hungary for three years. We see this pattern already in the Galicia–Volhynia Chronicle which notes that after the Mongols' victory against the Hungarians at Muhi, they remained for three years.³⁶ Since the invasion occurred in very early 1241, the claim of "three years" would suggest the years 1241, 1242, and 1243. Statements about a three-year occupation likewise appear in fourteenth-century chronicles such as Hungary's Illuminated Chronicle (1358) and the Chronicon Posoniense (c. 1350).³⁷ Yet strong pieces of textual evidence dating from the very summer of 1243 rule out a Mongol attack in that year. A letter from Pope Innocent IV to the patriarch of Aquileia, Berthold V (r. 1218–1251), and dated to 21 July 1243 noted that the Mongols were now outside of Hungary's borders in the neighboring regions.³⁸ The following day, 22 July 1243, the pope sent a missive to a Cistercian abbot and prelates in nearby Moravia in which he discussed the Mongol withdrawal from Hungary as a past event. Indeed, the pope had received the unwelcome news that some opportunists had made inroads in Hungary, taking advantage of the Mongols' total departure.³⁹ Such roaming bands of raiders could indeed have included

³⁶ George A. Perfecky, trans., *The Hypatian Codex, Part II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle,* Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies 16:2 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973), p. 49. The original text dated to the thirteenth century but is no longer extant. A copy survived in the early fifteenth-century Hypatian Codex.

³⁷ János Bak, and László Veszprémy, trans., The Illuminated Chronicle: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth Century Illuminated Codex (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018), pp. 324-327; Imre Szentpétery, Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, Vol. 2 (2nd edition: Budapest: Academia litter. Hungarica, 1937), p. 43. For the dating of the Chronicon Posoniense [Pozsony/Bratislava Chronicle], see: Ibid., p. 10.

³⁸ Carolus Rodenburg, ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae, Vol. 2, (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887), p. 3. (abbreviated as MGH)

³⁹ Ibid., p. 4. About present conditions in the Kingdom of Hungary, the pope's statement reads: "sed quidam, sicut mirantes accepimus, regnum ipsum presentibus Tartaris et post illorum recessum hostiliter invaserunt, multos de ipsius confinio, illorum bonis consumptis per incendium, ponentes in ore gladii, non absque manifesta iniuria Cruxifixi." A strong implication that the new invaders were pagans is contained in the statement about injury to the crucified one, and archaeological evidence exists in the Great Hungarian Plain that Cumans were burning massacre sites like Szank to obtain treasure not already looted amidst the ashes. See: Gábor Wilhelm, "Akiket nem akartak karddal elpusztítani, tűzben elégették:' Az 1241. évi pusztítás Szank határában" [Those who did not die by sword were burned to ashes: Destruction within the Boundaries of Szank in 1241], in "Carmen Miserabile:" A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei; Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére ["Carmen Miserabile:" Remnants of the Mongol Invasion of Hungary; András Horváth Pálóczi's seventieth birthday memorial volume], ed. Szabolcs Rosta, and György V. Székely (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 81–109.

Cumans, but they certainly were not conducting any significant military operations, let alone trying to storm walled settlements in Austria's heartland.

It is not immediately clear why the misconception of a three-year Mongol occupation is so widespread in later medieval and early modern documents. Perhaps the Mongol occupation was considered in terms of impacted growing seasons or calendar years over which the Mongols were in Europe rather than full 365-day years. Perhaps a lingering Mongol presence in Bulgaria and Cumania, where the Hungarians had previously been exerting royal authority, was factored into this chronological convention.⁴⁰ What is clear, however, is that the earlier sources overwhelmingly support the viewpoint that the Mongols had withdrawn from Hungary in the early spring of 1242.

The best evidence comes from the most detailed contemporary historical narratives of the Mongol invasion of the Kingdom of Hungary, annalistic entries, and letters written during or slightly after the events. A historian who was personally acquainted with the Hungarian monarch, Thomas of Split (1200–1268), clearly indicated that the Mongols who had pursued Béla IV to Dalmatia only remained in the vicinity, trying in vain to capture him or a city, until the end of March 1242. Thereafter, they withdrew eastward through Serbia to Bulgaria where all Mongol forces were to muster. Upon confirmation from scouts that the Mongols had totally evacuated his kingdom, Béla quickly returned from the Dalmatian coast to Hungary proper well before September 1242, probably in the spring or summer; his queen and son remained secure at the rugged Croatian fortress of Klis until that month.⁴¹ This all suggests that during the summer of 1242, the Mongols had already withdrawn far eastward from any frontier close to Austria and were well on their way out of Europe. Such a scenario would explain a charter which suggests Duke Friedrich II of Austria had confidently advanced eastward "against the Tartars" from his own duchy into Hungarian territory in the summer of 1242, occupying the castle of "Clobuk" on the Vág River, located in present-day Slovakia.⁴² However, as Matthew Coulter recently pointed out, the charter appears to actually date from 1236 and was possibly reworked and misinterpreted by Joseph Hormayr (1782–1848) to date

⁴⁰ Boyle, *Successors*, p. 71. Rashid al-Din, following a Mongol report of the campaign, describes fighting against the Cumans in the area of Bulgaria in 1242. The campaign continued into 1243 which saw a Mongol presence in the broader steppe region of Cumania. Ostensibly, some of these Cumans were those who fled Pest for Bulgaria after the death of Kuten in early 1241.

⁴¹ Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitanorum*, pp. 300–303.

⁴² Joseph Hormayr, *Die goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau, Urkunde* (Munich: G. Franz, 1842), p. 69. I take the mentioned castle to be Hlohovec (Galgóc) which was "in Hungary" as Friedrich II of Austria evidently indicated in the letter, rather than a location in Moravia as Hormayr suggested.

from 1242 in an effort to retroactively enhance the role of Austria in repelling the Mongols.⁴³

In any case, if the Mongols were invading or poised to invade Austria in 1242, undoubtedly Duke Friedrich would have been present in his own territory rather than moving in on his neighbour to capitalize on Hungary's disorder. That, indeed, is the scenario we encounter in June 1241 when the Austrian duke composed two letters, dated in Vienna, which reported that his troops fought with the Mongols around Austria's borders (*circa limites*) as commoners were slaughtered during the attacks.⁴⁴ These two documents will be explicated in the section below on corroborating sources, but for now it is enough to highlight that Duke Friedrich's own words provide the best timeframe for Mongol attacks on Austrian soil in which we can situate Ivo of Narbonne's account.

Just as Austria's ruler confirmed the Mongols' attacks were on his borders, i.e., on the eastern side of the Danube, our best-informed authors suggest that they did not manage to cross the Danube River in force until the mid-winter of 1241–42. Before then, they simply lined its east bank in Hungary with their fortified camps as King Wenceslaus I of Bohemia (r. 1230–1253) attested in a letter thought to date from around June 1241.⁴⁵ Master Roger noted that when the winter was setting in and the river began to freeze, the Hungarians still managed to prevent a Mongol crossing by assiduously breaking up the ice and even fighting on the river. The Mongols finally dared a crossing only after they saw a herd of stolen horses being successfully led over the ice by the Hungarians.⁴⁶ Béla IV of Hungary, certainly a well-informed figure on the course of Batu's campaign in Hungary in 1241–42, noted that his troops on the western bank of the river managed to prevent a Mongol crossing of the Danube for ten months.⁴⁷ Since the Mongols broke into Hungary in early March and their vanguard forces advanced to the Danube by mid-March,⁴⁸

⁴³ Coulter, "Patterns of Communication," pp. 500–501.

⁴⁴ Hormayr, Die goldene Chronik, Urkunde, pp. 65–66, p. 70.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 66. For the approximate dating of the Bohemian king's letter to June 1241, see: Coulter, "Patterns of Communication," p. 501.

⁴⁶ Anonymus and Master Roger, pp. 214–215.

⁴⁷ Agost Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859), pp. 230–232.

⁴⁸ Anonymus and Master Roger, pp. 160–161, pp. 168–169. For a recent and important assessment of the textual and archaeological evidence of a defensive line that was vigorously developed along the Danube in the Kingdom of Hungary already during the 1241-42 invasion – and in its aftermath – see: József Laszlovszky, "Visegrád várai és a tatárjárás után kiépített dunai védővonal" [The castles of Visegrád and the Danube defensive line built after the Tatar invasion], in "Visegrád, Visegrád! Hol hajdani fényed?" Tanulmányok Szőke Mátyás 80. Születésnapjára ["Visegrad, Visegrád! Where is your old light?" Studies for Mátyás Szőke's 80th birthday], ed. Gergely Buzás (Visegrád: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2021), pp. 28–32.

we might imagine that the king meant that they crossed to the western bank—with access hypothetically to much of Lower Austria including Wiener Neustadt—in or around January 1242.

Thus, the surviving contemporary accounts, both those providing specific dates and those that do not, can appear to connect the Mongol attack on Austria to the aftermath of the Battle of Liegnitz on 9 April 1241 and the subsequent departure of the Mongol forces of Orda and Baidar southward from Poland and through Moravia on their way to Hungary. During the invasion, a letter written by Brother Jordan, a vicar of the Franciscans in Poland and Bohemia, noted that the Mongols entered Moravia before 9 May 1241.49 The Annales S. Pantaleonis Coloniensis contain a claim, almost certainly an exaggeration, that they passed through Moravia in a single day and night.⁵⁰ The threat posed to the Holy Roman Empire was strongly perceived among its leaders by this point as is hinted by King Conrad IV of Germany (1228–1254), the teenage son of Emperor Frederick II (r. 1220–1250), taking up the cross against the Mongols on 19 May 1241 at Esslingen in Southern Germany.⁵¹ Soon afterwards, Ponce d'Aubon, the Templar master in France who had just talked with his fellow knights from Poland about their defeat at the Battle of Liegnitz and the subsequent advances of the Mongols, noted that one of the three Mongol armies in Europe was presently attacking Austria.⁵² Aware of the German king recently taking the cross, the Templar almost certainly composed the letter in June 1241. This serves alongside the Austrian duke's testimony to bolster Peter Jackson's viewpoint that the Mongol assault on Austria took place in the timeframe of late May to mid-June 1241.53 That is when Ivo's experience is most likely to be situated, though we cannot state with certainty that it was Orda and

For details of how this defensive line was envisioned and how its strong points were developed after the invasion, see: Ibid., pp. 32–47. See also J. Laszlovszky's chapter in the present volume.

⁴⁹ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 6, p. 84.

⁵⁰ MGHS XXII, p. 535. During the invasion, Wenceslaus I of Bohemia testified several times to widespread destruction in Moravia – an operation which would require more time than a single day. See: Hormayr, *Die goldene Chronik, Urkunde*, p. 66; Gustav Friedrich, Jindřich Šebánek, and Sáša Dušková, eds., *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae*, Vol. 4 (Prague: Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences, 1962), p. 499.

⁵¹ Peter Jackson, "The Crusade against the Mongols," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42.1 (1991). pp. 6-7.

⁵² For King Conrad's letter, see: J.F. Schannat, Vindemiae literariae, Hoc est veterum monumentorum ad Germaniam Sacram praecipue spectantium. Collectio prima (Fulda: M. G. Weidmann, 1723), p. 204. For the letter of Ponce d'Aubon, the Templar master in France, addressed to King Louis IX of France, see: MGHS XXVI, pp. 604–606.

⁵³ Jackson, "The Crusade against the Mongols," p. 3.

Baidar's forces that necessarily made the attack on Austria rather than a separate force advancing westward from Hungary.⁵⁴

The Location: Was "Neustat" in fact Wiener Neustadt or rather Neuburg?

My key argument is that up to the present, historical research touching on this topic has persisted with an understandable and admittedly justifiable misinterpretation of the site in Austria that experienced, according to Ivo of Narbonne, a Mongol siege. This misconception is owing to the ambiguity that a term like "Neustat" has—this quality can be pronounced in thirteenth-century documents; their authors seem ambiguous in the use of toponyms, at least to modern readers standing outside of the medieval context. We can see the consequences in Karl Rudolf's misinterpretation of the ambiguous term, "Marchia," to refer to the marches of the Hungarian-Austrian border region rather than Master Roger's intended "Marchia" of Srem (Syrmia/Sirmium) in present-day Vojvodina, Serbia.⁵⁵ He lived in the Kingdom of Hungary where Marchia would have meant the region between the Danube and Sava, but such local contexts can often be missed by modern researchers. In a similar way, the commonness of the toponym "Neustat," simply meaning "new town," has led to misidentifications and confusion. As an example, we might take the mining settlement of Uničov that existed in Moravia since the early thirteenth century; its town charter of 1223 is the earliest surviving in the Czech kingdom. Among German-speakers, it was called Neustadt, and in the eighteenth century, its name evolved into "Mährisch Neustadt" ("Moravian New Town") specifically to distinguish it from the many other places named "Neustadt" that existed in East-Central Europe.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ MGHS XXIX, p. 599. My special thanks to Roman Hautala who pointed out this postscript in a Luxembourg monastery's codex that suggests Mongol forces joined in Hungary already in late April 1241.

⁵⁵ Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242," pp. 104–105. For the correct identification of Marchia as the area between the Danube and Sava Rivers, see: Anonymus and Master Roger, pp. 176–177.

⁵⁶ For details on the archaeological and charter evidence of Uničov as a bustling mining town in the early thirteenth century, see: Martin Monik and Pavel Šlézar, "An Analysis of Metalworking By-products from the Medieval Town of Uničov," *Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica* 3.2 (2012), pp. 229–235. For the detail that Uničov's German name was adjusted to Mährisch Neustadt to distinguish it from other towns with the same name, see: Ladislav Hosák, and Rudolf Šrámek, *Mistní jména na Moravě a ve Slezsku [Place names in Moravia and Silesia]*, Vol. 2 (Prague: Akademia Nakladatelství Československé Akademie, 1980), p. 643.

In the case of Ivo of Narbonne's location, described by him at different points as a walled city (civitas) and market town (oppidum) that came under Mongol attack, I contend that he was describing Neuburg, meaning Klosterneuburg in a larger sense, but the brunt of the attack would have fallen on the town's extension of Korneuburg just northeast of the Danube River. He simply called the site Neustat ("new town") rather than Neuburg ("new castle" but less strictly "new fortified town"). When we acknowledge the ambiguity of Klosterneuburg's close connection to Korneuburg, then the changing terms employed by Ivo of Narbonne make sense. Klosterneuburg was built on a Roman settlement and was walled already before the twelfth century. Large, populous, and the original capital of Austria's dukes, it would indeed have qualified as a civitas at that time when the term unambiguously meant a large, walled settlement.⁵⁷ If part of Ivo's description pertained to an attack on Korneuburg, located northeast of the Danube and only existing from around 1120 as a new and perhaps unwalled market town (novum forum), that would still be Klosterneuburg in the sense that the two towns were administratively tied until 1298.⁵⁸ What is not speculative is that an ambiguously named "new" settlement was attacked by the Mongols; the thirteenth-century Annales Garstensis, composed in Garsten in Upper Austria, record that a part of the Mongol army entered Austria unexpectedly and killed many Christians "at Newburg" (apud *Niunburch*) on the bank of the Danube River before withdrawing.⁵⁹ As Johannes Gießauf notes, this could only be Korneuburg.⁶⁰ But in 1241, it would be the larger complex of Klosterneuburg and Korneuburg, divided by the Danube, that was perceived to have been under attack.

In the relevant period, textual evidence seems to suggest that *Stat/Stadt* (etymologically related to "place" – "settlement") and *Burg* (etymologically connected to "hilltop fortress") were not watertight categories, and we see a degree of interchangeability in their usage. Two very important, well-known works composed in the relevant region of Austria and Hungary—both dating from the early thirteenth century according to scholarship—testify to this. The *Nibelungenlied*, composed by

⁵⁷ Richard Perger, "Klosterneuburg im Mittelalter," in Klosterneuburg Geschichte und Kultur, Band 1, ed. Floridus Röhrig, Gustav Otruba, and Michael Duscher (Klosterneuburg: Stadtgemeinde Klosterneuburg and Mayer & Comp., 1992), p. 139.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 140.

⁵⁹ MGHS IX, p. 597. The relevant text reads: "aliqua pars illorum insperate Austriam ingressa, multos christanos in ripa Danubii apud Niunburch gladio interfecit, sine lesione vel dampno recendentibus eisdem."

⁶⁰ By dint of geography, the named location could only be Korneuburg. See: Gießauf, "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich," pp. 173–199: "Zweifellos kann es sich dabei nur um Korneuburg handeln, da dieses im Gegensatz zum toponomastisch ebenfalls möglichen Klosterneuburg nördlich der Donau liegt, und die Mongolen den Fluß nachweislich erst an der Jahreswende 1241/42 überschritten."

an anonymous Austrian author around 1200, uses the German terms "*burc*" and "*stat*" interchangeably to refer to Attila's capital, Etzelburg/Ecelburg (Óbuda).⁶¹ In the *Deeds of the Hungarians*, written in Latin by an author employed by the Hungarian royal chancellery, and probably in the first couple decades of the thirteenth century, the German term *burc* is used to refer to a town, namely Attila's capital.⁶² That was evidently the ruins of Aquincum, a former Roman city.

As Richard Perger also observed, there was a trend up to around 1200 in Austria to use the German terms "burc" and "stat" interchangeably.⁶³ Chosen terminology depended perhaps on what aspect authors wished to emphasize about a place.⁶⁴ Since this was the case at the time of Ivo of Narbonne, we can realistically posit that Neuburg (Klosterneuburg and its attached Korneuburg) might have been—perhaps colloquially—referred to as Neustat in the period and region that Ivo of Narbonne was present. In East Central Europe, we see the interchangeability of these two terms reflected in Latin calques at this precise time. Transylvania is mentioned in the *Annales Sancti Trudperti* as *Septem urbium* in the context of the Mongol attacks on Hungary (Pannonia), Transylvania, and Moravia in 1241,⁶⁵ but the *Annales Erphordenses (Erfurt Annals)* note that the Mongols attacked *Septem castrorum* when documenting the same invasion under the heading of 1242.⁶⁶ Observing these cases, it appears that annalists in the German-speaking milieu at the time of

⁶¹ A.T. Hatto, *The Nibelungenlied* (London: Penguin, 1969), p. 396, especially note 2. For the medieval tradition that Attila's capital – known as the "City of Attila" (*urbs Ethelae*) and called "Etzelburg" by Germans – was Óbuda, see Simon of Kéza's thirteenth-century chronicle: László Veszprémy, and Frank Schaer, *Simon of Kéza: The Deeds of the Hungarians* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), pp. 52–53. For the identification of the site of Óbuda with Attila as a sort of quasi-founding figure myth in the Middle Ages, see Enikő Spekner, "Buda before Buda: Óbuda and Pest as Early Centers," in *Medieval Buda in Context*, ed. Balázs Nagy, Martyn C. Rady, Katalin Szende, and András Vadas (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 76.

⁶² Anonymus and Master Roger, pp. 8-9. Anonymous claimed that Attila commanded the site to be fortified with a wall.

⁶³ Perger, "Klosterneuburg im Mittelalter," p. 139.

Old High German terminology had ambiguity with the OHG "burg" translating as "Burg" or "Stadt" among other terms: "burg 196, ahd., st. F. (i, athem.): nhd. Burg, Stadt, Schloss; ne. castle, town." Both "houbitburg" and "houbitstat" were used for "Hauptstadt," etc. See: Gerhard Köbler, *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch (6. Auflage)* (2014). http://www.koeblergerhard.de/ahdwbhin.html Accessed 18 December, 2023. For comparison, one might think of the terms *Gorod* (Rus. ropod) and *Mesto/Misto* (Ukr. Micro) that are alternatively employed in two close Slavic tongues. They have similar respective etymological origins. *Gorod* and *Burg* both etymologically originate from "hill," and Old High German *Stat* like *Mesto* originated from "place." Yet all have come to convey an urban space even if they were originally tied to concepts of hilltop castle or simply a "place." Likewise, we can think of the Hungarian vár (castle) and város (town – a place with a castle).

⁶⁵ MGHS X, p. 59.

⁶⁶ MGHS XVI, p. 34.

the 1241–42 invasion were translating the common German name for Transylvania, Siebenbürgen ("seven fortress cities"), into the Latin equivalent of Burg (*castrum*) or Stadt (*urbs*) interchangeably.⁶⁷

There is another reason to suspect that Klosterneuburg-Korneuburg was being described by Ivo of Narbonne. In his account, we read that on the approach of the Mongols, the Austrian town's defenders, surveying from "some neighbouring" eminences, saw the immense army that lay round them" (ex quibusdam eminentiis circumfusum supervidentes exercitum). It also specifies that these scouts saw the ensuing clash take place from the top of a certain elevation (ex cujusdam promontorii summitate).⁶⁸ As such, when the Mongols moved on Austrian territory, some of the town garrison used nearby elevations to survey their approaching army. The nearest heights to Wiener Neustadt are very tall mountains situated somewhat distantly west in the Alps. By contrast, within a few kilometers of the town of Korneuburg is a prominent topographical feature in the flat landscape, Burg Kreuzenstein with its hilltop jutting out 266 meters above sea level. It would provide an excellent vantage point from which scouts could survey the surrounding plains and winding course of the Danube. Not surprisingly, a fortress in some capacity stood there through the entire medieval period and it is now a tourist attraction. Slightly north of Kreuzenstein is Toblerberg at 355 meters and Höchberg at 347 meters. Just south of the Danube and Klosterneuburg is Hundsberg, standing at 388 meters. Some or all of these could have been the elevated vantage points from which ducal troops surveyed the Mongol army. If they were reacting to a sudden invasion, it would make sense to use local hilltops that could be quickly summited rather than distant alpine peaks which would consume valuable time and reduce communication.

Another detail in support of the argument that the Austrian town on which the Mongols advanced in Ivo of Narbonne's account was Klosterneuburg-Korneuburg relates to contextual clues—particularly the Beguine presence. He mentioned that before the sudden Mongol attack, he had been staying with the Beguines in "Neustat" and then "in the neighbouring city of Vienna and its surrounding area" (*in proxima civitate Wienna locisque circumjacentibus*).⁶⁹ Korneuburg is 15 kms north of Vienna's center as the crow flies and on the exposed northern bank of the Danube, but Wiener Neustadt is 45 km away to the south as the crow flies—three

⁶⁷ Even though all such terminology became applied to the counties as the constituent geographical units of Transylvania rather than towns, it seems self-evident that originally "Siebenbürgen" must have meant quite literally seven fortified towns. Many thanks to Katalin Szende for her expertise and advice on this matter.

⁶⁸ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, p. 273; Giles, Matthew Paris, Vol. 1, pp. 469–470.

⁶⁹ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, p. 272; Giles, Matthew Paris, Vol. 1, pp. 469.

times the distance and secured by the natural barrier of the Danube. The term *proxima* conveys "nearest," "next to," "neighbouring," etc. In relation to Vienna, *proxima* would make more sense regarding Klosterneuburg, a short jaunt from the ducal capital (and its less accessible extension of Korneuburg which was just across the Danube). The fact that Ivo indicated he was staying in an *oppidum*, which in Central Europe of this period generally indicated a market town, larger in size than a village (*villa*) but smaller than a city (*civitas*),⁷⁰ certainly rules out that the Mongol attack was directed on Vienna itself as was proposed by Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann.⁷¹ The argument that oppidum could be used by ecclesiastical authors to simply refer to a town without a bishopric is irrelevant in the case of thirteenth-century Austria since it had none till the fifteenth century.

Regarding the presence of Beguines, we have no contemporary records of their presence in Wiener Neustadt during the Mongol invasion of 1241–42, but we do have good evidence of a Beguine community in Klosterneuburg. Richard Perger notes a "Kloster St. Jakob" and specifically a women's convent there. The members were made to conform to the Augustinian rule only in 1261; before that, it appears to have been a Beguine community. Likewise, a Beguine convent was present in nearby Vienna certainly by 1236.⁷² There was a priest named Gerhard from Transylvania who had fled from the Mongols during the invasion and sought refuge in Vienna. He was active as a priest there from 1252 to 1271, overseeing a Beguine house that already existed in the city during the Babenberg period, i.e., before the Mongols arrived in 1241.73 This all means that Beguines were indeed present in Vienna and Neuburg at the time when Ivo of Narbonne was in Austria. Moreover, the well-known tendency of the Beguines was to disperse to the suburbs and outskirts of urban centers, seeking a semi-monastic lifestyle in peace. The textual evidence evinces that their Vienna house was located in the Weihenburg ("Weihburg"), a fortress work area of the famous *Ringmauer* city wall or a nearby suburb enclosed by a separate wall.⁷⁴ As Ivo described himself as staying with the Beguine community of "Neustat" and dwelling in Vienna and its surrounding area

⁷⁰ Katalin Szende, "The Birth of Oppida: Small Towns in Hungary in the Angevin period," Urban History 49.3 (2021), pp. 2–3, p. 17.

⁷¹ Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen, pp. 189–190.

⁷² Perger, "Klosterneuburg im Mittelalter," p. 188.

⁷³ Ferdinand Opll, *Nachrichten aus dem mittelalterlichen Wien: Zeitgenossen* berichten (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), p. 37–38; Peter Csendes, and Ferdinand Opll, *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt*, Vol. 1 (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), pp. 109–111. I wish to thank Judit Majorossy and József Laszlovszky especially for their research and suggestions on this.

⁷⁴ Paul Harrer-Lucienfeld, *Wien: seine Häuser, Geschichte und Kultur,* Vol. 1, Part 3, Manuscript (Vienna: Wiener Stadt- und Landsarchiv, 1952), p. 611; "Weihenburg," Wien Geschichte Wiki, last modified 3 June, 2023, https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Weihenburg

immediately before the Mongols arrived, it makes sense to imagine that he would have been present in a town in the immediate vicinity of the capital which had a Beguine house.

Considering other sources and the larger context, a major Mongol crossing of the Danube in the spring or summer of 1241 would have been too catastrophic to go otherwise unmentioned or even implied in the sources because such a development would have brought the Mongols to the walls of Vienna. They would have then been required to pass the ducal capital and proceed into the heart of the duchy to attack Wiener Neustadt. All of this would have had to occur over half a year before the amply documented crossing in force. One cannot imagine in such a situation that Duke Friedrich II of Austria would have repeatedly described this episode as an attack "around the borders" of his territory.⁷⁵ Also, if a major invasion had happened, the destruction done to the interior of Austria would have been heavier and inevitably better documented. Thus, the most plausible explanation is that the French itinerant, Ivo of Narbonne, was probably in Klosterneuburg, an extension of which was the badly afflicted Korneuburg, and a relief army clashed with the Mongols in its vicinity in the early summer of 1241. It also raises the curious possibility that Ivo may not have been as close to events as he implied; he may have been in the more secure, walled, and elevated town of Klosterneuburg, south of the Danube, spectating. That could explain aspects of vagueness and confusion in his letter. Yet, we need not doubt that he still felt, as the other inhabitants did, that he was in grave danger during the Mongol attack on Austria's northeastern frontier. More importantly, even if he was safe in the *civitas* southwest of the Danube, the market town which was exposed to the Mongol onslaught was administratively part of it.

Mongol Atrocities: Assessing Ivo of Narbonne's Claims

Perhaps the hardest thing to accept about Ivo's letter is his description of Mongol atrocities. He describes their host as comprised of "houndish cannibals," and that they fed elderly women to their "dog-headed... anthropophagi" as daily rations while reserving the breasts of virgins as dainties for their leaders.⁷⁶ All of this can come across as material from the imagination of a pulp fiction writer rather than being a sober description of a historical event. Thorough studies of contemporary European texts note that cannibalism is an especially recurrent *topos* in the

⁷⁵ Hormayr, Die goldene Chronik, Urkunde, pp. 65–66, p. 70.

⁷⁶ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, p. 273. Giles, Matthew Paris, Vol. 1, pp. 469–470.

sources.⁷⁷ It has been argued that the material on Mongol cannibalism in Ivo's missive might well be an interpolation awkwardly inserted into it by Matthew Paris.⁷⁸ That might be the case, but if so, how do we explain so many such statements about atrocities, not only in European sources connected to the 1241–42 invasion, but also in Asian sources describing entirely different campaigns by the Mongols? Similar claims exist in primary sources written from one end of the Eurasian continent to the other, diagonally. It borders on wilful ignorance to disqualify Ivo's letter as a historical source because it contains claims of Mongol atrocities.

To use a rather stark example to highlight this historical problem, the *Secret History of the Mongols*—a thirteenth-century Mongolian-language document sanctioned and created by the Mongol Empire's royal court—has similar references. Proudly and in florid language, it describes Chinggis Khan as having been raised by his mother on human flesh. His generals, including Sübe'etei who oversaw the invasion of Europe, are described as "hounds" who "on killing days, eat the flesh of men. On fighting days, they take the flesh of men as their provisions."⁷⁹ Allowing that this is figurative language, we must at least concede that some important figures in the Mongol army in 1241 would not have shrunk from being called "houndish cannibals" by their foes.

Many dry annalistic sources briefly chronicle Mongol atrocities during the 1241–42 campaign. The *Continuatio Zwetlensis Tertia*, an Austrian source from the Cistercian monastery of Zwettl, records the varied means by which the Mongols killed people in the region, including cutting them in half.⁸⁰ We know from Mongol court-sanctioned sources that the cutting in half of a prisoner was practiced at least once during the Great Western Campaign of Batu—at his own order.⁸¹ A separate Austrian source records youths being buried alive.⁸² We read of Mendicant cenobites being burned alive at the Transylvanian city of Sibiu in April 1241.⁸³ Indeed, this was the fate of several friars across the Kingdom of Hungary according to a thirteenth-century history of the Franciscan Order.⁸⁴ As for episodes of

82 MGHS XXV, p. 360.

⁷⁷ Bezzola, Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht, pp. 66–74; Axel Klopprogge, Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), p. 172.

⁷⁸ Hans Eberhard Hilpert, *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in den Chronica majora des Matthaeus Paris* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), pp. 160–164.

⁷⁹ Urgunge Onon, trans., Secret History of the Mongols (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 175, p. 177.

⁸⁰ MGHS IX, p. 655.

⁸¹ Boyle, Successors, p. 59.

⁸³ MGHS XVI, p. 39.

⁸⁴ Roman Hautala, От Давида, царя Индий до ненавистного плебса Сатаны. Антология ранних латинских сведений о татаро-монголах [From David, King of the Indies to De-

cannibalism, European sources attest that in the famine connected to the Mongol invasion, the inhabitants of Hungary resorted to eating the flesh of strangers, and parents even ate their own children.⁸⁵ Far outside of Europe, a very early document on the Mongol campaigns in the Caucasus and Middle East, written by Abdallațīf al-Baghdādī (1162–1231), reported eerily similar atrocities to those recorded by Ivo of Narbonne—namely, raping beautiful women for days before killing them, dismembering prisoners, and drinking human blood.⁸⁶ He received these accounts from informants that included eyewitnesses and escapees, such as merchants who experienced the invasion, during a trip he made to Erzurum in 1221–22.⁸⁷

More strikingly regarding one of the most lurid of Ivo's claims—cutting off breasts—a report by Gao Qi 高啓 (1336–1373), one of only sixteen official historiographers of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, recorded similar events at the Mongol sack of Changzhou in Song China in 1275. He wrote that the Mongol attackers cut off the breasts of women and used the fat to make a highly flammable substance which they poured onto wooden balustrades to light the city on fire.⁸⁸ Though he did not mention which body parts were used, the Italian papal emissary Carpini in the 1240s corroborates that the Mongols made and employed such a flammable human fat-based naphtha to light buildings on fire in sieges.⁸⁹ Gao Qi's account of including human bodies in a rampart rising up to the city wall of Changzhou is likewise matched by a near identical description of the Mongol sack of Azerbaijan's Shamakhi in 1221.⁹⁰ It is difficult to explain the parallels between accounts that could not have informed one another, and there are many such accounts. If atrocity

- 88 David Curtis Wright, "The Mongol General Bayan and the Massacre of Changzhou, 1275," Altaica 7 (2002), pp. 110–112.
- 89 Christopher Dawson, The Mongol Mission (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. 37.
- 90 D. S. Richards, trans., The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-ta'rikh. Part 3: The Years 589-629/1193-1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 221.

testable Plebs of Satan: An Anthology of Early Latin Information about the Tatar-Mongols] (Kazan: Sh.Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2015), p. 349. Important archaeological finds on the Great Hungarian Plain confirm the textual claims; there is strong evidence from skeletal remains of cannibalism among local people which seems tied to the famine triggered by the invasion. See: Szabolcs Rosta, "A tatárjárás régészetének újabb távlatai két kiskunsági lelőhely eredményeinek fényében" [New perspectives on the archaeology of the Mongol invasion in light of results at two sites in the Kiskunság], *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 143 (2018), pp. 182-185.

⁸⁵ MGHS XXIX, p. 607.

⁸⁶ Claude Cahen, "Abdallațīf al-Baghdādī, portraitiste et historien de son temps," Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas 23 (1970), p. 127. My thanks to Prof. Peter Jackson for bringing this passage to my attention. For a German translation of such episodes, see: Josef von Somogyi, "Ein arabischer Bericht über die Tataren im Ta'rīți al-Islām von ad-Dahabī," Der Islam 24.2 (1937), p. 121.

⁸⁷ von Somogyi, "Ein arabischer Bericht," p. 120.

claims were confined solely to European authors, it would be easier to assign them to the explanatory wastebasket of *topoi*.

Corroborating Accounts of the Attack on Austria and the Central European Alliance

There is corroborating evidence for Ivo of Narbonne's claim that there was a coalition army led by several Central European magnates which confronted the Mongols and that there was some significant fighting between these forces in Austria. Importantly, we find related details in European, Asian, and African source material. Regarding the development of a coalition, there are surviving letters and annalistic sources which demonstrate that calls for, and vows to undertake, a crusade against the newly arrived Mongols were already being expressed by many of the preeminent nobles in the Holy Roman Empire in the early spring of 1241; we also see urgent calls for help originating from its easternmost fringes and Hungary.⁹¹

The question remains whether any crusading calls or actions yielded the coordinated attack on the Mongols in Austria described by Ivo of Narbonne which purportedly involved forces led by Duke Friedrich II of Austria (r. 1230–1246), King Wenceslaus I of Bohemia (r. 1230–1253), Patriarch Berthold V of Aquileia (r. 1218–1251), Duke Bernhard von Spanheim of Carinthia (r. 1202–1256), and Margrave Herman V of Baden (r. 1190–1243).⁹² In addition, it involved a "prince of Dalmatia" who captured the famous English envoy of the khan, and whom Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann suggested was Duke Otto II of Merania (r. 1234–1248).⁹³ Certainly, these figures would have good reason to take part, and not simply because of their own territory's proximity to Poland and Hungary. For the duke of Austria and king of Bohemia, the Mongol advance was already pushing into their territory. The patriarch of Aquileia and the duke of Merania were members of the House of Andechs and close relatives of King Béla IV of Hungary. The duke of Carinthia was married to his aunt. The duke of Baden had participated in both the Fifth and Sixth Crusades.

Regarding the attack on Austria and Duke Friedrich's fighting with the Mongols, we have corroborating evidence. When Béla IV sought refuge in Austria shortly after the Mongols defeated his forces at Muhi on 11 April 1241, Duke Friedrich already had assembled a massive army. This show of force compelled the Hungarian

⁹¹ Jackson, "The Crusade against the Mongols," pp. 3–7.

⁹² Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, pp. 273–274; Giles, Matthew Paris, Vol. 1, p. 470.

⁹³ Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall, p. 139.

monarch to accept the duke's extortion and demand for his submission.⁹⁴ The thirteenth-century Annals of Heiligenkreuz mention that Mongol envoys demanded submission from the duke of Austria who refused, and that afterwards they entered the borders of Austria and Bohemia, killing many people before withdrawing.⁹⁵ As a speculation, this could be connected to the capture of the English envoy of Batu. As mentioned, there are two extant letters, composed by Duke Friedrich of Austria in Vienna, that confirm his forces engaged with the Mongols on Austrian territory. The first is addressed to King Conrad IV and dated to 13 July 1241. It states that the Mongols had advanced westward from Hungary along the Danube in the direction of Bohemia. They penetrated Austria's border and killed 100 local people, but ducal troops killed "300 or more" of them and they withdrew. Yet, the optimistic picture turned graver as he noted significant destruction already done by the Mongols in both Austria and Bohemia.⁹⁶ In a letter to the bishop of Konstanz dated to 22 June 1241, the Austrian duke noted that his troops had killed 700 or more of the enemy.⁹⁷ Interestingly, the duke's testimony that the Mongol attack had come from Hungary (*Pannonia*) is echoed by Ivo of Narbonne.⁹⁸ If the casualty numbers seem rather insignificant, the important figure of the khan's English envoy being among the prisoners raises questions about the possible high status of other unnamed prisoners.

Regarding the other purported participants listed by Ivo, the testimony of the master of the Templars in France, Ponce d'Aubon, confirms that the king of Bohemia and patriarch of Aquileia, among others, had assembled a great multitude of troops to resist. He complained that they were not daring to attack even one of the three Mongol armies that were divided and invading Hungary, Bohemia, and Austria.⁹⁹ However, Ponce d'Aubon was writing at some point after 19 May 1241, and may not have yet received news of the coordinated attack described by Ivo of Narbonne. A letter by King Wenceslaus of Bohemia, probably from June 1241, noted that he had personally seen the slaughter committed by the Mongols in Austria; as Matthew Coulter notes, this could be evidence that he advanced into Austria and even fought alongside Duke Friedrich.¹⁰⁰

Connected to the fighting at Korneuburg might have been an attempt to cross the Danube, at least with small numbers of vanguard forces as characterized a

⁹⁴ MGHS IX, p. 597.

⁹⁵ MGHS IX, p. 640.

⁹⁶ Hormayr, Die goldene Chronik, Urkunde, p. 65–66.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 70.

⁹⁸ Luard, Chronica Majora, Vol. 4, p. 272; Giles, Matthew Paris, Vol. 1, p. 469.

⁹⁹ MGH XXVI, pp. 604–606.

¹⁰⁰ Hormayr, *Die goldene Chronik, Urkunde*, p. 66; Coulter, "Patterns of Communication," p. 517.

Mongol advance.¹⁰¹ The bishop of Freising, Konrad von Tölz (r. 1232–1258), reported in an undated letter from the spring or summer of 1241 that three Mongol armies forced their way across the Danube.¹⁰² If they were temporarily successful, this could have meant a real attack on Klosterneuburg in addition to Korneuburg. The Ottobeuren collection of letters likewise includes one dated to 11 April 1241 by Otto II of Bavaria (r. 1231–1253) that expressed the need to vigorously defend German territory.¹⁰³ In light of that, it is interesting that a victory of Duke Otto of Bavaria over the Mongols during their invasion is noted in more than one contemporary source, with the *Annals of Tewkesbury* specifically noting that he killed many of them and threw them into a river (*Venit quedam gens que dicuntur Tartari* [...] *Vastaverunt omnes provincias, per quas transitum faciebant. Sed dux Bavarensis multos interfecit et in fluminis rivo precipitavit*).¹⁰⁴ If historical, such an event might be connected to the attack on Austria and an attempted river crossing; the lack of toponyms and detail makes it uncertain.

It seems that a strong impression of "Austria" travelled in the aftermath of the 1241–42 invasion to Europe's fringes. Recurring themes, a botched river crossing and suggestions of a Mongol setback on the frontiers of German territory, are found in Asian and African sources. In *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient* (1307), Het'um, a royal prince of Lesser Armenia, claimed that Batu invaded Austria and tried to lead his men on horseback across a great river but drowned in the attempt. His troops then withdrew to Cumania and did not invade Germany again.¹⁰⁵ A late thirteenth-century Crusader tract (c. 1286–1293) records, in some manuscripts, that a son of the Mongol ruler, appointed with conquering Europe, crossed the Danube but was defeated by the king of Bohemia and duke of Austria. He thus died in Europe (*Alius filius super Danubio cum Boemie rege et duce Osteringie similiter in campo debellatus et ibi occubuit*).¹⁰⁶ Both stories might reflect a conflation of events in Austria with the Battle of Muhi in Hungary where a senior

¹⁰¹ Stephen Pow, and József Laszlovszky. "Finding Batu's Hill at Muhi: Liminality between Rebellious Territory and Submissive Territory, Earth and Heaven for a Mongol Prince on the Eve of Battle," *Hungarian Historical Review* 8.2 (2019), pp. 268–269.

¹⁰² Hormayr, Die goldene Chronik, Urkunde, p. 70.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 71. For more on the Ottobeuren collection of letters that all appear to date from roughly April to June 1241, see: Coulter, "Patterns of Communication."

¹⁰⁴ MGHS XXVII, p. 468; Jackson, *The Mongols and Europe*, p. 67.

¹⁰⁵ Robert Bedrosian, trans., *Het'um the Historian's History of the Tartars* (New York: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 2004), p. 42; Hayton, "La Flor des estoires d'Orient," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Documents armeniens II*, ed. Charles Kohler (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), pp. 161–162. The story of Batu's drowning is false.

¹⁰⁶ Charles A. Kohler, *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient latin et des croisades* (Paris: Leroux, 1900), p. 557.

Mongol commander was killed at the Sajó River according to both Mongol and European sources.¹⁰⁷

Nonetheless, a separate Armenian source echoes a similar message. Mekhitar of Ayrivank (Uluhpun Uluhluutgh), (1230–1297), writing at the cave monastery of Geghard in Greater Armenia, recorded that the Mongol army dispatched by Ögedei against the northern regions conquered many countries and crossed the Danube. Then, however, it was encountered by the German emperor and retreated.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, a contemporary Coptic Egyptian account noted that a detachment of the Mongols "gained nothing" by invading German territory, many of them and the Franks being killed in the fighting. It states, "defeat was for the Tartars (*at-Tatar*), and there did not escape of them, except a small part because they had crossed over the river."¹⁰⁹

In light of Duke Friedrich and Ivo of Narbonne's matching assertions that the Mongol forces attacking Austria came from the direction of Hungary, we ought to consider an additional and striking source that might offer further corroboration of their claim. A text found in Rashid al-Din's chronicle, an account of the Mongol invasion of Europe, originated from rough Mongolian-language records as is clear from its orthography.¹¹⁰ It mentions that as Orda and Baidar defeated the Poles [Ilāwūt], Batu defeated the king [Kilar] of Hungary [Bāshghird] as Mongol forces were advancing in the direction of ASTARYLAW [Astārilāw] (والى دزات س):¹¹¹

هتشذگ تووالی اتی الو رب هدش ناور تسار تسد زا رادی اب و هدروا هب وت اب و .دنتسکشب ار وا و رکشل اب دم آ رب ارب مادن رزرب .دنی آ

¹⁰⁷ Stephen Pow, and Jingjing Liao, "Subutai: Sorting Fact from Fiction Surrounding the Mongol Empire's Greatest General," *Journal of Chinese Military History* 7.1 (2018), p. 66. The general's title, "Ba'atur" (八哈秃), bears a conspicuous resemblance to Batu (拔都) which might partly explain the conflation of events.

¹⁰⁸ M. Brosset, trans., *Histoire chronologique par Mkhithar d'Aïrivank, XIIIe s.* (St. Petersburg: Eggers, 1869), p. 106.

¹⁰⁹ Antoine Khater, and O. H. E Khs-Burmester, *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church known as the History of the Holy Church*, Vol. 4, Part 2 (Alexandria: Société d'archéologie copte, 1974), p. 294.

¹¹⁰ Boyle, Successors, p. 11.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 70, note 330. For the original Persian: Moḥammad Rowshan and Moṣṭafā Mūsavī, eds., Rashīd ad-Dīn Fażl Allāh, Jāmi' at-tavārīkh: Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī, Vol. 1 (Tehran: Nashr-e Alborz, 1994), p. 678. (Tehran: Mīrāṣ-e Maktūb, 2016), Vol. 1, p. 607. For the variant reading of ASTARY-LAWT (توالىراتس), see: (vol. III, 1994, p. 1781; 2016, p. 1599). Many thanks to Simon Berger for his assistance and expertise on this point. For the transliterations in brackets of relevant proper nouns (ethnonyms or toponyms) as they appear in the Persian text, and possible explanations for them, see: István Zimonyi, "The Mongol Campaigns against Eastern Europe," in *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe: Collected Studies*, ed. V. Spinei (Bucuresti-Braila: Editura Academiei Române–Muzeul Brăilei Editura Istros, 2014), pp. 343–344.

ار ناشیا لوغم رکشل و داد فاصم درغشاب هاشداپ اب والیراتسا بناج دنتسکشب

The meaning of ASTARYLAW, or its variant reading in the single Mashad manuscript as ASTARY-LAWT (توالى راتس), is uncertain, but I wish to put forward that it might be a corrupted form of Austria, commonly called Osterreiche, Osterlant, or its Latinized form, Austria, before and during the thirteenth century.¹¹² We see forms such as Asteringie, Asteringe, Osteringie, Osteriche, etc. in primary sources from the thirteenth century.¹¹³ In his commentary on Rashid al-Din's work, Rowshan proposed to read the term as (خالوىزاتسا Astārī-vlākh) (ASTARI-WLAX) to denote Stari Vlah (Стари Влах) in the border region of today's Serbia and Bosnia.¹¹⁴ Besides the absence of any connection between Stari Vlah and the Mongol invasion in any European source, this interpretation also seems unlikely in the context of the passage. ASTARYLAW appears in a report that is consistently mentioning major nations that the Mongols fought. It is unclear why it would then refer to an obscure district on the Bosnian border as the ostensible target of the Mongol advance around the time of the Battle of Muhi—which we know was April 1241. Based on the appearance of ASTAR in al-Idrisi's rendering of Esztergom,¹¹⁵ and LAW occurring in Rashid al-Din's rendering in the same report of Ila'udur (AYLAWDUR) and Ila'ut (ILAWUT),¹¹⁶ could it be possible that ASTARYLAW was intended to approximate an original "Astaragh"-viz., Österreich? If we take this passage as a Mongol account of their advance westward toward Austria, also described in Ivo of Narbonne's letter, then the mysterious ASTARYLAW is in keeping with the passage's listing of major nations as targets of the Mongol campaign in the spring of 1241.

Conclusions

This study has attempted to assess the historicity of Ivo of Narbonne's controversial letter by focusing on specific aspects such as the date and location of the described events. It reaches a conventional conclusion on events occurring in 1241 but offers

¹¹² Steven Beller, *A Concise History of Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 10–36.

¹¹³ Kohler, *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient*, p. 557; Gombos, *Catologus*, Vol. 1, p. 774.

¹¹⁴ Rowshan and Mūsavī, Jāmi' at-tavārīkh, Vol. 3 (1994/2016), p. 2181/1980.

¹¹⁵ Zimonyi, "The Mongol Campaigns in Eastern Europe," p. 343, note 32. Zimonyi suggests that ASTARYLAW might be possibly Esztergom, rendered as ASTARGUNA by twelfth-century geographer, al-Idrisi.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 343–344, note 30 and note 48; Boyle, *Successors*, pp. 70–71.

a revisionist interpretation of the location—the joint settlements of Klosterneuburg and Korneuburg rather than Weiner Neustadt. Certainly, Korneuburg on the left bank of the Danube was attacked but some intrepid Mongol divisions may have attempted a brief crossing to threaten Klosterneuburg as well. This study also casts some of the more readily doubted aspects of Ivo's narrative—the claims of atrocities and a wide coalition of Central European leaders that clashed with the Mongols—in a comparative light beside other sources. When its various aspects are approached holistically, the result is that Ivo of Narbonne's account comes across as plausibly historical; it fits into the broader narrative emerging from sources on the same events, though the possibility of interpolations, exaggerations, and falsehoods exists. Still, the conclusion here is that Ivo's letter is a useful text that can support—and be reconciled with—the larger body of Eurasian primary sources documenting the Mongol invasion of Europe in 1241–42.

Bibliography

- Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami, trans. *Khaza'inul Futuh (Treasures of Victory)*. Madras: Diocesan Press, 1931.
- Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, Notary of King Bela The Deeds of the Hungarians. Edited, translated and annotated by Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy. Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta. Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars. Translated and annotated by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, (Central European Medieval Texts, 5). Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2010.
- Bak, János M. and László Veszprémy, trans. *The Illuminated Chronicle: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth Century Illuminated Codex*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2018.
- Bedrosian, Robert, trans. *Het'um the Historian's History of the Tartars*. New York: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 2004.
- Beller, Steven. *A Concise History of Austria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Bezzola, Gian Andri. Die Mongolen in Abendländischer Sicht (1220 1270): Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen. Bern: Franke Verlag, 1974.
- Boyle, J.A., trans. *The Successors of Genghis Khan*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

- Bradács, Gábor. "A tatárjárás osztrák elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája" [The critique of the medieval Austrian narrative sources on the Mongol invasion of Hungary (1241–42)]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 1 (2014): pp. 3–22.
- Brosset, M., trans., *Histoire chronologique par Mkhithar d'Aïrivank, XIIIe s.* St. Petersburg: Eggers, 1869.
- Cahen, Claude. "Abdallațīf al-Baghdādī, portraitiste et historien de son temps," Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas 23 (1970), pp. 101–128.
- Chambers, James. The Devil's Horsemen. New York: Atheneum, 1979.
- Coulter, Matthew. "Patterns of communication during the 1241 Mongol invasion of Europe: insights from the Ottobeuren letter collection." *Journal of Medieval History* 48.4 (2022), pp. 496–523.
- Coulter, Matthew. "The Mongol Invasion of Europe (1241) through the Lens of Austrian Sources." MPhil Diss., Cambridge University, 2019.
- Csendes, Peter and Ferdinand Opll. *Wien: Geschichte einer Stadt*. Vol. 1. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2001.
- Czeike, Felix, Renate Banik-Schweitzer, Ferdinand Opll, ed. Österreichischer Städteatlas. 4. Lieferung, Teil 1, 1991. Accessed 15 December, 2023. https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/ OsterreichischerStadtatlas-osterreichischer-stadteatlas-1/
- Czeike, Felix, Renate Banik-Schweitzer, Ferdinand Opll, ed. Österreichischer Städteatlas. 5. Lieferung, 2. Teil 1997. Accessed 15 December, 2023. https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/ OsterreichischerStadtatlas-osterreichischer-stadteatlas-1/
- Dall'Olmo, Umberto. "Meteors, Meteor Showers and Meteorites in the Middle Ages: From European Medieval Sources." *Journal of the History of Astronomy* 9 (1978), pp. 123–134.
- Dawson, Christopher, ed. *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955.
- Dieterich, Julius Reinhard. *Streitfragen der Schrift- und Quellenkunde des deutschen Mittelalters*. Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1900.
- Dörrie, Heinrich, ed. *Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956.

- Friedrich, Gustav, Jindřich Šebánek and Sáša Dušková, ed. *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae*. Vol. 4. Prague: Czechoslovakian Academy of Sciences, 1962.
- Gießauf, Johannes. "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich und die Mongolengefahr von 1241/42." In Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alpen-Adria-Raumes: Festgabe für Othmar Pickl zum 70. Geburtstag, edited by H. Ebner, P.W. Roth, and I. Wiesflecker-Friedhuber, 173–199. Graz: Instituts für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität, 1997.
- Giles, J.A., trans. *Matthew Paris, History: From the Year 1235 to 1273*. 3 Vols. London: George Bell & Sons, 1889.
- Gombos, Albin F., ed. *Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae*, Vol. 1. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1938.
- Harrer-Lucienfeld, Paul. *Wien: seine Häuser, Geschichte und Kultur*. Vol. 1, Part 3, Manuscript. Vienna: Wiener Stadt- und Landsarchiv, 1952.
- Hatto, A.T., trans. The Nibelungenlied. London: Penguin, 1969.
- Hautala, Roman. *От Давида, царя Индий до ненавистного плебса Сатаны. Антология ранних латинских сведений о татаро-монголах* [From "David, King of the Indies" to "Detestable Plebs of Satan": An Anthology of Early Latin Information about the Tatar-Mongols]. Kazan: Sh.Marjani Institute of History of Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2015.
- Hayton, La Flor des estoires d'Orient. In *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Armeniens II*, 113–367. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale 1906.
- Hilpert, Hans Eberhard. Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in den Chronica majora des Matthaeus Paris. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981.
- Hormayr, Joseph. Die goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau. Munich: G. Franz, 1842.
- Hosák, Ladislav and Rudolf Šrámek. *Místní jména na Moravě a ve Slezsku [Place names in Moravia and Silesia*]. Vol. 2. Prague: Akademia Nakladatelství Československé Akademie, 1980.
- Jackson, Peter. "The Crusade against the Mongols." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42.1 (1991), pp. 1–18.
- Jackson, Peter. The Mongols and the West. Harlow: Pearson, 2005.
- Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text edition by Olga Perić. Edited and English translation by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney. Budapest: CEU Press, 2006.

- Khater, Antoine and O. H. E Khs-Burmester. *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church: Known as the History of the Holy Church.* Vol.4, Part 2, Cyril III, Ibn Laklak (1216–1243 A.D.). Alexandria: Société d'archéologie copte, 1974.
- Klopprogge, Axel. Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.
- Köbler, Gerhhard. *Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch, 6. Auflage.* 2014. Accessed 4 June 2023. http://www.koeblergerhard.de/ahdwbhin.html.
- Kohler, Charles A. *Mélanges pour servir à l'histoire de l'Orient latin et des croisades*. Paris: Leroux, 1900.
- Laszlovszky, József. "Visegrád várai és a tatárjárás után kiépített dunai védővonal" [The castles of Visegrád and the Danube defensive line built after the Tatar invasion]. In «Visegrád, Visegrád! Hol hajdani fényed?» Tanulmányok Szőke Mátyás 80. születésnapjára [«Visegrad, Visegrád! Where is your old light?" Studies for Mátyás Szőke's 80th birthday], ed. Gergely Buzás, 25–50. Visegrád: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2021.
- Luard, Henry R., ed. Chronica Majora. 7 vols. London: Trübner & Co., 1872–1884.
- Macrides, Ruth, trans., *George Akropolites: The History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Man, John. *The Mongol Empire: Genghis Khan, His Heirs, and the Founding of Modern China*. London: Corgi Books, 2015.
- Mayer, Josef. *Geschichte von Wiener Neustadt*. Band 1. Wiener Neustadt: Selbstverlag, 1924.
- Monik, Martin and Pavel Šlézar. "An Analysis of Metalworking By-products from the Medieval Town of Uničov." *Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica* 3.2 (2012), pp. 229–235.
- Nagy, Balázs, ed. Tatárjárás [Tatar Invasion]. Budapest: Osiris, 2003.
- Onon, Urgunge (trans.), Secret History of the Mongols. London: Routledge, 2005.
- Opll, Ferdinand. Nachrichten aus dem mittelalterlichen Wien: Zeitgenossen berichten. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1995.
- Papp Reed, Zsuzsanna. *Matthew Paris on the Mongol Invasion of Europe*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2022.
- Papp Reed, Zsuzsanna. "Perceptions of Eastern Europe: Peoples, Kingdoms and Region in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century English Sources." PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2009.

- Perfecky George A., trans. *The Hypatian Codex, Part II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle* (Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies 16:2). Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973.
- Perger, Richard. "Klosterneuburg im Mittelalter." In *Klosterneuburg Geschichte und Kultur*. Band 1, edited by Floridus Röhrig, Gustav Otruba, and Michael Duscher, Klosterneuburg: Stadtgemeinde Klosterneuburg and Mayer & Comp., 1992.
- Pertz, H. G. et al., eds. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*. Hannover: Hahn, 1826–1892.
- Pow, Stephen and József Laszlovszky. "Finding Batu's Hill at Muhi: Liminality between Rebellious Territory and Submissive Territory, Earth and Heaven for a Mongol Prince on the Eve of Battle." *Hungarian Historical Review* 8.2 (2019), pp. 261–289.
- Pow, Stephen. "Nationes que se Tartaros appellant: An Exploration of the Historical Problem of the Usage of the Ethnonyms Tatar and Mongol in Medieval Sources." *Golden Horde Review* 7.3 (2019), pp. 545–567.
- Pow, Stephen, and Jingjing Liao. "Subutai: Sorting Fact from Fiction Surrounding the Mongol Empire's Greatest General (with Translations of Subutai's Two Biographies in the Yuan Shi)." *Journal of Chinese Military History* 7.1 (2018), pp. 37–76.
- Redlich, Oswald and Wilhelm Bauer, ed. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*. Vol. 36. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagnerischen K.K. Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1915.
- Richards, D.S., trans. *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-ta'rikh*. Part 3: *The Years 589-629/1193-1231: The Ayyubids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Rodenburg, Carolus, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectee*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1887.
- Ronay, Gabriel. *The Tartar Khan's Englishman*. London: Orion Publishing Group, 1978.
- Rosta, Szabolcs. "A tatárjárás régészetének újabb távlatai két kiskunsági lelőhely eredményeinek fényében" [New perspectives on the archaeology of the Mongol invasion in light of results at two sites in the Kiskunság]. Archaeologiai Értesítő 143 (2018). pp. 151–196.

- Rowshan, Moḥammad and Moṣṭafā Mūsavī, ed. Rashīd ad-Dīn Fażl Allāh. Jāmi' at-tavārīkh: Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī. Tehran: Nashr-e Alborz, 1994. Tehran: Mīrāt-e Maktūb, 2016.
- Rudolf, Karl. "Die Tartaren 1241/1242: Nachrichten und Wiedergabe: Korrespondenzen und Historiographie." *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 19 (1977), pp. 79–107.
- Schannat, J.F. Vindemiae literariae, Hoc est veterum monumentorum ad Germaniam Sacram praecipue spectantium. Collectio prima. Fulda: M. G. Weidmann, 1723.
- Schiffman, Konrad. "Zur Garstener Geschichtschreibung," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 23 (1902), pp. 290–292.
- Schmieder, Felicitas. Europa und die Fremden: Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. Bis in das 15. Jahrhundert. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1994.
- Smičiklas T., ed. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. Vol. 4. Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke Tiskare, 1906.
- Somer, Tomáš. "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241," *Golden Horde Review* 6.2 (2018), pp. 238–251.
- Spekner, Enikő. "Buda before Buda: Óbuda and Pest as Early Centers." In. Medieval Buda in Context, ed. Balázs Nagy, Martyn C. Rady, Katalin Szende, and András Vadas, 69–91. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Stabler, Tanya. *The Beguines of Medieval Paris: Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.
- Strakosch-Grassmann, Gustav. Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1893.
- Swan, Laura. The Wisdom of the Beguines: The Forgotten Story of a Medieval Women's Movement. New York: Bluebridge, 2016.
- Szende, Katalin. "The Birth of Oppida: Small Towns in Hungary in the Angevin period." *Urban History* 49:3 (2021): 1-18.
- Szentpétery, Imre. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, 2 vols. (2nd edition). Budapest: Academia litter. Hungarica, 1937.
- Theiner, Agost, ed. *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*. Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1859.

- Uzelac, Aleksandar. "МОНГОЛИ У СРЕМУ (1241–1242): ДОГАЂАЈ КОЈИ СЕ НИЈЕ ОДИГРАО" [The Mongols in Srem (1241-1242): A Non-Event]. *Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies* 10 (2022), pp. 29–49.
- Veszprémy, László, and Frank Schaer. *Simon of Kéza: The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999.
- Von Somogyi, Josef. "Ein arabischer Bericht über die Tataren im Ta'rīḫ al-Islām von ad-Dahabī," Der Islam 24.2 (1937), pp. 105–130.
- Wattenbach, Wilhelm, ed. "Continuatio Garstensis." In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* IX, edited by Georg Heinrich Pertz, 593–600. Hanover: Bibliopolium Aulicum Hahnianum, 1851.
- Wilhelm, Gábor. "'Akiket nem akartak karddal elpusztítani, tűzben elégették:' Az 1241. évi pusztítás Szank határában" [Those who did not die by sword were burned to ashes: Destruction within the Boundaries of Szank in 1241]. In "Carmen Miserabile:" A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei; Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére ["Carmen Miserabile:" Remnants of the Mongol Invasion of Hungary; András Horváth Pálóczi's seventieth birthday memorial volume], edited by Szabolcs Rosta, and György V. Székely, 81–109. Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014.
- Winkler, Thomas. "Die städtebauliche Anlage und mittelalterliche Befestigung von Wiener Neustadt." Mag. Phil. diss., University of Vienna, 2009.
- Wright, David Curtis. "The Mongol General Bayan and the Massacre of Changzhou, 1275." *Altaica* 7 (2002), pp. 108–121.
- Zimonyi, István. "The Mongol Campaigns against Eastern Europe." In *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe: Collected Studies*, edited by V. Spinei, 325–353. Bucuresti-Braila: Editura Academiei Române–Muzeul Brăilei Editura Istros, 2014.

Ulrich of Ulten and Other German Crusaders against the Mongols

The purpose of this discussion is to provide a fresh perspective on the crusade declared in the empire against the Mongols in the summer of 1241, by focusing on the individuals who are known to have taken the cross and issued crusading charters as part of this campaign. While previous studies of the 1241 invasion have noted the existence of a small number of charters produced during the short-lived crusading movement, there has been little dedicated or comparative treatment of their contents or of their issuers' specific motivations for taking the cross.¹ The following analysis will therefore employ both literature on crusading and the regional historiography belonging to the tradition of *Landeskunde* as a means of contextualizing these sources and addressing these issues. Particular attention will be paid to the Tirolian crusader Ulrich of Ulten, who offers the best chance for contextualization due to the numerous sources and studies which document his life, his family, and his activities in 1241.

The preaching of a crusade throughout the empire began on 25 April, a few weeks after the battles of Legnica and Muhi, when Archbishop Siegfried III of Mainz issued ordinances to this effect at Erfurt. Nearly a month later, on Pentecost (19 May), Conrad IV also took the cross at a *Hoftag* in Esslingen and declared a *Land-friede* to allow for the preparation of a military force to defend the empire, which was to convene at Nuremberg on 1 July. It was these two events which set the stage for the flurry of cross-taking which seems to have reached its peak in June.²

Some previous mentions of the individual crusaders and their charters include: Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242 (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1893), pp. 133–34; Peter Jackson, "The Crusade against the Mongols (1241)," The Journal of Ecclesiastical History 42, no. 1 (1991), p. 7 n. 25; p. 14 n. 66. See also below, n. 12.

² On the events of the crusade see especially Jackson, "The Crusade against the Mongols (1241)," pp. 6–7. See also: Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen, pp. 129–37; Felicitas Schmieder, "De Einfall der Mongolen nach Polen und Schlesien: Schreckensmeldungen, Hilferufe und die Reaktionen de Westens," in Wahlstatt 1241: Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz und zu ihren Nachwirkungen, ed. Ulrich Schmilewski (Würzburg: Bergstadtverlag Korn, 1991), pp. 77–86; Peter Jackson, The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410, Second Edition, The Medieval World (New York: Routledge, 2018), pp. 72–75.

Though the crusaders never assembled, the crusade elicited an 'outstanding response' among the inhabitants of the empire and made a significant impact on contemporary annalists.³ A Trier chronicle reports how the "the fire of God was kindled in the people," and like several other contemporary sources emphasizes that men and women of all ages and conditions had taken the cross.⁴ An annalist at St Trudpert's Abbey also credited the cross-taking itself with causing the Mongols' retreat.⁵

While these annals testify to a collective response to the crusade across Germany, information on individuals known to have responded to the call to take the cross is far more limited. We possess charters from just five individual participants, not all of which survive in full. In addition, several of those who issued charters were comparatively obscure figures on whom documentary evidence is otherwise sparse. This, however, should not detract from their importance. Seen in context, these sources showcase another form of contemporary reaction to the 1241 invasion, in which local and familial concerns existed alongside a desire to defend Christendom. Such mixed motivations are by no means an uncommon feature of this type of source; in his discussion of twelfth-century crusading charters, Giles Constable noted the problem of disentangling "the religious motives that appear so prominently in the sources" from the "more secular, and less high-minded, motives" for taking the cross.⁶ The first part of this discussion will therefore provide an overview of the known crusaders who issued charters as part of the crusade, while the second section will focus on the motivations which can be inferred from these sources. The final section will focus on the post-1241 memory of the crusade.

³ Jackson, "The Crusade against the Mongols (1241)," pp. 7–8.

^{4 &}quot;accensus est ignis Dei in populo." Georg Waitz, ed., "Gestorum Treverorum Continuatio IV," in Annales aevi Suevici (Supplementa tomorum XVI et XVII) Gesta saec. XII. XIII. (Supplementa tomorum XX-XXIII), MGH SS 24 (Hannover: Hahn, 1879), p. 404. Cf. Georg H. Pertz, ed., "Annales Wormatienses 873-1360," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, SS 17 (Hannover: Hahn, 1861), pp. 46–47; Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed., "Annales Sancti Georgii in Nigra Silva," in Annales aevi Suevici, MGH SS 17 (Hannover: Hahn, 1861), p. 297; Hermann Cardauns, ed., "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis Coloniensis," in *Historici Germaniae saec. XII. 2*, MGH, SS 22 (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), pp. 535–36; Ludwig Weiland, ed., "Sächsische Weltchronik," in Sächsische Weltchronik; Eberhards Reimchronik von Gandersheim; Braunschweigische Reimchronik; Chronik des Stiftes S. Simon und Judas zu Goslar; Holsteinische Reimchronik, MGH Dt. Chron. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1876), pp. 254–55.

⁵ Georg H. Pertz, ed., "Annales Sancti Trudperti," in *Annales aevi Suevici, vol. 2*, MGH, SS 17 (Hannover: Hahn, 1861), p. 294.

⁶ Giles Constable, "Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades," in *Crusade* and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), p. 81.

Surviving Charters from 1241

As noted above, the brief period of cross-taking in Germany left charters from five participants, of whom the majority came from the south of the empire.⁷ The highest-ranking crusader with an associated charter, and the only one from northern Germany, was Duke Otto I of Brunswick Lüneburg, for whom Bishop Conrad II of Hildesheim made out a confirmation that he had taken the cross and was eligible for the crusading indulgence.⁸ Of the other four individuals, two each came from Swabia and Tirol. From Swabia, the first would-be crusader is Albert of Altbach, about whom nothing else is otherwise known, who on 23 June 1241 donated land to the nuns of Kirchheim abbey "while I was about to go against the Tartars."⁹ The second Swabian charter comes from an individual named as Count Ludwig of Helfenstein, who "at that time, when the cruel race of the Tartars has cruelly invaded the church of Christ and the Christian people, being signed with the cross," donated property at Widderstall to the Premonstratensian brothers of Ursberg.¹⁰

⁷ For ease of reference, in the following discussion sources will be cited with their number in Johann Friedrich Böhmer et al., *Regesta Imperii V: Jüngere Staufer 1198–1272: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV, Friedrich II, Heinrich (VII), Conrad IV, Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard*, 4 vols., Regesta Imperii 5 (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-buchhandlung, 1881), http://www.regesta-imperii.de/unternehmen/abteilungen/v-juengere-staufer.html. Hereafter RI V.

⁸ Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Origines Guelficae, ed. Christian Ludwig Scheidt, vol. 4 (Hannover: Orphanotrophei Moringensis, 1753), pp. 190–91, no. 86. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Origines Guelficae, ed. Christian Ludwig Scheidt, vol. 4 (Hannover: Orphanotrophei Moringensis, 1753), pp. 190–91, no. 86 (= RI V, no. 11351). Also printed in: Johannes Bochholtz-Asseburg, Asseburger Urkundenbuch: Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Geschlechts Wolfenbüttel-Asseburg und seinen Besitzungen, vol. 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1876), p. 154, no. 216; Hermann Hoogeweg, ed., Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe, vol. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1901), pp. 319–20, no. 635. See also Friedrich Bock, "Über die Sammlung von Papsturkunden in Niedersachsen," Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte 32 (1960), p. 135.

^{9 &}quot;cum [...] contra Tartaros essem iturus." Württembergisches Urkundenbuch, online edition, 2008, vol. 4, no. 978, https://www.wubonline.de (hereafter WUB Online) (= RI V, no. 11352). The manuscript is digitized at "Ludwigsburg, Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, B 175 U 1," Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, accessed 3 February 2021, http://www.landesarchiv-bw. de/plink/?f=2-5268385. For such language as a feature of crusading charters, see Constable, "Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades," p. 75.

^{10 &}quot;eo tempore, quo crudelis gens Tartarorum ecclesiam Christi crudeliter invasit et populus Christianus cruce signatus ipsis obviam ad resistendum iter preparavit." WUB Online, vol. 5, no. N52 (= RI V, no. 11353). This source does not survive as an original, but only in an unprinted seventeenth-century history of the house of Helfenstein by the Swabian historian Oswald Gabelkover (d. 1616). The manuscript of Gabelkover's history (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. 591) is described in Karl August Barack, Die Handschriften der fürstlich-fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek zu Donaueschingen (Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1865), pp. 417–18.

The identity of this individual is not immediately clear, since Count Ludwig of Helfenstein had been a prominent nobleman in the reign of Frederick Barbarossa. However, Stälin identified him as Count Ludwig of Spitzenberg, the grandson of the elder Count Ludwig and a member of a junior branch of this house, who is recorded in several charters from 1267 onwards, and apparently died around 1278.¹¹

In contrast to the Swabians, the two known cross-takers from the Tirol are both well-documented figures, and the apparently significant participation of Tirolian nobles in the crusade has been acknowledged in numerous studies.¹² However, these sources are not without problems. The *Tiroler Urkundenbuch* contains two documents pertaining to the crusading activity of Count Albert III of Tirol,¹³ but the first, a donation to Polling Abbey, survives only as a brief excerpt by Hormayr and was suspected by Huter of being a forgery.¹⁴ The other, a seemingly genuine donation by Albert's daughter Adelheid, on Albert's behalf, to the nunnery of Maria Steinach, was apparently destroyed during the German Peasants' War.¹⁵ While Albert's participation in the crusade is not in doubt, this unfortunately leaves no individual crusading charter whose contents can be examined.¹⁶

¹¹ Christoph Friedrich von Stälin, Wirtembergische Geschichte, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1847), pp. 191–93, 388, 397; Heinrich Friedrich Kerler, Geschichte der Grafen von Helfenstein nach den Quellen dargestellt, vol. 1 (Ulm: Stettin, 1840), pp. 13–15, 20–21. For subsequent records of Count Ludwig of Spitzenberg, see: WUB Online, vol. 6, no. 1896; vol. 7, no. 2130; Franz Ludwig von Baumann, ed., "Fragmenta necrologii Adelbergensis," in Dioeceses Augustensis, Constantiensis, Curiensis, vol. 1, MGH Necr. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1888), 144.

¹² Joseph Freyherr von Hormayr-Hortenburg, ed., Des Freyherrn Joseph von Hormayr Sämmtliche Werke, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1821), pp. 112–15; Joseph Freyherr von Hormayr-Hortenburg, Die goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau der Burg der Welfen, der Hohenstauffen und der Scheyren, vol. 2: Urkunden: Die große Mongolische Muth; Die Mutter Conradins und seine Mausoleum [...] die Freiberge zum Eisenberge (Munich: Franz, 1842), pp. 64–65; Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242 (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1893), p. 134; Franz Huter, "Die Mongolengefahr von 1241 und Tirol," Carinthia I 146 (1956), pp. 528–35. reprinted in Franz Huter, Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Geschichte Tirols, ed. Josef Riedmann and Marjan Cescutti, Schlern-Schriften 300 (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1997), pp. 165–66; Konstantin von Blumenthal, "Hugo von Velturns († 1267), qui se pro nobis et ecclesia nostra tutorem et murum inexpugnabilem exposuit: Teil 1," Konstantin von 82 (2018), pp. 105–7.

¹³ For Count Albert III of Tirol, see Walter Landi, "Die Grafen von Tirol: Ein historisch-familiengeschichtlicher Überblick (10.–14. Jahrhundert)," in Schloss Tirol, ed. Walter Hauser and Martin Mittermair, vol. 1 (Bolzano: Schloss Tirol, 2017), pp. 123–26.

¹⁴ Hormayr-Hortenburg, Die goldene Chronik, 2:64. (= RI V, no. 11359). For the question of this source's authenticity, see Franz Huter, Tiroler Urkundenbuch, pt. 1: Die Urkunden zur Geschichte des deutschen Etschlandes und des Vintschgaus, vol. 3 (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1937), p. 180, no. 1137* (hereafter TUB).

¹⁵ TUB, 3:181-82, no. 1140*.

¹⁶ Huter, Ausgewählte Aufsätze, p. 165; Blumenthal, "Hugo von Velturns," p. 106.

This leaves Ulrich of Ulten as the only well-documented figure for whom we possess informative sources detailing his crusading activity. On 5 June 1241, Ulrich, "having been signed with the cross against the Tartars for the liberation of the *patria* and the conservation of the Catholic faith," donated his land in Silz in the Inn valley to his kinsman Egno of Eppan, bishop of Brixen.¹⁷ Twelve days later, he issued a notarized testament at the church of his family seat in Eppan (now Eppan an der Weinstraße), near Bolzano, once again declaring himself to be "signed with the cross [and] willing to go against the Tartars," and bequeathing the rest of his lands, castles, and ministerials to Egno, and to two younger kinsmen, Frederick and George.¹⁸ The following sections will therefore focus primarily on Ulrich, though a discussion of his motivations in 1241 can also facilitate comparison with the two Swabian crusading charters in particular, in spite of the paucity of background information on their issuers.

Taking the Cross against the Mongols

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the house of Eppan-Ulten was one of the most powerful families in what is today the Italian region of Trentino-Alto Adige, with numerous possessions in the alpine valleys surrounding Bolzano and Trent.¹⁹ Ulrich of Ulten (d. 1248/53) was the son of Count Egno of Eppan (not to be confused with Ulrich's aforementioned cousin) and Irmengard of Ronsberg, and had inherited considerable landholdings in Tirol and Swabia from both his paternal and

^{17 &}quot;signati cruce contra Thartoros pro patrie liberatione et fidei catholice conservatione." TUB, 3:172–74, no. 1131 (= RI V, no. 11344). For the lands donated by this charter, see: Otto Stolz, "Geschichte der Gerichte Deutschtirols: Abhandlungen zum historischen Atlas der österreichischen Alpenländer, Landgerichtskarte von Tirol," Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 102 (1913), pp. 95–100; Otto Stolz, "Politisch-historische Landesbeschreibung von Südtirol, erster Teil: Nordtirol," Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 107 (1923), pp. 473–75.

^{18 &}quot;cruce signatus volens ire versus Dathanos." TUB, 3:176–77, no. 1134 (= RI V, no. 11350).

¹⁹ For the house of Eppan-Ulten, see especially: Bruno Mahlknecht, Eppan: Geschichte und Gegenwart; Ein Gemeindebuch zum Anlaß der 1400-Jahr-Erstnennung des Names Eppan im Jahre 590, ed. Gemeinde Eppan an der Weinstraße (Eppan: Gemeinde Eppan, 1990), pp. 256–88, https://digital.tessmann.it/tessmannDigital/Buch/22527/; Josef Nössing, "Die Interessen der Grafen von Eppan im Vinschgau," in Der Vinschgau und seine Nachbarräume: Vorträge des landeskundlichen Symposiums veranstaltet vom Südtiroler Kulturinstitut in Verbindung mit dem Bildungshaus Schloß Goldrain, 27. bis 30. Juni 1991, ed. Rainer Loose, Schriftenreihe des Südtiroler Kulturinstituts 18 (Bolzano: Athesia, 1993), pp. 99–105; Walter Landi, "Dilectus consanguineus: Die Grafen von Eppan und ihre Verwandten," in Eppan und das Überetsch: Wohnen und Wirtschaften an der Weinstraße und in angrenzenden Gebieten, ed. Rainer Loose (Lana: Tappeiner, 2008), pp. 109–45.

maternal families.²⁰ It is impossible to understand Ulrich's role in the crusade without reference to the aforementioned Bishop Egno, his second cousin,²¹ who was the more prominent and politically active family member in Tirol.²² Egno served as bishop of Brixen between 1240 and 1250 and then as bishop of Trent until his death in 1273. Until 1246/47 he was also a supporter of the Hohenstaufen cause.²³ His influence in this regard was bolstered by his occupancy of a diocese which had long been of key strategic importance in imperial politics, due to its position on the alpine route between Germany and Italy.²⁴ In September 1240, for example, Albert Behaim, the Passau canon and strident advocate of the papal cause in southern Germany, complained to Pope Gregory IX that he had been unable to be in contact sooner, since the archbishop of Salzburg and the bishop of Brixen (i.e. Egno) had conspired to shut the alpine passes to his envoys.²⁵ Egno and Ulrich also participated together in imperial politics in northern Italy, and in 1245 were both present as witnesses to charters issued by Emperor Frederick II at his assembly in Verona.²⁶

Aside from the actual Mongol threat, we can detect both geographical and familial motivations behind Ulrich's decision to take the cross. In his initial charter, Ulrich stated that he had taken the cross for the liberation of his *patria*.²⁷ The word occurs twice in this charter, since Ulrich also refers to the uncertain nature of his

²⁰ The years of Ulrich's life have been suggested either as c. 1193–1248 (Mahlknecht) or 1208/10–53 (Landi). For Ulrich's life see: Mahlknecht, *Eppan*, pp. 266, 273, 275; Bruno Mahlknecht, "Die Grafen von Eppan: Versuch einer Gesamtdarstellung," *Der Schlern* 72 (1998), p. 689; Landi, "Dilectus consanguineus," pp. 126–30. On his landholdings see especially Hansmartin Schwarzmaier, *Königtum, Adel und Klöster im Gebiet zwischen oberer Iller und Lech*, Veröffentlichungen der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft, vol. 1: Studien zur Geschichte des bayerischen Schwabens 7 (Augsburg: Verlag der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1961), pp. 82–86, 90, 95–97.

²¹ See the family tree in Mahlknecht, "Die Grafen von Eppan," p. 698. Subsequent instances of 'Egno' or 'Egno of Eppan' refer to Ulrich's cousin, and not his father of the same name.

²² On Egno see especially Franz Huter, "Egno, Bischof von Brixen (1240–50) und Trient (seit 1250)," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, vol. 4 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959), p. 341, https://www. deutsche-biographie.de/pnd135903246.html#ndbcontent.

Huter, "Egno, Bischof von Brixen (1240–50) und Trient (seit 1250)"; Mahlknecht, Eppan, p. 277.

²⁴ Heinz Dopsch, Karl Brunner, and Maximilian Weltin, *Die Länder und das Reich: Der Ostalpen*raum im Hochmittelalter (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1999), pp. 376–77, 388.

²⁵ Karl Adolf Constantin von Höfler, ed., Albert von Beham und Regesten Pabst Innocenz IV. (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1847), p. 19. (= RI V, no. 11297). The same complaint can also be found in Karl Rodenberg and Georg Heinrich Pertz, eds., Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae, vol. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1887), pp. 143–44, no. 188.

²⁶ TUB, 3:232–33, nos. 1187–88.

²⁷ Above, n. 17.

return with the phrase *repatriare*.²⁸ This phrase does have some corollary in other sources from the time of the 1241 invasion, as it is found in a set of preaching instructions given by Bishop Henry of Konstanz to the Franciscans in his diocese.²⁹ However, determining the precise meaning of *patria* in Ulrich's charter is difficult, on account of its multiple medieval connotations. In one of the initial studies of the phrase, Kantorowicz argued that the modern connotations of the term were a product of changes in the twelfth and thirteenth century whereby "the classical emotional values of *patria* were recovered" and came to denote "a national territorial community."³⁰ Eichenberger's study also demonstrated that certain chroniclers in the Hohenstaufen era did apply classical definitions of the term to depict the empire in an emotional and political fashion.³¹

Yet it is unclear how plausible it is for a charter dealing with local landholdings to have employed the term in this sense. This is especially when Kantorowicz drew attention to the term's far older connotation of a "native town or village,"³² which differed from a "corpus morale et politicum [...] synonymous with nation and 'fa-therland'."³³ This instance of the term partly resembles the idea of *defensio patriae*, which Eichenberger showed to have been part of an imperial intellectual tradition from the Carolingian era onwards, including in the sense of defending against pagan enemies of God,³⁴ though he emphasized that the term only gradually came to

- 32 Kantorowicz, "Pro Patria Mori in Medieval Political Thought," pp. 476–77.
- 33 Kantorowicz, "Pro Patria Mori in Medieval Political Thought," p. 487.
- 34 Eichenberger, *Patria*, pp. 116–19. For later occurrences of *defensio patriae*, see pp. 203–4, 214, 229.

^{28 &}quot;ut si ab explicatione negocii crucis assumpti nos eveniat non repatriare." TUB, 3:172–4, no. 1131.

²⁹ "ad cruce signandum pro defensione nominis Christiani et patrie". Hormayr-Hortenburg, Die goldene Chronik, 2:69, no. 7. (= RI V, no. 11339). A manuscript reference for Bishop Henry of Konstanz's instructions can be found in Livarius Oliger, "Exhortatio Henrici episcopi Constantiniensis ad Fratres Minores, ut crucem contra Tartaros praedicent a. 1241," Archivum Franciscanum Historicum 11 (1918), pp. 556–57. These instructions are not to be confused with Bishop Henry of Konstanz's separate letter to his Franciscans containing the crusade ordinances (= RI V, no. 11340; below, n. 67). The phrase "pro defensione fidei et patrie nostre salute" also appears in a very similar set of instructions ostensibly issued by Bishop Siboto of Augsburg to the Franciscans in his diocese on 30 June; Hormayr-Hortenburg, Die goldene Chronik, 2:71, no. 12. (= RI V, no. 11354). This latter set of instructions is only known from Hormayr's transcription and is not found in any manuscript of which I am aware; it is not found in the manuscript on which much of this section of Die goldene Chronik is based (Innsbruck, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol, fols. 1v–8v). As Hormayr has been suspected of forging other sources (above, n. 14), the authenticity of this source therefore cannot automatically be assumed.

³⁰ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "Pro Patria Mori in Medieval Political Thought," American Historical Review 56, no. 3 (1951), p. 477. See also Gaines Post, "Two Notes on Nationalism in the Middle Ages," Traditio 9 (1953), pp. 281–96.

³¹ Thomas Eichenberger, *Patria: Studien zur Bedeutung des Wortes im Mittelalter (6.–12. Jahrhundert)*, Nationes 9 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991), pp. 173–82.

refer to the empire as a whole.³⁵ It is impossible to know exactly how the term was intended in this instance, but the charter's primary occupation with local lands, including the use of *repatriare*, does not suggest an identification with the empire. Two further factors speak for the identification of *patria* with Ulrich's home region: first, as Huter argued, that the proximity of the Tirol to Hungary likely made its inhabitants particularly sensitive to the Mongol threat,³⁶ and second, Conrad's explicit instruction to crusaders that they "defend their own boundaries,"³⁷ as well as his naming of the Alps as the main region which the crusaders were to defend.³⁸ Seeing as the focal point of the crusade coincided with Ulrich's home region, there seems little reason to interpret the meaning of *patria* in Ulrich's charter as referring to the empire, as opposed to a more localized region encompassing his own lands.

The other factor in Ulrich's decision to take the cross was family precedent. The key importance of family connections in determining who took the cross was discussed by Riley-Smith, who noted that certain families developed a 'tradition of crusading' in the half century following the First Crusade, whereby "the crusading experiences of previous generations [...] had been locked deeply into the collective memory of some cousinhoods."³⁹ That family crusading traditions were also a feature of thirteenth-century Tirol has recently been demonstrated by Kosi, who has noted the participation of a large number of noble families from this region, including members of both Ulrich and Count Albert of Tirol's families, in the Fifth Crusade (1217–21), and has argued that the "fervent crusading activity" in Tirol against the Mongols was an extension of this.⁴⁰

In Ulrich's case, the crusading precedent in his family was his cousin, Count Ulrich of Eppan (d. 1232), described by Mahlknecht as a "distinguished and well-travelled man," who participated in both the Fifth Crusade and in the German Crusade (1197–98) some two decades beforehand.⁴¹ The two Ulrichs certainly knew each

³⁵ Eichenberger, *Patria*, pp. 244–45.

³⁶ Huter, Ausgewählte Aufsätze, p. 164.

^{37 &}quot;Principes non ineant campestre bellum cum Tartaris, sed terminos suos defendant." Ludwig Weiland, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regnum*, vol. 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1896), p. 445, no. 335.

^{38 &}quot;in ista parte Alpium ab invasione dictorum Tartarorum defendamus." Weiland, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regnum*, 2:445, no. 336.

³⁹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, The First Crusaders, 1095–1131 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 101–2.

⁴⁰ Miha Kosi, "The Fifth Crusade and Its Aftermath: Crusading in the Southeast of the Holy Roman Empire in the First Decades of the Thirteenth Century," *Crusades* 17 (2018), pp. 91, 111–12.

^{41 &}quot;ein sehr vornehmer und weltgewandter Mann." Mahlknecht, Eppan, p. 275. The elder Ulrich is also discussed in Kosi, "The Fifth Crusade and Its Aftermath," p. 100, n. 48. For the sources which confirm his participation, see: Oskar von Mitis et al., eds., Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger in Österreich, Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1950), 1:175–77, no. 136; 2:17–18, no. 213; TUB, 2:169, no. 739.

other, since they appear together in documents from as early as 1210,⁴² of which the most notable is a charter given by the older Ulrich in June 1217, witnessed by Ulrich of Ulten, in which the older Ulrich donated land to the church of St Paul's in Eppan "for the remedy of his soul."⁴³ The document does not name Ulrich of Eppan as having taken the cross, but both the timing and the fact that this was a pious donation make it likely that this was a crusading charter.⁴⁴ The 1217 document has two important links with Ulrich of Ulten's second crusading document of 17 June 1241, namely that the latter was given in the church of St Paul's in Eppan, and that the Frederick and George named alongside Egno as its beneficiaries were probably Ulrich of Eppan's sons.⁴⁵

If we now come to the actual content of Ulrich's crusading documents, it will be helpful to compare Ulrich's documents with the charters given by Albert of Altbach and Ludwig of Spitzenberg, the latter of whom also had a crusading ancestor in his eponymous grandfather, who had taken part in Barbarossa's crusade between 1188 and 1190.⁴⁶ As both Constable and Riley-Smith demonstrated, meeting the expense of going on crusade often necessitated the raising of funds, including through selling land to religious institutions.⁴⁷ Even in the rushed circumstances of 1241, we see that these crusaders did likewise. It is notable, for example, that both Ulrich and Albert's charters explicitly state that they are to receive money for their land, presumably for the funding of the Crusade. Ulrich's 5 June charter states that he borrowed 100 marks of silver from Egno, the main beneficiary of the document, "for the execution of the business of the cross."⁴⁸ Albert of Altbach, meanwhile, sold his land to the nuns of Kirchheim for the sum of 450 Halle pounds, with the stipulation that half was to be paid to Albert immediately.⁴⁹

⁴² See TUB, 2:84–85, no. 610. The last document in which they are named comes from 1231: TUB, 3: 4–10, no. 946.

^{43 &}quot;pro sue anime remedio." TUB, 2:155, no. 713.

⁴⁴ This corresponds to the itinerary outlined for other participants in Kosi, "The Fifth Crusade and Its Aftermath," pp. 94–104. Ulrich of Eppan was in Tirol as late as July 1217; TUB, 2:156– 57, no. 715.

⁴⁵ TUB, 3:176–77, no. 1134. Frederick and George are named as 'filios condam domini comitis Olrici de Epiano'. The most plausible theory that they were the sons of Ulrich of Eppan and an unknown second wife is assumed in Landi, "Dilectus consanguineus," pp. 117, 123, 131. Other, more complicated, theories are proposed in:Mahlknecht, *Eppan*, pp. 273, 276–77; Mahlknecht, "Die Grafen von Eppan," pp. 694–96, 698.

He is mentioned (as Ludwig of Helfenstein) in Anton Chroust, ed., "Epistola de morte Friderici Imperatoris," in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaier Friedrichs I.*, MGH SS rer. Germ.
 N. S. 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), p. 176.

⁴⁷ Constable, "Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades," p. 80; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 115–18, 123–29.

^{48 &}quot;Porro quia ad exsecutionem crucis negocii necessarium habuimus ire in creditum peccunie numerate, centum marcas argenti a dicto electo fuimus mutuati." TUB, 3:173, no. 1131.

^{49 &}quot;pro CCCC et Libris Hallensium." WUB Online, vol. 4, no. 978.

Beyond the financial aspect, two further features of crusade preparation raised by Riley-Smith are especially visible within these charters: first, the common practice of crusaders granting land to religious institutions out of a sense of 'apprehension';⁵⁰ and second, the desire of crusaders and religious institutions alike to ensure certainty in matters of ownership, usage, and inheritance of property prior to departure.⁵¹ In the case of Albert of Altbach, for example, the charter contains arrangements for supporting his wife and son in the event that "dying in the war of the Lord, I do not return."52 This includes the provision that the money owed him by the nuns for the sale of his land be commuted "for the remedy of my soul," with the exception of sixty silver marks to be paid to Albert's son.⁵³ In Ludwig's case, it appears that the impetus for the charter's production was bilateral, since it relates that Ludwig visited the brothers at Ursberg "for certain matters which must be dealt with," but that it was the provost of the house who actually requested that Ludwig not alienate Widderstall from the brothers. It does not appear that money changed hands, but Ludwig did agree to this request, specifying that the brothers would retain the property for themselves in perpetuity should Ludwig die childless, which presumably included the possibility of dying on crusade.⁵⁴

It appears that Ulrich and Egno had particular reason to be worried about the state of their possessions when the crusade was declared. In part, Ulrich's personal circumstances played into this, since he was, as Mahlknecht noted, aging and childless when he took the cross.⁵⁵ Furthermore, some of his landholdings, including Silz, were Ronsberg inheritances from his mother that had not previously been held by the house of Eppan-Ulten.⁵⁶ However, to this we must add the recurring feuds between the houses of Eppan and Tirol, which apparently dated back to the twelfth century.⁵⁷ In the years leading up to the Mongol invasion, feuding between Ulrich and Egno on one side, and Count Albert of Tirol and his son-in-law Meinhard of Görz on the other, had flared up at least twice; the first instance, in 1235, had resulted in Albert defeating and capturing Ulrich in battle.⁵⁸ The resumption of this

⁵⁰ Riley-Smith, The First Crusaders, p. 118.

⁵¹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 135–39.These factors are also discussed in Constable, "Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades," pp. 79–82.

^{52 &}quot;si vero moriens in bello domini non rediero." WUB Online, vol. 4, no. 978.

^{53 &}quot;dictis dominabus totum debitum pro remedio anime mee relaxo, excepto quod de predicta pecunia solvent filio meo LX marcas argenti." *WUB Online*, vol. 4, no. 978.

^{54 &}quot;veniens ad cenobium Vrpergense pro quibusdam causis agendis." WUB Online, vol. 5, no. N52.

⁵⁵ Mahlknecht, *Eppan*, p. 273; Mahlknecht, "Die Grafen von Eppan," pp. 695–96.

⁵⁶ Stolz, "Geschichte der Gerichte Deutschtirols," pp. 98–99; Schwarzmaier, *Königtum, Adel und Klöster*, pp. 84–87; Landi, "Dilectus consanguineus," pp. 127–28.

⁵⁷ Schwarzmaier, Königtum, Adel und Klöster, p. 82; Mahlknecht, Eppan, p. 265.

⁵⁸ The 1235 battle is mentioned in: Adelheid Zallinger, "Reineck," in *Tiroler Burgenbuch*, ed.

feud in 1240–41 involved Egno representing both the interests of his house and also those of the bishopric of Brixen, whose secular advocate was the count of Tirol. This is seen in the annals of St Rupert in Salzburg, which record under 1240 that "the elect of Brixen entered into warfare with the count of Tirol for the defence of his church."⁵⁹ As part of this feud, he also formed defensive alliances with Duke Bernhard of Carinthia and, with Ulrich's assistance, Volkmar of Kemnat.⁶⁰ This feud had ended in March 1241 with a peace treaty between Egno and Albert, and Huter influentially argued that it was the Mongol invasion which compelled these enemies to put aside their differences.⁶¹

Without denying the importance of the Mongol invasion in bringing about peace, it seems likely that the desire for familial preservation in light of this recently-ended feud also influenced the content of Ulrich's crusading charters. Particularly important here is the role of Egno. It is not immediately clear that Egno was present for the issuance of Ulrich's first crusading charter, but the fact that the first charter was given "in the episcopal chamber" in Brixen makes it likely that he was present, while the fact that Egno was named as the main beneficiary of both documents suggests that he was, alongside Ulrich, a driving force behind their creation.⁶² Though it is unclear what the state of the feud had been when the treaty was signed, the passage in the St Rupert annals does suggest that Egno was on the defensive against Albert and Meinhard,⁶³ which corresponds to the argument that Egno had been elected bishop of Brixen to defend the diocese against the 'expansionary tendencies' of their family.⁶⁴ Indeed, a report of 1242 in the same annals gives an idea of the danger faced by Egno:

Oswald Trapp, vol. 5 (Bolzano: Athesia, 1981), pp. 5, 12–13, 46 n. 25; Mahlknecht, *Eppan*, pp. 273, 275; Landi, "Die Grafen von Tirol," p. 125. *Cf.* Carlo Cipolla, ed., "Annales Veronenses antique' pubblicati da un manoscritto Sarzanese del secolo XIII," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 29 (1908), p. 63.

^{59 &}quot;Electus Brixinensis cum comite de Tirol bellum pro defensione sue ecclesie iniit." Wilhelm Wattenbach, ed., "Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses," in *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, MGH SS 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1851), p. 787. On the causes and events of this feud, see especially von Blumenthal, "Hugo von Velturns," pp. 97–103.

⁶⁰ TUB, 3:150-51, 160-61, nos. 1106, 1119.

⁶¹ TUB, 3:67–70, no. 1127; Huter, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, p. 165; Blumenthal, "Hugo von Velturns," pp. 103–5. Strakosch-Grossmann also mentioned the peace treaty, but denied any causal link with the invasion; *cf*. Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen*, p. 134.

^{62 &}quot;Actum Brixine in camera episcopali." TUB, 3:174, no. 1131.

⁶³ Above, n. 59.

^{64 &}quot;Ausdehnungstendenzen." Huter, "Egno, Bischof von Brixen (1240–50) und Trient (seit 1250)," p. 341. Feuding between the bishopric of Brixen and the house of Tirol in the thirteenth century is discussed in: Benjamin Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 86, 102, 235; Dopsch, Brunner, and Weltin, *Die Länder und das Reich*, pp. 387–88.

The count of Tirol, having conspired with certain ministerials and canons of Brixen, except Count Ulrich of Ulten, completely deprived its elect, Egno, of his castles and city.⁶⁵

Particularly important is the fact that, between the end of the feud in March and Ulrich's assumption of the cross in June, an imperial *Landfriede* had been declared as part of the crusade. This was a relatively new device, having first been declared at Mainz in 1235, and was conceived with the explicit aim of preventing feuding and violence caused by land disputes.⁶⁶ It was in this vein that the crusade ordinances mandated that anyone found breaching the "firm and true peace" and interfering with crusaders' lands or goods was to be "punished just as a schismatic and destroyer of the Church."⁶⁷ Without doubting Ulrich's sincerity regarding the crusade, it seems that the declaration of this crusade came at an opportune time for Ulrich and Egno, giving them time to attempt to secure the inheritance of Ulrich's lands in writing, employing both a sealed charter and a notarized statement to do so.⁶⁸ In this instance, it is impossible to separate an event of continental import from the intensely local desire of ensuring inheritance.

Memory and Legacy

The final question raised by Ulrich's crusading documents is that of memory. Though we have already seen that the crusade was recorded in a reasonable number of annals, it is remarkable that all mention of the crusade fades abruptly from

^{65 &}quot;Comes de Tirol, conspiracione facta cum ministerialibus et quibusdam canonicis Brixinensibus, nec non comite Ulrico uz der Ult, electum suum Egenonem castris et civitate penitus destituerunt." Wattenbach, "Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses," p. 788.

⁶⁶ For the nature and purpose of the *Landfriede*, see Heinz Angermeier, *Königtum und Landfriede im deutschen Spätmittelalter* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1966), pp. 14–26. The *Mainzer Landfriede* of 1235 is discussed on pp. 29–33. *Cf.* Weiland, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regnum*, 2:241–47, no. 196.

^{67 &}quot;pax firma et sincera usque ad festum beati Martini presentis anni ab omnibus inviolabiliter observetur; quod si aliquis aliquem crucesignatum in persona vel in rebus propria auctoritate leserit, decrevit dominus rex [...] tanquam scismaticus et destructor Ecclesie, puniatur." Xaver Bernet, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge gegen die Mongolen im XIII. Jahrhundert (zunächst für das Bisthum Konstanz)," *Der Geschichtsfreund: Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins Zentralschweiz* 1 (1843), p. 353. (= RI V, no. 11340).

⁶⁸ For a discussion of the respective uses and functions of sealed charters and notarized instruments in Tirol, see especially Heinrich Fichtenau, *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom 8. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Ergänzungsband 23 (Vienna, Cologne, Graz: Böhlau, 1971), pp. 165–74.

July 1241.⁶⁹ Nor was it ever really mentioned again in the sources; the only possible later manifestation of this crusade's memory occurs in the records of two councils held in Mainz and Cologne in May 1261, in the aftermath of the 1259–60 Mongol invasion of Central Europe, which discuss the procedure for the preaching of another anti-Mongol crusade.⁷⁰ In a very real sense, therefore, these documents stand as some of the only testaments to the continued memory of this crusade, since the land donations made by its participants did remain in force. Though we never hear of Albert of Altbach or his crusader status again, his land transfer was confirmed in July 1241 by Bishop Henry of Konstanz,⁷¹ and did result in the foundation of the nunnery at Sirnau.⁷² There is no further record of Ludwig of Spitzenberg's arrangement with the brothers of Ursberg, though if Stälin's identification was correct, then it is possible that it became void, since the 1241 agreement revolves around Ludwig dying childless,⁷³ while Count Ludwig of Spitzenberg appears from 1267 in documents alongside his son, Count Eberhard of Spitzenberg.⁷⁴

Once again, our best chance of grasping the afterlife of these crusading documents is through Ulrich. Though we should not underestimate the '*memoria* function' of the documents themselves, as emphasized by Albertoni in his discussion of textual culture in the diocese of Brixen, the concrete evidence we have for the afterlife of Ulrich's testaments suggests that, after the failure of the crusade to materialize, they came to be regarded as normal land transactions.⁷⁵ In the 1250s Ulrich's initial charter was employed by Bishop Bruno of Brixen (r. 1250–88) in order to lay claim to Silz on behalf of the diocese.⁷⁶ These efforts explain an entry

⁶⁹ Reasons for the failure of the crusade are discussed in: Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242*, 137–39; Jackson, "The Crusade against the Mongols (1241)," pp. 9–10. *Cf.* RI V, no. 11367a.

⁷⁰ Josephus Hartzheim, ed., Concilia Germaniae, vol. 3 (Cologne: J. W. Krakamp et C. Simon, 1760), p. 611; Heinrich Finke, Konzilienstudien zur Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts: Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu Hefele-Knöpfler "Conciliengeschichte" Band V und VI (Münster: Regensberg, 1891), pp. 18–24, 93–95. (= RI V, no. 15092). On this invasion, see Jackson, The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410, p. 127.

⁷¹ WUB Online, vol. 4, no. 983.

⁷² Friedrich Fezer, "Die Konvente von Sankt Klara und Sirnau," *Esslinger Studien* 23 (1984): 66, 72–73. Sirnau is also mentioned in several documents given by Pope Innocent IV at the First Council of Lyon in 1245: see *WUB Online*, vol. 4, nos. 1047–48.

^{73 &}quot;si me absque liberis dedecere contigerit." WUB Online, vol. 5, no. N52.

⁷⁴ Stälin, Wirtembergische Geschichte, 2:399; WUB Online, vol. 6, no. 1896.

⁷⁵ The phrase employed is "nicht nur rein wirtschaftliche 'Memoria-Funcktion'." Giuseppe Albertoni, "Historiam renovare: Schrift und Erinnerung am Beispiel der Traditionen und der frühen Siegelurkunden der Bischöfe von Säben-Brixen," in *Schriftkultur zwischen Donau und Adria bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Reinhard Härtel et al., Schriftenreihe der Akademie Friesach 8 (Klagenfurt: Wieser, 2008), p. 534.

⁷⁶ Hormayr-Hortenburg, *Des Freyherrn Joseph von Hormayr Sämmtliche Werke*, 2:114–15; Hormayr-Hortenburg, *Die goldene Chronik*, 2:64; Stolz, "Geschichte der Gerichte Deutschtirols,"

in the Brixen oblation book, detailing why Ulrich should be commemorated on 30 June each year:

Ulrich, noble count of Ulten, deceased, who, for the remedy of his soul, gave to the church of Brixen, for the episcopal estate, the castle of St Peter in the Upper Inn Valley, with everything pertaining to it and with the valley, which is called the Ötztal, just as they are contained more fully in his privileges, in addition he conferred upon the canons of Brixen revenues of 30 marks located at [...] from these let there be honestly procured an anniversary and let there be continuous prayer for [his] soul.⁷⁷

It is probable that the entry was written with the aid of the charter, since it preserves several of its details, including the common reference to the Inn valley as the location of the donated lands.⁷⁸ The charter does not reference a 'castle of St Peter', but this corresponds to Burg St Petersberg, which was located in Silz.⁷⁹ There are further correspondences between the charter and the necrology, including Ulrich's donation of 30 marks' revenue from the Silz properties to certain canons of Brixen, which was to fund alms and masses in Ulrich's memory.⁸⁰

This necrology shows that the charter's contents were remembered and reused in the years after the charter had been given. What is missing from this necrology, however, is any mention of the crusading conditions under which the donation had been made. By all means, we do find traces of the Mongol invasion in certain necrologies, including one from Garsten which commemorates an "Edmund,

80 TUB, 3:173, no. 1131.

pp. 97–98; Stolz, 'Politisch-historische Landesbeschreibung," p. 475. For the document, see Theodor Mairhofer, *Urkundenbuch des Augustiner Chorherren-Stiftes Neustift in Tirol*, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum Abt. 2: Diplomata et Acta 34 (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1871), pp. 123–24, no. 282.

⁷⁷ The full entry reads: "Ulricus nobilis com. de Ultimis ob., qui dedit ecclesie Brixinensi ad mensam episcopalem pro remedio anime sue castrum sancti Petri in superiori valle Eni cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et cum valle, que dicitur Ezital, sicut in privilegiis ipsius plenius continentur, preterea contulit canonicis Brixinensibus 30 marcarum redditus sitos aput [...]; ex hiis procuretur honeste anniversarius et continua fiat oracio pro anima." Franz Ludwig von Baumann, ed., "Liber oblationum ecclesiae Brixinensis maioris," in *Dioeceses Brixinensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis*, vol. 3, MGH Necr. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905), p. 8. (30 June). That this necrology entry was part of the efforts by Bishop Bruno to claim Silz is stated in Stolz, "Politisch-historische Landesbeschreibung," p. 475.

^{78 &}quot;immo universum in valle Eni." TUB, 3:173, no. 1131.

⁷⁹ Hormayr-Hortenburg, Des Freyherrn Joseph von Hormayr Sämmtliche Werke, 2:112; Stolz, "Politisch-historische Landesbeschreibung," pp. 475–76; Landi, "Dilectus consanguineus," pp. 127–28.

cruelly killed by the Tartars.⁷⁸¹ Yet the fact that Ulrich was a sworn crusader when he made his donation does not register in the necrologies which commemorate him. Ulrich's 17 June testament also remained valid, as seen in a 1248 document in which Frederick and George renounced part of this bequest to Egno.⁸²

In the years following the crusade, then, these land donations and testaments remained in force, but were re-assimilated into a landscape of local landholding connections, without any particular heed to the event which occasioned them. The same is true of the documents relating to the foundation of Sirnau following Albert of Altbach's donation. Nevertheless, these sources are still testament to the diverse documentary legacies of the 1241 invasion. While their existence was occasioned by factors which were truly continental in scope, their contents cannot be completely understood without reference to local and familial concerns which mediated specific interactions with the Mongol threat. Understanding such local and regional contexts is therefore crucial for adding nuance to our understanding of this event.

Bibliography

- Albertoni, Giuseppe. "Historiam renovare: Schrift und Erinnerung am Beispiel der Traditionen und der frühen Siegelurkunden der Bischöfe von Säben-Brixen." In Schriftkultur zwischen Donau und Adria bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, edited by Reinhard Härtel, Günther Hödl, Cesare Scalon, and Peter Štih, 527–46. Schriftenreihe der Akademie Friesach 8. Klagenfurt: Wieser, 2008.
- Angermeier, Heinz. *Königtum und Landfriede im deutschen Spätmittelalter*. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1966.
- Arnold, Benjamin. *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Barack, Karl August. Die Handschriften der fürstlich-fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek zu Donaueschingen. Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1865.
- Baumann, Franz Ludwig von, ed. "Fragmenta necrologii Adelbergensis." In *Dioeces-es Augustensis, Constantiensis, Curiensis*, 1:143–44. MGH Necr. Berlin: Weidmann, 1888.

^{81 &}quot;Edmundus a Tartaris crudeliter occisus." Maximilian Fastlinger and Josef Sturm, eds., "Necrologium Garstense," in *Dioecesis Pataviensis (Regio Bavarica, Regio Austriaca nunc Lentiensis)*, vol. 4, MGH Necr. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1920), p. 349. (4 August).

⁸² TUB, 3:265, no. 1226.

- ———, ed. "Liber oblationum ecclesiae Brixinensis maioris." In Dioeceses Brixinensis, Frisingensis, Ratisbonensis, 3:3–10. MGH Necr. Berlin: Weidmann, 1905.
- Bernet, Xaver. "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge gegen die Mongolen im XIII. Jahrhundert (zunächst für das Bisthum Konstanz)." *Der Geschichtsfreund: Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins Zentralschweiz* 1 (1843): 351–64.
- Blumenthal, Konstantin von. "Hugo von Velturns († 1267), qui se pro nobis et ecclesia nostra tutorem et murum inexpugnabilem exposuit: Teil 1." *Konstantin von* 82 (2018): 77–122.
- Bochholtz-Asseburg, Johannes. *Asseburger Urkundenbuch: Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Geschlechts Wolfenbüttel-Asseburg und seinen Besitzungen.* Vol. 1. 3 vols. Hannover: Hahn, 1876.
- Bock, Friedrich. "Über die Sammlung von Papsturkunden in Niedersachsen." *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 32 (1960): 108–46.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich, Julius Ficker, Eduard Winkelmann, Paul von Zinsmaier, Paul-Joachim Heinig, and Monika Karst. *Regesta Imperii V: Jüngere Staufer* 1198–1272: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Philipp, Otto IV, Friedrich II, Heinrich (VII), Conrad IV, Heinrich Raspe, Wilhelm und Richard. 4 vols. Regesta Imperii 5. Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-buchhandlung, 1881. http:// www.regesta-imperii.de/unternehmen/abteilungen/v-juengere-staufer.html.
- Cardauns, Hermann, ed. "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis Coloniensis." In *Historici Germaniae saec. XII. 2*, 529–47. MGH, SS 22. Hannover: Hahn, 1872.
- Chroust, Anton, ed. "Epistola de morte Friderici Imperatoris." In *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaier Friedrichs I.*, 173–78. MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 5. Berlin: Weidmann, 1928.
- Cipolla, Carlo, ed. "'Annales Veronenses antique' pubblicati da un manoscritto Sarzanese del secolo XIII." *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 29 (1908): 7–81.
- Constable, Giles. "Medieval Charters as a Source for the History of the Crusades." In *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, edited by Peter W. Edbury, 93–116. Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985.
- Dopsch, Heinz, Karl Brunner, and Maximilian Weltin. *Die Länder und das Reich: Der Ostalpenraum im Hochmittelalter*. Vienna: Ueberreuter, 1999.
- Eichenberger, Thomas. *Patria: Studien zur Bedeutung des Wortes im Mittelalter* (6.–12. Jahrhundert). Nationes 9. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991.

- Fastlinger, Maximilian, and Josef Sturm, eds. "Necrologium Garstense." In *Dioecesis Pataviensis (Regio Bavarica, Regio Austriaca nunc Lentiensis)*, 4:326–64. MGH Necr. Berlin: Weidmann, 1920.
- Fezer, Friedrich. "Die Konvente von Sankt Klara und Sirnau." *Esslinger Studien* 23 (1984): 45–100.
- Fichtenau, Heinrich. *Das Urkundenwesen in Österreich vom 8. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert*. Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Ergänzungsband 23. Vienna, Cologne, Graz: Böhlau, 1971.
- Finke, Heinrich. Konzilienstudien zur Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts: Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu Hefele-Knöpfler "Conciliengeschichte" Band V und VI. Münster: Regensberg, 1891.
- Hartzheim, Josephus, ed. *Concilia Germaniae*. Vol. 3. 11 vols. Cologne: J. W. Krakamp et C. Simon, 1760.
- Höfler, Karl Adolf Constantin von, ed. *Albert von Beham und Regesten Pabst Innocenz IV.* Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1847.
- Hoogeweg, Hermann, ed. Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe. Vol. 2. 6 vols. Hannover: Hahn, 1901.
- Hormayr-Hortenburg, Joseph Freyherr von, ed. *Des Freyherrn Joseph von Hormayr Sämmtliche Werke*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. Stuttgart, Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1821.
- — Die goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau der Burg der Welfen, der Hohenstauffen und der Scheyren. Vol. 2: Urkunden: Die große Mongolische Muth;
 Die Mutter Conradins und seine Mausoleum [...] die Freiberge zum Eisenberge.
 2 vols. Munich: Franz, 1842.
- Huter, Franz. *Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Geschichte Tirols*. Edited by Josef Riedmann and Marjan Cescutti. Schlern-Schriften 300. Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1997.
- ———. "Die Mongolengefahr von 1241 und Tirol." Carinthia I 146 (1956): 528–135.
- ———. "Egno, Bischof von Brixen (1240–50) und Trient (seit 1250)." In *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, edited by Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 4:341. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959. https://www. deutsche-biographie.de/pnd135903246.html#ndbcontent.
- ———. Tiroler Urkundenbuch, pt. 1: Die Urkunden zur Geschichte des deutschen Etschlandes und des Vintschgaus. Vol. 3. 3 vols. Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1937.

- Jackson, Peter. "The Crusade against the Mongols (1241)." The Journal of Ecclesiastical History 42, no. 1 (1991): 1–18.
- ———. *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410.* Second Edition. The Medieval World. New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H. "Pro Patria Mori in Medieval Political Thought." *American Historical Review* 56, no. 3 (1951): 472–92.
- Kerler, Heinrich Friedrich. *Geschichte der Grafen von Helfenstein nach den Quellen dargestellt*. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Ulm: Stettin, 1840.
- Kosi, Miha. "The Fifth Crusade and Its Aftermath: Crusading in the Southeast of the Holy Roman Empire in the First Decades of the Thirteenth Century." *Crusades* 17 (2018): 91–113.
- Landi, Walter. "Die Grafen von Tirol: Ein historisch-familiengeschichtlicher Überblick (10.–14. Jahrhundert)." In *Schloss Tirol*, edited by Walter Hauser and Martin Mittermair, 1:110–31. Bolzano: Schloss Tirol, 2017.
- ———. "Dilectus consanguineus: Die Grafen von Eppan und ihre Verwandten." In Eppan und das Überetsch: Wohnen und Wirtschaften an der Weinstraße und in angrenzenden Gebieten, edited by Rainer Loose, 109–45. Lana: Tappeiner, 2008.
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm. *Origines Guelficae*. Edited by Christian Ludwig Scheidt. Vol. 4. 5 vols. Hannover: Orphanotrophei Moringensis, 1753.
- Mahlknecht, Bruno. "Die Grafen von Eppan: Versuch einer Gesamtdarstellung." Der Schlern 72 (1998): 675–701.
- ———. Eppan: Geschichte und Gegenwart; Ein Gemeindebuch zum Anlaß der 1400-Jahr-Erstnennung des Names Eppan im Jahre 590. Edited by Gemeinde Eppan an der Weinstraße. Eppan: Gemeinde Eppan, 1990. https://digital.tessmann.it/tessmannDigital/Buch/22527/.
- Mairhofer, Theodor. *Urkundenbuch des Augustiner Chorherren-Stiftes Neustift in Tirol*. Fontes Rerum Austriacarum Abt. 2: Diplomata et Acta 34. Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1871.
- Mitis, Oskar von, Heinrich Fichtenau, Erich Zöllner, Franz Gall, Heide Dienst, and Christian Lackner, eds. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger in Österreich*. Vol. 1. 4 vols. Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Vienna: Holzhausen, 1950.
- ——, eds. Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Babenberger in Österreich. Vol. 2.
 4 vols. Publikationen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Vienna: Holzhausen, 1950.

- Nössing, Josef. "Die Interessen der Grafen von Eppan im Vinschgau." In Der Vinschgau und seine Nachbarräume: Vorträge des landeskundlichen Symposiums veranstaltet vom Südtiroler Kulturinstitut in Verbindung mit dem Bildungshaus Schloß Goldrain, 27. bis 30. Juni 1991, edited by Rainer Loose, 99–105. Schriftenreihe des Südtiroler Kulturinstituts 18. Bolzano: Athesia, 1993.
- Oliger, Livarius. "Exhortatio Henrici episcopi Constantiniensis ad Fratres Minores, ut crucem contra Tartaros praedicent a. 1241." *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 11 (1918): 556–57.
- Pertz, Georg H., ed. "Annales Sancti Trudperti." In *Annales aevi Suevici, vol. 2*, 283– 94. MGH, SS 17. Hannover: Hahn, 1861.
- ———, ed. "Annales Wormatienses 873-1360," 34–73. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, SS 17. Hannover: Hahn, 1861.
- Pertz, Georg Heinrich, ed. "Annales Sancti Georgii in Nigra Silva." In Annales aevi Suevici, 295–98. MGH SS 17. Hannover: Hahn, 1861.
- Post, Gaines. "Two Notes on Nationalism in the Middle Ages." *Traditio* 9 (1953): 281–320.
- Riley-Smith, Jonathan. *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Rodenberg, Karl, and Georg Heinrich Pertz, eds. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1887.
- Schmieder, Felicitas. "De Einfall der Mongolen nach Polen und Schlesien: Schreckensmeldungen, Hilferufe und die Reaktionen de Westens." In *Wahlstatt 1241: Beiträge zur Mongolenschlacht bei Liegnitz und zu ihren Nachwirkungen*, edited by Ulrich Schmilewski, 77–86. Würzburg: Bergstadtverlag Korn, 1991.
- Schwarzmaier, Hansmartin. *Königtum, Adel und Klöster im Gebiet zwischen oberer Iller und Lech*. Veröffentlichungen der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft, vol. 1: Studien zur Geschichte des bayerischen Schwabens 7. Augsburg: Verlag der Schwäbischen Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1961.
- Stälin, Christoph Friedrich von. *Wirtembergische Geschichte*. Vol. 2. 4 vols. Stuttgart, Tübingen: J. G. Cotta, 1847.
- Stolz, Otto. "Geschichte der Gerichte Deutschtirols: Abhandlungen zum historischen Atlas der österreichischen Alpenländer, Landgerichtskarte von Tirol." Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 102 (1913): 83–334.

- ————. "Politisch-historische Landesbeschreibung von Südtirol, erster Teil: Nordtirol." Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 107 (1923): 1–885.
- Strakosch-Grassmann, Gustav. Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242. Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1893.
- Waitz, Georg, ed. "Gestorum Treverorum Continuatio IV." In Annales aevi Suevici (Supplementa tomorum XVI et XVII) Gesta saec. XII. XIII. (Supplementa tomorum XX-XXIII), 390–404. MGH SS 24. Hannover: Hahn, 1879.
- Wattenbach, Wilhelm, ed. "Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgenses." In *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, 758–810. MGH SS 9. Hannover: Hahn, 1851.
- Weiland, Ludwig, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regnum*. Vol. 2. 13 vols. Hannover: Hahn, 1896.
- ———, ed. "Sächsische Weltchronik." In Sächsische Weltchronik; Eberhards Reimchronik von Gandersheim; Braunschweigische Reimchronik; Chronik des Stiftes S. Simon und Judas zu Goslar; Holsteinische Reimchronik, 1–279. MGH Dt. Chron.
 2. Hannover: Hahn, 1876.
- "Württembergisches Urkundenbuch." Online edition, 2008. https://www.wubonline.de/.
- Zallinger, Adelheid. "Reineck." In *Tiroler Burgenbuch*, edited by Oswald Trapp, 5:11–50. Bolzano: Athesia, 1981.

László Veszprémy¹

Sources on the Battle of Muhi—between East and West. Hayton's chronicle and Western historiography

Having converted to Christianity and established the organization of the Latin Church, Hungary and the Hungarians indisputably entered the community of Western peoples. The events of the Carpathian Basin, however, only gradually and very slowly attracted the attention of Western chroniclers and annalists, except for chroniclers in neighbouring Bavaria, Bohemia and Poland, several of whom made personal visits to the country. The first major "Western" event concerned the kingdom's borders. Rudolphus (Raoul) Glaber, in his chronicle of around 1044, enthusiastically recorded that King Stephen I had permitted Western pilgrims to traverse the country in the 1020s. Other memorable events followed, such as the passage of the Crusades in 1096, 1147 and 1189, and the Hungarian Crusade of 1217–1218, but all met with a somewhat muted response in the Western chronicles.²

Zuzsanna Reed Papp, working from the thirteenth-century chronicles of Matthew Paris (d. 1259), has determined that the political and church affairs at the Hungarian frontiers were well known in Europe at the time of the Mongol invasion. Only after crushing the army and border defences of Hungary in spring 1241 did the Mongols realize that the frontiers of the country were also the frontiers of Western Christianity.³ Nearly every Western chronicle of the time gave an account, with varying levels of detail, of the destruction wreaked in Hungary, and the departure

¹ This study was written as part of project No. NKFIH K-128 880 entitled A tatárjárás Magyarországon és a mongol hódítás eurázsiai összefüggései [The Mongol Invasion in Hungary and the Mongol conquest in its Eurasian context].

² For a general overview, see Enikő Csukovits, *Hungary and the Hungarians: Western Europe's View in the Middle Ages* (Roma: Viella, 2018).

³ Zuzsanna Reed Papp, "Perceptions of Eastern Europe: Peoples, Kingdoms and Region in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century English Sources" (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2009), pp. 169–223.

of the Mongols towards the Balkans (for reasons that are still not precisely known) in the spring of 1242.⁴

As we might expect, the contemporary chroniclers who knew most about the Mongol invasion of Hungary were those in Hungary itself. Two church chroniclers gave truly detailed reports. Rogerius (Roger of Torre Maggiore, d. 1266), Canon of Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania) has the status of an eye-witness, having himself fallen into Mongol captivity, and writing very soon after the event.⁵ Archbishop Thomas of Split/Spalato (d. 1268) wrote a few years later, but clearly used eye-witness information.⁶ Both of these chronicles remained largely unknown to Western historians. Rogerius' work became known after being printed as an appendix to the chronicle of John of Thurocz in 1488, and the manuscript has not survived.⁷ Thomas' text, preserved in four medieval copies, was used by Andrea Dandolo in the fourteenth century and Jan Długosz and Croatian humanists in the fifteenth.⁸

Here we are concerned with the extent to which the determined and partially successful Hungarian resistance to the Mongols left a mark in chronicles and correspondence written in the West, in the East, and within Hungary. Rogerius

8 Thomas of Split, pp. xxxix-xlii.

⁴ For a general overview of the Mongol invasion in Hungary, see Attila Gyucha, Wayne E. Lee, and Zoltán Rózsa, "The Mongol Campaign in Hungary, 1241–1242. The Archaeology and History of Nomadic Conquest and Massacre," *The Journal of Military History* 83.4 (2019), pp. 1001–1021; István Zimonyi, "The Mongol Campaigns against Eastern Europe," in *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe. Collected Studies*, ed. Victor Spinei (Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Române – Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei, Editura Istros, 2014), pp. 325–52.; József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, János B. Szabó, and Dorottya Uhrin, "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary in Its Eurasian Context," *Historical Studies on Central Europe* 3.2 (2023), pp. 184–206.

⁵ Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, Notary of King Bela, The Deeds of the Hungarians. Edited, translated and annotated by Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy, Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta. Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars. Translated and annotated by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, (Central European Medieval Texts, 5) (Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2010) [hereinafter Anonymus and Master Roger], pp. 132–228. For Rogerio, see Tibor Almási, "Forrásadatok és feltevések Rogerius életrajzi vázlatához [Sources and hypotheses to the biography of Rogerius]", In Nagyvárad és Bihar az Árpád-kor végén, ed. Attila Zsoldos, (Nagyvárad: Varadinum Kulturális Alapítvány, 2016), 55–82. Kornél Szovák, "A váradi írásbeliség hagyománya [Literacy tradition in Oradea/Várad]", in Nagyvárad és Bihar a korai középkorban, ed. Attila Zsoldos. (Nagyvárad: Varadinum Kulturális Alapítvány, 2014), 135–38.

⁶ Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text edition by Olga Perić. Edited and English translation by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006) [hereinafter Thomas of Split], pp. 252–305.

⁷ John of Thurocz, A magyarok krónikája [The Chronicle of the Hungarians]. Facsimile edition, 2 vols. (Budapest: Helikon, 1986); Elemér Mályusz, A Thuróczy-krónika és forrásai [The Thuróczy chronicle and its sources] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1967).

implies and Thomas unequivocally asserts that the Hungarians had substantial partial successes at the Battle of Muhi, particularly in the defence of the bridge over the river Saió.⁹ Since Thomas is the only Western source to describe the clash at the bridge, in which the Hungarians initially prevailed, we might approach his version with some scepticism. Eastern (Chinese and Persian) sources, however, and the Armenian chronicler who made use of them, Hayton (var. Hethum, Het'um, d. ca. 1310), confirm the fact of the battle, and make guite clear that the Mongols suffered serious losses at the early stages.¹⁰ When the Mongols crossed the frozen Danube in January 1242, there were several Hungarian castles they were unable to capture, and they found the fortified towns on the Dalmatian coast to be similarly impregnable, preventing them from capturing the fleeing Hungarian king. Many historians today consider a major factor in the Mongol withdrawal to be their inability to take full possession of Hungary west of the Danube, and the same was true for North Hungary and the coastal region of Dalmatia. Upon taking account of their losses, the Mongols may have realized that their forces were insufficient to completely overrun the Kingdom of Hungary, let alone the German empire beyond. Here we are mainly concerned with records of the battle known by the name of the village of Muhi beside the river Sajó, in the east of the country, fought on 11 April 1241. The main reason for this choice is that a battle fought at a bridge is also the most important event in Hayton's account of the Mongol invasion of Hungary. By contrast, the view that spread in Western sources, largely attributable to the widely-disseminated text Ystoria Mongalorum by Plano Carpini (Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, d. 1252), was that the Hungarians bore the responsibility for their defeat.¹¹ This view remained unchallenged, most likely because the strength of Hungarian resistance to the Mongols was unknown in the West, even among historiographers.

An important protagonist in the events was the duke of Austria, Frederick II the Quarrelsome (r. 1230–1246), who brought his forces to Hungary at the news of the Mongol attack and came out victorious in a clash with the Mongol advance guard.¹² Subsequently, however, he was preoccupied with the defence of his duchy and did not take part in the Battle of Muhi. He then proposed to assist the fleeing king of Hungary in exchange for extortionate demands. Frederick was more active in the field of correspondence. Here we consider only two of his letters. In the first, dated

⁹ Thomas of Split, pp. 262–65.

¹⁰ Hayton, "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Do-cuments arméniens*, ed. Charles Kohler, Vol. 2: pp. 111–253. (French version), and Vol. 2: pp. 255–363. (Latin version) (Paris: Imprimerie national, 1906), pp. 161–162; p. 296.

¹¹ Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli,* ed. Enrico Menestò et al. (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989), pp. 271–272.

¹² Anonymus and Master Roger, pp. 171–75.

13 June 1241,¹³ he advises the elected German king, Conrad IV, about possible ways of fighting the Mongols and the need to mobilize imperial forces. In a much shorter letter on the developments of the Mongol invasion, addressed to Bishop Heinrich von Tanne of Constance and his chapter on 22 June 1241, he claims that his soldiers killed seventy or more of the invading Mongol warriors.¹⁴ Compared with the somewhat posturing tone of Frederick's letters, the Austrian annals are free of bias in the matter of his military exploits.¹⁵

A famous item of contemporary correspondence is Emperor Frederick II's letter to the king of England from Faenza, dated 3 July 1241. It was incorporated into the chronicle of Matthew Paris and is preserved only there and in two Austrian manuscripts.¹⁶ Matthew gives an account of the king of Hungary's flight to the Dalmatian coast, but he also explains the defeat at Muhi in terms of the Hungarians' inaction and laziness.¹⁷ Matthew Paris was clearly well informed, because the only other accounts of Béla IV's escape to the coast are found in letters written by Frederick II and the king himself, and in Rogerius, Thomas of Spalato, C. de Bridia (also Bridra), Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb (d. 1318), and one Polish annal.¹⁸

¹³ Gábor Bradács, "A tatárjárás osztrák elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája" [A critical overview of the Medieval Austrian narrative sources on the Mongol invasion of Hungary], Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 127.1 (2014), p. 8, RI V,2,4 no. 11349, in Regesta Imperii Online, accessed 19 January, 2021, http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/1241-06-13_1_0_5_2_4_936_11349.; Attila Bárány, "A tatárjárás híre Nyugat-Európában" [News of the Tartar invasion in Western Europe], Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 133. 3 (2020) pp. 486–527.

¹⁴ Bradács, "A tatárjárás osztrák elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája," p. 9, Joseph Hormayr zu Hortenburg, ed., *Die Goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau, der Burg der Welfen, der Hohenstauffen und der Scheyren* (Munich: Georg Franz, 1842), p. 70.

¹⁵ Johannes Gießauf, "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich und die Mongolengefahr 1241/42," in Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alpen-Adria-Raumes Festgabe für em.o.Univ.-Prof. Dr. Othmar Pickl zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Herwig Ebner (Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität, 1997), pp. 173–99.

¹⁶ György Bónis, "Petrus de Vinea leveleskönyve Magyarországon. 1–2. rész" [The letter collection of Petrus de Vinea in Hungary, Parts.1–2.], *Filológiai Közlöny* 4 (1958), pp. 1–26, 173–193, Jakov Stipišić, "Zagrebački rukopis epistolara Petra de Vineis," [The Zagreb manuscript of the letter collection of Petrus de Vinea], Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 4 (1961), pp. 405–421. For the manuscripts of the letter collection see Hans Martin Schaller, ed., Handschriftenverzeichnis zur Briefsammlung des Petrus de Vinea (Hannover: Hahn, 2002).

¹⁷ Henry Richards Luard, ed., Matthaei Parisisenis Chronica majora, (London: Public Record Office, 1877), 4: 113: "Sed hostium contemptores elati vel nescii, dum inimico vicinante segnes dormitarent". see also Jean Richard, "Les causes des victoires mongoles d'après les historiens occidentaux du XIII^e siècle," Central Asiatic Journal 22 (1979), p. 108; p. 116; Hans Eberhard Hilpert, Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in den Chronica Majora des Matthaeus Paris (Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1981), pp. 128–131; p. 154.

¹⁸ A victory over the Mongols was attributed to the Hungarians in 1239, but it was a false rumour, disseminated by the chronicle of Albericus de Troisfontaines, see Hilpert, *Kaiser- und*

Of chronicles written far from the borders of Hungary, it is the Chronica Maiora of St Albans Monastery that contains the most thorough treatment of the Mongol attack on Eastern Europe. The author, Matthew Paris, acquired his knowledge of events from contemporary letters. The inclusion of four letters concerning the Mongols in the Chronica majora, and six (or seven) in the Additamenta (Liber Ad*ditamentorum*) is an unparalleled achievement.¹⁹ Some of the sources are from the time of the events, while others are related to the Council of Lyon of 1245, attended by the Bishop of Lincoln, who may have brought the letters to the chronicler. Interestingly, Flores Historiarum, a later revision of the work that was much more widely disseminated, systematically omits the reports concerning Eastern Europe, and mentions the Mongol invasion of Hungary only in a short schematic passage about the destruction of the country.²⁰ The Annals of Waverley, written in the Cistercian Waverley Abbey in Surrey, contains only a Hungarian letter sent to Paris that was also used by Matthew Paris.²¹ Like most letters from Hungary, this complains about the Mongol depredations and envisions the defeat of Western Christendom if assistance is not forthcoming. Since it was a request for help, the letter understandably emphasizes how much the Hungarians had lost rather than what they had achieved through resistance.

The treatment of the Mongol Invasion of Hungary by contemporary encyclopaedists is of the highest significance. The first edition of the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais (Vincentius Bellovacensis, d. 1264), of which some 300 copies survive, is dated to 1244, and the author extended it several times until 1253.²²

Papstbriefe, pp. 157–158, Judit Csákó, "Az Árpád-kori Magyarország a francia területen keletkezett elbeszélő kútfők tükrében" [Hungary reflected in French narrative sources during the Árpád age] (PhD diss., ELTE Eötvös Loránd University, 2015), pp. 104–106.

¹⁹ Hilpert, Kaiser- und Papstbriefe, pp. 158–159., see also, Tamás Körmendi, Az 1196–1235 közötti magyar történelem nyugati elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája [A critical overview of western narrative sources on Hungary between 1196-1235] (Budapest: MTA TTI, 2019), p. 158.

²⁰ Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Flores Historiarum*. 2. Vol. 1067–1264 (London: Public Record Office, 1890), Vol 2: p. 311.

²¹ Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Matthaei Parisisenis Chronica majora* (London: Public Record Office, 1877), Vol. 6: pp. 75–76.

²² Anna-Dorothee Brincken, "Die Mongolen im Weltbild der Lateiner um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des "Speculum Historiale" des Vincenz von Beauvais OP," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 57 (1975), pp. 117–40; Claire Kappler, "L'image des Mongols dans le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais," in Vincent de Beauvais: intentions et réceptions d'une oeuvre encyclopédique au Moyen Âge. Actes du XIVe Colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales, organisé conjointement par l'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais et l'Institut d'études médiévales. 27–30 avril 1988, ed. Monique Paulmier-Foucart, Serge Lusignan, Alain Nadeau et al. (Paris: Les Editions Fides, 1990), pp. 219–40.; Gregory G. Guzman, "The encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and his Mongol extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin," Speculum 49.2 (1974), pp. 287–307; Csákó, "Az Árpád-kori Magyarország," pp. 393–394, nos. 167, 169.

The section concerning Hungary appears at the end of the work (XXXI, 149), and is largely taken from Plano Carpini. It is not exactly flattering to the Hungarians. The relevant passage from Carpini states (Chapter 5) that "if the Hungarians had not fled but had heroically stood their ground, the Mongols would have departed their lands".²³ This sentence (*ut iam super dictum est*) is in fact repeated in the following book (XXXII, 15). Vincent adds that, unlike the Hungarians, the brave Cistercian and Minorite monks successfully defended their monasteries against the Mongols.²⁴ Unfortunately, Carpini's comment had a long subsequent history: following Vincent's chronicle, another Dominican monk, Antoninus of Florence (d. 1459), later canonized, repeated it word for word in his world chronicle (Titulus XIX, cap. VIII).²⁵

The similarly popular history of popes and emperors by Martin of Opava (Martinus Polonus, d. 1278), which was copied more than 400 times and translated into several languages, mentions the destruction in Hungary only in general terms, without specifics.²⁶ Some chroniclers (Ptolomaeus/Tolomeo da Lucca, Paulino da Venezia,²⁷ Sanudo, Jean le Long d'Ypres) add that after the Mongols withdrew, the Szeklers and Vlachs blocked the passes to prevent them from returning.²⁸ The source of this may be—via Paulino da Venezia—the chronicle of Simon of Kéza, which mentions the Szeklers and Vlachs several times.²⁹

²³ Carpine, *Storia dei Mongoli*, pp. 271–272.

^{24 &}quot;Porro fratres ordinis Cisterciensis, fratres praedicatores, fratresque minores, eisdem restiterunt viriliter plus quam per sex menses, nullamque impugnationem eorum metuentes. In Tartaris quippe vigor et fortitudo deficit cum eis aliquis viriliter resistit". Juliane Schiel, *Mongolensturm und Fall Konstantinopels: dominikanische Erzählungen im diachronen Vergleich* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), p. 108. The source of this information may have been Simon de Saint Quentin, see Jean Richard, ed., *Histoire des Tartares: [Historia Tartarorum]* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1965), p. 77.

²⁵ Antoninus, *Chronicon partibus tribus distincta ab initio mundi ad MCCCLX*. (Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1484), 3:52°.

²⁶ Martinus Polonus, "Chronicon Pontificum et Imperatorum," in Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in folio, ed. Georg Heinrich Petz (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), Vol. 12: p. 472. Martin's chronicle was translated into Persian by Rashīd al-Dīn, Die Frankengeschichte des Rasid ad-Din, trans. Karl Jahn. Denkschriften-Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977), p. 90.

²⁷ Paolino da Venezia mentioned the Mongol invasion twice in his chronicle, see Walther Holtzmann, Bruchstücke aus der Weltchronik des Minoriten Paulinus von. Venedig (I. Recension). Parts 1–2. (Rome: Regenberg, 1927), p. 19; p. 29.

²⁸ Victor Spinei, "Les répercussions de la grande invasion mongole de 1241–1242 sur l'espace carpatodanubien reflétées surtout dans les oeuvres des chroniqueurs italiens," Südost Forschungen 61–62 (2002–2003), pp. 1–47, Csákó, "Az Árpád-kori Magyarország," pp. 331–332; Körmendi, Az 1196–1235 közötti magyar történelem, p. 152; pp. 163–164; p. 168; pp. 174–75.

²⁹ Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed., trans. László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer (Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 1999), p. 71.

The testimony of Hayton's chronicle

Surprisingly, Duke Frederick II of Austria appears prominently in the book about the Mongols written by the Armenian nobleman Hayton. By contrast, the Hungarian resistance to the Mongols is completely absent, and the country is mentioned only as a theatre of war.³⁰ One well-known miniature in manuscripts of Hayton's chronicle, however, depicts an iconic episode of the western Mongol invasion. It shows a battle on a bridge, involving Western-armed Christians and Mongols clad in nomadic attire. We can clearly make out Mongol horsemen drowning as they attempt to cross the river. The miniatures come from the French version of the book La Fleur des Histoires de la terre d'Orient (the Latin version being Flos Historiarum), a brief introduction to oriental history that became highly popular in contemporary Europe.³¹ The number of extant manuscripts has most recently been put at fifty-eight (twenty-four in French and thirty-two in Latin), and there were twelve early modern printed editions.³² It was frequently copied not on its own but into an anthology-like collation with other works on Eastern affairs and military arts. The only manuscript in Hungary (but not copied there) is bound together with Vegetius' opus.³³ The subject—a survey of Mongol history from the beginnings until the time of the author-was itself attractive to illustrators, including those who made French manuscripts.

There are three known depictions of the battle on the bridge, all iconographically interrelated: one is from a Viennese manuscript published on the internet; another is found in a Paris manuscript³⁴ but might also be included in one or two of

³⁰ Hayton, "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient," pp. 161–162, p. 296, without mentioning the Austrian duke's name.

³¹ Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences*. A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville, 1371–1550 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

³² Irene Bueno, "Dalla guerra alle meraviglie orientali: le letture della Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient nel Medioevo," Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge 130–131 (2018), pp. 53–71. The first printed Latin editions: 1529, 1532 (twice), 1537, 1555, 1585. For further works attributed to Hayton see Claude Mutafian, "Héthoum de Korykos historien arménien. Un prince cosmopolite à l'aube du XIV^e siècle," Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes. Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies 1.1 (1996), pp. 157–176; Csukovits, Hungary and the Hungarians, p. 52, pp. 171–176.

³³ Robertus Szentiványi, Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Batthyányanae. (Szeged: Bibliotheca Universitatis Szegediensis, 1958), pp. 202–203, no. 354. The manuscript came from the Migazzi collection; consequently, it was purchased outside Hungary – its latest description in Adinel Adrian Papahagi, and Ciprian Dincă, ed., Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România. Census (Iaşi: Polirom, 2019), p. 100, no. 243.

³⁴ Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1893), p. 207. With a description of the miniature. The Vienna manuscript: Wien, ÖNB Cod. 2623, according to the catalogue originated in East-Western France, 1350–1374; the Paris manuscript: Paris, BNF Nouvelle acquisition française 886, fol. 19r, according to the catalogue a Catalan work, 1300–1325.

the other printed books and manuscripts. The image also appears in a French-language manuscript in London. It is marked Cotton Otho D II and is now severely damaged. It does not mention the armed clash itself, but only mentions the drowning Mongols at the bridge. It was illuminated by the "Boucicaut master", and Marshall Boucicaut may conceivably have ordered it for John the Fearless to remind him of his plans for the Holy Land.³⁵

The career of the author, Hayton, lord of Corycus (Kalesi, Turkey), is well known, and there is no need to repeat it here.³⁶ He was closely related to the ruling dynasty of Little Armenia, and had been forced into exile during a power struggle. In Cyprus, he entered the Premonstratensian Order and as a monk travelled to the pope in Poitiers. It was at the express request of Pope Clement V that he dictated his opus in August 1307.

The first of the four books making up the opus is a summary of the history and geography of Asia. The second discusses the conquests of the Muslims, and the third the history and conquests of the Mongols, including the invasion of Hungary. The fourth is devoted to a possible alliance between the Christians and the Mongols and preparations for a new joint crusade. On the Mongols, his account of the period from Genghis Khan to Mengu-Timur came from Mongol sources. His knowledge of the period from Mengu-Timur to Hulagu Khan was conveyed to him by his uncle, Hethum I (d. 1270). From the time of Abaqa Khan (d. 1282), his description was based on his own observations.³⁷ The indisputable significance of his work is in it being the first by any Western author to give an overall, systematic account of Mongol history from the beginning until his own time.

In 1893, Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann, reviewing oriental reports of the Central European Mongol invasion, noted that Gusztáv Wenzel had published the section of the Latin version of Hayton's text pertaining to Hungary without giving the name of the author.³⁸ Strakosch-Grassmann correctly observed that the work

³⁵ Charity Cannon Willard, "The Duke of Berry's Multiple Copies of the Fleur des histoires d'Orient," in *From Linguistics to Literature: Romance Studies Offered to Francis M. Rogers,* ed. Bernard H. Bichakjian (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1981), pp. 288–9.

³⁶ See Peter Jackson, "Hayton", in *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Online edition, 2016, http://www. iranicaonline.org/articles/hayton-of-gorigho, accessed 10 April, 2018.

³⁷ Hayton had several sources, written and oral alike: "hec narrabat filiis suis et nepotibus, et faciebat poni in scriptis, ut melius memorie tenerentur", "scivit ipse tanquam ille qui personaliter interfuit", Hayton, "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient," Vol. 2: p. 269, p. 272; Denis Sinor, "Le réel et l'imaginaire dans la description des Mongols dans La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient de Hayton," in Actes du Colloque "Les Lusiganans et l'Outre Mer", ed. Claude Mutafian (Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 1993), p. 277.

³⁸ Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa, pp. 206–207.; Gusztáv Wenzel, Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus (Pest, Eggenberger, 1869), Vol. 7: pp. 546–549.

had no substantial scholarly value concerning Central Europe, and was somewhat confused. Scholars today also regard Hayton's work as an unreliable source, and assess it to be largely Armenian propaganda.³⁹ This is not surprising, and most references to the book concern its enormous popularity and the large number of manuscript copies rather than its historical credibility. The sources on the Mongol invasion of Hungary it shows the most affinity with are the letters of the duke of Austria: it attributes the stopping of the Mongols to the Austrians—more precisely, to the brave (unnamed) duke of Austria. The text of the miniature depicting the bridge refers not to the Battle of Muhi but to the Hungarian-Austrian border and a border river, which is not even named in the Latin text. None of this could have differed much from the contemporary understanding of the Mongols. After all, the stopping of the Mongol advance could hardly have been attributed to the king of Hungary, who had been defeated and forced into flight. By contrast, the duke of Austria filled the role perfectly.

The text states:40

"Baiju [here Batu], the second son of Ögedei-Khan, went with those Mongol troops given him by his father and invaded the northern regions, reaching as far as the kingdom of Comania. The Cumans who had many armed men, resisted the Mongols, thinking to protect their country. But in the end they were defeated and went as fugitives as far as the Kingdom of Hungary. To this day there are many Cumans living there. Now after Baiju had expelled all the Cumans from the kingdom of Comania, he passed to the kingdom of Russia, and subjugated that as well. And he conquered the country of the Kacar and the Kingdom of the Bulgars, and traversed

³⁹ Strakosch-Grassmann, Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa, p. 208. For a balanced evaluation of Hayton's chronicle see Sinor, "Le réel et l'imaginaire dans la description des Mongols," pp. 276–280, Peter Jackson, The Mongols and the Islamic World: From Conquest to Conversion (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), p. 44, John Andrew Boyle, Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 404, Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335) (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 21–25.

⁴⁰ Robert Bedrosian, trans., Het'um the Historian's History of the Tartars (Long Branch, New Jersey, 2004), Vol. III: p. 21. For a recent interpretation see Dóra Baráth, "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient," Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 13 (2020), pp. 629–36. For the edition of Jean le Long's French translation see Hethum von Korykos (Hayton), La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient. Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korykos (1307) in der Rückübersetzung durch Jean le Long, Traitiez des estas et des conditions de quatorze royaumes de Aise (1351), ed. Sven Dörper (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Peter Lang, 1998). Anyway, Jean le Long translated only the first three books into French. A critical edition of Hayton's Latin chronicle is still missing, but there are no serious differences between the known manuscripts concerning this chapter.

the road over which the Cumans had fled, reaching as far as the Kingdom of Hungary. After this, the Mongols headed toward the kingdom of Germany until they reached a river which flows through the duchy of Austria. The Mongols planned to cross a bridge at the place, but the duke of Austria and other neighbours fortified the approaches to the bridge, preventing the Mongols from using it. Enraged by this, Baiju commanded all to cross and he himself went first into the river, subjecting his own person and his people to the danger of death. Before reaching the other shore, the horses gave out due to the breadth of the river and the strength of the current. Thus, Baiju drowned, together with a huge multitude of his followers. When those who had not yet entered the water saw this, struck with dread and shame, they returned in great sorrow to the kingdom of Russia and Comania and held them, as was said. Thereafter the Mongols did not go to the country of Germany [...].^{"41}

Hayton's information on the Cumans is accurate, but the Mongols, although they did reach the Austrian border towns, did not fight a major battle at the Austro-Hungarian border, and especially not at a river. The closest to this account is a travel report by C. de Bridia, whose credibility has long been disputed. He also tells of a fierce battle at a bridge, and mentions the names of Béla IV, his younger brother Prince Coloman, and Batu. According to that text, Batu, chief commander of the Mongols (*principalis dux*), was cut down by Prince Coloman himself and went down with his horse and weapon.⁴² It is surprising that Hayton also mentions Batu's death, which is historically absurd. Perhaps Strakosch-Grassman is right in his suggestion that the name Bakatu/Bahatu, a Mongol leader mentioned in the Subutai's biography and who lost his life at Muhi, had become corrupted to Batu.⁴³

⁴¹ In most of the Latin manuscripts the name of the river is missing. It appears in the French translation of Jean le Long (II.11, II.15, and II.24), as the Danube ("jusques au fleuve de la Dunaulbe"). Even in the 13th century the border river between Hungary and Austria was the Leitha (Lajta), as in the "Continuatio Sancrucensis II," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in folio*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach (Hannover, Hahn, 1851), Vol. 9: p. 642. On the Hungarian-Austrian border line see Nicolas Pethes, "Diesseits der Leitha, jenseits der Lethe: zehn Thesen zum Raumkonzept der kulturwissenschaftlichen Gedächtnisforschung," in *Leitha und Lethe: Symbolische Räume und Zeiten in der Kultur Österreich-Ungarns*, ed. Amália Kerekes, Alexandra Millner et al. (Basel, Tübingen: A. Francke, 2004), pp. 1–18.

⁴² C. de Bridia, *Hystoria Tartarorum*, ed. Alf Önnerfors (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967), p. 20.

⁴³ There is a tradition of Batu's death during the Hungarian campaign, but it rather belongs to the legend circle of King Saint Ladislas of Hungary, see Nikolaos Trunte, "Wie König Ladislaus Chan Batu Erschlug. Ursprung und Verbreitung eines Legendenzyklus," *Die Welt der Slaven* 51 (2006), pp. 315–56.; Reiner Reineck. ed., *Historia Orientalis Haythoni Armenii*... (Helmaestadii: Lucius, 1585), p. 21; László Veszprémy, "Szent Lászlótól Batu kánig. A László legenda metamorfózisai" [From Saint Ladislas to Batu Khan. The metamorphoses of the legend of Ladislas], Szeged, 2024 (in print). For the name of Bakatu/Bahatu see Strakosch-Grassmann,

If C. de Bridia's text was indeed written in 1247, we may infer the existence of a very early, probably Eastern tradition. This is reinforced by a brief entry on 1243 in *The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church:* "[...] one group [of the Mongols] turned towards the lands of the Swabian emperor in Germany. They achieved nothing, but many Mongols and Franks lost their lives. The Mongols suffered a defeat, and only a few of them escaped after they crossed the river".⁴⁴ The translator identifies the river as the Euphrates, but it is much more likely the unnamed German-Hungarian border river mentioned in the other sources, the memory of which was confused by the time the chronicle was written.

Hayton's influence

Many people read and copied Hayton's work over the following century, including Giovanni Villani, who was writing in around 1345. Although Villani identifies the river as the Danube (Book 6, Chapter 28),⁴⁵ he also gives some correct information, such as the death in the battle of Prince Coloman (*duca di Colomano*). He follows Hayton, however, in stating that the Mongols reached Austria but were unable to cross the Danube. He also recommends Hayton's book as further reading (Book 8, Chapter 35).⁴⁶

The relevant chapter of Hayton is repeated almost word for word in *Satyrica historia* by Paolino da Venezia (ca. 1270–1344), which was famous in its time but is still unpublished. It has been passed down in about a dozen manuscripts. The

Der Einfall der Mongolen, p. 207. For the Chinese sources see Stephen Pow, and Jingjing Liao "Subutai – Sorting Fact from Fiction Surrounding the Mongol Empire's Greatest General. With translations of Subutai's two biographies in the Yuan Shi)," *Journal of Chinese Military History* 7.1 (2018), pp. 66–67. The word "Ba'atur" should be an epithet for "hero". Pow suggests that this warlord at the bridge may be identical with the killed person at the bridge battle mentioned by Bridia.

⁴⁴ Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow, Eng.: Pearson Longman, 2005), pp. 86–87; Oswald Hugh Ewart Khs-Burmester, and Antoine Khater, ed. Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa'. History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church, (Cairo: Société d'archéologie copte, 1974), pp. 293–294. See also Алекса́ндр Вячесла́вович Майоров, "К вопросу об исторической основе и источниках. «Повести о убиении Батыя». [To the question of the historical basis and sources. "Tales of the killing of Ваtu"], Средневековая Русь. Проблемы политической истории и источниковедения 11 (2014), pp. 105–146.

^{45 &}quot;[...] volendo passare il grande fiume del Danubio in Osterrich [...]". (I,7,28), in Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta (Parma: Pietro Bembo/Guanda, 1991), p. 251, cited by Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der* Mongolen, p. 204.

^{46 &}quot;...ma chi più ne vorrà sapere legga il trattato di frate Aiton d'Erminia..". (1,7,59), in Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, p. 285. Villani uses Martin's chronicle as well.

Vatican manuscript is accessible online (Chapter 229, Sections 20–24).⁴⁷ Paolino had a natural interest as a member of the papal committee called to assess Dandolo's plan for a crusade. Paolino made no comment on the river but simply copied over Hayton's text, and we do not know whether Boccaccio appended any comment in the copy he made.⁴⁸ There is a long quotation from the work in a book by Marino Sanudo il Vecchio (ca. 1270–ca. 1343), *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis* (Book III, pars XIII, cap. V–VIII).⁴⁹ Both may have come across Hayton's work in the papal court in the 1320s.

Paolino da Venezia's relevance to Hungarian history, as discovered by Sándor Eckhardt, is that he quoted extensively from the Hungarian chronicles, including Simon of Kéza's. These almost certainly reached him via the Neapolitan court.⁵⁰ It was also in Naples that Boccaccio gained access to Paulino's work and made a copy of it. In the great chronicle (*Satyrica historia*), Paulino followed Hayton,⁵¹ but in the shorter chronology compiled between 1334 and 1339, the *Compendium*, he makes a word-for-word extract from the passages on the Mongol invasion in Simon

⁴⁷ Rome, BAV Vat. Lat. 1960, fol. 223 r. http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=pre-sent&term=@5Vat.lat.1960_ms&item=1&add=0&search=1&filter=&relation=3&operator=&attribute=3040, accessed 11.06.2020; Irene Bueno, "Le storie dei Mongoli al centro della cristianità. Het'um da Korykos e i suoi primi lettori avignonesi, Marino Sanudo e Paolino da Venezia," *Reti Medievali Rivista* 17.2 (2016), pp. 153–182. For the manuscripts of Paolino see Isabelle Heullant-Donat, "Entrer dans l'histoire. Paolino da Venezia et les prologues de ses chroniques universelles," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen Âge* 105 (1993), pp. 381–442. Paolino probably himself added to the Occitan version of his chronicle the names of the Hungarian kings while he was in Avignon between 1322 and 1324, see Federico Botana, "The Making of L'Abreujamen de las estorias (Egerton MS. 1500)," *Electronic British Library Journal* (eBLJ) (2013) Article 16, p. 31; Catherine Léglu, "Ambivalent Visual Representations of Robert 'the Wise' in Occitan Illustrated Texts," *Italian Studies* 72.2 (2017), pp. 198–202.

⁴⁸ Marco Petoletti, "Boccaccio, the Classics and the Latin Middle Ages," in *Petrarch and Boccaccio. The Unity of Knowledge in the Pre-modern World*, ed. Igor Candido (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), p. 234. His manuscript is accessible in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence (Banchi rari 50.), Teresa De Robertis et al., ed., *Boccaccio autore e copista* (Florence: Mandragora, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 2013), p. 326; nos. 57, 76.

⁴⁹ Hayton's chronicle was among the readings of the poet, Fazo degli Uberti, and Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 164, p. 315, Marino Sanudo, "Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis," in *Gesta Dei per Francos, Sive Orientalium Expeditionum et Regni Francorum Hierosolymitani Historie*, ed. Jacques Bongars (Hanoviae: Typ. Wechelianis, 1611), p. 236.

⁵⁰ Sándor Eckhardt, "A pannóniai hún történet keletkezése" [The birth of the Hunnish story in Pannonia], *Százdok* 62.1–3 (1928), pp. 467–477; Balázs Kertész, "Afterlife of the fourteenth-century chronicle-compositions," in *Studies to the Illuminated Chronicle*, ed. János M. Bak, and László Veszprémy (Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2018), pp. 189–190.

⁵¹ Rome, BAV Vat. Lat. 1960, fol. 223 r. (http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=present&term=@5Vat.lat.1960_ms&item=1&add=0&search=1&filter=&relation=3&operator=&attribute=3040, accessed 11 June, 2020.

of Kéza's chronicle.⁵² These tell of the fighting that followed the departure of the Mongols, the duke of Austria's clashes with King Béla, and his death (1242–1246).

The Dominican friar Riccoldo da Montecroce (ca. 1243–1320) probably had access to Hayton's work, and used it in his book *Liber Peregrinationis*, but did not name the Danube as the river that stopped the Mongols. His book, like Hayton's, was translated from Latin to French (1351) by Jean d'Ypres (Jean le Long), Benedictine abbot of St. Bertin. It was the translator who added the battle at the river to Riccoldo's work.⁵³ Jean d'Ypres also used the work of the Armenian historiographer in the Annals of Bertin, of which thirty manuscript copies have survived. He is the only medieval author who presents the duke of Austria as the vanquisher of the Mongols.⁵⁴

Also of interest to us are manuscripts in France that combine Hayton's writing with the text *De partibus mundi* (better known as *Descriptio Europae orientalis,* ca. 1308). The author of the *Descriptio* himself mentions Hayton's work inasmuch as he claims that it leaves out the Western countries covered in the *Descriptio*, which is why he wrote his travel account.⁵⁵ The *Descriptio* is well known for the first detailed description of Hungary of medieval times.⁵⁶

Some authors, of course, only partly followed Hayton's account. Andrea Dandolo first quotes Hayton, but in the passage concerning the Mongols he describes the Hungarian events using his own information and Thomas of Spalato's chronicle. His description includes a long list of Hungarian place names: Zagreb, Clissa/Klis, Trau/Trogir, Zara/Zadar, Buda and Esztergom.⁵⁷ The world chronicle written in the Walloon dialect in the 1380s by the Liège chronicler Jean d'Outremeuse (d. 1400),

⁵² Ibid. fol. 12. r., Simon of Kéza, The Deeds of the Hungarians, pp. 144–147.

⁵³ Louis De Backer, ed., L'Extrême-Orient au moyen-âge d'après les manuscrits d'un Flamand de Belgique, moine de Saint-Bertin à Saint-Omer et d'un prince d'Arménie moine de Prémontré à Poitiers (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1877), pp. 293–294., the English translation in: Rita George-Tvrtkovic, A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq. Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), p. 196, where the destroyed countries Hungary and Poland are mentioned.

⁵⁴ Csákó, "Az Árpád-kori Magyarország," pp. 331–332, no. 126. "dux Bacho… submersus finem belli fecit" in "Chronicon Sancti Bertini," in *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. Edmond Martène, and Ursini Durand, (Paris: sumptibus Florentini Delaulne, 1717), Vol. 3: pp. 716–717.

^{55 &}quot;De Asia autem maiori dominus de Kurco[Het'um] satis plene tractavit. De Asia autem minori et de aliquibus partibus europe superficialiter de moribus et condicionibus hominum et prouinciarum contentarum in dictis partibus Europe est hic pertractandum". Olgierd Górka, ed., *Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, (Cracow: Academia Litterarum, 1916), pp. i–xlix; p. 2; see also Bueno, "Dalla guerra alle meraviglie orientali," appendix.

⁵⁶ Csukovits, Hungary and the Hungarians, pp. 76–82.

⁵⁷ Andrea Dandolo, "Chronica per extensum descripta: (46–1280)," in *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Vol. 12/1. ed. Ester Pastorello (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1942), p. 299.

who also revised Mandeville's text, quotes Hayton's description of events on the Austro-Hungarian border word for word.⁵⁸

The Milanese humanist Andrea Biglia (d. 1435), notable for his links to Sigismund, king of Hungary and Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1387–1437), completed his work *Commentarii de defectu fidei in oriente* in 1433. As related in the book, Sigismund himself, while on an extended sojourn in Siena in 1432 and 1433, suggested to Biglia that he should write an oriental history.⁵⁹ The king first had him translate two Greek letters received from the East, and then commissioned him to bring an old book up to date, probably Hayton's. Biglia must have worked at great pace to finish before the emperor departed. He did not dedicate the book to Sigismund, but encouraged him by name to start a new crusade (95^r, and on Nicopolis, 115^v).⁶⁰ The text is unpublished but accessible electronically.⁶¹

King Sigismund was not the only ruler to regard Hayton's book as a valuable work of reference. In 1403, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, bought three copies in Paris—for himself, his brother Jean de Berry (a copy thought for a long time to be the manuscript BNF Ms Fr 12 201) and his son. A few years later, in 1413, his son, by then sovereign John the Fearless (*Jean sans Peur*), ordered a further four copies of the work, one of which may be a manuscript in the French National Library (BNF Ms Fr 2810).⁶²

⁵⁸ Adolphe Borgnet, and Stanislas Bormans, *Le Myreur des histors, chronique de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse* (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1867), Vol. 5: p. 292.

⁵⁹ Veronika Proske, Der Romzug Kaiser Sigismunds (1431–1433). Politische Kommunikation, Herrschaftsrepräsentation und -rezeption (Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 2018), p. 56.

⁶⁰ Meserve, Empires of Islam, p. 158, pp. 169–75. Biglia's "Laudatio Benedicti coram Sigismundo rege" was also dedicated to Sigismund, J. C. Schnaubelt, "Prolegomena to the Edition of the Extant works of Andrea Biglia O.S.A. (f. 1435)," Analecta Augustiniana 40 (1977), p. 147; Diana M. Webb, "The Decline and Fall of Eastern Christianity. A Fifteenth-Century View" Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 49 (1976); pp. 205–210.

⁶¹ Rome, BAV. Vat. Lat. 1960. http://www.mss.vatlib.it/guii/console?service=present&term=@5Vat.lat.1960_ms&item=1&add=0&search=1&filter=&relation=3&operator=&attribute=3040, accessed 11.06.2020. BAV Vat. lat. 5298. fols. 83^v-118^v, 83^r: "Hortatusque est, si quid otii haberem, haec alio quodam scribendi genere facerem, nostris ut essent notiora", also cited by Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, p. 317. Mignanelli saluted Sigismund as an envoy of Siena as king of Italy; his works were used by Biglia, see Angelo Michele Piemontese, "La lingua araba comparata da Beltramo Mignanelli (Siena 1443)," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 48.1-2 (1995), pp. 155–170; Nelly Mahmoud Helmy, *Tra Siena*, L'Oriente e la Curia. Beltramo di Leonardo Mignanelli e le sue opere (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2013).

⁶² Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 194–195, Willard, *The Duke of Berry's Multiple Copies*, pp. 285–286, Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans Occident médiéval* (Paris: Flammarion 1980), p. 290, he suggests the years 1401 and 1408 for the date of the purchase.

The testimony of the oriental sources

There are several descriptions of the battle at the Sajó bridge in oriental—Persian and Chinese (see the Subutai biography)—sources,⁶³ and we may be justified in proposing that Hayton's text preserves a distant, distorted echo of these. This may have inspired the publishers of his manuscript to make an illustration of the battle, valuable as the only contemporary image of the Mongols' Hungarian campaign, even if it turned out to be an invention based on a misunderstanding. There was undoubtedly a separate oriental tradition regarding the events in Hungary, and it crops up in the work of several authors independently of the additional information and even written sources that both sides must have acquired during the frequent Western-Mongol embassies after 1254. The scene described by Hayton perhaps symbolically combines the battle of the Sajó bridge in Hungary with the failure of Mongol attempts to capture Austrian/German territory. The bridge that proved impassable to the Mongols offered a visual conclusion and an explanation of the inexplicable: the end of the Mongols' supposedly inexorable western advance.

A reading of the oriental sources dispels all doubt that the Mongols retained a lasting impression of their experiences in the Hungarian campaign. They were still talking about them several decades later, as is confirmed by the accounts of Western travellers who met captives from Hungary or saw mementos such as the tent of the Hungarian king, taken as booty.

The closest to the events was Atâ-Malek Juvayni (d. 1283), who started writing his great chronicle *The History of the World-Conqueror* in 1252/1253 and completed it in 1260.⁶⁴ He was undoubtedly well informed, making extensive use of verbal traditions and twice visiting the Mongol court. His book describes the battle that Batu fought at a river, where the Hungarians put up stiff resistance (Book I, Chapter 41).⁶⁵ Thomas of Spalato and C. de Bridia are the only Western authors to

⁶³ Sándor P. Szabó, "A muhi csata és a tatárjárás középkori kínai nyelvű források fényében" [The battle of Mohi and the Mongol invasion of Hungary seen through medieval Chinese-language sources], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 131.2 (2018), pp. 259–286.

⁶⁴ David Morgan, "Persian and Non-Persian Historical Writing in the Mongol Empire," in *Ferdowsi: the Mongols and the History of Iran. Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia. Studies in Honour of Charles Melville,* ed. Robert Hillenbrand, A. C. S. Peacock, and Firuza Abdullaeva (London, New York: Tauris, 2013), pp. 120–25.

⁶⁵ The chapters of Juvayni and Rashīd al-Dīn concerning the Hungarian theatre of war are explained by Lajos Ligeti, "A magyar nép mongol kori nevei (magyar, baskír, király)" [The Mongol age names of the Hungarian people (magyar, baskír, király)], *Magyar Nyelv* 60, no. 4 (1964): 395–6. For Juvayni see George Lane, "Jovayni, 'alā'-Al-Din", in *Encyclopædia Iranica,* Vol. XV/1., pp. 63–68. http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jovayni-ala-al-din, accessed 01.02.2020. Juvayni travelled a lot in the empire, see Juvaini, *Genghis Khan. The History of the World-Conqueror,* trans. John Andrew Boyle. 2 Vols. (Manchester: University Press, 1958), Vol. 1: pp. xxxvii–xli.

mention the battle on the bridge, and it is omitted even by Jan Długosz, who used Thomas' chronicle. Juvayni makes only a brief reference to the need to conquer the Hungarians (Book I, Chapter 31). Another remarkable echo of the oriental, Mongol tradition is found in Thomas's chronicle (and nowhere else): Batu's ascent of a hill before the battle. It further confirms that Thomas' information on the battle was accurate, and suggests that he have received oriental reports.⁶⁶

The Jewish convert Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb (d. 1318), writing in the early 1300s, almost the same time as Hayton, used Juvayni's text in his great world chronicle, which survives only in four contemporary, fragmented Arabic copies and three Persian copies. The fighting in Hungary is mentioned in two places, with different wording. The first follows Juvayni, which he was familiar with, but erroneously works the description of the battle of Muhi into the events of 1236.⁶⁷ He relates the fierce fighting, the river between the two armies that the Mongols crossed at night, the charge towards the king's tent, and the cutting of the tent ropes, at which the enemy went into flight. He returns to the events in the chapter on the Kipchak steppe, mentioning the Vlachs, the Saxons, and the king's flight to the sea, where he got into a boat and reached a town that is named in the text, but in a form distorted for the Persian copyists. The copyists did succeed, however, in transliterating the rivers Tisza and Danube in an identifiable form.⁶⁸

The thirteenth-century Andalusian historiographer Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (1213– 1286) preserved a report of the Mongol defeat at Sebenico/Šibenik on the coast, and this was subsequently incorporated into a text by Abū al-Fidā' (d. 1331).⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Stephen Pow, and József Laszlovszky, "Finding Batu's Hill at Muhi: Liminality Between Rebellious Territory and Submissive Territory, Earth and Heaven for a Mongol Prince on the Eve of Battle," *Hungarian Historical Review* 8.2 (2019), pp. 268–269.

⁶⁷ Wheeler Thackston, ed and trans., Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u'tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles, (Cambridge, MA–Boston: Harvard University, 1998–1999), book 1. ch 2, part 4, pp. 325–326. (see also John Andrew Boyle, trans., Rashid al-Din. The Successors of Genghis Khan, (New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 56–57; pp. 70–71.) For the author see Stefan T. Kamola, "Rashīd al-Dīn and the Making of History in Mongol Iran" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2013), pp. 102–128.

⁶⁸ Aurel Decei, "L'invasion des tatars de 1241/1242 dans nos régions selon la Djami ot-Tevarikh de Fäzl ol-Lah Räsid od-Din," *Revue Roumain d'Histoire* 12.1 (1973), pp. 103–104, Thackston, *Compendium of Chronicles*, book 1, ch 2, part 4, pp. 331–332. For a detailed overview of the different identifications of the seaside town see István Zimonyi, *Középkori nomádok–korai magyarok* [Medieval nomads, early Hungarians] (Budapest: Balassi, 2012), p. 186; Zimonyi, "The Mongol Campaigns," p. 344.

⁶⁹ Panos Sophoulis, "The Mongol Invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242," Fragmenta Hellenoslavica 2 (2015), p. 268; Daniel G. König, Arabic–Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 272.; Peter Jackson, The Mongols and the West, pp. 86–87, Mihály Kmoskó, Mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről. Földrajzi irodalom I/3. [Muslim writers on the steppe people. The geographical literature I/3.], ed. István Zimonyi (Budapest: Balassi, 2007), p. 146.

Ibn Saʿīd is interesting in himself, having visited even Armenia in his travels. During his sojourn at the court of Hulagu Khan between 1256 and 1265, he may have learned the Mongol tradition of the Western campaign.

Since the Persian historiographers acquired their information from the Chinese Mongol court, it is not surprising that their descriptions of the Battle of Muhi are similar to those in the Chinese source, the *Yüan-shih*. Juvayni relied mainly on verbal accounts, but Rashīd al-Dīn used many more written sources, working with a team of assistants. We even know the name of his chief assistant, Bolad Chingsang (d. 1313), who came to Persia from China in the 1280s. Some commentators have proposed that he used a lost Mongol chronicle, the *Golden Book (Alton debter)*. The three sources strongly confirm the existence of a detailed and credible Mongol narrative of the Battle of Muhi, one that preserved the names of several Hungarian geographical features, places and rivers.⁷⁰

The partial success of the Hungarian resistance and the stopping of the Mongols in Transdanubia remained almost completely unknown in the West, while readers of the Eastern chronicles got a somewhat better impression. Hungarian letters sent to the pope in January and February 1242 telling of the success of resistance in Transdanubia and Upper Hungary⁷¹ were not included in contemporary collections of correspondence.

After summer 1241, the West effectively received no information from Hungary, and the schematic image of an exiled king and a country completely laid waste became immovably fixed. The Hungarian court probably did not sense the need, or did not have the energy, to send a series of letters to Western courts that might have been included in various collections of correspondence. It was well known, however, that letters and collections of correspondence had been instrumental in influencing and manipulating opinion since the Investiture Controversy. All of this may be part of the explanation why the proposed causes of the Mongols' sudden withdrawal from Central Europe at the end of their Western campaign hardly ever include their losses and military failures, most of which occurred in Hungary.⁷²

⁷⁰ For a detailed discussion of the survival of medieval geographic names see Sándor P. Szabó, "A muhi csata."

⁷¹ Fedor Schneider, "Ein Schreiben der Ungarn an die Kurie," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 36 (1915), pp. 668–670. The letters sent from Hungary on the Mongol invasion were copied at the Coucil of Lyon, and another letter series was deposited in Cluny, see Karl Rudolf, "Die Tartaren 1241/1242. Nachrichten und Wiedergabe: Korrespondenz und Historiographie," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 19 (1977), p. 84, Bezzola, *Die Mongolen*, p. 70.

⁷² Recently Stephen Pow and James Corbyn argued that the Mongols suffered great losses during their Western campaign, first of all in Hungary. Stephen Pow, "Deep Ditches and Well-built Walls. A Reappraisal of the Mongol Withdrawal from Europe in 1242" (MA Thes., University of Calgary, 2012); Stephen Pow, "Conquest, Withdrawal, and Diplomatic Over-

Bibliography

- Adrian Papahagi, Adinel, and Ciprian Dincă. ed. *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România. Census*. Iași: Polirom, 2019.
- Almási, Tibor. "Forrásadatok és feltevések Rogerius életrajzi vázlatához [Sources and hypotheses to the biography of Rogerius]. In *Nagyvárad és Bihar az Árpádkor végén*, edited by Attila Zsoldos, 55–82. Nagyvárad: Varadinum Kulturális Alapítvány, 2016.
- Andrea Dandolo, "Chronica per extensum descripta (46–1280)." In *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, Vol. 12/1., ed. Ester Pastorello, 6–327. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1942.
- Anonymi Bele regis notarii, *Gesta Hungarorum*. Anonymus, Notary of King Bela, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Edited, translated and annotated by Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy. Magistri Rogerii, *Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta*. Master Roger's, *Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars*. Translated and annotated by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, (Central European Medieval Texts, 5). Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2010.
- Antoninus Florentinus. *Chronicon partibus tribus distincta ab initio mundi ad MC-CCLX.* 3 vols. Nuremberg: Koberger, 1484.
- Bárány, Attila. "A tatárjárás híre Nyugat-Európában" [News of the Tartar invasion in Western Europe]. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 133. 3 (2020), pp. 486–527.
- Baráth, Dóra. "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient." *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133.3 (2020), pp. 629–36.
- Bezzola, Gian Andri. *Die Mongolen in Abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270). Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen.* Bern, Munich: Francke, 1974.
- Bongars Jacques, ed. *Gesta Dei per Francos, Sive Orientalium Expeditionum et Regni Francorum Hierosolymitani Historie*. Hanoviae: Typ. Wechelianis, 1611.
- Bónis, György. "Petrus de Vinea leveleskönyve Magyarországon 1–2. rész" [The letter collection of Petrus de Vinaa in Hungary, Parts.1–2.]. *Filológiai Közlöny* 4 (1958), pp. 1–26; pp. 173–193.

ture: Understanding the Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2020); James Corbyn, "The Shortcomings of the Mongol Art of War as Seen in China, Korea and Eastern Europe" (MA Thes., University of London, 2015).

- Borgnet, Adolphe, and Stanislas Bormans. ed. *Le Myreur des histors, chronique de Jean des Preis dit d'Outremeuse*. 7 vols. Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1864–1880.
- Boyle, John Andrew. *Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Bradács, Gábor. "A tatárjárás osztrák elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája" [A critical overview of the Medieval Austrian narrative sources on the Mongol invasion of Hungary]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 127.1 (2014), pp. 3–22.
- Bravo, Mercedes Alonso. "Translatio et compilatio en la Flor de las ystorias de orient de Juan Fernández de Heredia." In *Translatio et compilatio en la Baja Edad Media*, edited by Julián Acebrón, and Mercedes Alonso Bravo, 11–41. Lleida: Universtat de Lleida, 2016.
- Bridia, C. de. Hystoria Tartarorum, edited by Alf Önnerfors. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967.
- Brincken, Anna-Dorothee. "Die Mongolen im Weltbild der Lateiner um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des "Speculum Historiale" des Vincenz von Beauvais OP." Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 57 (1975), pp. 117–140.
- Bueno, Irene. "Dalla guerra alle meraviglie orientali: le letture della Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient nel Medioevo." Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge 130–131 (2018), pp. 53–71.
- Bueno, Irene. "Le storie dei Mongoli al centro della cristianità. Het'um da Korykos e i suoi primi lettori avignonesi, Marino Sanudo e Paolino da Venezia." *Reti Medievali Rivista* 17.2 (2016), pp. 153–182.
- Carpine, Giovanni di Pian di. *Storia dei Mongoli,* edited by Enrico Menestò et al. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1989.
- Corbyn, James. "The Shortcomings of the Mongol Art of War as Seen in China, Korea and Eastern Europe." MA Thes., University of London, 2015.
- Coulter, Matthew. "The Mongol Invasion of Europe (1241) through the Lens of Austrian Sources," MA Thes., University of Cambridge, 2019.
- Csákó, Judit. "Az Árpád-kori Magyarország a francia területen keletkezett elbeszélő kútfők tükrében" [Hungary reflected in French narrative sources during the Árpád age]. PhD diss., ELTE, 2015.
- Csukovits, Enikő. *Hungary and the Hungarians: Western Europe's View in the Middle Ages.* Roma: Viella, 2018.
- D'Angelo, Edoardo, ed. *L'epistolario di Pier della Vigna*. Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2014.

- Dashdondog, Bayarsaikhan. *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220–1335)*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011.
- De Robertis, Teresa et al., ed. *Boccaccio autore e copista*. Mandragora, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, 2013.
- Decei, Aurel. "L'invasion des tatars de 1241/1242 dans nos régions selon la Djami ot-Tevarikh de Fäzl ol-Lah Räsid od-Din." *Revue Roumain d'Histoire* 12.1 (1973), pp. 101–121.
- Eckhardt, Sándor. "A pannóniai hún történet keletkezése" [The birth of the Hunnish story in Pannonia]. *Századok* 62.1–3 (1928), pp. 467–477.
- Federico Botana. "The Making of L'Abreujamen de las estorias (Egerton MS. 1500)." *Electronic British Library Journal* (eBLJ) (2013) Article 16, 1–32.
- Fried, Johannes. "Auf der Suche nach der Wirklichkeit. Die Mongolen und die europäische Erfahrungswissenschaft im 13. Jahrhundert." *Historische Zeitschrift* 243 (1986), pp. 287–333.
- George-Tvrtkovic, Rita. A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq. Riccoldo da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.
- Gießauf, Johannes. "Herzog Friedrich II. von Österreich und die Mongolengefahr 1241/42." In Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alpen-Adria-Raumes Festgabe für em.o.Univ.-Prof. Dr. Othmar Pickl zum 70. Geburtstag, edited by Herwig Ebner (Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Geschichte 9). 173–199. Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Karl-Franzens-Universität, 1997.
- Górka, Olgierd, ed. *Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis*. Cracovie: Academia Litterarum, 1916.
- Guenée, Bernard. *Histoire et culture historique dans Occident médiéval*. Paris, Flammarion, 1980.
- Guzman, Gregory G. "The Encyclopedist Vincent of Beauvais and His Mongol Extracts from John of Plano Carpini and Simon of Saint-Quentin." *Speculum* 49.2 (1974), pp. 287–307.
- Gyucha, Attila, Wayne E Lee, and Zoltán Rózsa. "The Mongol Campaign in Hungary, 1241–1242. The Archaeology and History of Nomadic Conquest and Massacre." *The Journal of Military History* 83.4 (2019), pp. 1001–1021.
- Hautala, Roman. "Early Latin Reports about the Mongols (1221). Reasons for Distortion of Reality." *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie. Golden Horde Review* 3.1 (2015), pp. 50–67.

- Hayton. "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient." In L'Extrême-Orient au moyen-âge d'après les manuscrits d'un Flamand de Belgique, moine de Saint-Bertin à Saint-Omer et d'un prince d'Arménie moine de Prémontré à Poitiers, edited by Louis De Backer, 256–334. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1877.
- Hayton. "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient." In *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens. Tome second,* edited by Charles Kohler, 111–253. (French version), and 255–363. (Latin version). Paris: Imprimerie national, 1906.
- Helmy, Nelly Mahmoud. *Tra Siena, L'Oriente e la Curia. Beltramo di Leonardo Mi*gnanelli e le sue opere. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2013.
- Hethum von Korykos (Hayton). *La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient. Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korykos (1307) in der Rückübersetzung durch Jean le Long, Traitiez des estas et des conditions de quatorze royaumes de Aise (1351), edited by Sven Dörper. Kritische Edition, mit parallelem Abdruck des lateinischen Manuskripts Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 262. Frankfurt am Main, New York: Peter Lang, 1998.*
- Heullant-Donat, Isabelle. "Entrer dans l'histoire. Paolino da Venezia et les prologues de ses chroniques universelles." *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome Moyen* Âge 105 (1993), pp. 381–442.
- Hilpert, Hans Eberhard. *Kaiser- und Papstbriefe in den Chronica Majora des Matthaeus Paris.* Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1981.
- Reineck, Reiner, ed., Historia Orientalis Haythoni Armenii.... Helmaestadii: Lucius, 1585.
- Holtzmann, Walther. Bruchstücke aus der Weltchronik des Minoriten Paulinus von. Venedig (I. Recension). Parts 1–2. Rome: Regenberg, 1927.
- Hormayr zu Hortenburg, Joseph. ed. *Die Goldene Chronik von Hohenschwangau, der Burg der Welfen, der Hohenstauffen und der Scheyren*. Munich: Georg Franz, 1842.
- Jackson, Peter. "Hayton". In *Encyclopædia Iranica*. Online edition, 2016, http:// www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hayton-of-gorigho. Accessed 10 April, 2018.
- Jackson, Peter. "World-conquest and Local Accommodation: Threat and Blandishment in Mongol Diplomacy." In *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods*, edited by Judith Pfeiffer, Sholeh A. Quinn, 3–22. Wiesbaden, 2006.
- Jackson, Peter. *Studies on the Mongol Empire and Early Muslim India*. Farnham– Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2009.

- Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the Islamic World: From Conquest to Conversion*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.
- Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*. Harlow, Eng.: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- Jahn, Karl. trans. *Die Frankengeschichte des Rasid ad-Din.* Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977.
- John of Thurocz. *A magyarok krónikája* [The Chronicle of the Hungarians]. Facsimile edition, 2 vols. Budapest: Helikon, 1986.
- Juvaini. *Genghis Khan. The History of the World-Conqueror,* translated by John Andrew Boyle. Vols. 1–2. Manchester, 1958.
- Kamola, Stefan T. "Rashīd al-Dīn and the Making of History in Mongol Iran." PhD Thesis, University of Washington, 2013.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst Hartwig. "Petrus de Vinea in England." In Selected Studies, edited by Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, 213–246. Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1965. (First published Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 51 (1937), pp. 43–88.)
- Kappler Claire. "L'image des Mongols dans le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais." In Vincent de Beauvais: intentions et réceptions d'une oeuvre encyclopédique au Moyen Âge. Actes du XIVe Colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales, organisé conjointement par l'Atelier Vincent de Beauvais et l'Institut d'études médiévales. 27–30 avril 1988, edited by Monique Paulmier-Foucart, Serge Lusignan, Alain Nadeau et al., 219–240. Paris: Les Editions Fides, 1990.
- Kertész, Balázs. "Afterlife of the Fourteenth-Century Chronicle-Compositions". In Studies to the Illuminated Chronicle, edited by János M. Bak, and László Veszprémy, 181–198. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 2018.
- Khs-Burmester, Oswald Hugh Ewart, and Antoine Khater, ed. Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa'. History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church. Cairo: Société d'archéologie copte, 1974.
- Kmoskó, Mihály. *Mohamedán* írók a steppe népeiről. Földrajzi irodalom I/3. [Muslim writers on the steppe people. The geographical literature I/3.], edited by István Zimonyi. Budapest: Balassi, 2007.
- König, Daniel G. Arabic–Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Konrád, Eszter. "The Representation of the Saints of the Mendicant Orders in Late Medieval Hungary." PhD diss., Central European University, 2017.

- Körmendi, Tamás. *Az 1196–1235 közötti magyar történelem nyugati elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája* [A critical overview of western narrative sources on Hungary between 1196–1235]. Budapest: MTA TTI, 2019.
- Kosta-Théfaine, Jean-François. "L'illustration de La Fleur des histoires d'Orient de Hayton dans le manuscrit New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.723*." *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes. Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies* 12 (2005), pp. 191–204.
- Krause, Friedrich Ernst August. "Das Mongolenreich nach der Darstellung des Armeniers Haithon." *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 8 (1920), pp. 238–267.
- Kulcsár, Péter. *Bonfini magyar történetének forrásai és keletkezése* [The sources and genesis of Bonfini's Hungarian history]. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1973.
- Kunčer, Dragana, ed. Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis. Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2013.
- Lane, George. "Jovayni, 'alā'-Al-Din." In *Encyclopædia Iranica. Online edition.* Vol. XV/1., pp. 63–68. *http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jovayni-ala-al-din.* Accessed 01 February, 2019.
- Laszlovszky, József, Balázs Nagy, János B. Szabó, and Dorottya Uhrin. "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary in Its Eurasian Context." *Historical Studies on Central Europe* 3.2 (2023), pp. 184–206.
- Léglu, Catherine. "Ambivalent Visual Representations of Robert 'the Wise' in Occitan Illustrated Texts." *Italian Studies* 72.2 (2017). pp. 192–204.
- Ligeti, Lajos. "A magyar nép mongol kori nevei (magyar, baskír, király)" [The Mongol age names of the Hungarian people (magyar, baskír, király)]. *Magyar Nyelv* 60.4 (1964), pp. 385–404.
- Luard, Henry Richards. ed. *Flores Historiarum*. Vol. 2. 1067–1264. London: Public Record Office, 1890. (Reprint London, 1965.)
- Luard, Henry Richards. ed. *Matthaei Parisisenis Chronica majora*. 7 vols. London: Public Record Office, 1872–1883.
- Майоров, Алекса́ндр Вячесла́вович. "К вопросу об исторической основе и источниках. 'Повести о убиении Батыя'". [To the question of authenticity and sources of the 'Tales of the killing of Batu']. Средневековая Русь. Проблемы политической истории и источниковедения 11 (2014), pp. 105–146.
- Mályusz, Elemér. A Thuróczy-krónika és forrásai [The Thuróczy chronicle and its sources]. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1967.

- Martène, Edmond, and Ursini Durand. "Chronicon Sancti Bertini." In *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum,* 3. vol, 445–477. Paris: sumptibus Florentini Delaulne, 1717.
- Meserve, Margaret. *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Morgan David. "Persian and Non-Persian Historical Writing in the Mongol Empire." In *Ferdowsi: the Mongols and the History of Iran. Art, Literature and Culture from Early Islam to Qajar Persia. Studies in Honour of Charles Melville*, edited by Robert Hillenbrand, A. C. S. Peacock, and Firuza Abdullaeva, pp. 120–125. London, New York: Tauris, 2013.
- Mutafian, Claude. "Héthoum de Korykos historien arménien. Un prince cosmopolite à l'aube du XIV^e siècle." *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes. Journal of Medieval and Humanistic Studies* 1.1 (1996), pp. 157–176.
- Paviot, Jacques. "England and the Mongols (c. 1260–1330)." *Journal of the Royal Asian Society (3rd series)* 10 (2000), pp. 305–318.
- Pethes, Nicolas. "Diesseits der Leitha, jenseits der Lethe: zehn Thesen zum Raumkonzept der kulturwissenschaftlichen Gedächtnisforschung." In *Leitha und Lethe: Symbolische Räume und Zeiten in der Kultur Österreich-Ungarns,* edited by Amália Kerekes, Alexandra Millner et al., 1–18. Basel–Tübingen: A. Francke, 2004.
- Petoletti, Marco. "Boccaccio, the Classics and the Latin Middle Ages." In *Petrarch and Boccaccio. The Unity of Knowledge in the Pre-modern World*, edited by Igor Candido, 226–43. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.
- Petz, Georg Heinrich, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores in folio*, Vol 12. Hannover: Hahn, 1872.
- Piemontese, Angelo Michele. "La lingua araba comparata da Beltramo Mignanelli (Siena 1443)." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 48.1–2 (1995), pp. 155–170.
- Pow, Stephen, and József Laszlovszky. "Finding Batu's Hill at Muhi: Liminality between Rebellious Territory and Submissive Territory, Earth and Heaven for a Mongol Prince on the Eve of Battle." *Hungarian Historical Review* 8.2 (2019), pp. 261–289.
- Pow, Stephen, and Liao, Jingjing, "Subutai Sorting Fact from Fiction Surrounding the Mongol Empire's Greatest General. With translations of Subutai's two biographies in the Yuan Shi)." Journal of Chinese Military History 7.1 (2018), pp. 37–76.

- Pow, Stephen. "Conquest, Withdrawal, and Diplomatic Overture: Understanding the Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century." PhD diss., Central European University, 2020.
- Pow, Stephen. "Deep Ditches and Well-built Walls. A Reappraisal of the Mongol Withdrwal from Europe in 1242." MA Thes., University of Calgary, 2012.
- Proske, Veronika. *Der Romzug Kaiser Sigismunds (1431–1433). Politische Kommunikation, Herrschaftsrepräsentation und -rezeption.* Vienna, Cologne, Weimar: Böhlau, 2018.
- Rashid al-Din. *The Successors of Genghis Khan,* translated by John Andrew Boyle. New York, London: Columbia University Press, 1971.
- Reed Papp, Zuzsanna. "Perceptions of Eastern Europe: Peoples, Kingdoms and Region in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century English Sources." PhD diss., The University of Leeds, 2009.
- RI V,2,4 no. 11349, in Regesta Imperii Online. Accessed 19 January, 2021. http:// www.regesta-imperii.de/id/1241-06-13_1_0_5_2_4_936_11349.
- Richard, Jean. "Les causes des victoires mongoles d'après les historiens occidentaux du XIII^e siècle." *Central Asiatic Journal* 22 (1979), pp. 104–117. (Reprint Richard, Jean, *Croisés, missionaires et voyageurs*. London: Variorum, 1983, no XI.)
- Richard, Jean. Histoire des Tartares: [Historia Tartarorum]. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1965.
- Robert Bedrosian, trans. *Het'um the Historian's History of the Tartars*. Long Branch, New Jersey, 2004.
- Rudolf, Karl. "Die Tartaren 1241/1242. Nachrichten und Wiedergabe: Korrespondenz und Historiographie." Römische Historische Mitteilungen 19 (1977). pp. 79–107.
- Rutkowska-Płachcińska, Anna. ed. *Rocznik Świętokrzyski Annales S. Crucis* Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1996.
- Schaller, Hans Martin, ed. *Handschriftenverzeichnis zur Briefsammlung des Petrus de Vinea*. Hannover: Hahn, 2002.
- Schiel, Juliane. Mongolensturm und Fall Konstantinopels: dominikanische Erzählungen im diachronen Vergleich. Berlin De Gruyter, 2011.
- Schnaubelt, J. C. "Prolegomena to the Edition of the Extant works of Andrea Biglia O.S.A. (f. 1435)," *Analecta Augustiniana* 40 (1977), pp. 141–184.
- Schneider, Fedor. "Ein Schreiben der Ungarn an die Kurie," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 36 (1915), pp. 661–670.

- Simon of Kéza. *The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed., trans. László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer. Budapest, New York: CEU Press, 1999.
- Sinor, Denis. "Le réel et l'imaginaire dans la description des Mongols dans La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient de Hayton." In Actes du Colloque "Les Lusiganans et l'Outre Mer", edited by Claude Mutafian, 276–280. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers, 1993.
- Sophoulis, Panos. "The Mongol Invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242." *Fragmenta Hellenoslavica* 2 (2015), pp. 251–278.
- Spinei, Victor. "Les répercussions de la grande invasion mongole de 1241–1242 sur l'espace carpatodanubien reflétées surtout dans les oeuvres des chroniqueurs italiens." *Südost Forschungen* 61–62 (2002–2003), pp. 1–47.
- Stipišić, Jakov. "Zagrebački rukopis epistolara Petra de Vineis" [The Zagreb manuscript of the letter collection of Petrus de Vinea]. Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 4 (1961), pp. 405–421.
- Strakosch-Grassmann, Gustav. Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1893. (Reprint: Munich: Beck, 2016.)
- Szabó, Sándor P. "A muhi csata és a tatárjárás középkori kínai nyelvű források fényében" [The battle of Mohi and the Mongol invasion of Hungary seen through medieval Chinese-language sources]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 131.2 (2018), pp. 259–86.
- Szentiványi, Robertus. *Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Batthyányanae*. Szeged: Bibliotheca Universitatis Szegediensis, 1958.
- Szentpétery, Emericus, ed. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*. 2 vols. Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1937–1938. (Revised ed. by Veszprémy László, and Szovák Kornél. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999.)
- Szovák, Kornél. "A váradi írásbeliség hagyománya" [Literacy tradition in Oradea/ Várad]. In *Nagyvárad és Bihar a korai középkorban*, edited by Attila Zsoldos, 129–146. Nagyvárad: Varadinum Kulturális Alapítvány, 2014.
- Thackston, Wheeler. *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u'tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles*. Cambridge, Mass.–Boston: Harvard University, Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998–1999.²
- Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*.

Latin text edition by Olga Perić. Edited and English translation by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney. Budapest: CEU Press, 2006.

- Trunte, Nikolaos. "Wie König Ladislaus Chan Batu Erschlug. Ursprung und Verbreitung eines Legendenzyklus." *Die Welt der Slaven*, 51 (2006), pp. 315–56.
- Tzanaki, Rosemary. *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences. A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371–1550)*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- Vaughan, Richard. *Philip the Bold. The Formation of the Burgundian State*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005. (First edition: 1962.)
- Vehse, Otto. *Die amtliche Propaganda in der Staatskunst Kaiser Friedrichs II.* Munich: Verl. d. Münchner Drucke, 1929.
- Veszprémy, László. "Szent Lászlótól Batu kánig. A László legenda metamorfózisai" [From Saint Ladislas to Batu Khan. The metamorphoses of the legend of Ladislas]. Szeged, 2024 (in print).
- Villani, Giovanni. *Nuova Cronica*, edited by Giuseppe Porta. Parma: Pietro Bembo/ Guanda, 1991.
- Wattenbach, Wilhelm, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores in folio*, Vol. 9. Hannover, Hahn, 1851.
- Webb, Diana M. "The Decline and Fall of Eastern Christianity. A Fifteenth-Century View." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 49 (1976), pp. 198–216.
- Wenzel, Gusztáv. Árpádkori *új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus.* 22 vols. Pest: Eggenberger, 1860–1874.
- Willard, Charity Cannon. "The Duke of Berry's Multiple Copies of the Fleur des histoires d'Orient." In From Linguistics to Literature: Romance Studies Offered to Francis M. Rogers, edited by Bernard H. Bichakjian, 281–292. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1981.
- Zimonyi, István. "The Mongol Campaigns against Eastern Europe." In *Medieval Nomads in Eastern Europe. Collected Studies*, edited by Victor Spinei, 325–52. Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Române – Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei, Editura Istros, 2014.
- Zimonyi, István. *Középkori nomádok korai magyarok* [Medieval nomads, early Hungarians]. Budapest: Balassi, 2012.

Historia Mongolorum and Historia Tartarorum

The Mongol invasion in 1241 was a shocking European event. In spite of the fact that rumors and information had been reaching the West for almost 20 years about the attacks against Georgia and the Rus', the papacy knew less about the Mongols. Thus, the fourth synod of Lyon in 1245 sent three missions to the Mongols. Pope Innocent's intention was to get to know more about the former and convert them to Christianity. The leaders of each mission were mendicant monks. Originally, the Franciscan Laurence of Portugal would have been sent to the Middle-Eastern Mongol courts. However, for unknown reasons, Laurence became the Syrian and Cyprian papal legate, and two Dominican missions reached the Middle East, one led by Ascelinus of Lombardy, the other by André de Longjumeau. The pope sent the Franciscan Johannes de Plano Carpini to the heart of Mongolia, to Karakorum. Each missions brought two letters from the pope, in which he protested against the attack on Christians and other nations and urged the conversion of the Mongols. In my paper I focus on the reports of Plano Carpini and C. de Bridia, and review the birth of the reports and the tradition of their manuscripts.²

Johannes de Plano Carpini was one of the first disciples of Saint Francis – he founded the Franciscan order in the Holy Roman Empire. He departed to Mongolia in 1245 with his Franciscan companions. One of the members of the mission was Benedictus Polonus, who joined Carpini in Wroclaw as a translator.³ Their companion was Stephen Ceslaus, among others whose names have not survived in the report. One of these previously unknown companions might have been C. de

¹ This study was written as part of project No. NKFIH K-128 880 entitled *A tatárjárás Magyar*országon és a mongol hódítás eurázsiai összefüggései [The Mongol Invasion in Hungary and the Mongol conquest in its Eurasian context].

² Peter Jackson, "Franciscans as Papal and Royal Envoys to the Tartars", in *Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael J. P. Robson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Igor De Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971).

³ Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), p. 88; Jackson, "Franciscans As Papal and Royal Envoys," p. 225.

Bridia, whose person was discovered half a century ago.⁴ Carpini describes how they went through Poland, then to Halych⁵ and Kiev to Batu.⁶ Since Stephen got sick during the journey he was left at the court of Batu, while Plano Carpini and Benedictus Polonus continued their journey to Mongolia, where they witnessed the ceremony when Güyük became the Khan.⁷ On their way back to Western Europe, he recounted his experience to the Hungarian King in Spis.⁸

Historia Mongalorum

The envoys arrived back in Lyon in 1247, where the papal court was located at that time. Carpini made the first version of his report before his arrival, which immediately became popular. According to Adam of Salimbene, the Franciscan brothers read some parts of the report aloud in the presence of Carpini, and explained those details which were hard to understand or believe. Benedictus Polonus dictated his experience in Cologne in September, 1247.⁹ Bridia states in his work that he finished it on 30 July 1247.¹⁰ At that time, neither Carpini nor Benedictus had finished their reports,¹¹ thus he might have based his opus on oral accounts and/or drafts.¹²

The hypothesis of the existence of the earlier drafts is confirmed in the last chapter of Carpini's record, because he mentioned that his report had been copied in Poland, Czech, Germany, and Champagne in advance of him finishing it.¹³

9 Rachewiltz, Papal Envoys to the Great Khans, p. 91.

⁴ The participation of C. de Bridia in the expedition is not proved, since he based most of his text on Carpini and Benedictus Polonus. See: George D. Painter, "The Tartar Relation," in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 42.

⁵ John Fennel, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200–1304* (London–New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 66–68.

⁶ Jackson, "Franciscans as Papal and Royal Envoys," p. 225.

⁷ György Györffy, *Julianus barát és a napkelet fölfedezése* [Friar Julian and the discovery of Orient], (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986), p. 433.

⁸ Denis Sinor, "John of Plano Carpini's Return from the Mongols," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 89 (1957), pp. 193-206.

¹⁰ C. de Bridia, "Tartar Relation," transl. George D. Painter, in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965), p. 101.

^{11 &}quot;The Narrative of Brother Benedict the Pole," in *Mission to Asia*, ed. and trans. by Christopher Dawson (Toronto–Buffalo–London: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 79–84.

¹² Kirsten A. Seaver, *Maps, Myths and Men. Story of the Vinland Map* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004). p. 269. Painter, "The Tartar Relation," p. 42.

¹³ John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," in *Mission to Asia* ed. and trans. by Christopher Dawson (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 71–72.

Carpini's opus was left to posterity in two versions: a shorter and a longer one. From the thirteen medieval text witnesses, the shorter remained in eight copies while the longer in three copies. The main difference between them is that the shorter did not contain the last chapter, wherein Carpini detailed their travels.¹⁴

The earliest copy of the shorter version is dated to the fourteenth century, while the earliest copy of the longer version is from the late thirteenth century (probably).¹⁵ The earliest codex is the property of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The critical editions of Carpini's text state that the codex is from the thirteenth century.¹⁶ although the owner institution dates it to the fourteenth century.¹⁷ Here. I should mention that all the other codices which were dated to the thirteenth century in the editions are instead dated to the fourteenth century according to the manuscript catalogs.¹⁸ Donald Ostrowski compared the two versions of the report. He argues that the changes which appear in the second version were not made by Carpini, but by another editor who differed in style and approach, and also made changes to content. Since the second redaction's summary appears in the Speculum Historiale of Vincent de Beauvais, it must have been finished by 1255. The main differences are the following: the less credible parts of the second redaction have insertions which verify statements, such as "as we heard it from eyewitnesses", or explain the less understandable parts. Moreover, the insertions are usually anti-Mongol. The first variant is more neutral about the Mongols, while the second is usually pejorative. The personal comments of Carpini, thus the whole ninth chapter, can be found only in the second version. Ostrowski argues that this chapter was not written by Carpini, since it contains the type of mistakes which could not have been derived from the Franciscan envoy who followed that route.¹⁹

¹⁴ Enrico Menestò, *Giovanni di Pian di Carpine: Storia dei Mongoli. Edizione critica* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1989), pp. 100–105.

¹⁵ The manuscripts are the following: Luxembourg, Bibliothèque de Luxembourg, 110; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2477; Vienna, Österreiche Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 51; Wroclaw, Ossolineum, Rkp. 2044/II; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 11; Vienna, Österreiche Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 362; London, British Library, Royal 13.A.XIV; Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 651; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 41 Weis, (4125); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 181; Leiden, Bibliotheek Rijksuniversiteit, 104; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, lat. 1066; Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 339.

¹⁶ Menestò, Giovanni di Pian di Carpine, pp. 100–105.

^{17 &}quot;Manuscripts in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge," accessed January 11, 2020, https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/gg784fk0128.

¹⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2477. Most probably it was made in the late 13th century. "Latin 2477," accessed January 11, 2020, https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc602955.

¹⁹ Donald Ostrowski, "Second-Redaction Additions in Carpini's Ystoria Mongalorum," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 14 (1990), pp. 522–550.

According to Ostrowski, C. de Bridia's description was made from the second redaction, which means that either the second version was ready by July 1247, or the completion date given in the *Historia Tartarorum* cannot be valid. Another opinion is that Benedictus Polonus, who was also the source of Bridia, made the changes.²⁰

There are two critical editions of Carpini's work. One of them was published by Anastasius van der Wyngaert,²¹ but due to the recently found codices, Enrico Menestò edited and published a new critical edition in the late 1990s.²²

Historia Tartarorum

The writer of the *Historia Tartarorum* mentions his name when he recommends his work to Boguslaus, the provincial of the Franciscans in Bohemia and Poland.²³ Bridia must have been a settlement, most probably Brzeg, while his first name is uncertain—only the initial letter 'C' is known. We can rely on an assumption about the fate of the autographed version of his account: it seems as if it was kept in his order's library, at least when Boguslaus was the provincial.²⁴ The first copies must have been made in this library, and the original version probably perished during the Hussite wars.²⁵

The content of Bridia's work was less the center of attention than Carpini's and Benedictus Polonus' descriptions. The main reason for this is the fact that the first manuscript of this work appeared in the middle of the twentieth century. The codex in which the description was found, however, became famous, and many scholars dealt with it.

The book, published in 1965, which contains the edition of the *Historia Tartarorum*, had great echoes, since it not only published the aforementioned description, but also the co-bound Vinland map. The map was believed by some to be a twentieth-century forgery, and by others to have been made in the 1440s.²⁶ The map depicts Eurasia, the northern coast of Africa, Greenland, and a part of North

²⁰ Ostrowski, "Second-Redaction Additions," pp. 522–550.

²¹ Anastasius van den Wyngaerti, Sinica Franciscana. I. (Romae: Collegium s. Bonaventurae, 1929)

²² Menestò, Giovanni di Pian di Carpine.

²³ Antti Ruotsala, *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century* (Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Sciences, 2001), p. 42.

²⁴ Jerzy Strzelczyk, Spotkanie dwóch światów: Stolica Apostolska a świat mongolski w połowie XIII wieku: relacje powstałe w związku z misją Jana di Piano Carpiniego do Mongołów [Meeting of two worlds: The Holy See and the Mongolian world in the mid-13th century: accounts arising from the mission of John di Piano Carpini to the Mongols] (Poznan: Abos, 1993), p. 83.

²⁵ Seaver, Maps, Myths and Men, 270.

²⁶ See more in Seaver, Maps, Myths and Men.

America which, if the map was actually made in the fifteenth century, would prove the early Viking discovery of America. The *Historia Tartarorum* and the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais were attached to the map because these works described the known worlds. Asia was drawn according to the description of Bridia.²⁷ The manuscript was bought by the Library of Yale University, which published a critical edition in 1965. However, while the codex was made from a special mixture of paper and parchment which corroborates its originality, chemical analysis of the ink led to the conclusion that the codex was made after 1920.²⁸

Initially, the authenticity of the *Historia Tartarorum* was also questioned, but in connection with uncertainty about the genuine nature of the Vinland map. However, Francis Maddison argued that the Latin text of *Historia Tartarorum* did not fit philologically with work from the Middle Ages.²⁹ Nicholas Poppe examined the Mongol words in the text, concluding that they rather reflected the seventeenth-century understanding of the Mongol language.³⁰

From the 1980s onwards, most scholars argued about the originality of the text. More recent claims are that, because of the potential contamination of the ink, the medieval origin of the codex cannot be excluded. Later chemical analyses proved that the ink could have been made before the twentieth century.³¹ The map's parchment originally contained the text from the synod of Basel, and the radiocarbon analyses proved that it was made in the 1430s.³² The newest results suggest that the map was a forgery, and that the map and the texts were written using different ink. Bridia's work is clearly genuine.³³

A discovery by Gregory Guzman in 2006 proved the genuineness of *Historia Tartarorum*. While researching the manuscript tradition of *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais in Luzern's Library, he found a copy of the *Historia Tartarorum* which was bound together with the aforementioned work, as in the case of the

²⁷ R. A. Skelton, "The Vinland Map," in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 110–111.

²⁸ R. A. Skelton, "The Vinland Map."

²⁹ For more see in: Francis Maddison, "A Sceptical View of the Tartar Relation," *The Geographical Journal*, 140 (1974), pp. 187–191.

³⁰ Nicholas Poppe, "On Some Mongolian Words in the Tartar Relation," *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 68 (1967), pp. 1–14.

³¹ George D. Painter, "Introduction to the New Edition," in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. IX–XI.

³² Painter, "Introduction to the New Edition," XII.

³³ Paula Zyats, "The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Manuscripts. Yale's Speculum Historiale, Historia Tartarorum and the Vinland Map," filmed 21 September, 2018, https://www. youtube.com/watch?v=z1YXS8dbY2I.

Vinland map.³⁴ Moreover, the Luzern copy is clearly earlier than the other one. The copier of the codex provided the exact dates of starting and finishing his work; thus, the Luzern copy can be dated to between 1388 and 1340—hence it is one hundred years older than the earlier known copy. The Luzern variant survived in the St Urban Cistercian monastery, and probably was made in the Basel bishopric. The two copies of Historia Tartarorum were not copied from each other but most probably derive from the same manuscript family.³⁵ Regarding the seventeenth-century origin of the Mongol words, an issue should be raised. While the publishers of the manuscript were not experts in the Mongol language, Nicholas Poppe was not a researcher of medieval paleography. Poppe did not take into consideration while dating the text that the words could have been transformed multiple times until they arrived at the versions we see now in the manuscript. The author's mother tongue differed significantly from the Mongol language. Moreover, it is still a question how he or his source heard such words, and which Latin letters he chose to transcribe the vowels. Moreover, the multiple copying may have further eroded the original form of the words.³⁶ In my opinion, one word was misspelled in the edition—the word *nochoiterim* (that is, "dog-head") originally must have been nochoiterun. The classical Mongolian terigün, (head) in modern Mongolian sounds like *tergün*. It is not known how they pronounced the word in the thirteenth century, but surely not as terim. Probably someone omitted a q, and the last part of the word should be read -un instead of -im.³⁷

After closing the debate concerning the genuineness of the recounting, plenty of uncertainty remains. One issue is defining the sources of the author. One opinion is that Bridia was able to join the embassy in Poland, then might have stayed with Stephen Ceslaus, or at Mochi's camp on the left side of the Dnieper and waited for Carpini in Corenza's court.³⁸ Although in the first known variant it was written that Bridia recounted events which he saw, during the first publication of the text it transpired that he actually completed his work from the drafts or oral reports of Johannes de Plano Carpini and Benedictus Polonus, or that he probably

³⁴ Gregory G. Guzman, "The Vinland Map Controversy and the Discovery of a Second Version of The Tartar Relation The Authenticity of the 1339 Text," *Terrae Incognitae*, 38 (2006), pp. 19–25.

³⁵ G. Murray Murphey, *Truth and History* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2009), p. 28.

³⁶ Guzman, "The Vinland Map Controversy," pp. 19–25.

³⁷ Dorottya Uhrin, "Kutyafejűek és marhalábúak: 13. századi mongol kifejezések a Historia Tartarorumban" [Dog-headed and ox-footed men: Thirteenth-century Mongolian expressions in the Historia Tartarorum], Világtörténet 37 (2015), pp. 51–53.

³⁸ Györffy, Julianus barát, p. 433. Marian Plezia, "L'Apport de la Pologne à l'exploration de l'Asie centrale au milieu du XIIIe siècle," Acta Poloniae Historica 22 (1970), pp. 20–21; Jackson, "Franciscans As Papal and Royal Envoys," p. 233.

based his work on a more detailed version of Benedictus Polonus' reminiscences, which is now lost.³⁹ The Luzern manuscript does not contain the word *vidi* in the introduction, which would imply that Bridia was an eye-witness.⁴⁰ Regarding the fact that the manuscript tradition consists of two codices, it not worth drawing far-reaching conclusions.

The *Historia Tartarorum* of C. de Bridia was first published in 1965 together with the Vinland map, and a later supplemented second edition in the 1990s. Moreover, Alf Önnerfors also published the text in 1967, which was reprinted in 2018.⁴¹ However, these editions do not contain the Luzern variant. Tonio Juriatti published the critical edition of Bridia based on the two codices and the German translation of the text.⁴²

The Franciscan reports are very important because the aim was not only making a connection with the Mongols, but gathering intelligence as well—which would be essential in the case of a (predicted) second invasion. For that, knowing the cultural and geographical circumstances was as important as the military data. The main difference between Carpini's and Bridia's reports is that the earlier aim was to spur the reader to action and to create a more efficient defensive strategy in the case of a further invasion, while the latter tried to show the divine punishment of Christians. Thus, the latter more often employs stereotypes and depicts the Mongols more negatively.⁴³ The difference between the two versions of Carpini's description is similar—while the shorter version was an actual report to the pope, the second was a more colorful description which fulfilled the needs of a curious audience. Meanwhile, a comparative philological examination of the works of Johannes de Plano Carpini, Benedictus Polonus and C. de Bridia would be necessary.

³⁹ George D. Painter, "The Tartar Relation", in *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, ed. R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 42. Tonio Juriatti, *Die Hystoria Tartarorum des C. de Bridia* (Graz: Uni Graz, 2018), pp. 32–38.

⁴⁰ Juriatti, Die Hystoria Tartarorum, p. 67.

⁴¹ Alf Önnerfors, Hystoria Tartarorum C. de Bridia Monachi (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967, 2018). See also Alf Önnerfors, "Zur "Hystoria Tartarorum"; kap. 39," Symbolae Osloenses 47 (1972), pp. 132–136.

⁴² Juriatti, Die Hystoria Tartarorum.

 ⁴³ Gregor Werner, "Die militärische Macht der Mongolen in den Berichten der Carpinimission

 Die Unterschiede in der Darstellung bei Carpini und C de Bridia. Dissertation zur Erlangung
 der Doktorwürde" (PhD diss., Fernuniversität Hagen, 2011), pp. 18e19.

Bibliography

- Benedict the Pole, "The Narrative of Brother Benedict the Pole." In *Mission to Asia*, edited and translated by Christopher Dawson, 79–84. Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- BNF. "Latin 2477." Accessed January 11, 2020. https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ ark:/12148/cc602955.
- C. de Bridia. "Tartar Relation." Trans. George Duncan Painter. In *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, edited by R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter, 19–106. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 181.
- De Rachewiltz, Igor. *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971.
- Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek, 339.
- Fennel, John. *The Crisis of Medieval Russia.* 1200–1304. London–New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Guzman, Gregory G. "The Vinland Map Controversy and the Discovery of a Second Version of The Tartar Relation The Authenticity of the 1339 Text." *Terrae Incognitae* 38 (2006), pp. 19–25.
- Györffy, György. *Julianus barát és a napkelet fölfedezése* [Friar Julian and the discovery of Orient]. Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1986. (Magyar Ritkaságok)
- Jackson, Peter. "Franciscans As Papal and Royal Envoys to the Tartars." In *Francis* of Assisi, edited by Michael J. P. Robson, 224–239. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410*. Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005.
- John of Plano Carpini. "History of the Mongols." In *Mission to Asia*, edited and translated by Christopher Dawson, 3–72. Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Juriatti, Tonio. Die Hystoria Tartarorum des C. de Bridia. Graz: Uni Graz, 2018.
- Leiden, Bibliotheek Rijksuniversiteit, 104.
- London, British Library, Royal 13.A.XIV.
- Luxembourg, Bibliothèque de Luxembourg, 110.

- Maddison, Francis. "A Sceptical View of the Tartar Relation." *The Geographical Journal*, 140 (1974), pp. 187–191.
- Menestò, Enrico. *Giovanni di Pian di Carpine: Storia dei Mongoli. Edizione critica.* Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1989.
- Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 651.
- Murphey, G. Murray. *Truth and History*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2009.
- Önnerfors, Alf. "Zur "Hystoria Tartarorum"; kap. 39." Symbolae Osloenses 47 (1972), pp. 132–136.
- Önnerfors, Alf. *Hystoria Tartarorum C. de Bridia Monachi*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967, 2018.
- Ostrowski, Donald. "Second-Redaction Additions in Carpini's Ystoria Mongalorum." Harvard Ukrainian Studies 14 (1990), pp. 522–550.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 11.

- Painter, George D. "Introduction to the New Edition." In *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, edited by R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter, ix–xix. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Painter, George D., ed. and trans. The Tartar Relation. In *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, edited by R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter, 19–52. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 2477.
- Plezia, Marian. "L'Apport de la Pologne à l'exploration de l'Asie centrale au milieu du XIIIe siècle." Acta Poloniae Historica 22 (1970), pp. 18–35.
- Poppe, Nicholas. "On Some Mongolian Words in the Tartar Relation." *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 68 (1967), pp. 1–14.
- Ruotsala, Antti. *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century*. Helsinki: The Finnish Academy of Sciences, 2001.
- Seaver, Kirsten A. *Maps, Myths and Men. Story of the Vinland Map.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Sinor, Denis. "John of Plano Carpini's Return from the Mongols." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 89 (1957), pp. 193–206.
- Skelton, R. A. "The Vinland Map." In *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*, edited by R. A. Skelton, Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter, 107–240. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

- Stanford Libraries. "Manuscripts in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge." Accessed January 11, 2020. https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/ catalog/gg784fk0128
- Strzelczyk, Jerzy. Spotkanie dwóch światów: Stolica Apostolska a świat mongolski w połowie XIII wieku: relacje powstałe w związku z misją Jana di Piano Carpiniego do Mongołów [Meeting of two worlds: The Holy See and the Mongolian world in the mid-13th century: accounts arising from the mission of John di Piano Carpini to the Mongols]. Poznan: Abos, 1993.

Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, lat. 1066.

- Uhrin, Dorottya. "Kutyafejűek és marhalábúak: 13. századi mongol kifejezések a Historia Tartarorumban" [Dog headed and Ox-feeted Men: Tirteenth-Century Mongolian Expressions]. *Világtörténet* 37 (2015), pp. 43–59.
- Vienna, Österreiche Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 362.
- Vienna, Österreiche Nationalbibliothek, Lat. 51.
- Werner, Gregor. "Die militärische Macht der Mongolen in den Berichten der Carpinimission - Die Unterschiede in der Darstellung bei Carpini und C de Bridia. Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde. 19." PhD diss., Fernuniversität Hagen, 2011.
- Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 41 Weis, (4125).
- Wroclaw, Ossolineum, Rkp. 2044/II.
- Wyngaerti, Anastasius van den. *Sinica Franciscana*. I. Romae: Collegium s. Bonaventurae 1929.
- Zyats, Paula. "The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Manuscripts. Yale's *Speculum Historiale, Historia Tartarorum* and the Vinland Map." Filmed 21 September, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1YXS8dbY2I.

Mongol Attacks against Central Europe

Beatrix F. Romhányi – József Laszlovszky¹

The Destruction Caused by the Mongol Invasion and the Changes of the Church Network of Medieval Hungary

Recently, research on two historical issues that are the core subject of the present paper has been revived. On the one hand, there is an increasing number of works on ecclesiastical topography. They partly register ecclesiastical sites in a medieval area or modern historical-geographical region, and summarise archaeological-historical research focusing on the number and location of churches in the Middle Ages.² These works are increasingly using complex research methods, where archaeological and historical data are also compared with the results of architectural or art historical research, as well as interpreted in the light of the results of church history, political history or settlement history combined. In addition, an increasing number of studies have been published, including by one of the authors of this paper, which draw conclusions from the analysis of the parish and monastic network to clarify issues of church organization, public history, or demography.³

¹ This study was written as part of project No. NKFIH K-128 880 entitled A tatárjárás Magyarországon és a mongol hódítás eurázsiai összefüggései [The Mongol Invasion in Hungary and the Mongol conquest in its Eurasian context].

² Tamás Fedeles, Gábor Sarbak, and József Sümegi, ed., A pécsi egyházmegye története I. A középkor évszázadai (1009–1543) [The history of the Pécs Diocese I: The Middle Ages]. (Pécs: Fény Kft., 2009); András K. Németh, A középkori Tolna megye templomai [Churches in the medieval Tolna County]. (Pécs: IDResearch Kft.–Publikon Kiadó, 2011).; Csilla M. Aradi, Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszervezetének rekonstrukciója [Reconstruction of the Árpádian-age and late medieval church organisation in Somogy County]. (Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Megyei Hatókörű Városi Múzeum, 2017); István Botár, Havasok keblében rejtező szép Csík. A Csíki-medence középkori településtörténete [Medieval settlement history of the Csík Basin]. (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2019). About related questions of the archaeological topography see Máté Stibrányi, "A határon álló templomok. A középkori templomos helyek és a településhálózat vizsgálata Fejér megyében" [Churches on the border line. Investigation into the medieval church sites and the settlement network], in Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája. Múlt, jelen, jövő [Archeological topography of Hungary. Past, present, future]. ed. Elek Benkő, Mária Bondár, and Ágnes Kolláth (Budapest: Archeolingua, 2015), 369–386.

³ Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Kolostorhálózat – településhálózat – népesség. A középkori Magyar Királyság demográfiai helyzetének változásaihoz" [Monastic network – settlement system –

The re-processing of the question is also justified by the fact that archaeological excavations have recently discovered in several places ditch and rampart-shaped fortifications built by the local population around existing churches to evade the Mongol threat and to survive the devastation of the invasion. These excavations proved in several places that such constructions, which also appeared in written sources, could not withstand the siege of the Mongol armies, and the rapidly built fortifications, together with the churches, became the prey of the Mongols.⁴ In this way, some of the buildings of the medieval church network can be directly involved in the studies that examine the spatial distribution of the destruction of the Mongol invasion.

At the same time, there has been an increase in the number of studies re-examining the destruction of the Mongol invasion, in which, in addition to outlining general trends, analyses focusing on the destruction of certain areas, types of settlements or centres are becoming increasingly important, and from these researchers try to draw a general picture.⁵ These issues have also been given prominence in the objectives of a recently launched complex research program, and the present study is one of its first results. Participants in the four-year research project, launched in 2018, represent a variety of disciplines and, in their cooperation, they process partly the results of their own recent research and partly data of the latest publications.⁶ In addition to the study of the direct devastation of the Mongol invasion, we also place great emphasis on examining what new sources can

population. On the demographic changes of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom], *Történelmi Szemle* 57 (2015), 1–51; Eadem, "Mendicant Networks and Population in a European Perspective," in Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective, ed. Gerhard Jaritz, and Katalin Szende (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 99–122; Eadem, "Kolostorhálózat, területfejlesztés, régiók a Borostyán-út mentén" [Monastic network, regional development, regions along the Amber Road], *Soproni Szemle* 72 (2018), 119–146.

⁴ Szabolcs Rosta, "Egy új lehetőség kapujában – tatárjáráskori védművek a Kiskunságban" [At the gate of a new opportunity – fortified sites from the period of the Mongol Invasion in Kiskunság], in *Genius loci – Laszlovszky 60*, ed. Dóra Mérai et al. (Budapest: Archeolingua, 2018), 186–192. In our opinion, a Romanian site with a church where geophysical research revealed a similar circular ditch belong to the same group: Alexandru Hegyi et al., "Deserted Medieval Village Reconstruction Using Applied Geosciences," *Remote Sensing* 12 (2020), 1–24. See also: Szabolcs Rosta and István Pánya. "Gondolatok a síkvidéki középkori erődítésekről" [Considerations on the Medieval Fortifications in the Great Hungarian Plain]. *Archaeologia Cumanica* 5 (2022), 289–344.

⁵ About the goals and first results of the project see János B. Szabó, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, and Dorottya Uhrin, "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–42) and Its Eurasian Context," Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU 26 (2020), 223–233.

⁶ On more recent results of the project and other relevant publications see János B. Szabó, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, and Dorottya Uhrin, "New Results Regarding the Mongol Invasion of Hungary and Its Eurasian Context (2020)" *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 27 (2021), 271–282.

be included in the research, and how these can modify the image of the sequence of events.⁷

From a methodological point of view, a close connection can be established between previous church topographical works and recent studies examining the issues and effects of the Mongol invasion. An important element of this is the complex use of historical indicators, that is we analyse phenomena or data sets of selected pre-defined criteria, which are in some way related to the broader historical processes and within them to the examined issues. In this context, the analysed phenomena, buildings, and features of settlement structure are important not only in themselves, but also because they can be indicators of other complex processes for which we do not have directly applicable sources. The most important goal of our present paper is to re-examine the connection between the spread of the place names with -egyháza (church, church of) suffix and the destruction of the Mongol invasion. By involving different groups of sources, we attempt to examine how the apparent changes in the population distribution of the Carpathian Basin can be interpreted in a broader framework. We also examine to which extent changes in the Hungarian church network are related to the devastation of the Mongol invasion. The issues raised in the article have already been discussed in two studies published in Hungarian, but are only now being explained in more detail.⁸ At the same time, this issue hardly arose in international research and in foreign works related to the territory of medieval Hungary, probably because the previous results of Hungarian researchers, especially György Györffy, were published exclusively in Hungarian, and thus they could not receive more echo. Therefore, in this study we also provide a summary of previous ideas and then publish the results of a much more detailed, multi-source analysis.

The placenames with suffixes

The Mongol Invasion of 1241-1242 was undoubtedly one of the most important turning points in Hungarian history, which influenced the history, settlement pattern and demographic conditions of the country for centuries. Its massive

⁷ József Laszlovszky, Stephen Pow, Beatrix F. Romhányi, László Ferenczi, and Zsolt Pinke, "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42," *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2018), 419–450.

⁸ József Laszlovszky, and Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A tatárjárás pusztítása és a templomok" [The destruction of the Mongol Invasion and the churches], Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok 15/2. (2019), 32-35.; Beatrix F. Romhányi, and József Laszlovszky. "A tatárjárás pusztítása és a mag-yarországi templomhálózat" [The destruction of the Mongol Invasion and the church network in Hungary]. Századok 155 (2021), 601–630.

devastation, followed by the issues of the reconstruction, has long preoccupied domestic and foreign researchers. "Estimates" of the extent of destruction, assumptions about loss of life, or spatial analysis of impacts have been central to many historical studies. But relatively little work has been done based on the analysis of a specific group of data present all over the country that would allow to outline regions of severe and milder levels of destruction. These include a study by György Györffy, which appeared in the festive yearbook of the local museum of Túrkeve but made general observations despite its regional focus.⁹ In that work, too, Györffy could rely on the huge database he accumulated during the preparation of the historical geography of the Árpádian period, and thus he compared his local observations in each area with the general historical processes. This vast historical-geographical work collected the entire diplomatic material from the entire historical period preceding the papal tithe lists compiled in the 1330s (that is from the founding of the Hungarian state through the entire period of the Árpád dynasty, including the first decades of the Anjou era) and summarized the network of settlements of almost the entire territory of the country, broken down into the history of each settlement. In this way, he was able to draw conclusions about settlement history, toponymy, and estate history. At the same time, Hungarian historical and linguistic research has previously noticed that Hungarian place names preserved in medieval written sources form groups both in space and time. Although place-naming habits often lead to unique solutions, types of place names can be defined that, in addition to specific naming, can also refer to settlement history processes in many cases. Some of the discussed place names have survived to this day, while others can only be studied with the help of medieval or modern charters and documents, historical maps, and possibly local memory. One of the groups is that of the place names with suffixes, in which a personal name, a natural endowment or other naming element is associated with a suffix referring to a settlement (-falva, -laka, -telke, -háza etc.).10 According to onomastic research, these place names originated largely in the thirteenth century.¹¹ However, they are not

⁹ György Györffy, "A tatárjárás pusztításának nyomai helyneveinkben" [Traces of the Mongol Invasion in Hungarian toponyms], in *Emlékkönyv a Túrkevei Múzeum tízéves fennállására*. [Album for the tenth anniversary of the museum at Túrkeve], ed. Imre Dankó (Túrkeve: Túrkevei Múzeum, 1961), 35–38. (republished in *A tatárjárás* [The Mongol Invasion], ed. Balázs Nagy. (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 484–487.)

¹⁰ Géza Bárczi, "A földrajzi nevek" [Geographical names], in Géza Bárczi, *A magyar szókincs eredete*. [The Origins of Hungarian Words] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1958), 142–162.

¹¹ About the typology of the early toponyms see Gyula Kristó, Ferenc Makk, and László Szegfű, "Adatok "korai" helyneveink ismeretéhez I–II" [Data on our "early" toponyms I–II], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis* 44–48 (1973–1974), 1–96. and 1–54.

only chronologically different from names formed according to other place-naming practices, but some of their types are concentrated in certain areas of the country.¹²

One of the possible suffixes is *-egyház(a)* (church, church of).¹³ György Györffy, after reconstructing the settlement network based on the data collected for his historical geography began to deal with the issue in connection with that huge enterprise.¹⁴ In his view, the place names with the suffix *-egyháza* (Fehéregyháza, Félegyháza, etc.) were related to the destruction of the Mongol Invasion and referred to places where only the abandoned church of the village survived, thus preserving the name and memory of the former settlement. Although other opinions have been raised about such place names, so far, the idea of György Györffy seemed the most well-founded.

In the light of all this, it is worth re-examining the question of how the place names with suffix '-egyháza' are in space and time, whether their appearance and spreading can relate to the destruction of the Mongol Invasion. In the following, therefore, we examine the available, relevant medieval toponymic material, using the results that have appeared since the publication of the ideas formulated by Györffy. The data are taken from the aforementioned historical-geographical works of Györffy and from a similar, but by no means such a complete collection, the late medieval historical-geographical volumes of Dezső Csánki, as well as the works of Péter Németh on Szabolcs and Szatmár Counties.¹⁵ As for the range of

¹² Miklós Kázmér, *A 'falu' a magyar helynevekben. XIII–XIX. század* [The word 'falu' in the Hungarian toponyms. 13th–19th centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970)

¹³ There is no difference in the distribution of the two versions (egyház/egyháza). The form ending in -egyház can be regarded as an indicative structure, and -egyháza as a possessive structure. We would like to note here that with analogical place names later, even in the 19th and 20th such place names were also created, however, we included in the analysis only the data known from mentions before the end of the Middle Ages.

¹⁴ György Györffy, *Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* I–IV [Historical geography of Árpádian-age Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968–1998) (henceforth: ÁMTF).

¹⁵ ÁMTF I–IV. Bp. 1963–1998.; Dezső Csánki, Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában I–III., V [Historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis] (Budapest: MTA, 1890–1913); Péter Németh, A középkori Szabolcs megye települései [The settlements of the medieval Szabolcs County] (Nyíregyháza: Ethnica, 1997); Idem, A középkori Szatmár megye települései a 15. század elejéig [The settlements of the medieval Szatmár County up to the early 15th century] (Nyíregyháza: Jósa András Múzeum 2008); György Módy, "Haj-dú-Bihar megye településtörténeti vázlata a török hódoltságig" [Outlines of the settlement history of Hajdú-Bihar County up to the Ottoman occupation], Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Közleményei 18 (1982), 90–102; Idem, "Nyugat-Bihar és Dél-Szabolcs Counties before the end of the 13th century], in Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve 1995–1996. [The Annual of the Déri Museum in Debrecen 1995–1996], ed. György Módy, Márta Sz. Máthé, and László Selmeczi (Debrecen: Debreceni Déri Múzeum, 1998), 165–190; Edit Tari, Pest megye közép-

data used, we need to talk briefly about the types of place names, too, that we will not deal with. Toponyms formed with the prefix egyház(as)- (that is 'with a church', e.g., Egyházgelle, Egyházaskozár, Egyházasgerge, etc.) and monostor(os)- (that is 'with a monastery', e.g., Monostorpályi, Monostorosábrány, Monostorossáp) were not included in our study based on two aspects. Indeed, these names belong to another group on a formal, typological basis, since the word referring to the church does not appear as a suffix, but as a prefix. This indicates already some kind of difference. In addition, they were not included in the database because they played a distinctive role in cases where the aim was to differentiate between settlements with a similar name or between parts of one and the same settlement. A well-documented example of this name form is the settlement of Monostorossáp, where the presence of a monastery identifies a part of the settlement (or a different zone of the village) named Sáp.¹⁶ These place names are like place names formed with the prefix vámos- ('with a toll') and vásáros- ('with a market'). There is also a type of place name that seems to be like the suffix discussed here, but which still seems to behave differently. Together with the name variations, these are roughly 60 place names with suffix '-monostor(a)' (that is 'with a monastery'). They occur in almost all parts of the Carpathian Basin, without showing a special spatial pattern, although there is no doubt that this type of place name is more common east of the Danube than west.

Spatial distribution of '-egyház(a)' suffixes

In the Carpathian Basin, we know a total of slightly more than 220 medieval place names with the suffix '-egyház(a)', which can be classified into several types. In the first part of our investigation, we focused exclusively on spatial distribution, and

kori templomai [Medieval churches in Pest County] (Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2000); Imre Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai* [Medieval churches in Békés County] (Békéscsaba: Békés Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2005). See further more the publications listed in footnote 1. From Western Romania (early modern Partium) there are two similar works: Adrian Andrei Rusu, and George Pascu Hurezan, *Biserici medievale din judetul Arad* [Medieval Churches in Arad County] (Arad: Complexul Muzeal Arad, 2000); Dumitru Teicu, *Geografia ecleziastică a Banatului medieval* [Ecclesiastical geography of medieval Banat] (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară, 2007). The great merit of these works, despite their possible flaws, is that they tried to collect archaeological finds from older and more recent research in the discussed area, and the authors also visited some sites, so their results are compatible with similar works in Hungary.

¹⁶ Miklós Rácz, and József Laszlovszky, Monostorossáp: Egy Tisza menti középkori falu [Monostorossáp: A Deserted Medieval Village and its Landscape] (Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2005), (Dissertationes Pannonicae I; II. 7.).

we tried to form groups based on these. Next, we examined what explanations and interpretations the previous research has raised in relation to each group, and to what extent these can be compared with the pattern of spatial distribution. Finally, we also examined whether different groups show a chronological difference in time of their appearance. Based on all this, we came to several conclusions. Within the place names with the suffix '-egyház(a)', there is one group that is worth examining separately. The name *fehéregyház(a) (that is 'white church') is found in the largest number in the sources: a total of 31 occurrences, including variants, are known. Their spatial distribution is the most uniform in the region: it is located not only in the central parts of the country, but also in parts further away from the central region. In the northern mountainous areas, this type of place name is missing like anything else of the discussed types of place names, but in the western border region ('gyepű') we know three occurrences, in Transylvania five, and even a Slavic version of the name appears once in Slavonia. Of the entire data set examined, this is the only type that can also be found in larger numbers in the eleventh-century border region (one third of all occurrences fall into such areas). Mainly because of this characteristic, we believe that this type of place name originally fit into another system, its formation presumably had to do with royal possession. As an explanation for these place names, the research usually focuses on the fact that they were built of stone. At the same time, György Györffy has already noticed that these place names are relatively often associated with royal manor houses, which is in line with the characteristic prevalence we observed.¹⁷

In addition, there are some other compositions that deserve special attention. These include the place names *kerekegyház (round church, 12), *veresegyház (red church, 12) and *kőegyház (stone church, 2), which most likely refer to solid building material. Furthermore, there are the specific place names as *félegyház (half church, 11), *hímesegyház (nice church, 4), *feketegyház (black church, the medieval name of Bácsfeketehegy/Feketić) and *aranyegyház (golden church) with one occurrence each. Apart from white, black, red, and gold, other names referring to colour are, at least so far, unknown. In terms of their territorial distribution, there are similarities with the place names with mixed composition, but they are much more even, as they also appear regularly in areas where we can hardly find any of the mixed place names, such as in Transylvania.

The remaining 147 place names are of various compositions (adjective, personal name, ethnic adjective, etc.). Relatively many of them are formed with personal

¹⁷ György Györffy, *István király és műve* [King Stephen and his oeuvre] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), p. 243. The toponym type itself seems to be significantly more common in the Carpathian Basin than in other regions of Central and Southern Europe.

names (e.g., Bükedegyháza, Bátoregyháza, Derzsegyháza, Izsákegyháza), so they are like other place names derived from personal names and different suffixes. There are also quite a few place names formed with a word referring to the environment (e.g., Hódegyház, Ludasegyház, Nyíregyháza, Szigetegyház). These are a kind of adjective that attach some environmental information to the church. It also has its parallels in other types of place names. Finally, there are also those that in all probability have preserved the name of an earlier settlement (e.g., Kéregyház, Kölpényegyház).

All this indicates that it is worthwhile to analyse the spatial distribution in several breakdowns, examining each name group separately. However, for the sake of comparability, we did not differentiate between these groups in the first phase of our research. In a second phase, however, we analysed separately the groups that were already somewhat distinguished on a typological basis.

When representing the data on a map - all types combined, including those mentioned separately so far - a specific image emerges (Map 1):¹⁸

- 1. The discussed type of place name is completely absent in the northern part of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, north from the Győr-Nagyszőlős line.
- 2. Slavonia is also not typical of either Hungarian or Slavic toponymy, the only exception being Bela Crkva, already mentioned above.¹⁹
- 3. There are a total of twelve data from Transylvania, of which five times *Fehéregyháza occurs in some sort of composition (Fehéregyháza, Kisfehéregyház, Szászfehéregyház, Tiszafejéregyház, and a now destroyed settlement within the marks of Szerdahely). Two of the remaining six are *veresegyház (Mezőveresegyház, Szászveresegyház). Furthermore, there are a *félegyház and a *kerekegyház. The place names formed with a mixed composition include only Őregyház near Gyulafehérvár, the name variant Telekegyház of the settlement Kerekegyház near Várfalva and the suffix variant of Budatelke located southwest of Bistriţa.²⁰

¹⁸ All the maps were produced by B. F. Romhányi

¹⁹ Silvija Pisk, "Toponim Garić u povijesnim izvorima" [Toponym Garić in historical sources], Radovi Zavoda za znanstvenoistraživački i umjetnički rad u Bjelovaru 4 (2011), 1–14; Eadem, "Our Lady of Garić," in Sacralization of Landscape and Sacred Places, ed. Juraj Belaj et al. (Zagreb: Institute of Archeology, 2018), 335–342.

²⁰ Kerekegyház/Telekegyház: 1270–1272 – Kerekegyház, in Erdélyi okmánytár I (1023–1300) [Transylvanian charters], ed. Zsigmond Jakó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997), n. 298; p. 1279 – Telekegyház. In: ibid. n. 368. Budatelke mentioned as Budaegyház in 1318: László Blazovich, and Lajos Géczi, ed., Anjou-kori Oklevéltár VII (1323) [Charters from the Anjou-period]. (Budapest–Szeged: [s.n.], 1991), n. 82. The first mention of the Fehéregyház, which once existed in the vicinity of Szerdahely, dates from 1316 (ibid. II. 260), and it can also be found in the papal tithe list. Arnold Ipolyi, ed., Rationes collectorum pontificorum. Pápai tizedszedők számadásai 1281–1375. (Monumenta Vaticana I/1). (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1887), p. 94.,

- 4. In the part of the Great Plain outside the Devil's Dyke²¹ (i.e., roughly north and east of the Dunakeszi-Debrecen-Arad-Óbecse line) there are 38 such place names, of which seven are *fehéregyház and *félegyház each, and three *kerekegyház and eight *veresegyház. That is, nearly two-thirds of the data fall into some specific category, and only nine fell into the mixed group.
- 5. In the part of the Great Plain within the Devil's Dyke—more precisely in the area bounded by the Devil's Dyke, the Galacka river, the Little Roman rampart, and the eastern branch of the Danube—there are a total of 141 such place names, of which 110 represent the mixed category. Of the remaining 31, nine are *fehéregyház, and that is the only area in the country where all the specific compositions listed above occur.
- 6. In the eastern part of Transdanubia, i.e., in the area between the road Győr-Zagreb and the Danube, including the area of the Solt szék, which is an island-like landscape between the present-day main branch of the Danube and its former branch to the east called Örjeg, roughly between Dömsöd and Baja, we know of 23 such place names. Six of them are *fehér-egyház(a), two *kerekegyház, and one each *félegyház, *hímesegyház and *veresegyház. In other words, half of the place names here fall into one of the categories highlighted above, while two thirds of the mixed data here are located northeast of Győr-Tolna road.
- 7. In the western part of the Carpathian Basin, in the area of the former border region, there are a total of five data (four of them north of the Sopron-Kapuvár line and one next to the Drava River). Three of them are also Fehéregyháza (Fehéregyház next to Holics, Fertőfehéregyház, Pozsonyfehéregyház), only Derzsegyháza, on the territory of today Petržalka, and Drávaegyház (Croatian Cirkovljan) near the Drava River belong to other types. In other words, almost 70% of the investigated place names are located in the cen-

tral part of the Great Plain, bordered by the Danube, the Devil's Dyke, the Galacka
101; p. 122; p. 125; p. 143. We thank Géza Hegyi for supplementing the Transylvanian data.
21 It may be surprising that in a study on a medieval theme, we refer to this rampart system dating back to the Roman era as a point of reference, which roughly divides the Great Plain in two. Significant parts of the rampart can still be seen today, and hundreds of years ago, many more parts could have been a defining feature of the landscape. an alignment point

many more parts could have been a defining feature of the landscape, an alignment point or even a property boundary. While mapping the various phenomena, it became apparent that the Devil's Dyke appeared as a definite dividing line for some data sets. For example, after the Mongol Invasion, between 1300 and 1500, in the monastery network of the Carpathian Basin, it can be observed that the monasteries of the mendicant orders avoided this region with very few exceptions. Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Kolostorhálózat – településhálózat – népesség," 1–49.

River and the Little Roman Ramparts, in an area that make up barely 14% of the Carpathian Basin. Meanwhile, 70% of the *fehéregyháza place names and half of the other categories highlighted above are outside this area. However, more than 80% of the place names formed with a mixed composition fall into this Great Plain region. This density is even more striking when comparing this area with the part of the Great Plain outside the Devil's Dyke, where we find barely one-sixth of the examined toponym type as in the part of the Great Plain within the Devil's Dyke. In addition, both in terms of quantity and composition, the picture is much more like Transdanubia than to the immediately adjacent region. (Table 1)

To better understand the historical processes behind the place names, it is worth comparing their spatial distribution with other church topographic datasets as well. The first of these is a map of eleventh-century churches and cemeteries, and the network of monasteries around 1100. Of the more than 350 known churches and cemeteries dating back to the eleventh century in the Carpathian Basin, 72, or 23.6%, are in the central part of the Great Plain described above. For monasteries, this proportion is slightly beneath 28% (10 out of 36). (Table 2a-b) The question therefore arises what causes such a thickening of a certain type of place-name material, referring to a church, in an area where we usually know fewer medieval toponyms than in other parts of the kingdom, and in the late Middle Ages it was one of the country's most sparsely populated regions.

In most cases, we cannot attach archaeological data to the place names, but where it was possible, often eleventh-century churches and cemeteries have been excavated.²² The known eleventh-century church buildings, and even the early Árpádian churches excavated in the Great Plain, are usually extremely small, and their nave is often barely the size of a living-room. In the papal tithe list, we usually

²² György V. Székely, "Hetényegyháza-Belsőnyír Zana tanya," Régészeti Füzetek I/36 (1983), n. 153; Szatmári, Békés megye, p. 115; György V. Székely, "Árpád-kori települések a történeti Halas határában" [Árpádian-age settlements on the territory of historical Halas], in Kiskunhalas története 1. Tanulmányok Kiskunhalasról a kezdetektől a török kor végéig. ed. József Ö. Kovács, and Aurél Szakál (Kiskunhalas: Kiskunhalas Város Önkormányzata, 2000), p. 134; Szabolcs Rosta, "Pusztatemplomok Kiskunfélegyháza környékén" [Deserted churches around Kiskunfélegyháza], Cumania 20 (2004), 125–126; Tari, Pest megye, 50–51. (At the Cegléd-Nyúlfülehalom site, burials around an eleventh-century church and the remains of a church from the twelfth-century were found; the Töröttegyház mentioned in the fifteenth century can probably be identified with this site, but the place names Besenyőegyház, Kőegyház and Téglaegyház also fall within the boundaries of Cegléd [49.]). Ibolya M. Nepper, and Márta Sz. Máthé, "A Hajdú-Bihar megyei múzeumok régészeti tevékenysége 1981–1985" [Archaeological activities in the Museums of Hajdú-Bihar County 1981–1985). (Leletkataszter/ Findings), in A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve 1985, ed. László Gazda, György Módy, and István Orosz (Debrecen: Debreceni Déri Múzeum, 1986), p. 51; Nebojša Stanojev, Nekropole X-XV veka u Vojvodini [10th-15th century cemeteries in Voivodina] (Novi Sad: Arheološko društvo Vojvodine, 1989), p. 122.

search for them in vain, and they were unable to develop into a parish until the end of the Middle Ages. Those that were included in the register are mostly on the edge of the area.²³ The papal tithe list is the most important and comprehensive medieval list of the country's medieval churches. It was also used to give an estimate of the demographic impact of the Mongol invasion.²⁴ (Map 2) The almost complete absence of the place names with suffix '-egyháza' in a list of functioning parishes, which emerged a few decades after the invasion, suggests that the location of a given part of the examined place names may be related to the attack.

By reviewing the data in a different time section, we get a completely different picture. Comparing the prevalence of place names with the suffix '-egyháza' and the change of the monastic network between 1240 and 1330, these place names thickened where the monasteries disappeared in the second half of the thirteenth century. (Maps 3-4) The almost complete absence of monasteries in the late Middle Ages was mainly due to the different of the landscape use, that is large-scale animal husbandry, and different social structure of the area, but the transformation was significantly accelerated by the Mongol invasion, even if not all monasteries fell victim to Mongol destruction. Well-known examples of monasteries destroyed during the Mongol invasion are Szer and the Saint Peter's abbey of Bugac, near Kiskunfélegyháza.²⁵ The siege and the destruction of the Cistercian monastery at Egres (Igriş, Romania) was described by Master Roger.²⁶

The phenomenon is not a direct consequence of the Mongol invasion in the sense that these churches and their populations were destroyed by the Mongols.

²³ Tari, Pest megye, 47–51; p. 151.

²⁴ Edition: Ipolyi, Rationes collectorum, 39–409. For its analysis see Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Plébániák és adóporták – a Magyar Királyság változásai a 13–14. század fordulóján" [Parishes and hides: the transformation of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1300], Századok 156 (2022), 909–941.

²⁵ Ferenc Horváth, "Szer plébániatemploma és a település középkori története" [The parish church of Szer and the medieval history of the settlement], in A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer, ed. Tibor Kollár (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 123–142; Szabolcs Rosta, "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The destruction of Pétermonostora], in Carmen miserabile. A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei. Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére. ['Carmen Miserabile'. The Memories of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary. Festschrift for András Pálóczi Horváth on his 70th Birthday] ed. Szabolcs Rosta, and György V. Székely (Kecskeméti: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), 193–230.

²⁶ Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, Notary of King Bela The Deeds of the Hungarians. Edited, translated and annotated by Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy, Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta. Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars. Translated and annotated by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, (Central European Medieval Texts, 5) (Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2010) [hereinafter Anonymus and Master Roger], 211–213.

But the areas emptied during the invasion began to be utilized in other ways after 1242 (see the settlement of the Cumans), and during the consolidation of the parish network in the second half of the thirteenth century, these areas and settlements were no longer able to participate in the reorganization of the rural church organization. The place names in this case may have retained the imprint of the pre-Mongol status when the parish network was in its infancy, in a sort of experimental phase, and even small communities of 100-200 people tried to establish their own church. By the end of the thirteenth century, it became characteristic both in Hungary and in other parts of Europe that a parish had about 80-100 families, an average of ~ 520 people.²⁷ The new churches in the Great Plain, which can be traced back to the eleventh century, often did not fit into the new system, and the destruction of the Mongol invasion and the settlement of another type of population swept away even those that might have been able to become parish churches.²⁸ All these processes underline the phenomenon that the spatial distribution of the '-egyháza' suffixes is not uniform in the country, well-defined densities and almost empty areas can be distinguished.

For a more accurate interpretation of this phenomenon, it is worth considering additional groups of sources. These are primarily data and phenomena that are direct or indirect evidence of the destruction of the Mongol Invasion and that can be well connected to the sequence of events in time. When selecting the indicators, another aspect was that the spatial pattern of their spread could be well mapped and analysed. The first of the following maps depicts places destroyed by the Mongols as evidenced by contemporary or shortly later written sources, or where excavations in recent years have revealed archaeological evidence of the destruction.²⁹ (Map 5) The other map shows, in addition to the hoards associated with the Mongol Invasion, the castles defended against the Mongols or built after the attack until 1300. (Map 6) In both maps, the data density of the area is significant, where the '-egyháza' suffix also appears in large numbers. In contrast, the spatial distribution of the castles built up to 1300 shows a radically different pattern,

²⁷ Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A késő középkori plébániahálózat és a 14. századi pápai tizedjegyzék" [The late medieval parish network and the 14th century papal tithe list], *Történelmi Szemle* 60 (2019), p. 349; F. Romhányi, "Plébániák és adóporták."

²⁸ Zsolt Pinke, "Adatok és következtetések a középkori Hortobágy-Sárrét településtörténetéhez és demográfiájához" (1300–1350) [Data and conclusions on the settlement history and demography of the medieval Hortobágy-Sárrét], in Környezettörténet 2. Környezeti események a honfoglalástól napjainkig történeti és természettudományi források tükrében, ed. Miklós Kázmér (Budapest: Hantken Kiadó, 2011), 79–117.

²⁹ In addition to the sites known from the previous literature, the map also includes data that of the latest research. Special thanks go to Szabolcs Rosta (Great Plain region) and Michal Holeščak (Slovakia).

leaving the central part of the Carpathian Basin empty. This, in turn, clearly shows that the spatial pattern of the data indicating the destruction of the Mongol Invasion in different ways, mark the same area as the place names with '-egyháza' suffix.

The Árpádian-age churches and the destruction of the Mongol invasion

To better examine the destruction of the Mongol Invasion and to outline the territorial differences, we can examine not only the toponymic material referring to the churches, but also the surviving monuments themselves. Consideration could be given, for example, to the churches, which already existed in the thirteenth century, and to the extent of their destruction. However, such an investigation would be a huge undertaking for the whole country. The scale of the work can be well estimated based on Mária Vargha's monographic study, in which eleventh- and twelfth-century churches and cemeteries were enumerated and analysed.³⁰ The collection of the early churches of the Árpádian period was a huge undertaking, which led to several essential conclusions regarding the formation of the lowest level of the church organization. However, for the thirteenth century, this analysis was no longer performed. Partly, because her work focused on the processes of the earlier centuries, but also because of the significant increase in the amount of surviving or excavated buildings. At the same time, the study of the circumstances of the preparation of the papal tithe list also revealed that the process of the dynamically growing church network in the thirteenth century, in fact the birth of parish churches in the late medieval sense, cannot be mapped, even if important results are expected.³¹ This is due, on the one hand, to the fact that the church network itself was in constant transformation, and indeed we have no idea which church in the early period had parish rights. On the other hand, the construction dates of the church buildings are not so accurate that in each case we can decide with absolute certainty whether the given building was built before or after the Mongol Invasion.

Even if we cannot perform such an analysis for the whole territory, the building stock of some smaller regions may provide an opportunity for some partial examinations. In some areas, for example, churches from that period, standing in

³⁰ Mária Vargha, Modelling Christianisation: A Geospatial Analysis of the Archaeological Data on the Rural Church Network of Hungary in the 11th-12th Centuries (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2022).

³¹ F. Romhányi, "A késő középkori plébániahálózat."

their contemporary form, may indicate that church buildings were not destroyed by the Mongols, or that new ones were being built shortly after the disaster in the country. This may also mean that the population living there has largely survived. maintaining the former and claiming the new churches. As already indicated in the introduction of the present study, the standing monuments of the Árpádianage church network can also be a kind of indicator concerning the effects of the Mongol invasion. It is important to emphasize, however, that the reverse of this statement is not true. If there are no churches of that age somewhere today, that cannot be written only at the expense of the Mongol Invasion. The disappearance of the early Árpádian-age churches may have been caused by the destruction of a later period (e.g., the Ottoman occupation) or even by the construction of a larger Gothic church in the late Middle Ages due to population growth or economic prosperity. In this case, the old building was either demolished or somehow incorporated into the new one. The analysis of the relatively untouched monuments of the Árpádian-age church stock must therefore work with a complex system of criteria from the outset. In any case, it seems reasonable to examine regions where the standing monuments of the built heritage of this age show some characteristic pattern, and the result needs to be connected in a second step with, for example, the question of the destruction of the Mongol Invasion. Therefore, in the following, we compare two consciously selected sample areas with the distribution map of the place names with '-egyháza' suffix, with a special emphasis on spatial patterns.

Looking at the distribution map of ecclesiastical monuments in Hungary, an area is clearly outlined where a group of churches can be well distinguished on the basis of both building material and architectural style. The archaeologist Ilona Valter, who investigated the churches of southwestern Transdanubia, pointed out that in that part of the Carpathian Basin (former Vas, Zala and partly Somogy Counties) many typical Árpádian-age brick churches have survived, in part or in whole. Their detailed architecture historical study, together with the written data relating to them, revealed that all of them were most likely built in the thirteenth century, even if in many cases their exact date of construction could not be determined.³² For the purposes of our analysis, we treat these monuments as a broadly cohesive group.

Since the exact time of their construction cannot be determined in many cases, it is worth formulating certain hypotheses for the issues we are examining and comparing them with the problem of the destructions of the Mongol Invasion. On

³² Ilona Valter, Romanische Sakralbauten Westpannoniens (Eisenstadt: Edition Roetzer, 1980). Extended Hungarian edition: Eadem, Árpád-kori téglatemplomok a Nyugat-Dunántúlon (Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2004).

a purely logical basis, there are three possible explanations for the existence of such a significant number of thirteenth-century churches, given the history of the population living there as well. The hypotheses consider three aspects: the dating of the known churches, the chronology developed on the basis of stylistic and architectural history, and the general knowledge of settlement history in the area.

- Suppose each such church was built before 1241, both the churches and the villagers had to survive the Mongol Invasion. Only in this case is it conceivable that they survived the following periods without more serious destruction and major reconstructions. This also means that there was a community that prevented these churches from disappearing.
- 2. Suppose each of them was built after 1241, these churches are proofs of post-destruction reconstruction. That is, we can expect a significant wave of church construction in a relatively short period of time, which has resulted in similar buildings being created throughout the area. This hypothesis, however, can only be imagined if, in the few decades following the Mongol Invasion, we expect many people with adequate economic backgrounds in each of the settlements, who were able to build and maintain a new church for to replace the destroyed ones. This also clearly contradicts a significant population loss.
- 3. The third, most likely scenario is that the churches were built in the area throughout the thirteenth century, and the events of 1241 did not cause a break. Considering the dating of each church, at least those where it can be more precisely determined, such an image certainly emerges. As we do not know any information about a large fracture in the settlement history of the area, we can rightly think that churches were also built more or less continuously. All this clearly suggests that there may not have been significant population loss in this area during the Mongol Invasion. Based on all this, the group of Árpádian-age brick churches in Transdanubia is suitable in all respects to be used as indicator. In this case, our study focuses on the extent to which the church sites and the place names with the discussed suffix show regional differences in the level of destruction. On the map, the two groups of sources (Map 7) clearly show that they do not overlap in space, they form two well-separated groups.³³ All this reinforces the idea

³³ There are other areas in the Carpathian Basin where the survival of former churches and intensive construction activity following the Tatar invasion can be seen. Examples of the first are the Saxon territories in southern Transylvania, and the second is the county of Sáros. So far, no summary work has been published on these areas like the one on Western Transdanubia, so we did not use them in the study. We thank Béla Zsolt Szakács for sharing some of the results of his ongoing research with us.

that these place names proliferate in an area where there was significant destruction, while standing Romanesque and early Gothic churches are indicators of an area where we cannot expect either significant building destruction or population decline.

We do not have the opportunity to perform a similar detailed analysis in other areas of the country, but research in recent years suggests that the church network in another region can also be examined from this perspective. Recent studies in the north-eastern part of the Great Plain, partly in today's Transcarpathia, have shown that many Romanesque buildings have survived to this day. Even with later reconstructions, these buildings show that the village churches, which were already standing during that period, were not destroyed in the thirteenth century. As there is unfortunately no such detailed analysis available for this area as for the southwestern part of the country, we do not have the opportunity in this study to analyse that area in detail either. However, a preliminary review of the data known so far shows that this may also be an area of the country where we cannot expect the complete or significant destruction of the church network in the middle of the thirteenth century.³⁴ From the point of view of our basic question, it is important that the place names with '-egyháza' suffix are missing in this area as well as in southwestern Transdanubia. Based on this, we have to assume that this part of the Great Plain was less extinct than the western part of the region, especially within the Devil's Dyke. At the same time, it is definitely worth noting that we also have a contemporary source text related to this area, which suggests that Mongol troops caused less damage in this part than in other parts of the country. Before the text describing the Battle of Muhi, Thomas of Spalato writes the following: "When they came upon the first peasants in the country, they did not show at first their full savagery of their ruthless nature, but simply rode through the villages and seized plunder without doing great physical harm to the populace."³⁵ The Mongol troops coming from the north-east, from the Carpathian Passes, passed through this area

³⁴ Tibor Kollár. ed., Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcsban, Beregben és Kárpátalján I–II [Medieval churches from the Tisza to the Carpathians. Path of medieval churches in Szabolcs, Bereg and Subcarpathia] (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2011–2013).

³⁵ Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text edition by Olga Perić. Edited and English translation by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), p. 261.: *Venientes autem ad primos terrae colonos non totam suae atrocitatis sevitiam a principio ostenderunt, sed discurrentes per villas praedasque facientes non magnam stragem ex hominibus faciebant.*

before colliding with the Hungarian king's army, so Thomas of Spalato's remark agrees with what the churches we also see from its analysis and these place names.

The destruction of the Mongol Invasion and its further consequences: castles and their spread

As the analysed maps clearly show, there is a correlation between certain elements of the church network and the place names with '-egyháza' suffix and the spread of the hoards hidden in connection with the Mongol Invasion. In other words, the spatial dimension of the destruction caused by the Mongols can be determined more precisely with the help of these indicators.

By a similar logic, castles built in the second half of the thirteenth century can be included in the study. In connection with these, Erik Fügedi has already stated³⁶ that they were mainly erected in areas where a larger proportion of the population survived the Mongol attack. The issue of the Mongol Invasion and the contemporary castle network has been of concern to researchers ever since, as István Feld, for example, analysed the comparability of written sources and archaeological data in a study.³⁷ More recently, in his doctoral dissertation, Stephen Pow repeatedly pointed out that castles built in the right places played a very important role in defence in 1241–1242, which also meant a better chance of survival for the area's population.³⁸ He also emphasized that the wave of castle building in the second half of the thirteenth century not only in Hungary, but also in the wider, Central and Eastern European region could clearly be traced back to the experience of the Mongol invasion. Together, the two factors, the fortifications defended during the Mongol invasion and the castles built 50-60 years after the disaster, define an area where the population has declined only slightly or even increased somewhat due to refugees from areas more severely affected by the disaster. Comparing the two sets of data, that is the map indicating the destruction of the Mongol invasion and the map showing the location of the castles, clearly shows that they practically complement each other. (Map 6) Earlier research has already pointed out the contradiction that most of the castles built in the second half of the thirteenth century

³⁶ Erik Fügedi, *Castle and Society in Medieval Hungary (1000–1437)* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986).

³⁷ István Feld, "A magánvárak építésének kezdetei a középkori Magyarországon a régészeti források tükrében" [The beginnings of the construction of private castles in medieval Hungary in the mirror of the archaeological evidence] I., Századok 148 (2014), 351–386 and II., Századok 149 (2015), 333–381.

³⁸ Stephen Pow, "Conquest and Withdrawal: The Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2020).

were not established in the area from which another Mongol attack would have been expected. Following the line of thought of the present dissertation, the analysis of the castle network can also be paralleled with the conclusions that can be drawn from the church network, and thus indirectly with the issue of the destruction of the Mongol invasion. It is clear that the construction of castles requiring significant financial investment and a serious local population can only be imagined where there was no significant population loss. Regardless of the percentage of the castles that may have been built before the Mongol invasion, we can safely say that the spatial distribution of castles built before 1300 may indicate areas where the population had the opportunity to flee to a sheltered place during the attack. In other words, we cannot expect a significant population decline in the area, as they were able to build and maintain a large number of castles after the Mongol invasion. Considering the used indicators of the church network), this statement can be supported on the basis of the combined spatial pattern of various phenomena.

Monastic network, destruction of the Mongol Invasion and the place names with '-egyháza' suffix

The third set of data with which the discussed toponym material can be compared is the spreading of mendicant and early Pauline monasteries around 1300. The Hungarian network of the new orders established in the thirteenth century can be considered an indicator on the one hand because the mendicant orders based their livelihood on the alms given by the faithful, and one of their main activities was preaching—both need adequate numbers of people not only willing but also able to sustain the community. This is true even if we know that in Hungary the founders, especially the kings, played a greater role in the maintenance of mendicant friaries than in Western or Southern Europe. The including of the Paulines in this circle is mainly justified by the fact that the creation of the material foundations for this Hungarian-rooted order was entirely the responsibility of the Hungarian supporters, who – concluding from the result—had both the intention and the ability to do so. Although the early Pauline communities were small groups of hermits, they could not exist without a local supportive population. A significant increase in the number of such communities in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries could clearly have occurred in areas where donations (property or source of income) allowed them to be created. In this way, even the establishment of Pauline monasteries can be considered an indicator. Although the data set of monasteries contains fewer elements, so it gives a rarer picture than that of castles, but they

and the investigated place names complement each other like castles, especially if we ignore place names formed with a specific prefix (white, black, round, etc.). (Map 8) Compared to the period before the Mongol Invasion, dozens of such monastic institutions were founded after 1242: while in 1240 only thirteen were known, by 1300 their number reached 85, and by 1330 rose above a hundred. In terms of their spatial distribution, the vast majority of friaries belonging to these orders were built in Transdanubia, the northern mountains and Slavonia, but their number also multiplied in Transylvania. Again, we can conclude that the population in these areas of the country could not be affected by the disaster to such an extent, and the communities here recovered much faster than in the central parts of the Great Plain, where no single begging community was established until the 1310s. Indeed, much of the network of monasteries before 1241 has disappeared (cf. Maps 3–4). The emptiness of the Great Plain in this context is of course also related to the fact that this part of the country can be considered a "town-free" landscape,³⁹ and that the Paulines settled in the largest number in the wooded, mid-mountainous parts. However, all these phenomena, especially the stagnation of early urban development and the lack of medieval towns in the classical sense, are also partly related to the destruction of the Mongol invasion, even if we cannot trace these processes back to this single cause.

Based on the observations that we have gained from the complex analysis of the spatial distribution of the investigated data sets (specific place names, certain elements of the church network, the destruction caused by the Mongol Invasion on the basis of written and archaeological sources, hoards, castles, mendicant and Pauline monasteries), we can conclude that the largest layer of the place names with '-egyháza' suffix can indeed be linked to the destruction of the Mongol Invasion. The types that form special groups (*félegyház, *kerekegyház, *veresegyház, etc.) can also be related to this event, insofar as the western border of their spreading area barely crosses the line of the Danube.

In addition, it appears that carefully considered groups of data can be used as indicators for a more accurate understanding of a series of events that are difficult to grasp in space, and for exploring direct and indirect effects that are hardly or not mentioned at all in written sources. In the present case, the combined analysis of each data set shows how large the difference in mortality rates may have been between parts of the country. The Great Plain, especially its central part, located within the Devil's Dyke, suffered enormous destruction. At the same time, it

³⁹ András Kubinyi, Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén [Urban development and market network in the medieval Great Plain and its edges] (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000).

seems that the churches in the north-eastern part of the Great Plain have survived relatively better, and the place names referring to destruction are also missing there, thus suggesting a relatively smaller population decline. In Transylvania, the destruction was severe, but probably less than in the Great Plain. In that region the towns, especially Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) and its surroundings, were the target of the Mongol army. Transdanubia suffered much less damage than these, although important royal centres such as (Ó)Buda or the city of Esztergom were in ruins in the spring of 1242.⁴⁰ There were also areas of the country that were barely directly affected by the attack, though, through reports from refugees, the population of these areas could also be deeply affected by the emotional shock. In the absence of accurate population historical data, this methodology, and later the involvement of additional sources, can better determine which areas of the country were affected by the Mongol invasion, and in contrast to the generalising remarks in written texts, a spatially differentiated picture can be drawn.

Bibliography

- Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, Notary of King Bela, The Deeds of the Hungarians. Edited, translated and annotated by Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy. Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta. Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars. Translated and annotated by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, (Central European Medieval Texts, 5). Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2010.
- B. Szabó, János, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, and Dorottya Uhrin. "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–42) and Its Eurasian Context." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 26 (2020), 223–233.
- B. Szabó, János, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, and Dorottya Uhrin, "New Results Regarding the Mongol Invasion of Hungary and Its Eurasian Context (2020)" *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 27 (2021), 271–282.
- Bárczi, Géza. "A földrajzi nevek" [Geographical names]. In Géza Bárczi, *A mag-yar szókincs eredete*. [The Origins of Hungarian Words], 142–162. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1958.

⁴⁰ Considering that the central part of the Great Plain already had a significantly lower population density than the Transdanubia region, the large difference in the extent of the destruction of the two areas significantly shades the picture of the country's population loss spread in the literature.

- Blazovich, László, and Lajos Géczi, ed. *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár VII (1323)* [Charters from the Anjou-period]. Budapest–Szeged: [s.n.], 1991.
- Botár, István. *Havasok keblében rejtező szép Csík. A Csíki-medence középkori településtörténete* [Medieval settlement history of the Csík Basin]. Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2019.
- Csánki, Dezső. *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* I–III., V [Historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadis]. Budapest: MTA, 1890–1913.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "A késő középkori plébániahálózat és a 14. századi pápai tizedjegyzék" [The late medieval parish network and the 14th century papal tithe list]. *Történelmi Szemle* 60 (2019), 339–360.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "Kolostorhálózat településhálózat népesség. A középkori Magyar Királyság demográfiai helyzetének változásaihoz" [Monastic network – settlement system – population. On the demographic changes of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom]. Történelmi Szemle 57 (2015), 1–51.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "Kolostorhálózat, területfejlesztés, régiók a Borostyán-út mentén" [Monastic network, regional development, regions along the Amber Road]. Soproni Szemle 72 (2018), 119–146.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "Mendicant Networks and Population in a European Perspective." In *Medieval East Central Europe in a Comparative Perspective*, edited by Gerhard Jaritz, and Katalin Szende, 99–122. Abingdon: Routledge, 2016.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "Plébániák és adóporták a Magyar Királyság változásai a 13–14. század fordulóján" [Parishes and hides: the transformation of the Kingdom of Hungary around 1300]. *Századok* 156 (2022), 909–941.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix, and József Laszlovszky. "A tatárjárás pusztítása és a magyarországi templomhálózat" [The destruction of the Mongol Invasion and the church network in Hungary]. *Századok* 155 (2021), x601–630.
- Fedeles, Tamás, Gábor Sarbak, and József Sümegi, ed. A pécsi egyházmegye története I. A középkor évszázadai (1009–1543) [The history of the Pécs Diocese I: The Middle Ages]. Pécs: Fény Kft., 2009.
- Feld, István. "A magánvárak építésének kezdetei a középkori Magyarországon a régészeti források tükrében" [The beginnings of the construction of private castles in medieval Hungary in the mirror of the archaeological evidence] I. Századok 148 (2014), 351–386, and II. Századok 149 (2015), 333–381.

- Fügedi, Erik. *Castle and Society in Medieval Hungary* (1000–1437). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986.
- Györffy, György. "A tatárjárás pusztításának nyomai helyneveinkben" [Traces of the Mongol Invasion in Hungarian toponyms]. In *Emlékkönyv a Túrkevei Múzeum tízéves fennállására*. [Album for the tenth anniversary of the museum at Túrkeve], edited by Imre Dankó, 35–38. Túrkeve: Túrkevei Múzeum, 1961. Republished in A tatárjárás [The Mongol Invasion], edited by Balázs Nagy, 484–487. Budapest: Osiris, 2003.
- Györffy, György. *Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza I–IV* [Historical geography of Árpádian-age Hungary]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968–1998.
- Györffy, György. *István király és műve* [King Stephen and his oeuvre]. Budapest: Gondolat, 1977.
- Hegyi, Alexandru et al. "Deserted Medieval Village Reconstruction Using Applied Geosciences." *Remote Sensing* 12 (2020), 1–24.
- Horváth, Ferenc. "Szer plébániatemploma és a település középkori története" [The parish church of Szer and the medieval history of the settlement]. In *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer*, edited by Tibor Kollár, 123–142. Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000.
- Ipolyi, Arnold, ed. *Rationes collectorum pontificorum. Pápai tizedszedők számadásai 1281–1375*. (Monumenta Vaticana I/1). Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1887.
- Jakó, Zsigmond, ed. *Erdélyi okmánytár I (1023–1300)* [Transylvanian charters]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997).
- K. Németh, András. *A középkori Tolna megye templomai* [Churches in the medieval Tolna County]. Pécs: IDResearch Kft.–Publikon Kiadó, 2011.
- Kázmér, Miklós, *A 'falu' a magyar helynevekben. XIII–XIX. század* [The word 'falu' in the Hungarian toponyms. 13th–19th centuries]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1970.
- Kollár Tibor, ed. Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig. Középkori templomok útja Szabolcsban, Beregben és Kárpátalján I–II [Medieval churches from the Tisza to the Carpathians. Path of medieval churches in Szabolcs, Bereg and Subcarpathia]. Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2011–2013.
- Kristó, Gyula, Ferenc Makk, and László Szegfű. "Adatok "korai" helyneveink ismeretéhez I–II" [Data on our "early" toponyms I–II]. Acta Universitatis Szegediensis 44–48 (1973–1974), 1–96. and 1–54.

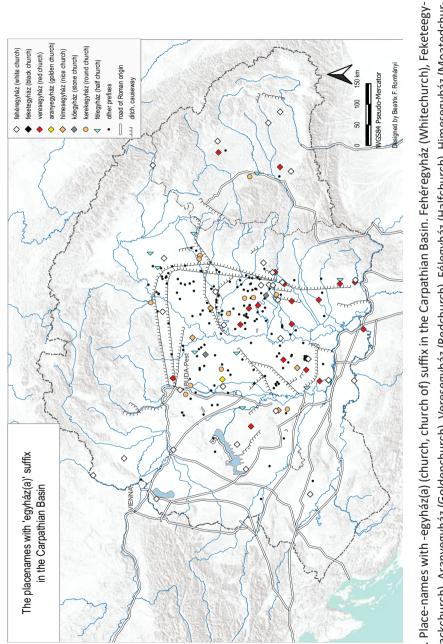
- Kubinyi, András. Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén [Urban development and market network in the medieval Great Plain and its edges]. Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000.
- Laszlovszky, József, and Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A tatárjárás pusztítása és a templomok" [The destruction of the Mongol Invasion and the churches], Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok 15/2. (2019), 32-35.
- Laszlovszky, József, Stephen Pow, Beatrix F. Romhányi, László Ferenczi, and Zsolt Pinke, "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42," *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2018), 419–450.
- M. Aradi, Csilla. Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszervezetének rekonstrukciója [Reconstruction of the Árpádian-age and late medieval church organisation in Somogy County]. Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Megyei Hatókörű Városi Múzeum, 2017.
- M. Nepper, Ibolya, and Márta Sz. Máthé. "A Hajdú-Bihar megyei múzeumok régészeti tevékenysége 1981–1985" [Archaeological activities in the Museums of Hajdú-Bihar County 1981–1985). (Leletkataszter/Findings). In A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve 1985, edited by László Gazda, György Módy, and István Orosz, 35–61. Debrecen: Debreceni Déri Múzeum, 1986.
- Módy György. "Hajdú-Bihar megye településtörténeti vázlata a török hódoltságig" [Outlines of the settlement history of Hajdú-Bihar County up tot he Ottoman occupation]. *Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Közleményei* 18 (1982), 90–102.
- Németh, Péter. "Nyugat-Bihar és Dél-Szabolcs települései a XIII. század végéig" [The settlements of western Bihar and southern Szabolcs Counties before the end of the 13th century]. In Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve 1995–1996. [The Annual of the Déri Museum in Debrecen 1995–1996], edited by György Módy, Márta Sz. Máthé, and László Selmeczi, 165–190. Debrecen: Debreceni Déri Múzeum, 1998.
- Németh, Péter. A középkori Szabolcs megye települései [The settlements of the medieval Szabolcs County]. Nyíregyháza: Ethnica, 1997.
- Németh, Péter. *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a 15. század elejéig* [The settlements of the medieval Szatmár County up to the early 15th century]. Nyíregyháza: Jósa András Múzeum 2008.
- Pinke, Zsolt, "Adatok és következtetések a középkori Hortobágy-Sárrét településtörténetéhez és demográfiájához" (1300–1350) [Data and conclusions on the settlement history and demography of the medieval Hortobágy-Sárrét]. In Környezettörténet 2. Környezeti események a honfoglalástól napjainkig

történeti és természettudományi források tükrében, edited by Miklós Kázmér, 79–117. Budapest: Hantken Kiadó, 2011.

- Pisk, Silvija, "Our Lady of Garić." In Sacralization of Landscape and Sacred Places, edited by Juraj Belaj et al., 335–342. Zagreb: Institute of Archeology, 2018.
- Pisk, Silvija. "Toponim Garić u povijesnim izvorima" [Toponym Garić in historical sources]. *Radovi Zavoda za znanstvenoistraživački i umjetnički rad u Bjelovaru* 4 (2011), 1–14.
- Pow, Stephen. "Conquest and Withdrawal: The Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century." PhD diss., Central European University, 2020.
- Rácz, Miklós, and József Laszlovszky, *Monostorossáp: Egy Tisza menti középkori falu* [Monostorossáp: A Deserted Medieval Village and its Landscape] (Budapest: ELTE Régészettudományi Intézet, 2005), (Dissertationes Pannonicae I; II. 7.).
- Rosta, Szabolcs. "Egy új lehetőség kapujában tatárjáráskori védművek a Kiskunságban" [At the gate of a new opportunity – fortified sites from the period of the Mongol Invasion in Kiskunság]. In *Genius loci – Laszlovszky 60*, edited by Dóra Mérai et al., 186–192. Budapest: Archeolingua, 2018.
- Rosta, Szabolcs. "Pusztatemplomok Kiskunfélegyháza környékén" [Deserted churches around Kiskunfélegyháza]. *Cumania* 20 (2004), 113–172.
- Rosta, Szabolcs, and István Pánya. "Gondolatok a síkvidéki középkori erődítésekről" [Considerations on the Medieval Fortifications in the Great Hungarian Plain]. *Archaeologia Cumanica* 5 (2022), 289–344.
- Rusu, Adrian Andrei, and George Pascu Hurezan. *Biserici medievale din judetul Arad* [Medieval Churches in Arad County]. Arad: Complexul Muzeal Arad, 2000.
- Stanojev, Nebojša. *Nekropole X–XV veka u Vojvodini* [10th–15th century cemeteries in Voivodina]. Novi Sad: Arheološko društvo Vojvodine, 1989.
- Stibrányi, Máté. "A határon álló templomok. A középkori templomos helyek és a településhálózat vizsgálata Fejér megyében" [Churches on the border line. Investigation into the medieval church sites and the settlement network]. In Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája. Múlt, jelen, jövő [Archeological topography of Hungary. Past, present, future], edited by Elek Benkő, Mária Bondár, and Ágnes Kolláth, 369–386. Budapest: Archeolingua, 2015.
- Szabolcs Rosta. "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The destruction of Pétermonostora]. In *Carmen miserabile. A tatárjárás magyarországi emlékei. Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére* [Carmen Miserabile. The Memories of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary. Festschrift for András Pálóczi

Horváth on his 70th Birthday], edited by Szabolcs Rosta, and György V. Székely, 193–230. Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014.

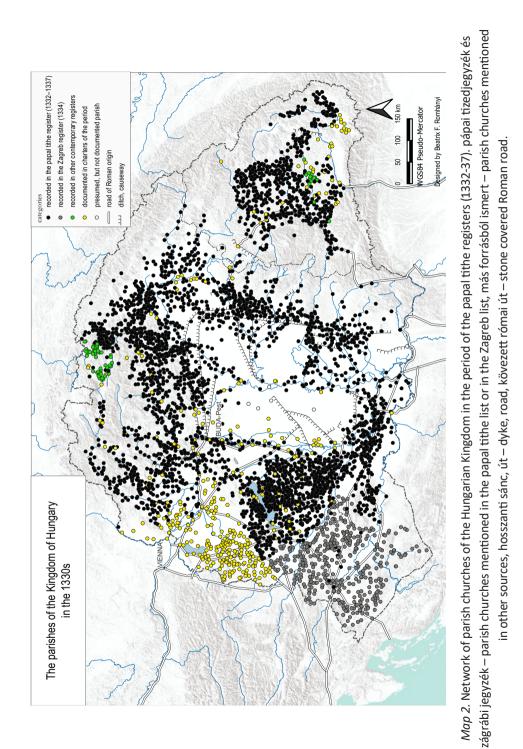
- Szatmári, Imre. *Békés megye középkori templomai* [Medieval churches in Békés County]. Békéscsaba: Békés Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2005.
- Tari, Edit. *Pest megye középkori templomai* [Medieval churches in Pest County]. Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2000.
- Jeicu, Dumitru. *Geografia ecleziastică a Banatului medieval* [Ecclesiastical geography of medieval Banat]. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară, 2007.
- Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text edition by Olga Perić. Edited and English translation by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney. Budapest: CEU Press, 2006.
- V. Székely, György, "Hetényegyháza-Belsőnyír Zana tanya." *Régészeti Füzetek* I/36 (1983), n. 153., p. 81.
- V. Székely, György. "Árpád-kori települések a történeti Halas határában" [Árpádianage settlements on the territory of historical Halas]. In *Kiskunhalas története 1. Tanulmányok Kiskunhalasról a kezdetektől a török kor végéig*, edited by József Ö. Kovács, and Aurél Szakál, 129–168. Kiskunhalas: Kiskunhalas Város Önkormányzata, 2000.
- Valter, Ilona. Árpád-kori téglatemplomok a Nyugat-Dunántúlon. Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 2004.
- Valter, Ilona. Romanische Sakralbauten Westpannoniens. Eisenstadt: Edition Roetzer, 1980.
- Vargha, Mária. *Modelling Christianisation: A Geospatial Analysis of the Archaeological Data on the Rural Church Network of Hungary in the 11th-12th Centuries.* Oxford: Archaeopress, 2022.



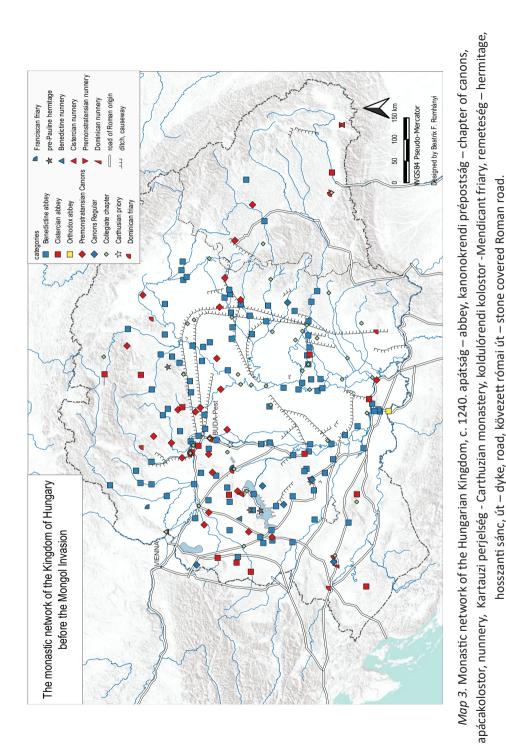
road, kövezett római út – stone covered Roman road.

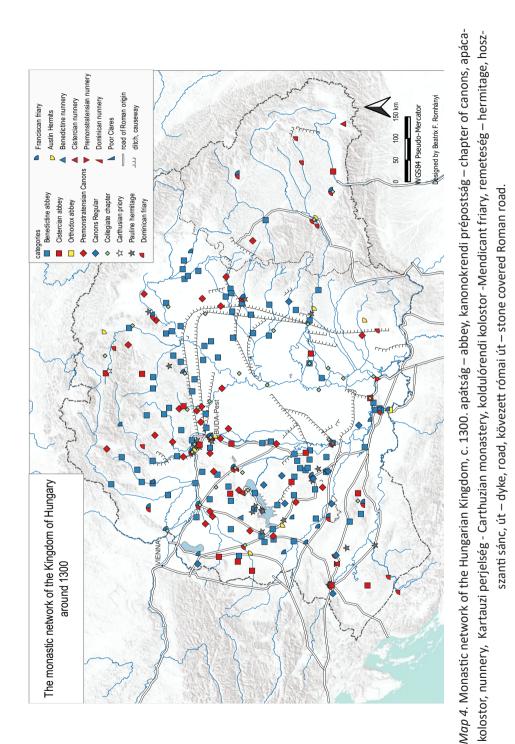
ház (Blackchurch), Aranyegyház (Goldenchurch), Veresegyház (Redchurch), Félegyház (Halfchurch), Himesegyház (Moatedchur-*Map 1.* Place-names with -egyház(a) (church, church of) suffix in the Carpathian Basin. Fehéregyház (Whitechurch), Feketeegych?), Kerekegyház (Roundchurch), Kőegyház (Stonechurch), vegyes összetétel – mixed place-name, hosszanti sánc, út – dyke,

Maps

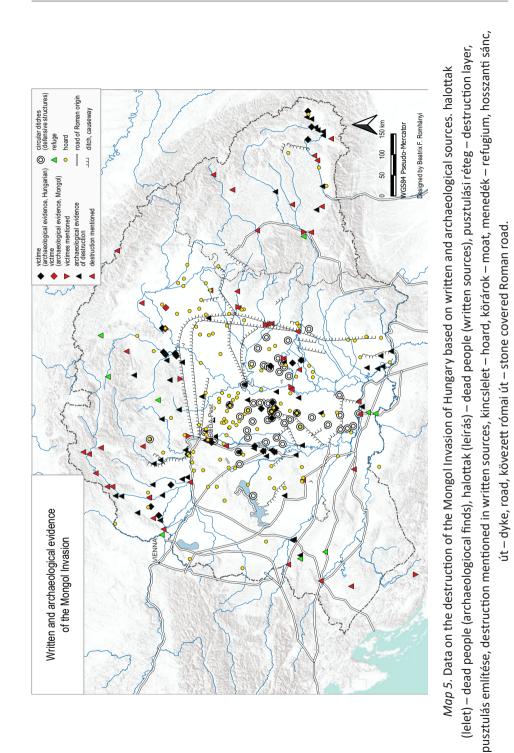


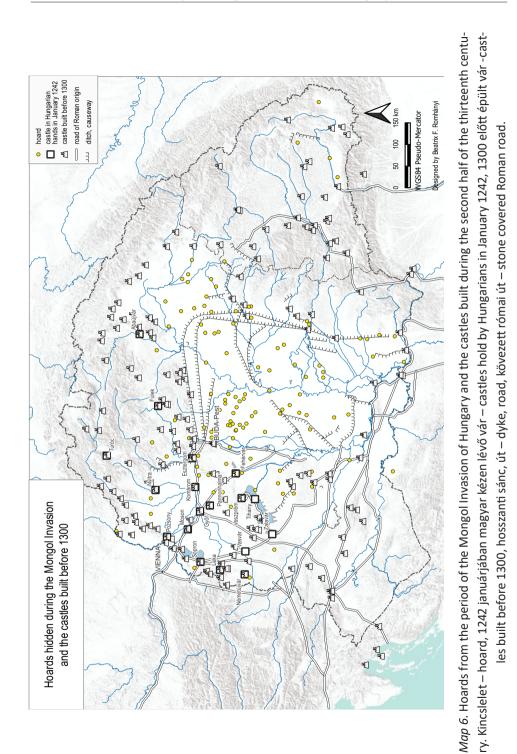
= 227 =



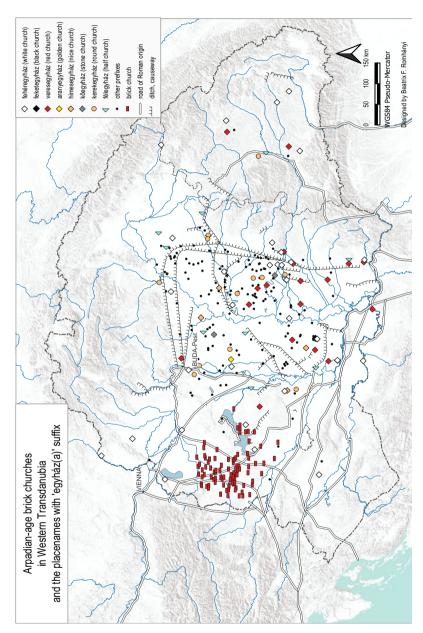


= 229 =





= 231 =



Map Z. Arpadian Period brick churches an place-names with -egyház(a) (church, church of) suffix in the Carpathian Basin. Fehéregyház (Whitechurch), Feketeegyház (Blackchurch), Aranyegyház (Goldenchurch), Veresegyház (Redchurch), Félegyház (Halfchurch), Himesegyház (Moatedchurch?), Kerekegyház (Roundchurch), Kőegyház (Stonechurch), vegyes összetétel – mixed place-name, téglatemplom – standing brick churches, hosszanti sánc, út – dyke, road, kövezett római út – stone covered Roman road.

The Mongol Invasion in Eastern Hungary (1241–1242)

By the middle of the thirteenth century, a new, formerly unseen enemy appeared at the eastern gates of Europe, whose military organisation and superior strategy and tactics caught the kingdoms of the old continent by surprise. Although the topic attracts great interest in Hungarian and international scholarship, the areas of Eastern Hungary are often disregarded or discussed incidentally. The aim of the present study is not to rewrite the history of the Mongol Invasion, but to present the events that took place in Eastern Hungary in a more nuanced way than before, in the light of known and sometimes overlooked sources. Due to the scarcity of relevant sources and insufficient archaeological research, there are still a lot of gaps to fill.

It is generally accepted in literature on the Mongol Invasion that the objective of the campaign was to ravage the Kingdom of Hungary, and that their troops entered in the country through Transylvania, while the devastation of the Diocese of Cumania was an associated event that took place outside the borders. These interpretations ignore the fact that the eastern border of the Hungarian Kingdom was at Siret at the time of the Mongol Invasion, and the areas stretching to the south and southwest belonged to Hungary.

The expansion started in 1227, when the Cuman prince Bortz (*Boricius*) and his people were baptised, and, as a result, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Cumania was established. To strengthen the new diocese, in 1228 a campaign was launched against Ivan Asen II, Tsar of Bulgaria (1218–1241), who wanted to prevent conversion and expansion. The goal of this campaign was to occupy Vidin. Although the Bulgarians led by Alexander Asen, the tsar's brother, first defeated the troops commanded by Bogomer, *comes Siculorum*, they were finally defeated by the army led by Dénes of Tomaj kindred, *magister tavarnicorum*.¹ The victory paved the way for the annexation and organisation of the area stretching between the Carpathian

Gyula Kristó, Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában [Wars and warfare in the age of the Árpáds] (Szeged: Szukits, 2003), pp. 142–43; Eudoxiu de Hurmuzachi and Nicolae Densuşeanu, Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor, vol. 1: 1199-1345 [Documents concerning the history of the Romanians] (Bucharest: Socecu & Teclu, 1887), p. 134.

Mountains and the Danube, which was achieved partly by the resettlement of peoples from Transylvania (Hungarians, Saxons, and Szeklers), recognising the privileges of the Vlach elite living there,² and levying taxes on commoners.³ The area west of the Olt River was placed under the control of the Banate of Severin established at that time, while the eastern part was subordinated to the Diocese of Cumania.⁴ The centre of the secular administration set up in the territory of the diocese must have been the same as its ecclesiastical seat, since the latter was referred to as a *civitas* in 1279, 38 years after its destruction. This term was normally used for the castle of the *ispán* (*comes*).⁵ The resettlement of the population also suggests the presence of military forces, whose duty was to defend the diocese and keep the Cumans under control. The period of organizing the area ended in around 1235 when the title 'King of Cumania' (*Rex Cumanie*) became permanently part of the titles of the Hungarian monarchs.

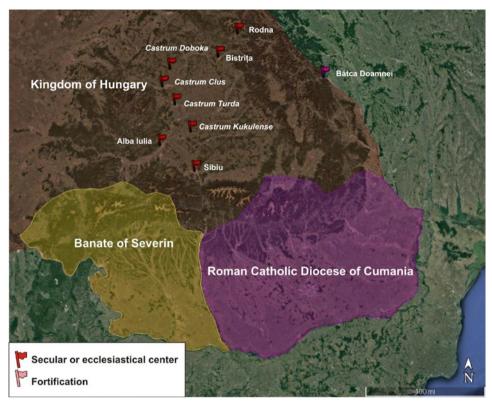
Unlike the areas lying south of the Carpathian Mountains, Moldova had not yet come under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of Hungary. According to current research, the Hungarian soldiers were garrisoned in a single fortress, a castle on a hill called Bâtca Doamnei near Piatra Neamţ. In addition to the Hungarian presence, the role of the fortress was to exercise control over the road leading to Transylvania along the Valley of the Bistriţa River in Moldavia.

² In 1247, a charter of donation to the Knights Hospitaller referred to the Vlach kenezships and voivodeships under the Hungarian crown that had their own privileges and were obliged to do military service. Given that the army of the Hungarian Kingdom was engaged in this period in the west (Cf. Kristó, Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában, pp. 173–75), they must have come under Hungarian jurisdiction even before the Mongol Invasion. Cf. Hurmuzachi and Densuşeanu, Documente privitóre, pp. 249-53.{\\i{Documente privit\\uc0\\ u243{}re}, 249\\uc0\\u8211{}53.","plainCitation":"Hurmuzachi and Densuseanu, Documente 249-53.","noteIndex":2},"citationItems":[{"id":5734,"uris":["http://zotero.org/ privitóre, groups/4465130/items/2HFUTN6Y"],"itemData":{"id":5734,"type":"book","event-place":"-Bucharest","language":"Romanian","publisher":"Socecu & Teclu","publisher-place":"Bucharest","title":"Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor, vol. 1: 1199-1345 [Documents concerning the history of the Romanians]","title-short":"Documente privitóre","author":[{"family":"Hurmuzachi", "given":"Eudoxiu", "dropping-particle":"de"}, {"family":"Densuseanu", "given":"Nicolae"}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["1887"]]}},"locator":"249-253"}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

³ In a letter dated 14 November 1234, Pope Gregory IX mentioned the religious deviations of the settled peoples and the taxes paid by the Vlachs (*cf.* Hurmuzachi and Densuşeanu, *Documente privitóre*, pp. 132–33.).

⁴ László Makkai, "Szörényi bánság" [The banate of Szörény], in Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század), ed. Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), p. 657.

^{5 &}quot;c-ivitas de multo posita in confinibus Tartarorum": Hurmuzachi and Densușeanu, *Documente privitóre*, p. 429.



(Fig.1) Eastern Hungary before the Mongol Invasion

In view of the above, it is clear that in the case of an attack, the defence could not be limited to the Transylvanian passes, as it would have meant the abandonment of areas lying beyond the Carpathian Mountains and forsaking the Hungarian, Szekler, Saxon, Vlach, and Cuman subjects living there. For this reason, in the event of an attack the Hungarian High Command had to support and reinforce the army in Cumania.

It is also necessary to discuss the process of the 1241–42 Mongol invasion, which is usually presented as a single continuous event even though it can be divided into four distinct stages.

The *first stage*, from the beginning of March to the Battle of Muhi (11 April 1241), was the period of the invasion when the Mongols destroyed the secular and ecclesiastical centres in their path and tried to crush the Hungarian army in a single decisive battle.

The *second stage*, from the Battle of Muhi to the end of the summer, was the period of settlement when the Mongols seized the places that were still resisting and established their administration in the conquered territories. It was during

this period that Oradea,⁶ Tămașda, Pereg, and Igriș⁷ fell, along with fortifications that the communities hastily erected around their churches in Csengele, Tazlár, Szank-*Kápolnahely*, Szank-*Kápolnás* and Szabadszállás-*Aranyegyháza*⁸—certainly after hearing about the defeat of Hungarian forces at Muhi. In parallel with the fights, the Mongols tried to retain the local population and lure them back to their settlements at all costs, either forging letters using a royal seal looted from the Muhi camp or by promising them mercy.⁹ The sources clearly reveal that the Mongols primarily needed labourers, as these events happened around the time of harvest (in June and July). It was also part of the settlement and "peaceful" co-existence that, according to written evidence, the Mongols appointed the leaders of the villages (*kneses*) from among themselves.¹⁰

The *third stage* is represented by the campaign against Northern Transdanubia in the winter of 1241–42. The Mongols were able to take the city of Esztergom, but they laid siege to the Castle of Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Pannonhalma, and other fortifications without success. It was also during this stage that Qadan led a campaign in Dalmatia, making a final attempt to capture King Béla IV.¹¹

Finally, the *fourth* and final stage of the Mongol Invasion was the retreat of the Mongol forces, which took place in late spring or early summer 1242.

7 Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 199, 201, 211, 213.

- 9 Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 191, 193.
- 10 Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 209.

⁶ We do not know the date of the siege, but if it can be linked to Qadan's forces, they certainly did not take the town before 11 April. The vicinity of the town was occupied for a long time (perhaps for several weeks) and seven siege engines were used during the final siege, the same number as during the Battle of Muhi. Cf. Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta: Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars," in Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, trans. Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest - New York: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 198–201; and Thomas of Spalato, Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of Salona and Split, ed. Olga Perić et al. (Budapest - New York: Central European University Press, 2006), p 262, respectively. It is plausible that the same siege engines were used in both places.

⁸ Szabolcs Rosta, "Egy új lehetőség kapujában: Tatárjáráskori védművek a Kiskunságban" [At the gate of new possibilities: Fortifications in the Kiskunság Region during the Mongol invasion], in *Genius loci: Laszlovszky 60*, ed. Dóra Mérai et al. (Budapest: Archeolingua, 2018), pp. 186–88, 190.

¹¹ János B. Szabó, A tatárjárás: A mongol hódítás és Magyarország [The Mongol Invasion: The Mongol occupation and Hungary], third, revised edition (Budapest: Corvina, 2016), pp. 154– 55.

During the Mongol Invasion, Eastern Hungary was affected by the first and last stages with absolute certainty, but in the summer of 1241 the Mongols presumably exercised some control over these territories as well.

Sources on the Mongol Invasion in Eastern Hungary

Hungarian sources

Although two contemporary Hungarian works recorded the events of the Mongol Invasion, there is very little evidence concerning Transylvania and the areas lying beyond the Carpathian Mountains.

Archdeacon Thomas of Split dedicated several chapters to the events of 1241– 1242 in his chronicle, but he did not mention at all what happened in the Diocese of Cumania or Transylvania.¹²

Much more information was left to us by Magister Roger, Canon of the cathedral chapter of Oradea, who became the Archbishop of Split towards the end of his life. He reported about the events first-hand as an eyewitness and suffering subject of the Mongol Invasion, and he was the only one to mention the devastation of the Diocese of Cumania. His narrative abounds in data, though he was only directly involved in the events during his escape from Oradea, his capture by the Mongols, his captivity (when he witnessed the siege of Pereg¹³, Igriş, and Esztergom), and his escape during the withdrawal of the Mongols, and later during his journey to Transylvania. In several cases—for example, concerning the fights in the area of Rodna and the siege of Oradea—he relied on accounts given by other eyewitnesses, in his relating of the events.¹⁴

From the historian's point of view, the greatest shortcoming of Roger's work is that he does not give dates at all. As a result, the dating of the reported events and perhaps sometimes even their chronology is questionable, so they are of little help in reconstructing the events.

Western sources

Although the Mongol attack on Hungary appears in many European chronicles and annals, only two of them discuss more thoroughly what happened in the eastern part of the kingdom.

¹² Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, pp. 252–304.

¹³ This was a medieval settlement in the area of modern Kiskunlacháza, south of Budapest, which was destroyed during the Mongol invasion.

¹⁴ Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 164–66, 198–211, 218–25.

The author of the *Annales Frisacenses* presumably heard some details of the Mongol campaign in Transylvania from eyewitnesses, because he mentioned the names of some of the destroyed settlements, the date of their seizure, and the—rather exaggerated—death toll. Based on these, the direction and speed of the invader's movement can be partly reconstructed.

When discussing the activities of Qadan's army, the source tells about the fall of Rodna, Bistrița, and Cluj. Concerning the southern wing, it mentions the defeat of Pousa, son of Sólyom, Voivode of Transylvania, at Țara Bârsei, as well as the capture of a certain settlement called *Kuomelburch* and Sibiu. Furthermore, the annals also mentioned the destruction of Oradea, Tămașda, Alba Iulia, and Sălacea, but did not give dates or any other details.¹⁵

In a chronicle written between 1232 and 1241, Albericus Trium Fontium (Alberic of Trois-Fontaines), a Cistercian monk from France, also referred to some events of the Mongol Invasion in Hungary. These are the fortification of the Transylvanian border, the settlement and baptism of the Cuman chieftain Köten and his people in Hungary, as well as the victory of the forces led by the Voivode of Transylvania over a vanguard of the Mongols.¹⁶

Alberic's report is usually overlooked by Hungarian historians because it dates the events to 1239 and its statements seem imaginary and untrue.¹⁷ Another reason is that it does not comprise data on the events that took place in Hungary, which are primarily studied. Nevertheless, as its data are also supported by other sources (e.g., in terms of information on castles beyond the mountains), it cannot be disregarded as a source.

Oriental sources

The oriental sources on the Mongol campaigns in Europe contain hardly any information about the events that took place in Eastern Hungary.

The only exception to this is the work written by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlullāh Hamadānī (1247–1318), a politician and physician living in the Ilkhanid Empire in

¹⁵ Ludwig Weiland, ed., "Annales Frisacenses," in Annales aevi Suevici (Supplementa tomorum XVI et XVII). Gesta saec. XII. XIII. (Supplementa tomorum XX–XXIII), MGH SS 24 (Hannover: Hahn, 1879), p. 65.

¹⁶ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium Chronicon, è Manuscriptis nunc primum editum à Godofredo Gvilielmo Liebnitio, ed. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (Leipzig: Nicolai Förster, 1698), pp. 571–72.

¹⁷ László Latzkovits, for example, arrived at the conclusion that the account about the fights of the Transylvanian Voivode against the Mongols was, in reality, a synthesis of the battle fought by the palatine at Verecke Pass and the defeat of the Cumans in the Crimean Peninsula. *Cf.* Judit Csákó, "Les éléments fabuleux de l'histoire hongroise dans une chronique française du 13e siècle: Le témoignage d'Albéric de Troisfontaines," *Hungarian Studies* 26, no. 1 (2012), pp. 7–8.

the first decades of the fourteenth century. In his *Jāmi*['] *al-tawārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles), Rashīd al-Dīn dedicated seven sentences to the Mongol Invasion of Eastern Europe. The text mentions the fights of the Orda in Poland and their victory over the army commanded by a certain BZRNDAM. It also reports about the military operations of the southern part of the army led by Böchök, who crossed the mountains, and proceeded by the way of the Qara-Ulagh, whom he defeated them. Subsequently, at the borders of the country ruled by a certain Mišelav, his army crossed the *Qazaq-Taq/Yaprak-Tak* Mountains (Carpathian Mountains) and defeated the enemy living there as well. Based on the work written by Rashīd al-Dīn, the hero of the campaign was called Qadan, whose deeds (three battles led together with Büri against the Saxons, the persecution of King Béla IV, and the occupation of Bulgarian towns) are also recorded in three sentences. It is perhaps due to the already extant hostility between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanid Empire that Batu's name is missing from the participants of the Hungarian campaign. The battles at the Verecke Pass and Muhi are not mentioned, either.¹⁸

The Mongol Invasion of Eastern Hungary discussed in scholarly literature

The Mongol Invasion of Eastern Hungary in Hungarian scholarly literature The reconstruction of the events of the Mongol Invasion in Eastern Hungary does not have a prominent place in Hungarian scholarly literature. Authors normally dedicate a few sentences to what happened there without going into details.

Little has been written about the devastation of the Diocese of Cumania, except for Bánlaki's work.¹⁹ Other publications that mention it at all treat it as a simple fact without elaborating on the subject.²⁰

The itinerary of the Mongol devastation of the northern parts of Transylvania is described in more or less the same way based on the data of the *Annales Frisacenses* and Magister Roger. The differences at most refer to identifying either the Tihuța Pass or the Rodna Pass as the places where the Mongols entered the region.²¹

¹⁸ Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John Andrew Boyle (New York – London: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 69–70.

¹⁹ József Bánlaky [Breit], A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme [Kriegsgeschichte der ungarischen Nation], vol. 5: A tatárjárás 1236-1242 (Budapest, 1930), p. 52.

²⁰ László Makkai, "Transylvania in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom (896-1526)," in *History of T–ransylvania*, vol 1: *From the Beginnings to 1606*, ed. László Makkai and András Mócsy (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 443; B. Szabó, *A tatárjárás*, p. 100.

²¹ László Kőváry, *Erdély történelme* [The history of Transylvania], vol. 1 (Pest, 1859), p. 121; Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt* [The history of the Hungarian

Presumably, due to a lack of sources, the itinerary of the army invading southern Transylvania has been reconstructed much more diversely. The primary source used by researchers was the *Annales Frisacenses* again.

László Kővári, who still did not know the *Annales Frisacenses*, wrote that the invasion was led through the Oitoz Pass, towards Szeklerland.²²

According to Gyula Pauler, the Mongol forces invaded the Țara Bârsei from the south, where they defeated the army of Pousa, the Voivode of Transylvania. Subsequently, the Mongols advanced in the direction of the Târnava Rivers and the Olt River. They devastated Cetatea de Baltă and subsequently, Sibiu met the same fate. From there, they continued their way westwards, captured Alba Iulia, and finally reached Hungary around the end of April, when they occupied the areas stretching south of the Mureş River.²³

József Bánlaki, on the other hand, reconstructed two routes of the invasion. An army led by Büri struck against Trei-Scaune through the Oitoz Pass, captured *Castrum Zenthlelek* (Castle of Sânzieni), crushed the Saxon army commanded by the Voivode of Transylvania in Țara Bârsei, ravaged Brașov and its neighbourhood, and after occupying Cetatea de Baltă, moved forward in the valley of the Mureş River. The main forces under command of Büdjik, on the other hand, struck against Transylvania via the Turnu Roșu Pass and captured Sibiu on 11 April.²⁴

The later publications more or less repeated Bánlaky's description. There were differences at most in the names of the Mongol leaders.²⁵

János B. Szabó, without going into details about the direction of the invasion by the southern army group, mentioned the destruction of the Transylvanian forces in Țara Bârsei and listed the devastated settlements mentioned in the *Annales Frisacenses*. He emphasised that it is questionable whether *Kuomelburch* referred to by the annals can be identified with Cetatea de Baltă (Hungarian: Küküllővár) or Rupea (Hungarian: Kőhalom), respectively.²⁶

Concerning the withdrawal of the Mongols, the Hungarian authors relied again solely on Magister Roger, and the generally accepted view was that the Mongols, moving along an east–west axis, left Transylvania across the Turnu Roşu Pass.²⁷ It

nation during the reign of the Árpád dynasty], 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1899), pp. 166–67; Makkai, "Transylvania in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom (896-1526)," pp. 443–44; Kristó, *Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában*, pp. 165–66; B. Szabó, *A tatárjárás*, pp. 141–42.

²² Kőváry, Erdély történelme, 1:120.

²³ Pauler, A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt, 1:153, 166.

²⁴ Bánlaky, A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme, 5:52.

²⁵ Makkai, "Transylvania in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom (896-1526)," pp. 443–44; Kristó, Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában, pp. 165–66.

²⁶ B. Szabó, A tatárjárás, pp. 141–42.

²⁷ Most historians engaged in the subject agree with this possibility, *cf.* Bánlaky, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme*, 5:92; Kristó, *Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában*, p. 171.

was only Gyula Pauler who said that the Mongols crossed Transylvania in a northsouth direction and left the province via the Rucăr-Bran Pass.²⁸

It is clear from the above that there is currently no single narrative of the Mongol Invasions of Transylvania and Cumania. Researchers most often reconstructed the events depending on the sources they used.

The Mongol Invasion of Eastern Hungary in Romanian scholarly literature Similarly to Hungarian scholarly literature, Romanian literature has not found common ground in the reconstruction of the Mongol Invasion.

The very first study in Romania dedicated entirely to the Mongol Invasion was authored by Aurelian Sacerdoteanu. This study, published in 1933, cited plenty of written and charter evidence and discussed the events in a rather unique way. Sacerdoteanu argued that the Mongols had attacked Eastern Hungary in four columns. The first column, led by Büri, intruded into the Câmpia Română east of the Prut, near Galati, and then marched westwards along the Danube. Crossing the Timis-Cerna Gap his army entered the Banat, where they defeated the Ban of Severin and then moved on towards Cenad. The second column, under the command of Bochetor and Buĝek, rode along the western bank of the Prut, defeated the local forces near Focsani, and then split in two. Bochetor's troops, after partially destroying the Diocese of Cumania, broke into Trei-Scaune across the Oitoz Pass and crushed the army of the Transylvanian voivode in Țara Bârsei. Afterwards, they headed for Rupea, Sighisoara, and Alba Iulia and reached the valley of the Mures River. Bugek's troops, after devastating what remained of the Diocese of Cumania, penetrated Transylvania via the Turnu Rosu Pass, captured Sibiu, and arrived in the valley of the Mures River at Sebes. The fourth column, led by Qadan, followed the route described by Roger and the Annales Frisacenses in the direction of Oradea. Referring to charters, Sacerdoteanu listed several settlements that had been destroyed at that time, but his statement should be treated with caution as some of the sources he used turned out to be forgeries, while others are related to the 1285 Mongol Invasion.²⁹

In 1978, Aurel Decei published in Romanian the part of Rashid al-Din's chronicle which dealt with the Mongol Invasion. Within the frames of his study, he presented his version of the events. According to him, the Mongols invaded Eastern Hungary in three columns. The first column led by Qadan moved along the northern route from Rodna to Oradea, which was also described by other researchers. The second

²⁸ Pauler, A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt, 1:185.

²⁹ Aurelian Sacerdoţeanu, Marea invazie tătară şi Sud-Estul European [The great Tatar invasion and the European Southeast], reprint of first edition in 1933 (Iaşi: Casa Editorială Demiurg, 2017), pp. 46–61.

army under Büri's command broke in using the Oituz Pass and crossed the Țara Bârsei towards the valley of the Mureș River. The third army, under the command of Böchök, defeated the Qara-Ulagh, then passed along the land of Mishelav (who was identified with Seneslaus mentioned in 1247) and finally penetrated the Banat at Turnu Severin.³⁰

Victor Spinei discussed the Mongol Invasion in many of his works. According to him, the Mongols invaded Transylvania on two routes: Qadan and Büri marched in the north, one of whose armies also destroyed the Bâtca Doamnei fortress, while Böchök attacked in the south. The latter, after devastating the Diocese of Cumania and defeating its Cuman and Vlach defenders, entered Transylvania using the Oitoz Pass and then moved towards Hungary along the Olt River.³¹

Tudor Sălăgean practically repeated what Decei and Spinei wrote. The only difference is that, according to him, Büri's army split in two after the victory in Țara Bârsei. One part of his forces marched on along the Olt River towards Sibiu, while the others headed to the north-west, in the direction of the Târnava Rivers and Alba Iulia.³²

Antecedents

Mongol troop movements before the beginning of the invasion

After the fall of Kyiv (on 10 December 1241), the united Mongol forces kept moving westwards. In December and January, they besieged and occupied several settlements on the way, including the fortifications of Kolodyažen (now Kolodyazne), Kamenetz (now Miropil), and Izyaslavl (now Iziaslav), but they were forced to leave Kremenetz and Danylov (now Danyilv) without success. The westernmost Russian

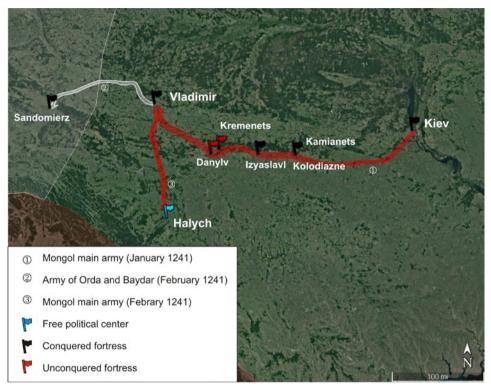
³⁰ Aurel Decei, "Invazia tătarilor din 1241/42 în ținuturile noastre după Djāmi' ot-Tevārīkh a lui Fäzl ol-lāh Räšīd od-Dīn" [The 1241/42 Tartar invasion of our lands according to Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh], in Relații româno-orientale: Culegere de studii (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), pp. 200–206.

³¹ Victor Spinei, Ultimele valuri migratoare de la nordul Mării Negre și al Dunării de Jos [The last waves of migration from the north of the Black Sea and the Lower Danube] (lași: Editura Helios, 1996), pp. 214–17; Victor Spinei, Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XIII [The great migrations from the east and south-east of Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries] (lași: Institutul European, 1999), pp. 406–8.

³² Tudor Sălăgean, Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea: Afirmarea regimului congregațional [Transylvania in the second half of the thirteenth century: The establishment of the congregational system], Bibliotheca Rerum Transsilvaniæ Series 31 (Cluj Napoca: Editura Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003), pp. 36–39.

centre accessed by the united army was the city of Vladimir (now Volodymyr-Volynsky), which was presumably seized in the second half of January.³³

Getting there, the army parted in late January or early February. Commanded by Orda and Bajdar,³⁴ two or three *tümens* (20–30,000 men)³⁵ headed for Poland and took Sandomierz as early as 13 February 1241,³⁶ while the main forces moved southwards to raid Halych.



(Fig.2) Mongol military operations in January and February 1241

- 34 Orda, son of Jochi and Baidar, son of Chagatai, were the grandsons of Genghis Khan. For the Mongol princes engaged in the European campaign, see Vasile Mărculeţ, "Considerații asupra componenţei comandamentului mongol în timpul marii invazii din 1236-1242 [Notes on the composition of the Mongol command during the great invasion of 1236-1242]," Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis 8 (Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis), pp. 38, 39.
- 35 For the number of warriors taking part in the campaign against Poland, see: János Zsolt Pintér, "Tatárok és magyarok (1241–1242)" [Tartars and Hungarians], *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 118, no. 3 (2005), p. 666, n. 34.
- 36 Gerard Labuda, "Wojna z Tatarami w roku 1241 [The war with the Tatars in 1241]," *Przegląd Historyczny* 50, no. 2 (1959), p. 203.

³³ George A. Perfecky, trans., *The Hypatian Codex, Part II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973), p. 49.

We have no information as to when the town, located about 200 kilometres from Vladimir, fell into the hands of the Mongols, but it may have been occupied in the first half of February 1241. The final war plan could have been drawn up here, as according to the Halych-Volhynian Chronicle, Dmitro, the commander who survived the siege of Kiev, advised Batu in Halych to attack Hungary as soon as possible.³⁷ According to the final plan—as reflected by the events—Batu and the main forces attacked the Kingdom of Hungary via the Verecke Pass, and another, smaller unit led by Kadan, Büri, and Böchök arrived from the direction of Transylvania and Cumania.³⁸ Historians estimated the latter to have consisted of about 30-35.000 men and assumed that their role had been to engage the Transylvanian and Cuman troops so that they could not join the main Hungarian forces.³⁹ In my opinion, this assumption does not hold true. I believe that the role of the southern wing was specifically to eliminate the military and economic potential of the attacked area, while the Hungarian troops fighting there were meant to protect that area and never intended to move west. This is supported by the fact that after being informed about the defeat of Hungarian forces at the Verecke Pass, King Béla IV called together the armies of Hungary in mid-March, but the Transylvanian troops were still stationed in the south-eastern corner of the province at the end of the month, even though they would have had time to march west.

We do not know when the main Mongol forces got into action, but it is possible that Batu's army started the invasion sometime in late February or early March.⁴⁰ It is uncertain what caused the delay of the Mongols. They may have been forced to postpone the departure due to the organisation of a *hassar* recruited from the local population,⁴¹ the return of winter, or perhaps a layer of snow still covering the passes of the Carpathian Mountains.

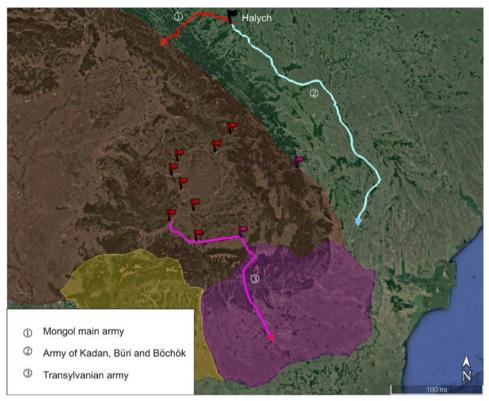
³⁷ Perfecky, The Hypatian Codex, Part II, p. 49.

³⁸ Qadan was the son of the Great Khan Ögedei, and grandson of Genghis Khan. Büri was the grandson of Chagatai, and great-grandson of Genghis Khan. Böchök was the son of Tolui, half-brother to the Great Khan Möngke, and grandson of Genghis Khan. *Cf.* Mărculeț, "Considerații asupra componenței comandamentului mongol," p. 39.

³⁹ Pintér, "Tatárok és magyarok," pp. 665–66.

⁴⁰ The battle at Verecke Pass took place on 12 March (*cf.* Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 161), but the vanguard of the main Mongol army must have already arrived at the fortifications of the pass on the previous days. It must have taken them five or six days to cover the distance of about 150 kilometres between Halych and the Verecke Pass.

⁴¹ According to Thomas of Spalato, the Mongol army was accompanied by 40,000 axemen. However, this number should not be taken literally, but rather interpreted as a very large number (*cf.* Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, p. 258).



(Fig.3) Movement of troops before the Mongol attack

Presumably, the column that raided Eastern Hungary left Halych before the main army, partly because they had to cover a greater distance to the target area and partly because they did not need to cross the mountains at first, so their path was less affected by weather conditions. Some have theorised that Qadan's troops attacked Rodna from the north-east,⁴² which contradicts the fact that, despite the shorter way, they also appeared in Transylvania at the same time as the army led by Böchök. In my view, the Mongols first followed the bank of the Dniester, and then crossing the Hotin Upland marched along the Prut towards the Diocese of Cumania.⁴³ Using this route, the distance between Halych and Siret is 550–560 kilometres, which could be covered in 15–18 days when covering 30–35 kilometres per day. This pace seems slow on the part of an army some of whose units were able to move about 400 kilometres in just three days from the Verecke Pass to Pest, but we should keep in mind that those Mongols belonged to the fighting vanguard

⁴² Victor Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI-XIV* [Moldova in the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Științifică și academică, 1982), pp. 160–61.

⁴³ This must have been the crossing through the mountains mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn.

of the army, riding with light equipment. The slower pace of the southern wing can be ascribed to the fact that those troops were followed by wagons carrying the warriors families and their equipment,⁴⁴ as well as livestock driven by them for food, whose speed also determined the pace of marching.⁴⁵ In light of the subsequent events, it was around 15–20 March that the column reached the point where it parted and moved on towards the designated targets.

Preparations for defence

On receiving news of the approaching Mongols, Béla IV, king of Hungary, took the measures that considered necessary to organise the defence. In early 1241, travelled along the north-eastern and northern borders himself, where he ordered the passes to be obstructed with wooden barriers and their defence to be strengthened.⁴⁶ To protect the most important way, the Verecke Pass called the Russian Gate, an army was deployed in the area commanded by Palatine Dénes from the kindred Tomaj, the second most powerful man in the kingdom.⁴⁷

Similar measures must have been taken to close the passes of the Eastern Carpathian Mountains. Furthermore, the king ordered the strengthening of two castles built beyond the mountains.⁴⁸ One of them was certainly the Bâtca Doamnei fortress, while the other is unknown. Meanwhile, the troops led by the voivode of Transylvania presumably marched to the territory of the Diocese of Cumania,⁴⁹ where they joined the Cumans and an army led by Oslu son of Oslu, Ban of Severin,⁵⁰ comprised mainly of Vlachs. There is no evidence concerning the size of the troops, but it is estimated that around 12-15,000 warriors⁵¹ must have gathered in the Diocese of Cumania.

⁴⁴ Thomas of Spalato reports that in some cases the captives were butchered by the women and children of the Mongols. *Cf.* Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, p. 272.

⁴⁵ According to the account given by William of Rubruk, the marching pace of the Mongols was determined by the speed of flocks of sheep and ox-drawn wagons. *Cf.* William Woodville Rockhill, *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55: As Narrated by Himself with Two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1900), p. 57.

⁴⁶ Thomas of Spalato, Historia Salonitanorum, p. 256.

⁴⁷ Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 157.

⁴⁸ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium Chronicon, p. 571.

^{49 &}quot;Contra Tartaros tamen misit Comitem Ultrasylvanum": Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium Chronicon, p. 571.

⁵⁰ *Cf.* Katalin Fehértói, *Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000–1031)* [Index of Árpád-age personal names] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004), p. 606.

⁵¹ The army of Transylvania must have comprised altogether 4–5,000 men: in theory, each of the seven Transylvanian *ispán*'s castles had a 400-strong unit of castle warriors (*iobagiones castri*), and there was a slightly smaller number of royal servants (*serviens regalis*) and Szeklers, as well as a 500-strong Saxon troop. Presumably, an army of a similar size could have been deployed by the Vlachs and Cumans as well.

The Mongol Invasion in Eastern Hungary

The invasion of Eastern Hungary was implemented on two routes by the Mongols. In the north, the column led by Qadan and Büri headed for the valleys of the two Someş Rivers, while in the south, the army commanded by Böchök attacked the Diocese of Cumania, and the valleys of the Olt River and the Mureş River.

Concerning the activities of the northern wing of the Mongol army invading Transylvania, we have information only about the occupation of Rodna on 31 March 1241, Bistrița on 2 April 1241, and the fortress of *Comitatus Cluj* at an uncertain date.⁵² In addition to these, based on the account given by Magister Roger, who described what happened in the area of Rodna as a single line of events, we also know that previously the Mongol army rode for three days through the mountains in the area between "Russia and Cumania."⁵³

Neither do we have information about what the Mongols did before reaching Rodna, but it can be assumed that the column led by Qadan and Büri left the army led by Böchök before arriving at the Siret and turned north-west. They must have crossed the Siret before its confluence with the Bistrița River and then headed up the valley of the river to the fortress of Bâtca Doamnei, around 60 kilometres away, where the stronghold was occupied and burnt.⁵⁴

From there, they continued on their way in the valley of the Bistriţa River towards the mountains, and their vanguard reached the defence line on the mountain ridge, east of Rodna, sometime before the end of March. The vanguard—presumably commanded by Büri—launched an attack against the defensive works. Afterwards, finding out the strength of the defence, they returned to the main army that was probably at least a day's journey from them. Since the Saxons' scouts did not find the Mongols, they felt victorious and safe and some of them returned to Rodna for Easter. Those who stayed at the defensive works celebrated the victory in their own way: they got drunk. The returning Mongols had an easy job with the helpless warriors, who were already captives by the time they had sobered up. The Mongols attacked the unfortified Rodna without being held off by anyone. At first, the Saxons took up the fight but then laid down their weapons seeing how outnumbered they were.⁵⁵ According to Magister Roger, Qadan spared

⁵² Weiland, "Annales Frisacenses," p. 65.

⁵³ Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 164–67.

⁵⁴ Ákos Karczag and Tibor Szabó, Erdély, Partium és a Bánság erődített helyei: Várak, várkastélyok, városfalak, templomvárak, barlangvárak, sáncok és erődítmények a honfoglalástól a 19. század végéig [Fortified places of Transylvania, Partium, and the Banat: Fortresses, castles, city walls, fortified churches, cave castles, ramparts, and strongholds from the Conquest of Hungary to the end of the nineteenth century], 2nd ed. (Budapest: Semmelweis Kiadó, 2012), p. 244.

⁵⁵ Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 166–67.

the town, took it under his protection, and enlisted only 600 armed men in his troops.⁵⁶ However, based on the data of the *Annales Frisacenses*, the majority of the townspeople did not survive the occupation of the town.⁵⁷ The latter scenario seems more probable, for the Mongols pardoned only those who gave themselves up, while the resisters, even if they later surrendered, were ruthlessly slain, except for craftsmen and the more beautiful girls and women. The enlisting of troops of the enemy was also a common practice among the Mongols as the captives could be kept under control at all times and were sent ahead in a battle or siege to spare their own forces. In the case of the men from Rodna, it also mattered a lot that these people were skilled miners.⁵⁸

After the fall of Rodna, the Mongol column headed west, towards their next known target, Bistriţa.⁵⁹ Since the settlement found in the valley of the river of the same name, about 55 kilometres from Rodna, had already been occupied by 2 April,⁶⁰ it is possible that the army split in two. One part, which consisted only of combat units, crossed the hills between Someşul Mare and the Bistriţa rivers near Ilva Mică, while the other part, which also comprised wagons and captives, continued to follow the valley of the Someşul Mare River. Along the way, both armies plundered and destroyed the settlements they passed through.⁶¹ We have no information about the military strategies used by the Mongols, but in light of the events in Hungary that precede the Battle of Muhi, it can be assumed that their forces normally consisted of two parts. One was a squad of armed riders carrying light equipment, capable of covering a distance of up to 100 kilometres a day, while the other was a group that accompanied the wagons, flocks, and prisoners. The two armies united at certain points, presumably in the vicinity of the fortifications to be besieged, and then, after performing their duties, they resumed their marching separately.

⁵⁶ Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 167.

^{57 &}quot;Ipsa die resurectionis dominice Tartari per alpes et silvas irrunpentes Rodanas quoddam opidum Ungarie intraverunt et quator milia hominum vel amplius ibidem interemerunt": Weiland, "Annales Frisacenses," p. 65.

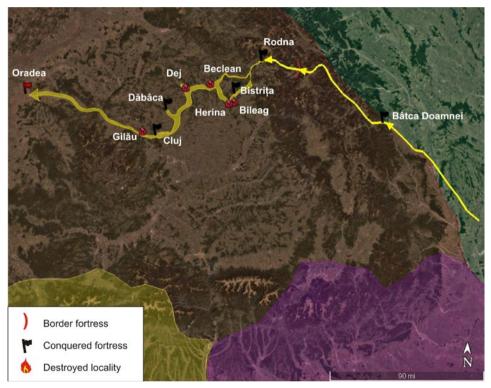
⁵⁸ During his journey from 1253 to 1255 in the East, William of Rubruk mentioned German miners – presumably from Rodna – who had been settled first in the town of Talas by Büri, and later in Bolat found in Dzungaria by the Great Khan Möngke. Cf. Rockhill, The Journey of William of Rubruck, p. 137.

⁵⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn commemorated the fights around Rodna and Bistrița when writing about Qadan's three battles against the *Sasan* people. *Cf.* Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, p. 70.

^{60 &}quot;Feria III. eiusdem [author's note: resurectionis dominice] ebdomade in opido quod Nosa dicitur ceciderunt ex christianis VI. mil. XIII.": Weiland, "Annales Frisacenses," p. 65.

⁶¹ A charter issued after the Mongol Invasion mentioned that the villages of Herina and Bileag, lying to the west of Bistriţa and belonging to the estates of the Bishop of Transylvania, had become depopulated at that time: Hurmuzachi and Densuşeanu, *Documente privitóre*, p. 230.

The two armies reunited at Beclean, where the Bistriţa River flows into the Someşul Mare River, and then headed westwards. Our sources do not mention fights at the major centres (Beclean, Dej, and Doboka fortress) located in the valley of the Someş Rivers. It is plausible that at the sight of the massive forces, the defenders surrendered, and the Mongols were content with the tributes paid to them and the abduction of artisans and men who could be used in battles.⁶² The next known target of the Mongols was Cluj (more precisely, the *castrum comitatense* rising at Cluj-Mănăştur), which must have been seized around the end of the first week of April.⁶³ The Mongol army then moved up the valley of the Someşul Mic River, devastating the settlements along the way, such as Gilău,⁶⁴ and left Transylvania through the Ciucea Pass, in the direction of Oradea.



(Fig.4) Itineraries of the troops led by Qadan and Büri

⁶² During the siege of *Pereg*, the first wave of assailants consisted of Hungarian warriors (*cf.* Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 212–13), so the Mongols must have drafted captives into their army on several occasions.

^{63 &}quot;in quodam castro quod dicitur Cluse ceciderunt infinite multitudo Ungarorum": Weiland, "Annales Frisacenses," p. 65.

⁶⁴ Hurmuzachi and Densușeanu, Documente privitóre, p. 230.

Compared to the well-documented itinerary of the northern army, we have much less information about the journey taken by the column attacking from the south. The activities of the latter can only be reconstructed from their stations and have been described in various ways in history. Magister Roger only reported about the victory of the army led by a Mongol leader called Bochetor⁶⁵ and the devastation of the Diocese of Cumania,⁶⁶ but he did not mention who the Mongols fought against. Conversely, Rashīd al-Dīn—who did not say a word about the Cumans that were under Hungarian suzerainty or the Diocese of Cumania—knew that the Mongols fought against the Qara-Ulagh, that is, the Black (northern) Vlachs.⁶⁷ Albericus de Trium Fontium, on the other hand, was informed that the army led by the voivode of Transylvania defeated the Mongol vanguard and obliterated them by pushing them into the *Paludum Meotidarum* (Meotian Marshes/Sea of Azov).⁶⁸

The army of unknown size (but comprising at least 15-20,000 men) led by the Böchök crossed Siret on around 20 March and invaded the Diocese of Cumania, and their vanguard clashed with the defenders shortly afterwards. An army of Cumans stationed here, who were fully aware of the tactics of nomadic peoples, along with heavier-armed units dispatched there from Transylvania and the Banate of Severin, stood a real chance against the Mongols, and it is not unlikely at all that they won the battle. The fights must have taken place somewhere around the swampy floodplain of the Siret and the Danube. A part of the Mongol army may have been pushed back into the wetland, which was called the Meotian Marshes by the monk of Trois Fontain, who had no knowledge of the area.

We may only guess what happened afterwards. There is evidence that the forces of the voivode of Transylvania were already in the Țara Bârsei on 31 March,⁶⁹ but it is not known under what circumstances they got there. According to general opinion, the Transylvanian army camped there throughout March, but this is difficult to imagine in light of our French source and the need for defence. Perhaps the victory over the Mongol vanguard was the factor that ultimately led to the defeat. Voivode Pousa, who lost contact with the retreating Mongols, may have concluded that they intended to invade Transylvania from a different direction and regarding the Cumans and the forces from the Banate of Severin as sufficient to defend the

⁶⁵ An earlier publication of Magister Roger's work still uses this name, but its more recent publication refers to the Mongol leader as *Bogutai*. See Rogerius magister, "Carmen Miserabile," in *Chronica minora: Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici*, ed. Mathias Florianus [Mátyás Flórián], vol. 4 (Budapest: Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 1885), p. 59; and Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 167, respectively.

⁶⁶ Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 167.

⁶⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, p. 70.

⁶⁸ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium Chronicon, pp. 571–72.

⁶⁹ Weiland, "Annales Frisacenses," p. 65.

Diocese of Cumania, led his army beyond the mountains. Either way, the Mongols returned and defeated the Cumans and the Vlach troops of the Banate of Severin (the Qara-Ulagh of Rashīd al-Dīn), and demolished the seat of the diocese.

Since Kővári,⁷⁰ it has been a generally accepted view and often appears in scholarly works on the subject that Transylvania was invaded across the Oitoz Pass. The only difference in these works is related to the identity of the Mongols' commander.⁷¹ Further research is required before deciding whether the Oitoz Pass, which opens to the north-east (i.e. in the opposite direction to the Diocese of Cumania) and has a narrow mouth and a steep path, was suitable as an ingress route, but the subsequent course of events renders the use of this accessway questionable. The historians of this subject should have raised the question how it is possible for an army to set up defense during an attack were still approximately eighty kilometres (about fifty miles) from the point to be defended? (They must have received news of the approaching enemy even before it appeared at the borders.) In addition to the Oitoz Pass, the Turnu Roşu Pass⁷² and the region of the Turnu Severin⁷³ have also been referred to as possible routes of ingress. However, it is important to mention that in neither case did the researchers name the sources from which they arrived at these conclusions.

Western sources are silent concerning where the Mongol armies finally penetrated Transylvania. In terms of the direction of invasion, we can only rely on the information offered by Rashīd al-Dīn. According to his report, Böchök crossed the mountains at the borders of Mišelav's land after his victory over the Qara-Ulagh. ⁷⁴ The name Mišelav does not appear in other historical sources, and Hungarian scholarly literature is not concerned with it, either. However, Romanian researchers are of the opinion that Mišelav must have been the same person as Voivode

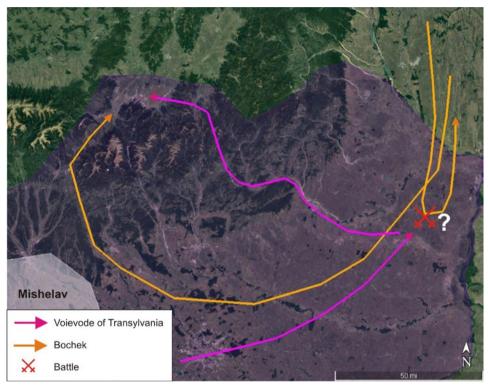
- 73 *Gujuk* at Orşova: Bánlaky, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme*, 5:52–53.; *Böcsek* at Turnu Severin: Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea*, p. 39.
- 74 "through the forests and mountains of Qazaq-Taq, they reached the territory of Mishlav and attacked the rebels": Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, p. 70. "Şi de aici a intrat în pădurile şi munții Yāprāk Tāk la hotarele lui Mišelāv şi i-a înfrînt pe duşmanii de acolo" [And from here he entered in the forests and mountains of Yāprāk Tāk at the borders of Mišelāv and defeated his enemies from there]: Decei, "Invazia tătarilor," p. 194.

⁷⁰ Kővári identified the place name *Feketig* mentioned in a 1247 letter of donation of the Knights Hospitaller with the Râul Negru River (*Feketeügy* in Hungarian) from Covasna County, and this is how he arrived at the conclusion above; Kőváry, *Erdély történelme*, 1:120, n. 3.

⁷¹ Including but not limited to: Bochetor or Szubutej Boghador in Kőváry, Erdély történelme, 1:120; Bochetor in Sacerdoţeanu, Marea invazie tătară, pp. 49–50; Büdzsek in Kristó, Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában, p. 167; Bogutaj in Makkai, "Transylvania in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom (896-1526)," p. 442; and Büri in Bánlaky, A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme, 5:52; Decei, "Invazia tătarilor," p. 202; Sălăgean, Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea, p. 38.

⁷² Bánlaky, A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme, 5:52; Sacerdoţeanu, Marea invazie tătară, p. 52.

Seneslaus,⁷⁵ who was mentioned in 1247, or his predecessor,⁷⁶ as the lands of both were located east of the Olt River. There is no evidence about the exact dimensions of the area that belonged to Seneslaus. We only know that it was located in Cumania, at the foothills of the Southern Carpathian Mountains, east of the Olt River.⁷⁷ If the land mentioned by Rashīd al-Dīn was the same as the area above, then the pass found next to its border must be the Rucăr-Bran Pass or the Buzău Pass, which means that the Banate of Severin had not yet been attacked by the Mongols.



(Fig.5) Presumed military operations in the area of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Cumania

^{75 &}quot;Seneslai Woiavode Olatorum": Hurmuzachi and Densușeanu, Documente privitóre, p. 251.

⁷⁶ Sacerdoţeanu, Marea invazie tătară, p. 64; Decei, "Invazia tătarilor," pp. 205–6; Spinei, Moldova în secolele XI-XIV, pp. 161–62; Spinei, Marile migrații din estul şi sud-estul Europei, pp. 406–7; Neagu Djuvara, Thocomerius - Negru Vodă: Un voievod cuman la începuturile Țării Românești [A Cuman voivode at the beginning of Wallachia (Țara Românească)], 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Editura Humanitas, 2011), p. 36.

^{77 &}quot;totam Cumaniam [...] excepta tarra Seneslai": Hurmuzachi and Densușeanu, *Documente privitóre*, p. 251.

It is unknown exactly which pass was ultimately used by the army of Böchök to cross the Carpathian Mountains, but there is evidence that their fighting units had already arrived in Țara Bârsei by the end of March, and on Easter Sunday (31 March 1241) they inflicted a complete defeat on the forces of Voivode Pousa.⁷⁸ In this case, our source mentioned the term *interficit* (=slew), instead of the *ceciderunt* (=fell) normally used for settlements, to suggest that the Transylvanian troops were taken by surprise and there was no battle. It could rightfully be asked how an army, stationed about 50 kilometres from the border, could be taken by surprise, but unfortunately this cannot be answered yet. It is conceivable that the Mongols, with the help of traitorous warriors who fell into their captivity or defected to them in Cumania, occupied the defences of the pass, and that is why their guards were not able to warn the voivode.

The Mongol's victory at Țara Bârsei was probably followed by their campaign in Trei-Scaune (Covasna County), but the exact date of which is unknown. It is only evidenced by a charter mentioning the destruction of a so-called *Terra Zek* and some archaeological finds. In principle, the attack could have taken place later, but then Böchök, who had to wait for the wagon train moving slower through the passes, would have had the time and opportunity to organise the raid. Based on our current knowledge, it seems certain that the attack lasted for a short time and mainly affected the area around Sfântu Gheorghe and the north bank of the Râul Negru River. In the vicinity of Sfântu Gheorghe, the signs of the Mongol attack could be observed at archaeological sites, such as Chilieni–*Alsó-mart*, Dobolii de Jos–*Hollaky kúria telke*, and Gidfalău–*Bedeháza*.⁷⁹ In Cernat and Turia, found in the valley of the Râul Negru River, arrowheads associated with the Mongols were discovered in burnt-down thirteenth-century houses.⁸⁰ Furthermore, in Târgu Secuiesc a treasure trove comprising 522 bracteate-type coins issued by King Béla IV and five silver bars hidden in a clay pot came to light when the foundations of the town

^{78 &}quot;Eodem die [author's note: resurectionis dominice] alter exhercitus eorundem Tartarorum ingrediens provinciam que Burza dicitur ducem exhercitus transilvane terre cum omnibus suis interficit." Weiland, "Annales Frisacenses," p. 65.

⁷⁹ Due to the small scale of the research, the finds of the thirteenth-century settlements in Trei-Scaune have not been thoroughly processed to this day. In the case of all three sites, a burnt destruction layer dated to the thirteenth century can be detected. After this, in the first two cases, the villagers settled again somewhere else, while Bedeháza remained uninhabited.

⁸⁰ Zoltán Székely, "Árpád-kori nyílhegyek Kovászna megyében [Árpád-age arrowheads in Kovászna County]," Acta 1999 1 (2000), pp. 241–42. The author originated the finds from the arrowheads used in the Hungarian conquest period. However, because these types are known only from the thirteenth-century context and have close Mongolian analogues (cf. Spinei, Ultimele valuri migratoare, 316–17, figs 39–40), they can rather be connected to the Mongols.

hall were being dug.⁸¹ During the campaign, the Mongols also devastated *Terra Zek*, the area of today's Ariuşd (Hungarian: Erősd), Araci (Hungarian: Árapatak), and Hăghig (Hungarian: Hidvég) at the southern foot of the Baraolt Mountains.⁸²

After the events that took place in Țara Bârsei, the next known target of the campaign was a settlement called *Kuomelburch*, which was taken by the Mongols on 4 April.⁸³ In scholarly literature, this settlement is identified with Cetatea de Baltă (Hungarian: Küküllővár). However, the identification is questionable. The Mongols could have easily covered a distance of about 200 kilometres between Țara Bârsei and the valley of the Târnava Mică River in four days. However, the *ispán*'s castle called *Civitates Kukulense*, in a currently unknown location (at that time it was certainly still not in Cetatea de Baltă), did not lie along the main route of the invasion and was not of such significance that it would have been worth such a great detour. In my opinion, the aforementioned *Kuomelburch* must have been a major settlement located somewhere between Țara Bârsei and Sibiu that was destroyed during the Mongol Invasion and was not rebuilt after that.

We do not have data concerning the extent of the destruction, but it is certain that it was at that time that the Saxon settlements lying between the Munții Perşani and the Olt River mentioned in 1235 were abandoned.⁸⁴ *Castrum Almage*, which was still referred to as a border fortress in 1211,⁸⁵ also disappeared from the sources and cannot be identified in the field, either. Furthermore, the treasure hoards discovered in Făgăraş and Streza-Cârţişoara must have been hidden then.⁸⁶ The Cârţa Monastery and its estates also fell prey to the Mongols,⁸⁷ whose way to Sibiu is also marked by the destruction of a thirteenth-century smithy between Şelimbăr and Bungard with all its equipment and products.⁸⁸

⁸¹ Csaba Tóth, "A tatárjárás korának pénzekkel keltezett kincsleletei" [Hoards dated by coins from the time of the Mongol invasion], in *Tatárjárás (1241–42): Katalógus*, ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007), pp. 83–84.

^{82 &}quot;terram Zek que quondam Saxonis Fulkun fuerat, sed per devastationem Tartarorum vacua": Hurmuzachi and Densușeanu, *Documente privitóre*, p. 254.

^{83 &}quot;Feria V. [author's note: resurectionis dominice] ceciderunt in villa qui Kümmelburch dicitur amplius quam XXX. mil.": Weiland, "Annales Frisacenses," p. 65.

⁸⁴ Hurmuzachi and Densuşeanu, Documente privitóre, p. 138. The five settlements—Dubucha (Dopca), Aqua Calida (Hoghiz), Cormosbach (Comana de Jos?), Venetijs (Veneţia de Jos), and Sarcam (Şercaia)—were again reported to be inhabited in subsequent centuries, but their population had a different ethnic composition.

⁸⁵ Hurmuzachi and Densușeanu, Documente privitóre, p. 57.

⁸⁶ Antal Lukács, *Țara Făgărașului în evul mediu (secolele XIII-XVI)* [The region of Făgăraș in the Middle Ages (13th-16th centuries)] (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), p. 152.

^{87 &}quot;monasterium [...] de Kirch post Tartarice vastationis rabiem penitus desolatam": Hurmuzachi and Densușeanu, *Documente privitóre*, p. 322.

⁸⁸ Kurt Horedt, "Eine sächsische Schmiede des 13. Jahrhunderts," in Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára, ed. András Bodor (Kolozsvár: Bolyai Tudományegyetem, 1957), pp. 334–348, Abb. 1–2, Taf. 1–6.

Around 10 April, the Mongols were already near Sibiu, and on the following day (on the day of the Battle of Muhi) the town fell, and its residents and other people who took refuge behind its walls were slaughtered.⁸⁹ After Sibiu, the next target of the Mongols was the valley of the Mureş River, where Sebeş, abandoned by its parish priest and some of its inhabitants, was devastated.⁹⁰ Then, presumably leaving the slower-moving prisoners and wagons behind, the Mongols headed for Alba lulia. It is unknown when and under what circumstances the siege of the diocesan town took place and how large the destruction was. Roger, who visited the bishop's see one year after these events, wrote about total destruction, unburied corpses, and blood-stained walls.⁹¹ Nevertheless, the siege had survivors, as in 1252 in the court of the Great Khan Möngke William Rubruk met a goldsmith from Paris named Guillaume Buchier. He and the nephew of Rainald, Bishop of Transylvania, had been captured by Böchök in Alba Iulia.⁹²



(Fig.6) Military operations of the troops led by Böchök in Transylvania

- 91 Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 225.
- 92 Rockhill, The Journey of William of Rubruck, pp. 177, 222–23.

^{89 &}quot;Feria V. ante domenicam misercordia ceciderunt in civitate que villa Hermani dicitur plus quam C. Mil.": Weiland, "Annales Frisacenses," p. 65.

⁹⁰ In 1245, Pope Innocent IV granted Teodoric, parish priest of Sebeş and canon of Sibiu, new estates because he had hardly any income from the old ones due to the devastation caused by the Mongols. *Cf.* Hurmuzachi and Densuşeanu, *Documente privitóre*, p. 219.

After the seizure of Alba Iulia we have no data on the activities of the army led by Böchök. All we know for certain is that, ravaging the settlements along their way, they left Transylvania through the valley of the Mureş River.

The activities of the two armies invading Eastern Hungary were clearly successful from a Mongolian point of view. During the campaign, the Mongols defeated the Cumans and the forces supporting them. In Transylvania, they crushed the army of the province, and eradicated the potentially dangerous secular and ecclesiastical centres on their way west.⁹³ We can be certain that their primary targets, the centres, were ruthlessly destroyed, but we do not know what they did in the case of other settlements. It is conceivable that, as they were eager to achieve their goal, they were content to burn the settlements along their way and did not bother about seeking out the population who took refuge in various hiding places. The inhabitants of the villages may well have remained in their hiding places even after the Mongols left and settled there for fear of another raid. The survival strategy of the latter is well illustrated by the account given by Magister Roger. He recorded that, from their hiding places, his rescuers regularly dispatched spies and groups to their former settlements to bring food from there.⁹⁴ It is also possible that the villages that did not resist escaped by paying tribute, as one of the primary goals of the Mongols may have been to spare the labour force that could do the harvesting.

The activity of the Mongol vanguard in Hungary in March can be mentioned as a counterexample. This unit left behind nothing but destruction on their way to Pest, but at that time, their role was to force the Hungarian army to battle as soon as possible. In addition to the obliteration of the still resisting centres, Roger mentions one more example of a cruel act against the local inhabitants. In this case, the Mongol *kneses* called together the entire population of "certain villages" and slaughtered them in a valley.⁹⁵ However, it is almost certain that this did not happen because of the extreme ruthlessness of the Mongols—as explained by Roger—but in retaliation for a crime that he was not aware of.

⁹³ Except for *Kuomelburch*, all the Transylvanian settlements mentioned by the *Annales Frisacenses* were seats of the *ispán* (Lat. *comes*) and/or ecclesiastical centres.

^{94 &}quot;sed mittebamus semper speculatores [...]. Et quainuis saepius necessitate quaerendi victualia cogente loca petierimus quondam habitata" / "but kept sending out scouts [...] Although we often visited the formerly inhabited villages, forced by the need for food": Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 224, 225.

^{95 &}quot;ut de certis villis viri et mulieres puerique simul cum muneribus in eorum praesenciam venirent. [...] Canesii vero ad recipienda munera accesserunt. Qui muneribus receptis omnes praesentantes in quamdam vallem duxerunt, enormiterque spoliatos et denudatos ibidem interfecerunt." / "from certain villages the men, women and children should appear before them with gifts. [...] The kneses went to receive the gifts and, after they had received them, they led the bearers of the gifts into a valley and killed them there, after terribly despoiling and stripping them naked." Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 208, 209.

Apart from the two main routes of the invasion—through the valley of the two Someş rivers and along the upper part of the Olt River and the lower section of the Mureş River—written records do not mention that other areas were crossed by the Mongol armies in Transylvania. Nevertheless, the central parts of the province do not seem to have escaped the Mongols, either. In 1252, the estate called *Zonchel* (now Sâncel, beside Blaj), located between the two Târnava rivers, was said to have had three villages and a church dedicated to St. Martin "in the good old days".⁹⁶ It was in the same period that the *ispán*'s castle called *Civitates Kukulense* completely disappeared and was subsequently replaced by a small tower castle erected in the swamp near Cetatea de Baltă. For lack of written sources, we have no information regarding the date of the invasion in this part of the province. For the time being, we cannot rule out the possibility of a raid following the fall of Alba Iulia, but the Mongols may also have returned and ravage central Transylvania in the summer of 1241.

The withdrawal of the Mongols

In spring 1242, the Mongols unexpectedly discontinued their military operations in Hungary and began withdrawing their troops from the occupied territories. Opinions are divided concerning the reason for Batu's decision,⁹⁷ but it is a fact that the Mongol forces left Hungary in several columns.

For the Transylvanian areas, Magister Roger is our only source, but unfortunately his account is unclear again. According to this, during the withdrawal, he was in a column comprising wagons loaded with loot, flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and the military escort which methodically sought out hiding places in the settlements they passed through. Roger finally managed to escape near the "border of Cumania," and after two days of hiding in the woods, crossed a deserted area and arrived in the demolished Alba Iulia eight days later. In the end, it was ten miles from there, in the vicinity of a village called *Frata*, where he met people again and found refuge in their hiding place on a cliff.⁹⁸

Unfortunately, Roger failed to record which area the Mongols were passing through, but the subsequent events suggest that this unit was marching along the valley of the Mureş River, and—according to general opinion—left

⁹⁶ Franz Zimmerman and Carl Werner, eds., *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, vol. 1: *1191 bis 1342* (Hermanstadt: Hochmeister, 1892), p. 79, no. 87.

⁹⁷ For the summary of the topic, see Sălăgean, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea*, p. 41; B. Szabó, *A tatárjárás*, pp. 157–61.

⁹⁸ Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 220–25.

Transylvania via the Turnu Roşu Pass.⁹⁹ It is only Gyula Pauler who wrote that the retreating Mongols passed through Transylvania along a north-south axis and left the province via the Rucăr-Bran Pass,¹⁰⁰ but his view was not shared by other researchers.

Having a closer look at the available source, it seems that Pauler was right at least about the crossing of the mountains, since, no matter how famished Roger and his companions were, they should have been able to travel from the mouth of the Turnu Rosu Pass in Transylvania to Alba Iulia in less than eight days. This distance is about 70 kilometres as the crow flies and must have been roughly one and a half to two times longer by road. However, at a speed of only 25 kilometres per day, the escape could have taken place at least 200 kilometres from Alba Iulia, but at such a distance we already find the Persani Mountains on the road to Cumania. It is conceivable that the canon, having no local knowledge at all, considered these wooded mountains to be on the frontier of Cumania. Roads overgrown with grass and depopulated villages found on their way are not necessarily signs of destruction. They may well demonstrate that traffic ceased during the Mongol occupation, or that the fugitives did not follow the main route used by the retreating army.¹⁰¹ Since he does not mention the signs of destruction, only the complete lack of population, we can assume that, hearing about the approach of the Mongols, the villagers had returned to their hiding places.

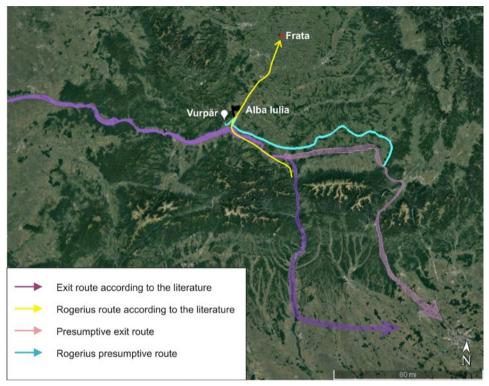
In scholarly literature on the Mongol Invasion, the settlement *Frata* mentioned by Roger has been identified with the village of Frata (Magyarfráta) found on the Transylvanian Plain.¹⁰² In my opinion, this is an erroneous conclusion, partly because there are no mountains and rocky heights in that area, and also because it raises the question why Roger, who was trying to go to Hungary, would have headed north instead of west. The settlement *Frata*, which perished during the Mongol Invasion—if the milestones mentioned by the account were located by an ancient Roman military road still used in the Middle Ages—should be sought in the valley of the Mureş River, south of Alba Iulia, somewhere in the vicinity of Vinţul de Jos. There is a rise there that corresponds to the description—namely the rocky ridge

⁹⁹ Most historians researching the subject agree with this possibility, *cf.* Bánlaky, *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme*, 5:104; Kristó, *Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában*, p. 171.

¹⁰⁰ Pauler, A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt, 1:185.

¹⁰¹ A large group of people would have trodden down the vegetation when passing through the land, leaving a visible track.

¹⁰² *Cf.* Makkai, "Transylvania in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom (896-1526)," p. 444.



approximately 2.5 kilometres from the mouth of the Pârâul Vurpăr valley,¹⁰³ on which the *Zebernik fortress* of Vurpăr stood in medieval times.¹⁰⁴

(Fig.7) The retreat of the Mongols and the escape route of Magister Roger

Consequences of the Mongol Invasion

The Mongol Invasion and the occupation of the country for about a year had a great impact on the medieval history of the Hungarian Kingdom. In the field of foreign policy, the new power that emerged in the steppes hindered eastward expansion for approximately a century and made the monarchs rethink their defence strategies. Significant changes can also be detected in domestic politics, which resulted in the transformation of Hungarian society and determined the history of the following centuries.

^{103 &}quot;Et erat ibi ad decem milliaria iuxta siluam villa quae Frata dicitur in vulgari, et infra siluam ad quatuor milliaria mons mirabilis et excelsus, in cuius summitate lapis et petra fundabatur terribilis" / "Ten miles from there, next to the forest, was a village, called Frata in the vernacular, and here, four miles within the forest, a marvelously high mountain. On the peak of it was a rock, a looming crag": Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 224–25.

¹⁰⁴ Karczag and Szabó, Erdély, Partium és a Bánság erődített helyei, p. 125.

Bibliography

- Alberic of Trois-Fontaines. *Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium Chronicon, è Manuscriptis nunc primum editum à Godofredo Gvilielmo Liebnitio*. Edited by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. Leipzig: Nicolai Förster, 1698.
- B. Szabó, János. A tatárjárás: A mongol hódítás és Magyarország [The Mongol Invasion: The Mongol occupation and Hungary]. Third, Revised edition. Budapest: Corvina, 2016.
- Bánlaky [Breit], József. *A magyar nemzet hadtörténelme* [Kriegsgeschichte der ungarischen Nation], vol. 5: *A tatárjárás 1236-1242*. 24 vols. Budapest, 1930.
- Csákó, Judit. "Les éléments fabuleux de l'histoire hongroise dans une chronique française du 13e siècle: Le témoignage d'Albéric de Troisfontaines." *Hungarian Studies* 26, no. 1 (2012): 3–16.
- Decei, Aurel. "Invazia tătarilor din 1241/42 în ținuturile noastre după Djāmi' ot-Tevārīkh a lui Fäzl ol-lāh Räšīd od-Dīn" [The 1241/42 Tartar invasion of our lands according to Rashiduddin Fazlullah's *Jami'u't-tawarikh*]. In *Relații româno-orientale: Culegere de studii*. Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978.
- Djuvara, Neagu. *Thocomerius Negru Vodă: Un voievod cuman la începuturile Țării Românești* [A Cuman voivode at the beginning of Wallachia (Țara Românească)]. 2nd ed. Bucharest: Editura Humanitas, 2011.
- Fehértói, Katalin. Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000–1031) [Index of Árpád-age personal names]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004.
- Horedt, Kurt. "Eine sächsische Schmiede des 13. Jahrhunderts." In *Emlékkönyv Kelemen Lajos születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*, edited by András Bodor, 334–48. Kolozsvár: Bolyai Tudományegyetem, 1957.
- Hurmuzachi, Eudoxiu de, and Nicolae Densușeanu. *Documente privitóre la Istoria Românilor*, vol. 1: *1199-1345* [Documents concerning the history of the Romanians]. Bucharest: Socecu & Teclu, 1887.
- Karczag, Ákos, and Tibor Szabó. Erdély, Partium és a Bánság erődített helyei: Várak, várkastélyok, városfalak, templomvárak, barlangvárak, sáncok és erődítmények a honfoglalástól a 19. század végéig [Fortified places of Transylvania, Partium, and the Banat: Fortresses, castles, city walls, fortified churches, cave castles, ramparts, and strongholds from the Conquest of Hungary to the end of the nineteenth century]. 2nd ed. Budapest: Semmelweis Kiadó, 2012.

- Kőváry, László. *Erdély történelme* [The history of Transylvania]. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Pest, 1859.
- Kristó, Gyula. *Háborúk és hadviselés az Árpádok korában* [Wars and warfare in the age of the Árpáds]. Szeged: Szukits, 2003.
- Labuda, Gerard. "Wojna z Tatarami w roku 1241 [The war with the Tatars in 1241]." *Przegląd Historyczny* 50, no. 2 (1959): 189–224.
- Lukács, Antal. *Țara Făgărașului în evul mediu (secolele XIII-XVI)* [The region of Făgăraș in the Middle Ages (13th-16th centuries)]. Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999.
- Makkai, László. "Szörényi bánság" [The banate of Szörény]. In *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)*, edited by Gyula Kristó, Pál Engel, and Ferenc Makk, 657. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.
- ———. "Transylvania in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom (896-1526)." In *History of Transylvania*, Vol 1: *From the Beginnings to 1606*, edited by László Makkai and András Mócsy, 333–593. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Mărculeţ, Vasile. "Consideraţii asupra componenţei comandamentului mongol în timpul marii invazii din 1236-1242" [Notes on the composition of the Mongol command during the great invasion of 1236-1242]. Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis 8 (Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis): 22–42.
- Pauler, Gyula. A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt [The history of the Hungarian nation during the reign of the Árpád dynasty]. 2nd ed. Vol. 1.
 2 vols. Budapest: Athenaeum, 1899.
- Perfecky, George A, trans. *The Hypatian Codex, Part II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973.
- Pintér, János Zsolt. "Tatárok és magyarok (1241–1242)" [Tartars and Hungarians]. Hadtörténeti Közlemények 118, no. 3 (2005): 600–696.
- Rashīd al-Dīn. *The Successors of Genghis Khan*. Translated by John Andrew Boyle. New York – London: Columbia University Press, 1971.
- Rockhill, William Woodville. *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55: As Narrated by Himself with Two Accounts of the Earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine.* London: Hakluyt Society, 1900.
- Rogerius magister. "Carmen Miserabile." In *Chronica minora: Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici*, edited by Mathias Florianus [Mátyás Flórián], 4:45–87. Budapest: Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 1885.

- Rosta, Szabolcs. "Egy új lehetőség kapujában: Tatárjáráskori védművek a Kiskunságban" [At the gate of new possibilities: Fortifications in the Kiskunság Region during the Mongol invasion]. In *Genius loci: Laszlovszky 60*, edited by Dóra Mérai, Ágnes Drosztmér, Kyra Lyublyanovics, Judith Rasson, Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, András Vadas, and Csilla Zatykó, 186–92. Budapest: Archeolingua, 2018.
- Sacerdoţeanu, Aurelian. *Marea invazie tătară și Sud-Estul European* [The great Tatar invasion and the European Southeast]. Reprint of first edition in 1933. Iași: Casa Editorială Demiurg, 2017.
- Sălăgean, Tudor. *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea: Afirmarea regimului congregațional* [Transylvania in the second half of the thirteenth century: The establishment of the congregational system]. Bibliotheca Rerum Transsilvaniæ Series 31. Cluj Napoca: Editura Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2003.
- Spinei, Victor. *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XIII* [The great migrations from the east and south-east of Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries]. Iași: Institutul European, 1999.
- ———. *Moldova în secolele XI-XIV* [Moldova in the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries]. Bucharest: Editura Științifică și academică, 1982.
- ———. Ultimele valuri migratoare de la nordul Mării Negre și al Dunării de Jos [The last waves of migration from the north of the Black Sea and the Lower Danube]. lași: Editura Helios, 1996.
- Székely, Zoltán. "Árpád-kori nyílhegyek Kovászna megyében [Árpád-age arrowheads in Kovászna County]." Acta 1999 1 (2000).
- Thomas of Spalato. *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Edited by Olga Perić, Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2006.

- Tóth, Csaba. "A tatárjárás korának pénzekkel keltezett kincsleletei" [Hoards dated by coins from the time of the Mongol invasion]. In *Tatárjárás (1241–42): Katalógus,* edited by Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam, 79–90. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007.
- Weiland, Ludwig, ed. "Annales Frisacenses." In Annales aevi Suevici (Supplementa tomorum XVI et XVII). Gesta saec. XII. XIII. (Supplementa tomorum XX–XXIII), 65–67. MGH SS 24. Hannover: Hahn, 1879.
- Zimmerman, Franz, and Carl Werner, eds. *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen, vol. 1: 1191 bis 1342*. Hermanstadt: Hochmeister, 1892.

The Mongol Invasion of 1241-1242 North of the Danube¹

The Mongol invasion of the Hungarian kingdom in the years 1241-1242 is a highly debated episode in the history of the Central European region and includes two major battles, one at Liegnitz in Poland, and one at Muhi in present-day Hungary. This article analyzes the trail of the column led by Batu's older brother Orda, and Baidar, son of Chagatay,² which after winning the battle of Liegnitz and ravaging the Polish lands turned towards the south, briefly passing Moravia, and entering the Hungarian kingdom to join the main force in the central part of the country.

Sources

The Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241-1242 has been thoroughly researched in the Hungarian archaeological and historical literature.³ Research of the territory under investigation in today's Slovakia was until recently mainly based on the historical perspective. Narrative sources about the Mongol invasion were recently collected and translated by Richard Marsina and Miloš Marek,⁴ while most of the charter evidence was collected by Ferdinand Uličný, based on the compendium of medieval legal documents collected by Marsina.⁵ Archaeological remains from the region of the north-western part of the kingdom which now lies in the Republic of Slovakia have not yet been coherently collected in one study. Authors of various

¹ Article was supported by the project "CUMAN", KM-06-Д5/5 at 13. 12. 2021 of the program "Petar Beron, Science and innovations with Europe 2021" financed by Фонд Научни Изследвания.

² Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410*, The Medieval World (Harlow; New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 63, n. 42.

³ More recently with further literature, see József Laszlovszky et al., "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42: Short- and Long-Term Perspectives," *Hungarian Historical Review 7*, no. 3 (2018).

⁴ Richard Marsina and Miloš Marek, Tatársky vpád [Tatar invasion] (Bratislava: Rak, 2008).

⁵ Ferdinand Uličný, "Vpády Mongolov na Slovensko v roku 1241" [Invasions of Mongols in Slovakia in 1241], Vojenská história 8, no. 3 (2004), pp. 3–20; Richard Marsina, ed., Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, vol. 2 (Bratislava: Obzor, 1987).

excavations, later mentioned in the text, usually hypothesized about the possibility of a Mongol attack, but often only mainly regarding the specific sites. An exception is the work of Marián Soiák and Ján Hunka, based on the unique find of remains of people who hid from the Mongols in a cave in Moldava nad Bodvou.⁶ Solitary finds from the area of Slovakia are also included in the work of Witold Świętosławski, focused on the remains of the Mongol invasions of Poland.⁷ Problems with certifiably connecting archaeological finds and situations with the Mongol invasion, however, are based on the state of research and general reliability of sources. As the Mongol invasion was not the only military conflict in the area, numerous scattered finds of a settlement nature that can be dated to the medieval period cannot be exactly pinpointed in time to one specific occasion. Without more than one type of source that can speak about the destruction by Mongols, the related hypotheses are usually mere speculation. Some types of artefacts, such as arrowheads that are alien to the material of thirteenth-century Hungary, coin hoards dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, and explicit written sources from the vicinity of sites can be considered such sources.

Entrance to the kingdom

The focus of Slovak historians used to be a few mountain passes that could have been the entry points of Orda's forces into the Hungarian kingdom, the most often mentioned one being the Hrozenkov Pass, northwest of the city of Trenčín, and less commonly the Jablunkov Pass in the vicinity of the present meeting place of the three borders of Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Poland.⁸ The notion that the whole contingent of a few thousand men would have concentrated on getting through one pass is, however, faulty—this approach would have been of no strategic value, mainly because the border between kingdoms at this time was not a fortified line but a whole region with low population density and few strategically located points of defense. Besides this, the hills dividing Hungary and Moravia are not impassable mountains with thick forests, canyons, or ravines, and would have proved no logistical obstacle to the Mongols, who were capable of scaling the

⁶ Ján Hunka and Marián Soják, "Nové doklady k vpádu mongolsko-tatárskych vojsk do Uhorska v rokoch 1241-1242" [New data on the Mongol and Tartar invasions of Hungary in 1241-1242], in *Stan i potrzeby badań archeologicznych w Karpatach*, ed. Jan Gancarski (Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie, 2017), pp. 541–62.

⁷ Witold Świętosławski, Archeologiczne ślady najazdów tatarskich na Europe środkowa w XIII wieku [Archaeological remains of Tartar invasions of Central Europe in the thirteenth century] (Łódź: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1997).

⁸ Uličný, "Vpády Mongolov na Slovensko," p. 12, n. 69. with literature.

mountain ranges of Central Asia and the Caucasus. It is much more probable that after a quick scouting the riders would have split up into smaller units, penetrating the borderland at more than one point.

To be able to locate the general area where this happened, it is vital to localize Orda's tracks in the neighboring Moravia and Silesia. It used to be taken as a fact that the Mongol army besieged the city of Olomouc—a claim refuted by Tomáš Somer as a myth forged at a later date.⁹ In fact, there are very few relevant written sources about the Mongol invasion, with the exception of those concerning the area around the city of Opava.¹⁰ Sporadic archaeological finds of eastern arrowheads from Moravia (as well as the written sources) are probably associated with the later invasion of Cuman troops in the employment of Hungarian kings.¹¹ According to relevant sources, it seems that the Mongol army quickly passed through the northern part of Moravia and the incursion would have happened much closer to the Jablunkov than the Hrozenkov Pass, through the Moravian-Silesian Beskids and the Javorníky or Maple Mountains.

On the Hungarian side, the northernmost point that could have been hit by the Mongol army first was a region called Kysuca, located close to the confluence of the eponymous river and the river Váh. This region is mentioned for the first time as depopulated land on the border with Moravia and Poland in a donation for Bogomerius, son of Sebeslau, together with the other derelict land of Súča, north of Trenčín.¹² Both of these lands may possibly be connected with the invasion not only because of the above-mentioned lack of inhabitants, but also due to the person they were donated to. Bogomerius had been close to Béla even before he became king, while residing as a duke of Slavonia. As the first mentioned comes of the Sicules, Bogomerius took part in the expedition to Bulgaria in 1233, and he stood on the king's side in unknown local conflicts over Buda—but most importantly, he most probably participated in the battle of Muhi as the *comes* of Trenčín and Nitra counties, after which he returned to his domain to strengthen the north-western border, successfully defending an unknown place from the enemy.¹³

⁹ Tomáš Somer, "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241," *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 2 (2018), pp. 238–51.

¹⁰ Somer, "Forging the Past," p. 240.

¹¹ Somer, "Forging the Past," pp. 241–42.

¹² Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:111–12.

¹³ Adam Buchta, "Kto vlastne bol župan Bohumír, šľachtic z prvej písomnej zmienky (1244) o Kysuciach?" [Who was Lord Bohumír, nobleman in the earliest mentions (1244) about the Kysuce region?], in *Šľachta na Kysuciach a jej susedia* [Nobility from Kysuce and their neighbours], ed. David Pindúr and Martin Turóci (Čadca: Kysucké múzeum v Čadci, 2012), pp. 29–37.

Through Kysuca, the Mongol army could have entered the easily passable Váh river valley and joined the Via Magna, the main road connecting the west and the east of the country, as explicitly mentioned in the written description of the borders of this land. Other potential sources of proof showing the path through the Javorníky hills come from two sites, both north of the present city of Púchov, the first being two late nomad rhombic arrowheads with a dividing ring between the blade and a tang possibly found at the high medieval site of Skala in the cadastral area of this town,¹⁴ and a set of arrowheads deposited in the Museum of Natural History in Vienna, also with the label Púchov.¹⁵ Smaller contingents may have also moved further from the river, as the three arrowheads from the medieval stronghold in Bystrička in Turiec Valley, dated roughly to the twelfth–fourteenth centuries, are of a steppe origin.¹⁶

As the Mongol army continued south along the Váh River, they encountered the castle of Trenčín, the seat of the county, and the best defense point in the region. An attempt to take this castle by the Mongols is the best recorded episode of Orda's conquest in the written sources.¹⁷ Trenčín was governed by the aforementioned Bogomerius; however, it is not certain if he was personally present during the attempted siege of the castle. Written sources point out that he was, even though this is not specifically mentioned. After the invasion, Bogomerius issued a charter dealing with the bequest of Pous, a member of the Trenčín castle garrison who died fighting the Mongols,¹⁸ and witnessed in front of the king about the brave fight of two knights, Premysl and Nosk, also from the same castle, one of whom died, the other was injured during the Mongol raid.¹⁹ The one who survived, Premysl, was donated a village in the vicinity of the town called Dulov, also mentioned as derelict, very possibly depopulated during the raid in 1241, similar to the above mentioned Súča. The siege of Trenčín castle is also described in the scroll-it is written that eight men of Vetislav village bravely fought against the attackers and were awarded the status of nobility.²⁰ It is justifiable to assume that after some sort of initial attack, the Mongol commanders decided to not waste men and resources

¹⁴ Alexander Ruttkay, "Waffen und Reiterausrüstung des 9. bis zur ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Slowakei: Teil 1," *Slovenská Archeológia* 23, no. 1 (1975): fig. 19. 4, 6.

¹⁵ Karol Pieta, "Hromadné nálezy z Prosieka a Vyšného Kubína" [Hoards from Prosiek and Vyšný Kubín], *Slovenská archeológia* 64, no. 2 (2016): fig. 10. 1, 4, 14, 19.

¹⁶ Ján Petrikovich, "Starožitnícke nálezy na bystrickom Hrádku v Turci" [Antique finds from Hrádok in Turiec], *Časopis Museálnej Slovenskej spoločnosti* 6 (1903), pp. 81–83, fig. 1.

¹⁷ Uličný, "Vpády Mongolov na Slovensko," p. 13.

¹⁸ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:76–77.

¹⁹ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:444–46.

²⁰ Marsina, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, 2:84–85; Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 4:1 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), p. 295.

on a lengthy siege, as the taking of the castle would have been mentioned in the sources. Castle Trenčín is situated on a hill elevated nearly one hundred meters above the river banks on which the city settlement stood, and even if the Mongols had brought siege equipment with them (as they had done during the prior conquering of Rus'), the catapults used at that time would have been ineffective due to the height difference.²¹ They pillaged the surrounding villages, whose inhabitants probably took refuge in the castle, as numerous names of settlements disappeared from the written sources after the invasion.²²

Archaeological remains that could shed more light on the siege of Trenčín and the destruction of its surroundings are scarce, as the settlement activity in following centuries placed a newer stamp on the area. A museum located in Trenčín castle has a few (unpublished) arrowheads that can be attributed to the late medieval nomads. They may or may not be arrowheads that were found in the area of the southern fortification and are dated to the twelfth–thirteenth centuries, but further research would be needed to establish certainty about this.²³

From Trenčín, Orda's forces continued south and split into at least into two groups. One of them turned south-east, towards the valley of the Bebrava River, as allegedly proven by two yet unpublished written sources.²⁴ Other forces continued along the Váh River, where stands another stone castle, Beckov. The captain of the castle, Michael, was not present during the passing of Orda's troops, as he was being rewarded for remaining in the king's company around Rákos.²⁵ The Slovak National Museum in Martin contains one arrowhead with a leaf-shaped blade and dividing ring on the tang that can be connected with the eastern steppe nomads of late medieval period. This was found around Nové Mesto nad Váhom, which is close by.²⁶ Unfortunately, no other information is known, but it is possible that this proves the presence of the Mongol army passing by towards the West Slovak Lowland.

²¹ Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2007), p. 79.

²² Tamara Nešporová, "Príspevok k problematike včasnostredovekého a stredovekého osídlenia historického Trenčianskeho chotára a najbližšieho okolia" [On the topic of early medieval and medieval settlement of historical region of Trenčín and surroundings], Archaeologia Historica 25 (2000), p. 202.

²³ Nešporová, "Príspevok k problematike včasnostredovekého a stredovekého osídlenia," p. 200.

²⁴ Marsina and Marek, *Tatársky vpád*, p. 17, n. 31.

²⁵ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:98–99.

²⁶ Ruttkay, "Waffen und Reiterausrüstung," fig. 20.: 2.

The Trail west of Váh River

Continuing on the western bank of the Váh River, the next major city in the Mongols' path was Trnava. There is no proof about it being taken by the Mongols, but there are hints pointing to military clashes around the time of invasion. Recent excavations of an ossuary in the city included the radiocarbon dating of one layer of bones, of which three samples belonged to the second third of the thirteenth century, and may be interpreted as connected with the Mongol invasion or the subsequent famine.²⁷ From Trnava also comes a coin hoard with a collection typical of the finds associated with the Mongol invasion.²⁸ However, it is impossible to securely connect these finds with Orda's horsemen, as there were numerous military clashes in and around the city in the subsequent decades connected with the Hungarian-Czech wars in the second half of the thirteenth century.

The presence of military activity in the Trnava region may also be supported by the finds of skeletal remains buried among the settlement objects of rural settlements surrounding Trnava.²⁹ The problem is that these villages are only roughly dated by ceramic fragments to the eleventh–twelfth centuries, which cannot exclude their survival into the first decades of the thirteenth centuries, as the pottery shards are not precisely chronologically sensitive. The first of the objects with skeletal remains was unearthed in the medieval village of Zeleneč,³⁰ where two skeletons lay on the top of a nearly filled settlement pit.³¹ Both of the deceased were adults of an unidentified sex who had obviously just been thrown into the pit, resting on one side, with bent arms and legs. Both had intentionally crushed skulls: part of the face of one had been smashed, while the second was broken on its side.³² The donation charter of King Béla IV issued in 1243 describes the land as depopulated and without inhabitants,³³ making it realistic to connect the deaths

²⁷ Erik Hrnčiarik, "Výsledky archeologických výskumov katedry klasickej archeológie v Trnave v roku 2015" [Results of the archaeological excavations of the Department of Classical Archaeology in Trnava in the year 2015], *Informátor Slovenskej Archeologickej spoločnosti* 27, no. 1 (2016), pp. 37–38.

²⁸ Klára Mészárosová, "Nález mincí z 13. storočia v Trnave" [Thirteenth-century coins from Trnava], *Slovenská numizmatika* 12 (1992), pp. 141–70.

²⁹ Milan Hanuliak, "K problematike skeletov ľudských jedincov zo sídliskových objektov" [On the subject of human skeletal remains in settlement objects], *Slovenská Archeológia* 45, no. 1 (1997), pp. 157–82.

³⁰ Vladimír Mináč, "Zaniknutá stredoveká osada v Slovenskej Novej Vsi-Zelenči" [An abandoned medieval settlement in Slovenská Nová Ves-Zeleneč], Archaeologia Historica 5 (1980), pp. 209–15.

³¹ Hanuliak, "K problematike skeletov ľudských jedincov," fig. 8. 3.

³² Hanuliak, "K problematike skeletov ľudských jedincov," p. 166.

³³ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:82–83.

of these people with the Mongol invasion. A similar situation was unearthed in the village of Žlkovce, where the remains of more than one person were found inside a thirteenth-century kiln.³⁴ However, there is no more information about this, and the related material is not published, so this find cannot be connected with the Mongol invasion with surety, thereby excluding their presence due to one of the other military activities that took place during the thirteenth century. However, the fact that the deceased were not buried in a hallowed ground, which would have occurred if the dead were found by other survivors of the attack, suggests that the whole village or hamlet perished and there was no one to bury the former, or that they died there. The attacks of Czech armies in the second half of the thirteenth century were not focused mainly on simple peasants, but were more about the seizure of territory, contradicting the idea of killing valuable human resources. A very similar find was unearthed in Cegléd on the territory of present-day Hungary, where remains of a mother with children were found in an oven, presumably having hidden there.³⁵ Also in the vicinity of Trnava, two sites contained militaria with connection to late medieval nomads, in the villages of Zvončín and Trstín.³⁶ It is not possible to say with certainty whether this material was left there by an invading Mongol army, or later by Cumans in the employment of the Hungarian kings.

Continuing southwest on the southern side of the Little Carpathians lies the village of Saint Martin in the cadaster of Senec, which was abandoned and not restored in the thirteenth century.³⁷ According to the movable material, mainly pottery shards, the village was probably settled in two phases, both during the ninth to tenth centuries and the eleventh and twelfth. However, as dating using pottery is not very precise, it is not possible to exclude the existence of the settlement in the first decades of the thirteenth century. One grain pit belonging to a group of the youngest dated objects contained a skeleton of a robust older man inside it.³⁸ The reasons for his death are unknown, as anthropologists could not find any abnormal signs on the body. The man could have been an outcast, not fit to be buried in the local cemetery, but he may have died a violent death that is not identifiable on the

³⁴ Juraj Pavúk, "Druhý rok záchranného výskumu v Žlkovciach" [Second year of the rescue excavations in Žlkovce], Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1981, 1982, pp. 219–21.

³⁵ Gyöngyi Gulyás, "Egy elpusztult tatárjáráskori ház Cegléd határában" [A destroyed Mongol invasion-period house in the borders of Cegléd], in *Carmen miserabile: A Tatárjárás régészeti emlékei Magyarországon; Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére*, ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), p. 31.

³⁶ Michal Holeščák, "Late Medieval Nomads in Little Carpathians," *Acta Militaria Mediaevalia* 16 (2020), pp. 89–104, https://doi.org/10.48280/AMMXVII.2020.004.

³⁷ Milan Hanuliak, "Stredoveké sídlisko v Senci-Svätom Martine" [Medieval settlement in Senec-Svätý Martin], *Slovenská archeológia* 56, no. 2 (2008), pp. 293–340.

³⁸ Hanuliak, "Stredoveké sídlisko v Senci-Svätom Martine," 314–19.

bones, and was put into the pit during a hasty funeral ceremony. The fragment of an eastern type of arrowhead that was found at the site points towards the latter.³⁹ Also being on the trail that Orda's forces took, it is possible to count this site as among the localities with a potential connection to the Mongol invasion. Two arrowheads that can also be broadly attributed to late medieval nomads were unearthed in the nearby village of Bernolákovo, possibly from a grave, found during digging in a local sandpit.⁴⁰ No more information can be provided—only that one of the arrowheads had a ring dividing the blade and a tang, a feature very rare to Magyar types of arrowheads but common on late medieval specimens.

Further along this trail lies Bratislava, the current Slovak capital. Mainly written sources attest to its position during the invasion years 1241–1242. Chronologically, it is first mentioned in a donation charter issued by Béla IV to a Bratislava citizen, Woch, for the land of Zeleneč, among other areas, for giving the king fresh horses while on the run from the Mongols.⁴¹ It is clearly stated that the king's forces crossed the Danube in Bratislava, with certainty through the well-defended ford that existed below the castle. The presence of the Mongol army is attested to by two charters issued much later by King Ladislaus IV. The first one mentions *terra Blumenau*,⁴² and the second the land of Widrich, which was depopulated during the invasion.⁴³ Both of them lie to the north-west of the city, towards the so-called Lamač Gate that runs through the Little Carpathians towards the Záhorie Lowland, from where a number of coin hoards from the vicinity of Skalica dated to the years of the invasion have been recorded.⁴⁴

Other villages in the surroundings of Bratislava were deserted in the thirteenth century, but the reason is not recorded and is therefore questionable.⁴⁵ The last evidence that suggests the Mongol presence is six arrowheads without a known find situation that are stored at the museum in Göteborg.⁴⁶ One of them is of a typical late-nomad type (kite-shaped with a dividing ring between blade and a tang), and another four of less precise dating are leaf-shaped and rhombic with a

³⁹ Hanuliak, "Stredoveké sídlisko v Senci-Svätom Martine," pl. XI: 5.

⁴⁰ Magda Pichlerová, "Železné strelky z Bernolákova" [Iron arrowheads from Bernolákovo], Archeologické nálezy a výskumy na Slovensku 1986, (1987), 89, fig. 41.

⁴¹ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:82–83.

⁴² Pavel Dvořák, Stopy dávnej minulosti, vol. 5: Slovensko v stredoveku: Druhé kráľovstvo a jeho koniec [Tracks of ancient past: vol. 5: Medieval Slovakia: The second kingdom and its end] (Trnava: Vydavateľstvo Rak, 2009), pp. 175.

⁴³ ÁUO 4:310-312.

⁴⁴ Ján Hunka, "Význam nálezov mincí zo Skalice a okolia [Importance of coin finds from Skalica and surroundings]," Zborník Záhorského múzea v Skalici 7 (2014), pp. 9-18.

⁴⁵ Dvořák, Stopy dávnej minulosti, 5:174–77.

⁴⁶ Nicholas Niklasson, "Tschechoslowakische Funde im Museum zu Göteborg (Schweden)," Sudeta 8 (1932), pp. 34–39, fig. 7.

tang. The form of the last exemplar is a mix between forked and chisel-shaped. We know for sure that Bratislava with its castle and fortified town held out against the Mongols, as is written in the letter to the pope,⁴⁷ although we cannot be certain whether the villages were destroyed by the Mongols that were chasing the king (if they got so far), or by Orda's forces during the latter's occupation of the region north of the Danube. It is possible that the fortified city was not a relevant target, and after pillaging the countryside, the Mongols moved either towards the Záhorie Lowland or southwest along the Danube.

East of River Váh

Crossing the river Váh at an unknown place or places, the trail of the Mongol army continued towards the city of Nitra, which stands above the eponymous river. It is possible that they were present close to the ford or bridge in Hlohovec, as the bishop of Nitra complained in 1270 that after the Mongol invasion local toll collectors stopped paying the tithe to the bishopric.⁴⁸ The northernmost point that can definitely be connected with their passing is the village of Dvorníky. According to the written sources, Mongols slaughtered everyone but four servants of the Nitra castle, along with their families.⁴⁹ In the vicinity of the village lay the ford through the Váh River, from where numerous archaeological finds were recovered, ranging from prehistory until the medieval period.⁵⁰ Loosely connected with the Mongol invasion may be a couple of spearheads with narrow and long blades, although their dating without other reliable finds cannot be exact, as the latter did not appear only during the period of the Mongol invasion.⁵¹

From Dvorníky, Orda's troops continued towards Nitra. According to the privileges awarded the city from 1248, King Béla also stopped here during his escape and recruited armed men into his party.⁵² Nitra by itself, or more probably mainly the villages surrounding it, was also attacked in 1241–1242. In a letter to the pope, Nitra

⁴⁷ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:73–74.

⁴⁸ Peter Ivanič and Martin Husár, "Prechody cez dolný a stredný tok rieky Váh vo vrcholnom a neskorom stredoveku v kontexte písomných a hmotných prameňov" [Crossings over the lower and central reaches of the River Váh in the high and late Middle Ages in the context of written and material sources], *Archaeologia historica* 44 (2019), p. 1037.

⁴⁹ ÁUO 7: 255-56.

⁵⁰ Peter Novosedlík, "Nález bronzových a železných predmetov v Dvorníkoch v časti Posádka" [Bronze and iron items from Dvorníky, part Posádka], Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku, 1990, 82–83.

⁵¹ Ivanič and Husár, "Prechody cez dolný a stredný tok rieky Váh," p. 1037.

⁵² Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 4:2 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), pp. 455–61.

is mentioned as one of the places where the people held out against the Mongols,⁵³ but the archaeological and historical situation shows that a number of surrounding villages or parts of the *suburbium* became derelict during the thirteenth century.⁵⁴ That Mongols were involved in part of this destruction, possibly together with the military conflicts of later years, can be attested to by four late medieval nomadic arrowheads found in an unspecified place during the twentieth century.⁵⁵

Continuing downstream of the Nitra River, more sites show a possible connection with the Mongol invasion. Human remains of three individuals were unearthed at the early and high medieval village in the cadastral area of the village Komjatice.⁵⁶ The first one was a male of a mature age, between 40 and 60 years old, laid on his back possibly in a shallow grave without visible contours; the, second, a young woman laying on her side without a visible grave; and the third, a young male pushed into a small storage pit.⁵⁷ By the superposition of the finds, it can be concluded, that these deceased belonged to the village that existed from the eleventh until the beginning of the thirteenth century, based mostly on the ceramic finds.⁵⁸. By the character of their deposition, it is possible to assume, that they were not buried during the time of the existence of the village, but after it's downfall, which may be that can be theoretically connected with the Mongol invasion. Indirect evidence of the Mongol desolation may also can be a settlement of the Cumans around the land of Nyárhíd and Šurany,⁵⁹ a practice feature used commonly encountered in the central part of the kingdom.⁶⁰ Other mention of the Mongols in this region is a charter of the owners of the village of Jatov that, confirms their possession of the latter due to their valiant fight against the Mongols,⁶¹

⁵³ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:73–74.

⁵⁴ Tomáš König, Silvia Bodoriková, and Marek Budaj, *Nitra-Mlyny: Stredoveké osídlenie lokality* [Nitra-Mlyny: The medieval phase of the site] (Bratislava: Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2014), pp. 101–2; Peter Bednár and Eva Fottová, "Nitra-tržnica: príspevok k poznaniu zázemia stredovekého mesta" [Nitra marketplace: on the topic of the outskirts of medieval cities], *Archaeologia Historica* 28 (2003), pp. 312–13.

⁵⁵ Ruttkay, "Waffen und Reiterausrüstung," pl. 32: 2-5; Michal Holeščák, "Mongolian Arrowheads in Today's Slovakia?," *Archeologijn Sudlal* 33 (2015), pp. 497–98.

⁵⁶ Peter Šalkovský and Ivona Vlkolinská, "Včasnostredoveké a vrcholnostredoveké sídlisko v Komjaticiach" [Early medieval and high medieval settlement in Komjatice], Študijné Zvesti AÚ SAV 23 (1987), pp. 127–72.

⁵⁷ Šalkovský and Vlkolinská, "Včasnostredoveké a vrcholnostredoveké sídlisko v Komjaticiach," p. 148.

Šalkovský and Vlkolinská, "Včasnostredoveké a vrcholnostredoveké sídlisko v Komjaticiach,"p.
 168.

⁵⁹ Miloš Marek, *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku* [Foreign ethnicities in medieval Slovakia] (Martin: Matica Slovenská, 2006), p. 333.

⁶⁰ András Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), pp. 111–13.

⁶¹ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:416.

however, it is not possible to say whether they were fighting them there, or in another part of the kingdom.

Remains indicating a violent event with good probability of being connected to the Mongols were unearthed at the small solitary hamlet in the cadaster of village Palárikovo, dated to the thirteenth century.⁶² The skeletal remains of (probably) a family that were killed here were found in an entrance to a dugout hut. They consist of adult man without a skull and one arm, a woman lying under him in a foetal position, and two juvenile individuals, one with a crushed face and another with a dislocated skull lying deeper within the hut. It is possible to assume that this was the result of the Mongol invasion not only because of the dating of the site, but because of two items found in the same hut. The first one is a spearhead with a thick blade with a quadratic cross-section—a type that was used over a wide period of time and range, including by the invading Mongols.⁶³ The second object is a cast bronze mount of a circular shape with vegetable ornamentation that has no analogy in Central Europe. It is also not possible to exclude a badly conserved iron item that may possibly be an awl-shaped arrowhead with a broken tang.⁶⁴

Further south lies the site of Hurbanovo-Bohatá.⁶⁵ In the first half of the thirteenth century, the locality was probably a small hamlet, similar to Palárikovo. The main dugout hut, which according to the material found inside can be dated definitely to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, was either destroyed or left in a hurry, since the inhabitants did not take with them many valuable metal items, such as two spurs, shears, knives, and buckles. Questionable is an item that can be considered an arrowhead, with a dating most probably not connected to the locals, but possibly to invading eastern warriors.⁶⁶ Another arrowhead that can be definitely connected with the eastern nomads was found in the area of the settlement, in one of the shallow pits dated to the same time as the hut.⁶⁷ The rest of the finds from this time period also suggest that the inhabitants left in a hurry, as they include undamaged spurs, a horse bit, and agricultural tools. Many of these shallow pits also contained traces of a fireplace on their bottoms, with an unknown purpose. It is possible to assume that this hamlet was abandoned in fear of the

⁶² Milan Hanuliak, "Vrcholnostredoveké sídliskové objekty z Palárikova" [High medieval settlement objects from Palárikovo], *Študijné Zvesti AÚ SAV* 33 (1999), pp. 243–56.

⁶³ Witold Świętosławski, Uzbrojenie koczowników wielkiego stepu v czasach ekspansji Mongołów [Armament of the nomads of the Great Steppe during the Mongol expansion] (Łódź: Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1996), pp. 35–37.

⁶⁴ Hanuliak, "Vrcholnostredoveké sídliskové objekty z Palárikova," fig. 4.

⁶⁵ Alojz Habovštiak, "Príspevok k poznaniu nížinnej dediny v XI. - XIII. stor. [Contribution to the research of the lowland village in eleventh- thirteenth centuries]," *Slovenská Archeológia* 9, no. 2 (1961), pp. 462–75.

⁶⁶ Habovštiak, "Príspevok k poznaniu nížinnej dediny," fig. 17: 15.

⁶⁷ Habovštiak, "Príspevok k poznaniu nížinnej dediny," fig. 27: 18.

Mongols who indeed arrived on site, and possibly that part of the army or a scouting unit or vanguard spent some time there, using the shallow objects as fire pits. As the Czech king, Wenceslas, wrote to the pope, probably in May 1241, the Mongols set up their camps close to the Danube—this is theoretically one of them.⁶⁸ After the Mongol invasion this site was again settled and a church was built there, with a cemetery containing items datable to the second half of the thirteenth century.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, part of the site that could have shed more light on the situation was not professionally excavated.

Villagers from Bohatá could have fled towards Komárno, eighteenth kilometres away, which was one of the castles that was holding up against Mongols.⁷⁰ Another charter, praising a man named Foluune who organized the defence of Komárno castle, mentions that many people from its vicinity were saved behind its walls.⁷¹ For his deeds, Foluune was given land in the depopulated village of Chotín, where—besides the early medieval settlement and cemetery—three arrowheads and one broken tang were found in a solitary grave.⁷² This was dated to the tenth century, although one of the arrowheads looks like a Mongol type, shaped like an ivy leaf,⁷³ while the other two have a slightly visible circular shoulder,⁷⁴ therefore further analysis will be needed.

The Hron river basin

At least part of Orda's army from Nitra probably moved west, towards the Hron River. Other indirect evidence in the form of a Cuman presence may be found in the vicinity of the present-day town of Zlaté Moravce.⁷⁵ Further south on the Hron River lies the castle of Tekov (Bors), positioned on an important crossroad on the east-west road from Levice to Zlaté Moravce and the south-north road from Esztergom to Zvolen and Krupina,⁷⁶ all of the latter being localities mentioned in the present article. Since probably the eleventh century the castle contained a Romanesque church that burned down before the fourteenth century and was later

⁶⁸ Marsina, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, 2:66.

⁶⁹ Habovštiak, "Príspevok k poznaniu nížinnej dediny," fig. 31.

⁷⁰ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:73–74.

⁷¹ ÁUO 7: 26–27.

⁷² Gabriel Nevizánsky, "Staromaďarský hrob z Chotína" [An Old Hungarian grave from Chotín], Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1978, 1978, p. 175.

⁷³ Nevizánsky, "Staromaďarský hrob z Chotína," fig. 96: 1.

⁷⁴ Nevizánsky, "Staromaďarský hrob z Chotína," fig. 96: 2, 3.

⁷⁵ Marek, Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku, pp. 334–35.

⁷⁶ Henrieta Žažová and Martin Bóna, "Pamiatky" [Monuments], in Starý Tekov – Monografia obce, ed. Jarmila Bátovská and Branislav Kinčok (Starý Tekov: Obec Starý Tekov, 2014), p. 240.

rebuilt in the Gothic style.⁷⁷ Mongol involvement in this fire is underlined by the fact that in the mid-thirteenth century a new fortification was built, creating the smaller area of the later phase of the castle, excluding the church in the suburbium.⁷⁸ The site of the castle and the town under it were later destroyed by Matthias III Csák, but the burning of churches was not a common practice of the Christian feudal lords of that time, even though this eventuality is not impossible.

Close by lies the derelict village of Baratka, by Levice. The main reason why this site is considered to have been hit by the Mongol invasion is the existence of two churches, excavated on the same spot.⁷⁹ The first, built during the twelfth century, was highly damaged or even fully destroyed by fire and subsequently deconstructed, as proven by the building material in the filling of the graves of the local cemetery. On the same spot, a second church was built in around the mid-thirteenth century, based on the architectonical research. Material from the surrounding settlement contains one narrow awl-shaped arrowhead with a tang that may possibly be connected with the Mongol invasion.⁸⁰ If the village was attacked, and the church burned during the invasion of 1241-1242, it was quickly reconstructed, and life here returned. However, as with the church in Starý Tekov, it is possible to assume that if the fire was not accidental, the churches were indeed burned by the Mongols, as there are other such recorded sites in other parts of the Hungarian kingdom.⁸¹

The presence of Mongols can be also proven further up the Hron in the central part of Slovakia. The cities of Zvolen and Krupina allegedly lost their privilege charters during the invasion, and both sites also contain archaeological cues that support the former claim.⁸² Zvolen castle contains a number of arrowheads that can be connected with late medieval nomads,⁸³ and at Krupina one of the biggest hoards in the region was found, dated to right before the Mongol invasion.⁸⁴ At

⁷⁷ Žažová and Bóna, "Pamiatky," p. 248.

⁷⁸ Peter Bednár and Eva Fottová, "Výskum v Starom Tekove" [Excavations at Starý Tekov], Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 2000, (2001), pp. 36–37.

⁷⁹ Alojz Habovštiak, "Zaniknutá stredoveká dedina Bratka pri Leviciach" [Abandoned medieval village Bratka by Levice], *Slovenská Archeológia* 11, no. 2 (1963), pp. 442–43.

⁸⁰ Habovštiak, "Zaniknutá stredoveká dedina Bratka," fig. 22: 16.

⁸¹ Szabolcs Rosta, "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The destruction of Pétermonostora], in Carmen miserabile: A Tatárjárás régészeti emlékei Magyarországon; Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére, ed. György V. Székely and Szabolcs Rosta (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 207–9.

⁸² Fejér, CD, 4:1:329–33.

⁸³ Holeščák, "Mongolian Arrowheads in Today's Slovakia?," p. 496.

⁸⁴ Ján Hunka and Marek Budaj, "Poklad Mincí a Sekaného Striebra z 13. Storočia z Krupiny" [A Hoard of Coins and Raw Silver from the Thirteenth Century at Krupina], Borník Slovenského Národného Múzea - História Z43 (2003), pp. 127–53.

Banská Štiavnica the best-preserved typical type of Mongol arrowhead of an ivyleaf shape was found.⁸⁵ The Mongols could have got here not only along the Hron River, but also directly from the southeast, perhaps chasing King Béla after the battle of Muhi, as the written sources indicate their passing through Bušince,⁸⁶ Šurice,⁸⁷ and possibly around Fil'akovo castle.⁸⁸ It is not possible to ascertain how big this detachment was, how far they got in their pursuit, and whether and when they met with Orda's forces, which entered the kingdom sometime later. It is also not possible to definitely say that this hunt was led by Quadan, who is mentioned by Rogerius as the person who was chasing the king after the crossing of the Danube by Esztergom.⁸⁹ The haste with which the king escaped and the on-the-spot recruitment of various men into his company—such as a royal fisherman from village of Veľký Pýr,⁹⁰ and local armed youths from the city of Nitra, along with the quick change of horses in Bratislava—suggests that there was imminent Mongol danger close behind.

Back to the lower reaches of the Hron River, the Mongols possibly passed by an important ninth–eleventh centre in Bíňa, also widely settled in the period of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries.⁹¹ Archaeological research has not yet provided data about any kind of destruction layer or material remains that can be directly connected with the invasion, even though it is highly probable that the Mongol forces passed through this region. Only a few scattered small hoards from that area that can be broadly dated to the twelfth- or the first half of the thirteenth century point out the turbulent times in the period of research.⁹²

⁸⁵ Holeščák, "Mongolian Arrowheads in Today's Slovakia?," pp. 495–96.

⁸⁶ Fejér, Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, 4:2:53.

⁸⁷ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:133.

⁸⁸ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:73–74.

⁸⁹ Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta: Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars," in Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, trans. Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010), p. 215.

⁹⁰ Marsina, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2:212–13.

⁹¹ Matej Ruttkay and Ivan Cheben, "Včasnostredoveké sídlisko a pohrebiskov Bíni" [Early medieval settlement and graveyard in Bíňa], *Slovenská Archeológia* 40, no. 1 (1992), p. 117.

⁹² Marek Budaj, "Dva zaujímavé nálezy arpádovských mincí z 12. storočia zo zbierok Slovenského národného múzea: Historického múzea" [Two remarkable finds of the Árpád dynasty coins from the twelfth century in collections of the Slovak National Museum: Historical Museum], Numizmatika 26 (2016), p. 31.

Close to Esztergom, on the northern side of the Danube, lies Chlaba, a site that could also have been hit by the Mongols.⁹³ Chlaba has been settled since prehistory—some objects are from the early medieval period, with the bulk of the settlement dated to the eleventh—twelfth centuries. After this period, the site was seemingly abandoned (during the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth centuries), when another settlement arose.⁹⁴ This seeming abandonment around the time of the Mongol invasion can be hypothetically proven by a couple of eastern types of arrowheads, some exemplars made of bone,⁹⁵ and a fragment of a narrow, awl-shaped spearhead.⁹⁶ The 17 spurs with a wheels, dated at the earliest from the end of the thirteenth century, may also be connected with the royal hunting grounds of King Charles Robert of Anjou that are recorded in the written sources, also proven by the bones of game animals on the site.⁹⁷ Purely hypothetically, the absence of dugout huts and finds of scissors which are common at Cuman sites in the central part of the kingdom may be yet other indirect evidence of depopulation after the Mongol invasion.⁹⁸

The last point at which Orda's forces converged before passing the Danube at its confluence with the Hron River was possibly in the vicinity of today's town of Štúrovo. Archaeological excavations from the high medieval period found only sporadic pottery shards that can be dated to the thirteenth century,⁹⁹ with settlement finds from the ninth–eleventh centuries.¹⁰⁰ Coin hoards from the twelfth century found in the vicinity of Štúrovo and its surroundings, however, show the presence of an important road.¹⁰¹ The written sources speak more vividly than the archaeological remains—namely, those of Master Rogerius, who describes the well-known story of the Mongols crossing the Danube. Since they could not pass the Danube, the Mongols left a herd of horses unattended on the other side of the

98 Pálóczi-Horváth, Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians, p. 116, fig. 70.

⁹³ Milan Hanuliak, "Praveké, včasnodejinné a stredoveké osídlenie v Chľabe" [Prehistoric, early historical and medieval settlement of Chľaba], *Slovenská Archeológia* 37, no. 1 (1999), pp. 151–212..

⁹⁴ Hanuliak, "Praveké, včasnodejinné a stredoveké osídlenie v Chľabe," pp. 185–88.

Hanuliak, "Praveké, včasnodejinné a stredoveké osídlenie v Chľabe," pl. XIII: 23, 36; XIV: 9, 29, 33.

⁹⁶ Hanuliak, "Praveké, včasnodejinné a stredoveké osídlenie v Chľabe," pl. XIV: 20.

⁹⁷ Hanuliak, "Praveké, včasnodejinné a stredoveké osídlenie v Chľabe," p. 187.

⁹⁹ Juraj Pavúk and Peter Romsauer, "Výsledky prieskumu v Obide" [Results of a survey in Obid], *Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku* 1974, (1975), pp. 77–78.

¹⁰⁰ Ivan Kuzma, "Pohrebisko v Štúrove-Obide" [Graveyard in Štúrovo-Obid], Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1995, (1996), pp. 115–16; Ondrej Ožďáni, "Výsledky záchranného výskumu v Štúrove v Obidskej puste" [Findings of the rescue excavations in Štúrovo in Obid steppe], Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1984 1985 (n.d.), p. 183.

¹⁰¹ Budaj, "Dva zaujímavé nálezy arpádovských mincí," p. 32.

river and waited until the Hungarians went to take them, indicating it was safe to pass.¹⁰² It is possible to assume that Hungarians living around present-day Štúrovo left for the assumed safety behind the walls of Esztergom before the arrival of the enemy force. After the crossing, the outskirts of the city were ransacked,¹⁰³ but the citadel withstood the attack due to the stern defence of Spaniard Simon, and the Mongols left the territory north of the Danube.¹⁰⁴

Summary

The northern column of the Mongol army entered the Hungarian kingdom in the north-western part of present-day Slovakia and continued downstream beside the main river in the region, the Váh. Small parties may have moved within a wider area, penetrating the valleys of its tributaries. After entering the flat terrain, they passed—probably divided into smaller units—along existing roads and the other big rivers in the region, mostly the Nitra and the Hron. Hungarian military forces were depleted by the battle of Muhi, but still able to resist their attacks in the few well-fortified castles. Numerous finds of destruction layers, bodies not buried in a proper way, and scattered militaria show that the destruction of unfortified settlements happened on a massive scale, mainly in the Western Slovak Lowland. The Mongol army was in the territory north of Danube as early as in May 1241 and left it in February 1242, which means that the events described here happened within the span of approximately ten months.

Bibliography

- Bednár, Peter, and Eva Fottová. "Nitra-tržnica: príspevok k poznaniu zázemia stredovekého mesta" [Nitra marketplace: on the topic of the outskirts of medieval cities]. *Archaeologia Historica* 28 (2003): 303–15.
- ———. "Výskum v Starom Tekove" [Excavations at Starý Tekov]. Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 2000, 2001, 36–37.

¹⁰² Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 215.

¹⁰³ István Horváth, "Tatárjárás kori leletek Esztergomból" [Finds in Esztergom from the time of the Mongol Conquest], in A tatárjárás, ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007), pp. 56–59.

¹⁰⁴ Comes Symeon Hispanus, in Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 217–19.

- Buchta, Adam. "Kto vlastne bol župan Bohumír, šľachtic z prvej písomnej zmienky (1244) o Kysuciach?" [Who was Lord Bohumír, nobleman in the earliest mentions (1244) about the Kysuce region?]. In *Šľachta na Kysuciach a jej susedia* [Nobility from Kysuce and their neighbours], edited by David Pindúr and Martin Turóci, 29–37. Čadca: Kysucké múzeum v Čadci, 2012.
- Budaj, Marek. "Dva zaujímavé nálezy arpádovských mincí z 12. storočia zo zbierok Slovenského národného múzea: Historického múzea" [Two remarkable finds of the Árpád dynasty coins from twelfth century in collections of the Slovak National Museum: Historical Museum]. *Numizmatika* 26 (2016): 28–34.
- Dvořák, Pavel. Stopy dávnej minulosti, vol. 5: Slovensko v stredoveku: Druhé kráľovstvo a jeho koniec [Tracks of ancient past: vol. 5: Medieval Slovakia: The second kingdom and its end]. Trnava: Vydavateľstvo Rak, 2009.
- Fejér, Georgius, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Vol. 4:1. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829.
- ———, ed. Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. Vol. 4:2. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829.
- Gulyás, Gyöngyi. "Egy elpusztult tatárjáráskori ház Cegléd határában" [A destroyed Mongol invasion-period house in the borders of Cegléd]. In *Carmen miserabile:* A Tatárjárás régészeti emlékei Magyarországon; Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére, edited by Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, 29–56. Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014.
- Habovštiak, Alojz. "Príspevok k poznaniu nížinnej dediny v XI. XIII. stor." [Contribution to the research of the lowland village in eleventh-thirteenth centuries]. *Slovenská Archeológia* 9, no. 2 (1961): 451–82.
- ———. "Zaniknutá stredoveká dedina Bratka pri Leviciach" [Abandoned medieval village Bratka by Levice]. Slovenská Archeológia 11, no. 2 (1963): 407–58.
- Hanuliak, Milan. "K problematike skeletov ľudských jedincov zo sídliskových objektov" [On the subject of human skeletal remains in settlement objects]. *Slovenská Archeológia* 45, no. 1 (1997): 157–82.
- ———. "Praveké, včasnodejinné a stredoveké osídlenie v Chľabe" [Prehistoric, early historical and medieval settlement of Chľaba]. *Slovenská Archeológia* 37, no. 1 (1999): 151–212.
- ———. "Stredoveké sídlisko v Senci-Svätom Martine" [Medieval settlement in Senec-Svätý Martin]. Slovenská archeológia 56, no. 2 (2008): 293–340.

- ———. "Vrcholnostredoveké sídliskové objekty z Palárikova" [High medieval settlement objects from Palárikovo]. Študijné Zvesti AÚ SAV 33 (1999): 243–56.
- Holeščák, Michal. "Late Medieval Nomads in Little Carpathians." *Acta Militaria Mediaevalia* 16 (2020): 89–104. https://doi.org/10.48280/AMMXVII.2020.004.

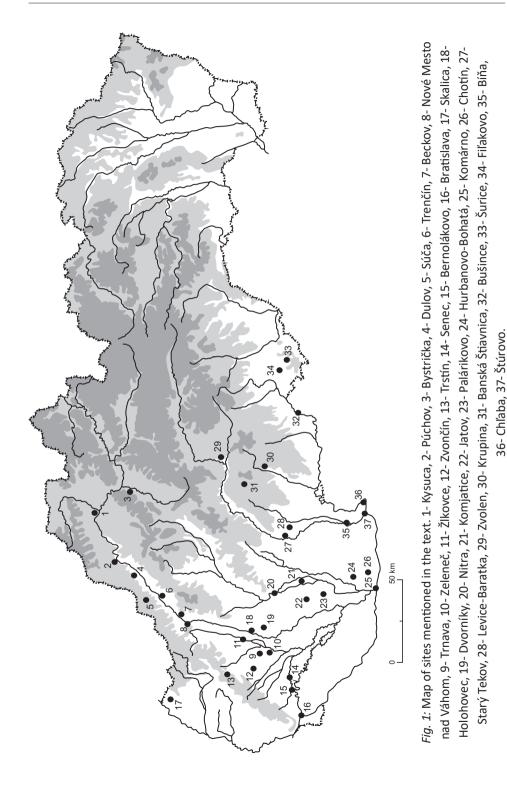
 ———. "Mongolian Arrowheads in Today's Slovakia?" Archeologijn Sudlal 33 (2015): 494–99.

- Horváth, István. "Tatárjárás kori leletek Esztergomból" [Finds in Esztergom from the time of the Mongol Conquest]. In *A tatárjárás*, edited by Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam, 56–59. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007.
- Hrnčiarik, Erik. "Výsledky archeologických výskumov katedry klasickej archeológie v Trnave v roku 2015" [Results of the archaeological excavations of the Department of Classical Archaeology in Trnava in the year 2015]. *Informátor Slovenskej Archeologickej spoločnosti* 27, no. 1 (2016): 36–38.
- Hunka, Ján. "Význam nálezov mincí zo Skalice a okolia" [Importance of coin finds from Skalica and surroundings]. *Zborník Záhorského múzea v Skalici* 7 (2014): 9-18.
- Hunka, Ján, and Marek Budaj. "Poklad Mincí a Sekaného Striebra z 13. Storočia z Krupiny" [A Hoard of Coins and Raw Silver from the Thirteenth Century at Krupina]. *Borník Slovenského Národného Múzea História* Z43 (2003): 127–53.
- Hunka, Ján, and Marián Soják. "Nové doklady k vpádu mongolsko-tatárskych vojsk do Uhorska v rokoch 1241-1242" [New data on the Mongol and Tartar invasions of Hungary in 1241-1242]. In *Stan i potrzeby badań archeologicznych w Karpatach*, edited by Jan Gancarski, 541–62. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie, 2017.
- Ivanič, Peter, and Martin Husár. "Prechody cez dolný a stredný tok rieky Váh vo vrcholnom a neskorom stredoveku v kontexte písomných a hmotných prameňov"
 [Crossings over the lower and central reaches of the River Váh in the high and late Middle Ages in the context of written and material sources]. Archaeologia historica 44 (2019): 1029–55.
- Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410*. The Medieval World. Harlow; New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- König, Tomáš, Silvia Bodoriková, and Marek Budaj. *Nitra-Mlyny: Stredoveké osídlenie lokality* [Nitra-Mlyny: The medieval phase of the site]. Bratislava: Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2014.

- Kuzma, Ivan. "Pohrebisko v Štúrove-Obide" [Graveyard in Štúrovo-Obid]. Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1995, 1996, 115–16.
- Laszlovszky, József, Stephen Pow, Beatrix F. Romhányi, László Ferenczi, and Zsolt Pinke. "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42: Short- and Long-Term Perspectives." *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2018).
- Marek, Miloš. *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku* [Foreign ethnicities in medieval Slovakia]. Martin: Matica Slovenská, 2006.
- Marsina, Richard, ed. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*. Vol. 2. Bratislava: Obzor, 1987.
- Marsina, Richard, and Miloš Marek. *Tatársky vpád* [Tatar invasion]. Bratislava: Rak, 2008.
- May, Timothy. *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2007.
- Mészárosová, Klára. "Nález mincí z 13. storočia v Trnave" [Thirteenth-century coins from Trnava]. *Slovenská numizmatika* 12 (1992): 141–70.
- Mináč, Vladimír. "Zaniknutá stredoveká osada v Slovenskej Novej Vsi-Zelenči" [An abandoned medieval settlement in Slovenská Nová Ves-Zeleneč]. *Archaeologia Historica* 5 (1980): 209–15.
- Nešporová, Tamara. "Príspevok k problematike včasnostredovekého a stredovekého osídlenia historického Trenčianskeho chotára a najbližšieho okolia"
 [On the topic of early medieval and medieval settlement of historical region of Trenčín and surroundings]. Archaeologia Historica 25 (2000): 197–204.
- Nevizánsky, Gabriel. "Staromaďarský hrob z Chotína" [An Old Hungarian grave from Chotín]. Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1978, 1978, 175.
- Niklasson, Nicholas. "Tschechoslowakische Funde im Museum zu Göteborg (Schweden)." Sudeta 8 (1932): 34-39.
- Novosedlík, Peter. "Nález bronzových a železných predmetov v Dvorníkoch v časti Posádka" [Bronze and iron items from Dvorníky, part Posádka]. Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1990, 1991, 82–83.
- Ožďáni, Ondrej. "Výsledky záchranného výskumu v Štúrove v Obidskej puste" [Findings of the rescue excavations in Štúrovo in Obid steppe]. *Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1984* 1985 (n.d.): 182–84.
- Pálóczi-Horváth, András. *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary*. Budapest: Corvina, 1989.

- Pavúk, Juraj. "Druhý rok záchranného výskumu v Žlkovciach" [Second year of the rescue excavations in Žlkovce]. *Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1981*, 1982, 219–21.
- Pavúk, Juraj, and Peter Romsauer. "Výsledky prieskumu v Obide" [Results of a survey in Obid]. Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku 1974, 1975, 77–78.
- Petrikovich, Ján. "Starožitnícke nálezy na bystrickom Hrádku v Turci" [Antique finds from Hrádok in Turiec]. *Časopis Museálnej Slovenskej spoločnosti* 6 (1903): 81–83.
- Pichlerová, Magda. "Železné strelky z Bernolákova" [Iron arrowheads from Bernolákovo]. Archeologické nálezy a výskumy na Slovensku 1986, 1987, 89.
- Pieta, Karol. "Hromadné nálezy z Prosieka a Vyšného Kubína" [Hoards from Prosiek and Vyšný Kubín]. *Slovenská archeológia* 64, no. 2 (2016): 261–79.
- Rogerius magister. "Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta: Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars." In Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, translated by Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak. Central European Medieval Texts 5. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010.
- Rosta, Szabolcs. "Pétermonostora pusztulása" [The destruction of Pétermonostora]. In Carmen miserabile: A Tatárjárás régészeti emlékei Magyarországon; Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére, edited by György V. Székely and Szabolcs Rosta, 193–230. Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014.
- Ruttkay, Alexander. "Waffen und Reiterausrüstung des 9. bis zur ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Slowakei: Teil 1." *Slovenská Archeológia* 23, no. 1 (1975): 119–216.
- Ruttkay, Matej, and Ivan Cheben. "Včasnostredoveké sídlisko a pohrebiskov Bíni" [Early medieval settlement and graveyard in Bíňa]. *Slovenská Archeológia* 40, no. 1 (1992): 109–34.
- Šalkovský, Peter, and Ivona Vlkolinská. "Včasnostredoveké a vrcholnostredoveké sídlisko v Komjaticiach" [Early medieval and high medieval settlement in Komjatice]. Študijné Zvesti AÚ SAV 23 (1987): 127–72.

- Somer, Tomáš. "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241." *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 2 (2018): 238–51.
- Świętosławski, Witold. Archeologiczne ślady najazdów tatarskich na Europe środkowa w XIII wieku [Archaeological remains of Tartar invasions of Central Europe in the thirteenth century]. Łódź: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1997.
- ———. Uzbrojenie koczowników wielkiego stepu v czasach ekspansji Mongołów [Armament of the nomads of the Great Steppe during the Mongol expansion]. Łódź: Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 1996.
- Uličný, Ferdinand. "Vpády Mongolov na Slovensko v roku 1241" [Invasions of Mongols in Slovakia in 1241]. *Vojenská história* 8, no. 3 (2004): 3–20.
- Wenzel, Gustav, ed. Árpád-kori új okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus; 1235–1260. Vol. 7. 12 vols. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1869.
- ———, ed. Árpád-kori új okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus; 1272–1290. Vol. 4. 12 vols. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1862.
- Žažová, Henrieta, and Martin Bóna. "Pamiatky" [Monuments]. In *Starý Tekov Monografia obce*, edited by Jarmila Bátovská and Branislav Kinčok, 236–67. Starý Tekov: Obec Starý Tekov, 2014.



Béla Zsolt Szakács

The Mongol Invasion and Early Church Architecture in the Szepes/Spiš/Zips Region¹

The word most frequently associated with the Mongol invasion in Central Europe is devastation. However, the exact measures and consequences of these events are much debated in Hungarian scholarship. In order to determine the real situation, different indicators have been used. One of them is the number of churches that existed in the period. József Laszlovszky and Beatrix Romhányi observed that a great number of thirteenth-century brick churches survived in Western Hungary.² Either they were created before the Mongol invasion or were built continuously during the middle third of the thirteenth century—either way they prove continuity and contradict the claims of a larger scale of destruction. This correlates with the observation that devastated regions are rich in hidden treasures of the period, as well as place names ending with "egyháza" (referring to a devastated church). The two regions (devastated Central Hungary and the better-preserved Western Hungary) complete each other. In the following, I would like to apply this methodology to Northern Hungary, where we can observe a third model.

Looking at the map of medieval churches in modern Slovakia, which roughly corresponds to medieval Upper Hungary, a special region stands out with its unusual density of churches. This is the former county of Szepes (Zips in the language of its Saxon settlers and called Spiš by its Slovak inhabitants). During the last decade, I have been able to study and document more than a hundred medieval churches there, among which some seventy can be dated to the thirteenth century

¹ This study was written as part of project No. NKFIH K-128 880 entitled A tatárjárás Magyarországon és a mongol hódítás eurázsiai összefüggései [The Mongol Invasion in Hungary and the Mongol conquest in its Eurasian context].

² József Laszlovszky and Beatrix Romhányi, "A tatárjárás pusztítása és a templomok [The devastation of the Mongol Invasion and the churches]," Várak Kastélyok Templomok 15.2 (2019), pp. 32–35. The latter based their research on the data collected by Ilona Ilona Valter, Romanische Sakralbauten Westpannoniens (Eisenstadt: Roetzer, 1985); Ilona Valter, Árpád-kori téglatemplomok Nyugat-Dunántúlon [Brick churches of Western Hungary in the time of the Árpád Dynasty] (Budapest: METEM, 2004).

or shortly after.³ This region is not only important because of the high number of well-preserved medieval churches, but due to their quality, even if we are mainly talking about village churches.⁴ In the following I will present two typical examples of the period, one from the northern part (Toporc in Hungarian, Toportz in German and Toporec in Slovak), and another one from the west (Batizfalva in Hungarian, Botzdorf in German and Batizocve in Slovak). Later I will also use some other comparative material from the region, too.

As the example of Toporc demonstrates,⁵ the typical village church of the region is a well-structured building consisting of three different parts: the tower, the nave, and the chancel. This is not extraordinary; medieval village churches often

- 4 For the medieval architecture of the region, the most important recent research was carried out by Bibiana Pomfyová in her unpublished doctoral thesis: Bibiana Pomfyová, "Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia: K promblemu počiatkov gotiky na Slovensku" [Sacral architecture of the thirteenth century in Spiš: On the problem of the beginnings of Gothic in Slovakia] (PhD diss., Bratislava, Ústav dejín umenia, Slovenská Akadémia Vied, 2001). Some of her observations were published, e.g., Bibiana Pomfyová, "Počiatky gotickej architektúry [The beginnings of Gothic architecture]," in *Gotika: dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, Slovart, 2003), pp. 39–59; Bibiana Pomfyová, "Vrcholnegotická architektúra na Spiši [High Gothic architecture in Spiš]," in *Gotika: dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, slovart, 2003), pp. 97–109; Bibiana Pomfyová, "Vybrané problémy k dejinám Spišskej stredovekej architektúry [Selected problems of the history of medieval architecture in Spiš]," in *Terra Scepusiensis: stav bádania o dejinách Spiša*, ed. Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza (Levoča Wroclaw: Klaštorisko n.o. and Centrum Badań Slaskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, 2003), pp. 177–191.
- 5 Alžběta Güntherová-Mayerová, ed., Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku [List of monuments in Slovakia], vol. 2 (Bratislava: Obzor, 1968), pp. 291–292; István Bardoly, ed., A "szentek fuvarosa": Divald Kornél felső-magyarországi topográfiája és fényképei 1900–1919 [The "carter of saints": The artistic topography of Upper Hungary and related photographs by Kornél Divald] (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1999), p. 388; Pomfyová, "Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia: K promblemu počiatkov gotiky na Slovensku," pp. 250–251; Milan Togner and Vladimír Plekanec, Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš (Bratislava: Arte Libris, 2012), p. 360; Ivan Gojdič and Dagmara Baroková, "Kaštiel Görgeiovcov v Toporci" [The palace of the Görgey family in Toporec], Pamiatky a múzeá 63.4 (2014), pp. 2–8.

³ This research project originates from the interregional project *The Route of Medieval Churches*. The related research project was coordinated, and the three-volume essay collection edited by Tibor Kollár. See http://www.temple-tour.eu/uk/researchprogram and Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Berekböszörmény református temploma [The Calvinist church of Berekböszörmény]," in *Művészet és vallás a Felső-Tisza-vidéken*, ed. Tibor Kollár (Nagyvárad – Nyíregyháza: Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület - SZSZBMFÜ Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2014), pp. 88–113. With his help and with the permission of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Spiš, I was able to visit the majority of the medieval churches of the region between 2014 and 2023. A monograph on the subject has been publishes: Béla Zsolt Szakács, *Árpád-kori építészeti hagyományok Szepes és Sáros megyében* [Architectural traditions in Spiš and Sariš counties from the age of the Árpád dynasty] (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2023).

look similar in Central Europe.⁶ However, this type is used here extraordinarily frequently, decorated in a homogenous style. The church has a massive western tower, decorated with twin windows. As a counterpart, the chancel is equally square-shaped in its ground plan, and a sacristy has been added to it from the north. Between the chancel and the tower, a simple rectangular nave can be found. The main entrance is from the south, although there is a separate gate leading to the chancel, too. The portal is jambed; its archivolts consist of pointed arches. The capitals are undecorated here. The eastern window of the chancel is decorated with bar tracery. The nave is not vaulted, unlike the chancel. The chancel and the nave are divided by a pointed chancel arch. The chancel is covered by a rib vault, with a geometrically decorated boss. The ribs are supported by three-quarter columns in the four corners, each decorated by a geometrically shaped capital.

This pattern is followed by almost all village churches in the region. Our other example at Batizfalva equally consists of a tower, a nave, and a chancel (although somewhat reshaped later).⁷ The chancel is covered by a rib vault that is supported by corbels decorated with vine and oak leaves. Floral decoration was also used in the portal. This is also jambed, although the archivolt is semi-circular. The capitals of the jamb columns represent naturalistic leaf motifs.

These churches can be dated fairly well based on written sources. The territory of the future Batizfalva was donated by King Béla IV to a certain Batiz, after whom the village is named, in 1264.⁸ Fifteen years later, the owners invited settlers and granted them the right of free parish priest election.⁹ The village was also

⁶ Ernő Marosi, "Pfarrkirchen im mittelalterlichen Ungarn im Spannunsfeld der beharrenden Kräfte der gesellschaft und zunehmender Bildunsansprüche," in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter. Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Velgleich*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), p. 201–221; Ilona Valter, "Romanische Dorfkirchen des 13. Jahrhunderts in Westungarn," in *In memoriam Radu Popa*, ed. Daniela Marcu Istrate, Angel Istrate, and Corneliu Gaiu (Bistriţa: Accent, 2003), pp. 251–262; Béla Zsolt Szakács, "On the Borderlines of Romanesque Architecture: Village Churches of Szatmár County in the 13th-14th Centuries," *Acta Historiae Artium* 52 (2011): 209–34; Jékely Zsombor, "Expansion to the Countryside: Rural Architecture in Medieval Hungary," in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, ed. Xavier Barral i Altet et al. (Rome: Viella, 2018), pp. 99–116.

⁷ Alžběta Güntherová-Mayerová, ed., Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku, 1:104–5; Bardoly, A "szentek fuvarosa", p. 309; Pomfyová, "Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia: K promblemu počiatkov gotiky na Slovensku," pp. 150–152; Togner and Plekanec, Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš, pp. 194–201.

⁸ Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, inv. no. DL 74776. Published in Georgius Fejér, ed., Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, vol. 4:3 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), p. 185; Iván Borsa, Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke: Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica, ed. Imre Szentpétery, vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1923), p. 431, no. 1407.

⁹ Survived in the transcription of 1279, see Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 5:2 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), p. 598.

mentioned in 1286 in a transaction, thus the settlement was already functioning then.¹⁰ The parish priest was mentioned first in 1308.¹¹ The church was certainly already standing at that time, but cannot have been earlier than 1280. Thus, the building can be dated to the 1280s or 1290s. For Toporc, we have even better evidence, since permission for erecting a stone chapel was granted in 1303.¹² The dedication of that chapel is identical with that of the present church, thus it must have been built shortly after 1303.

These two buildings are closely related to dozens of similarly built churches in the region. The measurements and the proportions may vary, but generally all the seventy surviving churches follow the same pattern. Some of them, as with the church of Poprád (Deutschendorf, Poprad), were vaulted in the nave later, and further modifications often occurred.¹³ Nevertheless, these churches preserved the general structure pretty well. Even their decoration is surprisingly homogenous. The geometric decoration of the boss of Toporc returns in Poprád as well as in Hernádtapolca (Teplicska, Teplicz, Teplička)¹⁴ and even in Krivány (Krivany) in the neighbouring county of Sáros (Sariš).¹⁵ The naturalistic Gothic floral ornaments of the portal of Batizfalva are also known from a number of local churches. In fact, this represents a special phase of Gothic, called High Gothic or Classical Gothic by art historians, typical of the thirteenth century all over Europe. The village churches

¹⁰ Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, inv. no. DL 78781; Béla Iványi, A márkusfalvi Máriássycsalád levéltára 1243–1803 [The archives of the Máriássy Family of Márkusfalva, 1243–1803] (Lőcse: Reiss, 1917), p. 18.

¹¹ Michael Schmauk, ed., Supplementum analectorum terrae Scepusiensis, vol. 2 (Szepesváralja: Typis typographiae episcopalis, 1889), pp. 28–29; Vincent Sedlák, ed., Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae, vol. 1 (Bratislava: Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1980), p. 252, no. 551; Gyula Kristó, ed., Anjou-kori oklevéltár: Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia, vol. 2 (Budapest – Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992), pp. 150–151, no. 336. In a transcript of 1331: Imre Nagy, ed., Anjoukori okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis, vol. 2 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1881), p. 526, no. 451.

¹² Imre Nagy, ed., Anjoukori okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis, vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878), p. 50; Gyula Kristó, ed., Anjou-kori oklevéltár: Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia, vol. 1 (Budapest – Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1990), p. 194, no. 347.

¹³ Güntherová-Mayerová, Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku, 2:502–4; Juraj Žáry, Dvojloďové kostoly na Spiši [Two-nave churches in Spiš] (Bratislava: Tatran, 1986), p. 27, 268; Bardoly, A "szentek fuvarosa", pp. 366–368; Pomfyová, "Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia: K promblemu počiatkov gotiky na Slovensku," pp. 210–213. For the later history, see Viktor Rozmann, "The Turn-of-the-Century Monument Protection Practice in Light of Ernő Foerk's Work," Ybl Journal of Built Environment 7.2 (2019), pp. 74–81.

¹⁴ Alžběta Güntherová-Mayerová, ed., Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku [List of monuments in Slovakia], vol. 3 (Bratislava: Obzor, 1969), pp. 276–277.

¹⁵ Güntherová-Mayerová, *Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku* [List of monuments in Slovakia], 1968, 2:144.

of Szepes region can be compared to contemporaneous buildings of higher status, such as the Dominican friary of Kassa (Košice, Kaschau).¹⁶ In the western part of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, the same style was in use in further mendicant churches, such as the Franciscan friary of Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg),¹⁷ consecrated in 1297, and the Franciscan church of Sopron, built around 1280.¹⁸ In the centre of the country, in Buda, the parish church of the city was ready around 1269.¹⁹ These are good quality representatives of the High Gothic style, widespread across Central Europe by the middle of the thirteenth century. The churches of Szepes county are representatives of the same style on a village level.

Thus, the bulk of the seventy medieval churches of the region date from the last third of the thirteenth century. This is seemingly a sign of a dramatic transformation of the region. In order to understand the significance of this change, we

¹⁶ Bibiana Pomfyová, "Košice, Dominikánsky kostol Panny Márie [Košice, the Dominican Church of the Blessed Virgin]," in *Gotika: dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, ed. Dušan Buran (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, Slovart, 2003), pp. 621–22; Ivan Gojdič, Silvia Paulusová, and Kristína Zvedelová, "Dominikánsky kostol v Košiciach [The Dominican church in Košice]," *Pamiatky a múzeá* 55.4 (2006), pp. 2–8; Maroš Volovár, "Kostol košických dominikánov a jeho kameňosochársky program [The church of the Dominicans in Košice and the program of its stone-carvings]," *Průzkumy Památek* 24.1 (2017), pp. 187–221.

¹⁷ Peter Buday, "K stavebným dejinám františkánskeho kostola v Bratislave [On the architectural history of the Franciscan church in Bratislava]," Bratislava: Zborník múzea mesta Bratislavy 24 (2012): 29–52; Ingrid Ciulisová, "Gotická svätyňa františkánskeho kostola Panny Márie v Bratislave [The Gothic choir of the Franciscan church of the Blessed Virgin in Bratislava]," Umění 46.3 (1998), pp. 174–187; Ingrid Ciulisová, "Stredoveká podoba bratislavského františkánskeho kostola [The medieval appearance of the Franciscan church in Bratislava]," Ars 33 (1998), pp. 78–93; Bibiana Pomfyová, "Letnery v stredovekých kostoloch na Slovensku: Príspevok k stavebným dejinám mendikantských kláštorov [Choir ccreens in medieval churches in Slovakia: A contribution to the architectural history of mendicant monasteries]," ed. Dušan Buran, Archaeologia historica 44.2 (2019), pp. 715–747.

¹⁸ György Bartos, "Megjegyzések a soproni ferences templom és kolostor építéstörténetéhez [Notes on the building history of the Franciscan church and monastery of Sopron]," in Koldulórendi építészet a középkori Magyarországon, ed. Andrea Haris (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1994), pp. 177–196; András Nemes, A soproni ferences-bencés templom és kolostor [The Franciscan-Benedictine church and monastery of Sopron] (Sopron: Nagyboldogasszony Templom, 2009).

¹⁹ Gerd Biegel, ed., Budapest im Mittelalter, vol. 62, Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum (Braunschweig: Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum, 1991), pp. 166–168; Enikő Spekner, Hogyan lett Buda a középkori Magyarország fővárosa? [How did Buda become the capital of medieval Hungary?] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2015), pp. 47–55; Krisztina Havasi, "A Boldogasszony-plébániatemplom épülete IV. Béla korában [The building of the parish church of the Blessed Virgin during the time of King Béla IV]," in Mátyás-templom. A budavári Nagyboldogasszony-templom évszázadai (1246–2013), ed. Péter Farbaky et al. (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum – Budapest-Vári Nagyboldogasszony Főplébánia, 2015), pp. 68–79.

should first investigate whether there was a vivid architectural tradition before this change—i.e., before the Mongol invasion.

The name of the county, Szepes, is first mentioned in 1209 when the provost of the local collegiate church received lands from King Andrew II.²⁰ The region became more important when Prince Coloman, the younger son of King Andrew II, who claimed to be king of Halych, resided here for a time.²¹ Starting in around 1216, Coloman had authority over the region until his death in 1241, but he moved to Slavonia in 1226. The castle of Szepes (Spišský hrad) is dated by Slovak archaeologists to the first half of the thirteenth century, although this dating needs verification.²² Near to the castle, the collegiate church of Szepes (Szepeshely, Zipser Kapitel, Spišská Kapitula) was built. Since the provost is mentioned as early as in 1209, the institution must have existed by end of the twelfth century. The vaulting of the north tower was dated to 1224 using dendrochronology. However, the south tower was finished as late as the end of the thirteenth century. The decoration of the nave and the western part is Early Gothic with typical crocket capitals. Thus, the church of Szepeshely survived the Mongol invasion without greater damage.²⁴

²⁰ Transcribed in 1246, edited by Karl Wagner, Karl Wagner, Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani (Vienna: Typis Joan. Thomae nobil. de Trattnern, 1773) 1:104; Georgius Fejér, ed., Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, vol. 3:1, (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), p. 76; Richard Marsina, ed., Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae (Bratislava: Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1971), 1:122, no. 154; Szentpétery, Regesta Arpadianae, 1:78–79, no. 243.

²¹ Nataša Procházková, "Koloman Haličský na Spiši pred rokom 1241" [Coloman of Halych in Spiš before 1241], in Terra Scepusiensis: stav bádania o dejinách Spiša, ed. Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza (Levoča – Wroclaw: Klaštorisko n.o. and Centrum Badań Slaskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, 2003), pp. 243–49; Márta Font and Gábor Barabás, Coloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia (1208–1241): Medieval Central Europe and Hungarian Power (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press and ARC Humanities Press, 2019).

²² Miroslav Plaček and Martin Bóna, Encyklopédia slovenských hradov [Encyclopaedia of Slovak castles] (Bratislava: Slovart, 2007), pp. 272–75; István Feld, "Szepesvár," in Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon (9–14. Század) [Early Hungarian Historical Lexicon (9th to 14th Century], ed. Gyula Kristó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994), p. 637.

²³ See note 19 and Peter Labanc and Miroslav Glejtek, Spišské prepoštstvo na prelome stredoveku a novoveku [The collegiate chapter of Spiš at the turn of the Middle Ages and the Modern Age] (Trnava – Kraków: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave and Towarzystwo Slowaków w Polsce, 2015); Gábor Buják, "A szepesi prépost jogállása a középkorban [The legal status of the provost of Szepes in the Middle Ages]," in A Selye János Egyetem Nemzetközi Doktorandusz Konferenciája (2016), Tanulmánykötet, ed. Péter H. Nagy (Komárom: Selye János Egyetem, 2017), pp. 641–651.

²⁴ Magdaléna Janovská and Vladimír Olejní, eds., *Katedrála sv. Martina v Spišskej Kapitule* [Saint Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula] (Spišské Podhradie: Rímskokatolícka cirkev Biskupstvo Spišké Podhradie, 2017).

Another church also preserved partially its similar decoration. Szepesolaszi (Wallendorf, Spišské Vlachy), as the name suggests, was settled by Latins, most probably before the Mongol invasion. Its privileges were issued by King Béla IV in 1243, which refer to its earlier existence.²⁵ The church, much transformed in the Late Gothic period, still preserves crocket capitals next to its chancel arch.²⁶ A still unpublished piece of research revealed the early phase of the church, identifying a single-nave structure that was the core of the recent building.²⁷ Thus the church most probably dates back to the first half of the thirteenth century, although we do not know how much of it survived the Mongol invasion. Modifications were definitely undertaken much later; thus, the rebuilding was the consequence of the development of the town, and not its destruction.

Another important ecclesiastical institution was the Cistercian Abbey of Szepes. This was founded in the village of Savnik (Schawnik, Spišský *Štiavnik*) in 1223 by Prince Coloman and Comes Dionysius.²⁸ We have very little information about the buildings of the monastery. Nevertheless, a few stone carvings are preserved in the Archaeological Institute in Spišská Nová Ves (Igló/Zipser Neudorf).²⁹ A base of a compound pier seems to be correlated with the foundation period, although it may date from later of course. Capitals decorated with naturalistic leaves in good condition prove that important (re-)building took place in the second half of the thirteenth century. Was this a consequence of the Mongol invasion? According to a charter of 1260, the privileges of the monastery were issued again because the

²⁵ Transcribed in 1265: Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 4:1 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), p. 278; Borsa, *Regesta Arpadianae 1*, 1:222, no. 742.

²⁶ Güntherová-Mayerová, Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku [List of monuments in Slovakia], 1969, 3:174–76; Bardoly, A "szentek fuvarosa," p. 381; Pomfyová, "Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia: K promblemu počiatkov gotiky na Slovensku [Sacral architecture of the thriteenth century in Spiš: On the problem of the beginnings of the Gothic in Slovakia]," pp. 232–234; Togner and Plekanec, Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš, 366.

²⁷ Michal Slivka, "Sídlisková a cirkevná štruktúra Spiša vo včasno až vrcholnostredovekom období [Settlement network and ecclesiastical structure of Spiš in the Middle Ages]," in *Terra Scepusiensis: stav bádania o dejinách Spiša*, ed. Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza (Levoča – Wroclaw: Klaštorisko n.o. and Centrum Badań Slaskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, 2003), p. 436.

²⁸ Ferenc L. Hervay, Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1984), p. 172; Pavol Jakubčin, Kláštor cistercitov v Spišskom Štiavniku [The Cistercian monastery in Spišský Štiavnik] (Trnava: Typi Universitatis Tyrnaviensis, 2017); Font and Barabás, Coloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia, pp. 66–67; Michal Slivka, "Cisterciti na Slovensku" [Cistercians in Slovakia], Archaeologica Historica 16 (1991), pp. 101–6.

²⁹ Buran, Gotika, pp. 618–619, no. 1.3.3 (Bibiana Pomfyová) Bibiana Pomfyová, ed., Stredoveký kostol: Historické a funkčné premeny architektúry [The medieval church: Historical and functional transformations of architecture] (Bratislava: FO ART, 2015), 1:556–58, no. III.23.

original documents had been burned.³⁰ We do not know whether the fire occurred just before 1260 or happened two decades earlier, during the Mongol invasion. Moreover, it is also possible that the rebuilding took place after 1290 because the abbey was attacked at that time.³¹ Thus, the rebuilding of the monastery is not necessarily connected to the Mongol invasion, although this cannot be excluded.

All in all, there are clear signs that the region was not empty before 1241, although it does not seem to have been richly populated. A few churches can be clearly dated before the Mongol invasion, and they seem to have survived the tragedy; this, however, does not contradict the fact that the majority of the preserved village churches were created after the middle of the thirteenth century.

However, in certain cases an even earlier dating of some architectural monuments has been suggested by Slovak archaeologists.³² An infamous example is the so-called "monasterium beati Martini" near to the collegiate church of Szepeshely. At Pazica a building complex was excavated by Adrian Vallašek in 1975–77 and published in 1999.³³ In his view, this building complex contained a church (6), and ossuary with a chapter hall above it (5), a scriptorium (3) and a dormitory (2). He dated it to the eleventh century and connected it to a charter which mentioned a "monasterium" near to a road. The hypothesis was convincingly criticized by László

³⁰ In a falsified transcription of 1271: Budapest, Hungarian National Archives, inv. no. DL 25052; Richard Marsina, ed., Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, vol. 2 (Bratislava: Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1971), pp. 452–453, no. 650; Hervay, Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria, pp. 172–173; Borsa, Regesta Arpadianae 1, 1:379, no. 1239; Iván Borsa, Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke: Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica, ed. Imre Szentpétery, vol. 2:1 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1943), n. 2109. Partial editions: Wagner, Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani, 1773, 1:391; Georgius Fejér, ed., Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, vol. 4:3 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), p. 21.

³¹ Kristóf Keglevich, "A szepesi apátság története az Árpád- és az Anjou-korban (1223–1387) [The history of the collegiate chapter of Szepes in the Árpádian and Angevin Period]," Fons 14.1 (2007), pp. 15–16. In 1291 the abbot gave a donation to Pacusius for the defence of the monastery, see Imre Nagy et al., eds., Hazai okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus patrius, vol. 7 (Győr: Sauervein Géza, 1880), p. 218; Hervay, Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria, p. 173.

³² For a balanced overview of the topic, see Bibiana Pomfyová, "Súčasný obraz spišskej sakrálnej architektúry do konca 13. storočia [The contemporary image of Spiš sacral architecture until the end of the thriteenth century]," *Studia Archaeologica Slovaca Mediaevalia* 3–4 (2001 2000), pp. 295–315.

³³ Adrián Vallašek, "The Lost Monastery of St Martin above Spišska Kapitula," Pamiatky a Múzeá 46.2 (1999), pp. 61–65. See also Michal Slivka, "Stredoveké rehoľné komunity na Spiši a ich význam v štruktúre osídlenia [Medieval religious communities in Spiš and their importance in the settlement structure]," Archaeologia historica 18 (1993), p. 56; Michal Slivka, "Vzájomné vazby středověkých kláštorov vo východnej časti Karpat (polsko-slovensko-ukrajinské) [Mutual ties of medieval monasteries in the eastern parts of the Carpathians]," Archaeologia historica 21 (1996), p. 199.

Koszta in 2008, who pointed out that the "monasterium" mentioned in the charter cannot be anything else than the St Martin's collegiate church, and the existence of a nearby Benedictine monastery with the same title can be excluded.³⁴ Even the building complex does not seem to belong to an ecclesiastical institution. The early dating of the complex is also debated. Thus, the remains at Pazica do not prove the existence of a high quality early ecclesiastic culture in the region.

Another typical attempt at early dating is related to central-plan churches. Let me limit myself to the example of Haraszt (Hrost, Chrast nad Hornádom). This is a highly interesting church with three semi-circular apses to the east around a central tower which is decorated with Gothic twin windows. During an excavation in 1979–80, Michal Slivka detected that it had originally included a fourth apse at the west, so it was a totally centralized building. He also supposed that the upper floor of the tower was added later.³⁵ Thus the first phase was open to a new dating, which provoked theories related to the Moravian Duchy (Ivan Chalupeck \hat{y}^{36}), or eleventh-century Byzantine influences (Alexander Avenarius³⁷). Since burials started only in the thirteenth century, Slivka regarded it as a pilgrimage church established at a pagan cult centre. In fact, the dating of the cemetery corresponds well to the written sources (in 1280, the site was not inhabited) and the artistic forms. Not only do the twin windows point to the late thirteenth century, but the cornices in the apses, too. Thus, the mysterious early history of this church seems to be a pure fiction. The majority of four-lobed churches in the Carpathian Basin can be dated to the thirteenth century and Haraszt is not an exception.³⁸

³⁴ László Koszta, "11. századi bencés kolostor a Szepességben? [An eleventh-century Benedictine abbey in Szepessség/Spiš?]," *Századok* 142 (2008), pp. 339–357.

³⁵ Michal Slivka, "Výsledky výskumu kostola v Chrasti nad Hornádom okr. Sp. Nová Ves [Research results of on the church in Chrasť nad Hornádom, Sp. Nová Ves District]," Archaeologia historica 7 (1982), pp. 383–414.

³⁶ Ivan Chalupecký, "K otázke datovania románskeho kostola v Chrasti nad Hornádom [On the question of the dating of the Romanesque church in Chrasť nad Hornádom]," Vlastivedný časopis 16 (1967), pp. 74–75; František Javorský and Ivan Chalupecký, "K stavebnému vývoju kostola v Chrasti nad Hornádom [On the architectural history of the church in Chrasť nad Hornádom]," Vlastivedný časopis 29 (1980), pp. 174–178.

³⁷ Alexander Avenarius, Byzantská kultúra v slovanskom prodstredí v VI.-XII. storočí [Byzantine culture in the Slavic environment in the 6th–12th century] (Bratislava: Veda, 1992), p. 123.

³⁸ Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Négykaréjos templomok az Árpád-kori Magyarországon [Four-lobed churches of medieval Hungary]," in Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben, ed. Péter Levente Szőcs, vol. 5 (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2012), pp. 14–15. See also Bibiana Pomfyová and Štefan Oriško, "Zur Problematik der mittelalterlichen Zentralbauten in der Region Spiš (Zips)," in Mitteleuropa. Kunst, Regionen, Beziehungen, vol. 3 (Bratislava: Katedra dejín výtvarného umenia UK, 1998), pp. 18–19, p. 24; Martin Vančo, Stredoveké rotundy na Slovensku [Medieval round churches in Slovakia] (Bratislava: Chronos, 2000), pp. 114–116; Pomfyová, Stredoveký kostol: Historické a funkčné premeny architektúry [The medieval church: Historical and functional transformations of architecture], 1:198–201, no. II.5.

Another similar attempt to construct an early history of the region is based on the relative chronology of some churches. In some cases, an early phase with a semi-circular apse was discovered under a square-shaped chancel.³⁹ Churches with semi-circular apses are rare in the region; one of the last standing examples was destroyed in Lefkóc (Lök, Fladensdorf, Levkovce) a few years ago. In fact, according to written sources, the nobles of Lefkóc received permission to erect their own church as late as 1308.⁴⁰ Thus the church was not a survivor of an earlier tradition, but represented a deviation from the general pattern. This may apply to the few other examples as well.

To sum up, it seems that despite the efforts of some of the local archaeologists, a considerable early architectural tradition cannot be proved in the Szepes region. On the other hand, ground-breaking development is manifested in the second half of the thirteenth century, thus right after the Mongol invasion. Are these two facts related in any way? Is it because the Mongols completely destroyed the region, or because there was nothing to be destroyed in 1241?

There are a few direct sources that inform us about the Mongols in the Szepes region. The most famous is the late medieval Chronicle of *Lapis Refugii*, which narrates how the *comes* of the Saxons escaped with his people to the hill called *Mons Speculationis* or *Lapis Refugii* and, after surviving the Mongol attack, a Carthusian monastery was founded there in 1299.⁴¹

Thus, it is clear that the Mongols did visit the Szepes region and their attack was destructive. On the other hand, it seems that there was not too much to be destroyed and the few high-quality buildings, such as the collegiate church of Szepeshely and the parish church of Szepesolaszi, did not suffer substantially. According to Hungarian historical scholarship, the region was sparsely populated before the Mongol invasion.⁴² This was a border zone, with two defensive lines guarded by special military forces. The large-scale colonization of the region can be dated to the late thirteenth century, including the Saxon settlements.⁴³ Is this in any way related to the Mongol invasion?

³⁹ František Javorský, "Románska architektúra na Spiši [Romanesque architecture in Spiš]," Pamiatky a múzeá 46.2 (1999), pp. 56–60.

⁴⁰ Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae, vol. 1, p. 252. no. 550.; Anjou-kori oklevéltár. vol. 2, p. 150. no. 335.

⁴¹ The event is known from late medieval sources, e.g. Karl Wagner, *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Typis Joan. Thomae nobil. de Trattnern, 1774), pp. 69–79.

⁴² Antal Fekete Nagy, A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása [The geographical and sociological origins of the Szepesség] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1934); Font and Barabás, Coloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia, p. 25.

⁴³ Gyula Kristó, Nem magyar népek a középkori Magyarországon [Non-Hungarian peoples in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Lucidus, 2003), pp. 144–149.

Looking at the map of medieval Hungary, it is clear Szepes county was one of the most peripheral regions of the kingdom. It has been proven that vast territories of the northern and eastern regions were populated after the Mongol invasion as part of a great economic and sociological transformation of the country.⁴⁴ Not surprisingly, we find comparable architectural features next to Szepes county in Sáros (Krivány), in the Subcarpathian region (Técső [Tiachiv, Ukraine]⁴⁵) but also in the eastern part of the Hungarian Great Plain/Alföld (Berekböszörmény⁴⁶) and in Transylvania (Aranyosgerend [Luncani, Romania]⁴⁷).

All in all, it seems very improbable that the large-scale building activity in the Szepes region was the direct consequence of the devastation of the Mongol invasion, even if there were smaller fights and personal tragedies. On the other hand, the great transformation of the Hungarian Kingdom was catalyzed by the Mongol invasion and its aftermath. The spectacular Gothic architecture of the Szepes region seems to be a clear sign of this, and in this way it is one of the indirect consequences of the Mongol invasion.

Bibliography

- Avenarius, Alexander. *Byzantská kultúra v slovanskom prodstredí v VI.-XII. storočí* [Byzantine culture in the Slavic environment in the 6th–12th century]. Bratislava: Veda, 1992.
- Bardoly, István, ed. A "szentek fuvarosa": Divald Kornél felső-magyarországi topográfiája és fényképei 1900–1919 [The 'Carrier of the saints.' The artistic topography of Upper Hungary and related photographs by Kornél Divald, 1900– 1919]. Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1999.
- Bárdossy, Johannes, ed. Supplementum analectorum terrae Scepusiensis, notationibus, ex veteri ac recentiore Hungarorum historia depromtis. Levoča: Typis Michaelis Podhoránszki, 1802.

⁴⁴ Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok [The last kings of the Árpád Dynasty]* (Budapest: História and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993), pp. 33–50.

⁴⁵ Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Técső (Тячів), református templom [The Calvinist church of Técső]," in Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig, ed. Tibor Kollár (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2013), pp. 303–306.

⁴⁶ See note 2.

⁴⁷ András Kovács, "Az aranyosgerendi református templom [The Calvinist church in Aranyosgerend]," in Épületek emlékezete. Nevezetes épületek Erdélyben, by András Kovács (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2007), pp. 41–48.

- Bartos, György. "Megjegyzések a soproni ferences templom és kolostor építéstörténetéhez [Notes on the building history of the Franciscan church and monastery of Sopron]." In *Koldulórendi építészet a középkori Magyarországon*, edited by Andrea Haris, 177–196. Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1994.
- Biegel, Gerd, ed. *Budapest im Mittelalter*. Vol. 62. Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum. Braunschweig: Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum, 1991.
- Borsa, Iván. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke: Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Edited by Imre Szentpétery. Vol. 1. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1923.
- ———. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke: Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Edited by Imre Szentpétery. Vol. 2:1. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1943.
- Buday, Peter. "K stavebným dejinám františkánskeho kostola v Bratislave" [On the architectural history of the Franciscan church in Bratislava]. *Bratislava: Zborník múzea mesta Bratislavy* 24 (2012), pp. 29–52.
- Buják, Gábor. "A szepesi prépost jogállása a középkorban [The legal status of the provost of Szepes in the Middle Ages]." In A Selye János Egyetem Nemzetközi Doktorandusz Konferenciája (2016), Tanulmánykötet, edited by Péter H. Nagy, 641–651. Komárom: Selye János Egyetem, 2017.
- Chalupecký, Ivan. "K otázke datovania románskeho kostola v Chrasti nad Hornádom" [On the question of the dating of the Romanesque church in Chrasť nad Hornádom]. *Vlastivedný časopis* 16 (1967), pp. 74–75.
- Ciulisová, Ingrid. "Gotická svätyňa františkánskeho kostola Panny Márie v Bratislave" [The Gothic choir of the Franciscan church of the Blessed Virgin in Bratislava]. *Umění* 46.3 (1998), pp. 174–187.
- ———. "Stredoveká podoba bratislavského františkánskeho kostola" [The medieval appearance of the Franciscan church in Bratislava]. Ars 33 (1998), pp. 78–93.
- Fejér, Georgius, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Vol. 4:3. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829.
- ———, ed. Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. Vol. 5:2. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829.
- ———, ed. Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. Vol. 3:1. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829.
- ———, ed. Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis. Vol. 4:1. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829.

- Feld, István. "Szepesvár." In *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon (9–14. Század)* [Early Hungarian Historical Lexicon (9th to 14th Century], edited by Gyula Kristó, 637. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.
- Font, Márta, and Gábor Barabás. Coloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia (1208–1241): Medieval Central Europe and Hungarian Power. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press and ARC Humanities Press, 2019.
- Gojdič, Ivan, and Dagmara Baroková. "Kaštieľ Görgeiovcov v Toporci [The palace of the Görgey Family in Toporec]." *Pamiatky a múzeá* 63.4 (2014), pp. 2–8.
- Gojdič, Ivan, Silvia Paulusová, and Kristína Zvedelová. "Dominikánsky kostol v Košiciach [The Dominican church in Košice]." *Pamiatky a múzeá* 55.4 (2006), pp. 2–8.
- Güntherová-Mayerová, Alžběta, ed. *Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku* [List of monuments in Slovakia]. Vol. 1. Bratislava: Obzor, 1967.
- ———, ed. Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku [List of monuments in Slovakia]. Vol. 2. Bratislava: Obzor, 1968.
- ———, ed. Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku [List of monuments in Slovakia]. Vol. 3. Bratislava: Obzor, 1969.
- Havasi, Krisztina. "A Boldogasszony-plébániatemplom épülete IV. Béla korában"
 [The building of the parish church of the Blessed Virgin during the time of King Béla IV]. In Mátyás-templom. A budavári Nagyboldogasszony-templom évszázadai (1246–2013), edited by Péter Farbaky, Lilla Farbaky-Deklava, Balázs Mátéffy, Enikő Róka, and András Végh, 68–79. Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum – Budapest-Vári Nagyboldogasszony Főplébánia, 2015.
- Hervay, Ferenc L. *Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria*. Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1984.
- Iványi, Béla. A márkusfalvi Máriássy-család levéltára 1243–1803 [The archives of the Máriássy Family of Márkusfalva, 1243–1803]. Lőcse: Reiss, 1917.
- Jakubčin, Pavol. *Kláštor cistercitov v Spišskom Štiavniku* [The Cistercian monastery in Spišský Štiavnik]. Trnava: Typi Universitatis Tyrnaviensis, 2017.
- Janovská, Magdaléna, and Vladimír Olejní, eds. *Katedrála sv. Martina v Spišskej Kapitule* [Saint Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula]. Spišské Podhradie: Rímskokatolícka cirkev Biskupstvo Spišké Podhradie, 2017.
- Javorský, František. "Románska architektúra na Spiši" [Romanesque architecture in Spiš]. *Pamiatky a múzeá* 46.2 (1999), pp. 56–60.

- Javorský, František, and Ivan Chalupecký. "K stavebnému vývoju kostola v Chrasti nad Hornádom" [On the architectural history of the church in Chrasť nad Hornádom]. *Vlastivedný časopis* 29 (1980), pp. 174–178.
- Keglevich, Kristóf. "A szepesi apátság története az Árpád- és az Anjou-korban (1223–1387)" [The history of the collegiate chapter of Szepes in the Árpádian and Angevin Period]. Fons 14.1 (2007), pp. 3–58.
- Koszta, László. "11. századi bencés kolostor a Szepességben?" [An eleventh-century Benedictine abbey in Szepessség/Spiš?]. *Századok* 142 (2008), pp. 339–357.
- Kovács, András. "Az aranyosgerendi református templom" [The Calvinist church in Aranyosgerend]. In *Épületek emlékezete. Nevezetes épületek Erdélyben*, by András Kovács, 41–48. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2007.
- Kristó, Gyula, ed. *Anjou-kori oklevéltár: Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*. Vol. 1. Budapest – Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1990.
- ———, ed. Anjou-kori oklevéltár: Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia. Vol. 2. Budapest – Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1992.
- ———. Nem magyar népek a középkori Magyarországon [Non-Hungarian peoples in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Lucidus, 2003.
- Labanc, Peter. "Sakrálna architektúra na Spiši v písomných prameňoch 13. storočia" [Sacral architecture in Spiš in written sources from the thirteenth century]. *Acta Musaei Scepusiensis* 2012–2013, 2015, pp. 161–79.
- Labanc, Peter, and Miroslav Glejtek. *Spišské prepoštstvo na prelome stredoveku a novoveku* [The collegiate chapter of Spiš at the turn of the Middle Ages and the Modern Age]. Trnava Kraków: Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity v Trnave and Towarzystwo Slowaków w Polsce, 2015.
- Laszlovszky, József, and Beatrix Romhányi. "A tatárjárás pusztítása és a templomok" [The devastation of the Mongol Invasion and the churches]. Várak Kastélyok Templomok 15.2 (2019), pp. 32–35.
- Marosi, Ernő. "Pfarrkirchen im mittelalterlichen Ungarn im Spannunsfeld der beharrenden Kräfte der gesellschaft und zunehmender Bildunsansprüche." In *Pfarreien im Mittelalter. Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Velgleich,* edited by Nathalie Kruppa, 201–21. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.
- Marsina, Richard, ed. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*. Vol. 1. Bratislava: Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1971.

- ———, ed. Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae. Vol. 2. Bratislava: Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1971.
- Nagy, Antal Fekete. A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása [The geographical and sociological origins of the Szepesség]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1934.
- Nagy, Imre, ed. *Anjoukori okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis*. Vol. 1. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1878.
- ———, ed. Anjoukori okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis.
 Vol. 2. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1881.
- Nagy, Imre, Iván Paur, Károly Ráth, Dezső Véghely, and Arnold Ipolyi, eds. *Hazai ok-mánytár: Codex diplomaticus patrius*. Vol. 7. 8 vols. Győr: Sauervein Géza, 1880.
- Nemes, András. *A soproni ferences-bencés templom és kolostor* [The Franciscan-Benedictine church and monastery of Sopron]. Sopron: Nagyboldogasszony Templom, 2009.
- Plaček, Miroslav, and Martin Bóna. *Encyklopédia slovenských hradov* [Encyclopaedia of Slovak castles]. Bratislava: Slovart, 2007.
- Pomfyová, Bibiana. "Košice, Dominikánsky kostol Panny Márie" [Košice, the Dominican Church of the Blessed Virgin]. In *Gotika: dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*, edited by Dušan Buran, 621–622. Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, Slovart, 2003.
- ———. "Letnery v stredovekých kostoloch na Slovensku: Príspevok k stavebným dejinám mendikantských kláštorov" [Choir ccreens in medieval churches in Slovakia: A contribution to the architectural history of mendicant monasteries]. Edited by Dušan Buran. Archaeologia historica 44.2 (2019), pp. 715–747.
- — "Počiatky gotickej architektúry" [The beginnings of Gothic architecture]. In Gotika: dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia, edited by Dušan Buran, 39–59.
 Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, Slovart, 2003.
- ———. "Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia: K promblemu počiatkov gotiky na Slovensku" [Sacral architecture of the thriteenth century in Spiš: On the problem of the beginnings of the Gothic in Slovakia]. PhD diss., Ústav dejín umenia, Slovenská Akadémia Vied, 2001.
- ———, ed. Stredoveký kostol: Historické a funkčné premeny architektúry [The medieval church: Historical and functional transformations of architecture]. Vol. 1. Bratislava: FO ART, 2015.

- ———. "Súčasný obraz spišskej sakrálnej architektúry do konca 13. storočia" [The contemporary image of Spiš sacral architecture until the end of the thriteenth century]. Studia Archaeologica Slovaca Mediaevalia 3–4 (2001 2000), pp. 295–315.
- — "Vrcholnegotická architektúra na Spiši" [High Gothic architecture in Spiš]. In Gotika: dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia, edited by Dušan Buran, 97–109.
 Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria, Slovart, 2003.
- ———. "Vybrané problémy k dejinám Spišskej stredovekej architektúry" [Selected problems of the history of medieval architecture in Spiš]. In *Terra Scepusiensis: stav bádania o dejinách Spiša*, edited by Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza, 177–91. Levoča Wroclaw: Klaštorisko n.o. and Centrum Badań Slaskoznaw-czych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, 2003.
- Pomfyová, Bibiana, and Štefan Oriško. "Zur Problematik der mittelalterlichen Zentralbauten in der Region Spiš (Zips)." In *Mitteleuropa. Kunst, Regionen, Beziehungen,* 3:17–35. Bratislava: Katedra dejín výtvarného umenia UK, 1998.
- Procházková, Nataša. "Koloman Haličský na Spiši pred rokom 1241" [Coloman of Galicia in Spiš before 1241]. In *Terra Scepusiensis: stav bádania o dejinách Spiša*, edited by Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza, 243–49. Levoča – Wroclaw: Klaštorisko n.o. and Centrum Badań Slaskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, 2003.
- Rozmann, Viktor. "The Turn-of-the-Century Monument Protection Practice in Light of Ernő Foerk's Work." Ybl Journal of Built Environment 7.2 (2019), pp. 74–81.
- Schmauk, Michael, ed. *Supplementum analectorum terrae Scepusiensis*. Vol. 2. Szepesváralja: Typis typographiae episcopalis, 1889.
- Sedlák, Vincent, ed. *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae*. Vol. 1. Bratislava: Academia Scientiarum Slovaca, 1980.
- Slivka, Michal. "Cisterciti na Slovensku" [Cistercians in Slovakia]. Archaeologica Historica 16 (1991): 101–17.
- ———. "Sídlisková a cirkevná štruktúra Spiša vo včasno až vrcholnostredovekom období" [Settlement network and ecclesiastical structure of Spiš in the Middle Ages]. In Terra Scepusiensis: stav bádania o dejinách Spiša, edited by Ryszard Gładkiewicz and Martin Homza, 419–446. Levoča – Wroclaw: Klaštorisko n.o. and Centrum Badań Slaskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, 2003.

- ———. "Stredoveké rehoľné komunity na Spiši a ich význam v štruktúre osídlenia" [Medieval religious communities in Spiš and their importance in the settlement structure]. Archaeologia historica 18 (1993), pp. 53–62.
- ———. "Výsledky výskumu kostola v Chrasti nad Hornádom okr. Sp. Nová Ves" [Research results of on the church in Chrasť nad Hornádom, Sp. Nová Ves District]. Archaeologia historica 7 (1982), pp. 383–414.
- ———. "Vzájomné vazby středověkých kláštorov vo východnej časti Karpat (polsko-slovensko-ukrajinské)" [Mutual ties of medieval monasteries in the eastern parts of the Carpathians]. Archaeologia historica 21 (1996), pp. 193–217.
- Spekner, Enikő. *Hogyan lett Buda a középkori Magyarország fővárosa*? [How did Buda become the capital of medieval Hungary?]. Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2015.
- Szakács, Béla Zsolt. "Berekböszörmény református temploma" [The Calvinist church of Berekböszörmény]. In Művészet és vallás a Felső-Tisza-vidéken, edited by Tibor Kollár, 88–113. Nagyvárad – Nyíregyháza: Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület - SZSZBMFÜ Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2014.
- ———. "Négykaréjos templomok az Árpád-kori Magyarországon" [Four-lobed churches of medieval Hungary]. In Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania. Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben, edited by Péter Levente Szőcs, 5:7–34. Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2012.
- ———. "On the Borderlines of Romanesque Architecture: Village Churches of Szatmár County in the 13th–14th Centuries." Acta Historiae Artium 52 (2011), pp. 209–234.
- — . "Técső (Тячів), református templom" [The Calvinist church of Técső]. In Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig, edited by Tibor Kollár, 303–306. Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Területfejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit Kft., 2013.
- ____. Árpád-kori építészeti hagyományok Szepes és Sáros megyében [Architectural traditions in Spiš and Sariš counties from the age of the Árpád dynasty]. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2023.
- Szűcs, Jenő. Az utolsó Árpádok [The last kings of the Árpád Dynasty]. Budapest: História and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993.
- Togner, Milan, and Vladimír Plekanec. *Medieval Wall Paintings in Spiš*. Bratislava: Arte Libris, 2012.

- Vallašek, Adrián. "The Lost Monastery of St Martin above Spišska Kapitula." Pamiatky a Múzeá 46.2 (1999), pp. 61–65.
- Valter, Ilona. Árpád-kori téglatemplomok Nyugat-Dunántúlon [Brick churches of Western Hungary in the time of the Árpád Dynasty]. Budapest: METEM, 2004.
- ———. "Romanische Dorfkirchen des 13. Jahrhunderts in Westungarn." In In memoriam Radu Popa, edited by Daniela Marcu Istrate, Angel Istrate, and Corneliu Gaiu, 251–262. Bistriţa: Accent, 2003.
- -----. Romanische Sakralbauten Westpannoniens. Eisenstadt: Roetzer, 1985.
- Vančo, Martin. *Stredoveké rotundy na Slovensku* [Medieval round churches in Slovakia]. Bratislava: Chronos, 2000.
- Volovár, Maroš. "Kostol košických dominikánov a jeho kameňosochársky program" [The church of the Dominicans in Košice and the program of its stone-carvings]. *Průzkumy Památek* 24, no. 1 (2017): 187–221.
- Wagner, Karl. *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*. Vol. 1. Vienna: Typis Joan. Thomae nobil. de Trattnern, 1773.
- ———. *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani*. Vol. 2. Vienna: Typis Joan. Thomae nobil. de Trattnern, 1774.
- Žáry, Juraj. *Dvojloďové kostoly na Spiši* [Two-aisled churches in Spiš]. Bratislava: Tatran, 1986.
- Zsombor, Jékely. "Expansion to the Countryside: Rural Architecture in Medieval Hungary." In *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, edited by Xavier Barral i Altet, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini, and Imre Takács, 99–116. Rome: Viella, 2018.



(Fig. 1) Toporc/Toporec, parish church, view from south-east

(Fig. 2) Toporc/Toporec, parish church, window with tracery in the east facade



(Fig. 3) Batizfalva/Batizovce, interior of the choir



(Fig. 4) Batizfalva, south portal



(Fig. 5) Szepesedelény/Orodín, capitals of the portal



(Fig. 6) Szepesolaszi/Spišské Vlachy, capitals of the chancel arch



(Fig. 7) Fragments of the Cistercian monastery of Savnik/Spišský Štiavnik in the Archaeological Institute in Spišská Nová Ves

Adam Lubocki

The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–1242) in the Light of Polish Medieval Sources¹

The Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241 and 1242, called *tatárjárás* in Hungarian, was one of the breakthrough events and most significant military defeats in the history of the country. This invasion had huge echoes in medieval historiography in Central Europe. Poland was also devastated by Mongol warriors, and historians around the world seem to be less interested in the Battle of Legnica than in the battles of Béla IV and the one by the Sajó river. Since almost the whole of Central Europe was occupied by Mongols, their marks can be found in most sources which are connected to this region that emerged after the middle of the thirteenth century.

Due to the significant role that was ascribed to the Battle of Legnica in the Middle Ages, the vast majority of Polish sources contain at least a short mention of the arrival of eastern nomads to Poland. Nevertheless, some of them have a wide horizon, and also refer to Hungary. However, these are not detailed records, and do not essentially add any new information that was not mentioned in the Hungarian sources. Still, it is worth analysing these mentions, not in order to reconstruct the actions of Batu Khan's army in the Carpathian Basin, but rather to learn more about Polish-Hungarian relations and about historical information exchange beyond the Carpathian Mountains.

This issue has been analysed by historians superficially.² Hungarian researchers have not really shown any interest in Polish sources, and they have made use of

¹ Translated from Polish by Áron Szabolcs Fodor

² From this point of view, the Polish sources have been analysed by Ryszard Grzesik, who composed a brief compendium enumerating information which can be found in the most important Polish sources. However, this description is definitely insufficient since merely five pages were dedicated to Polish sources, and Grzesik's conclusions are definitely too superficial. Thus, this piece of work should be completed. See: Ryszard Grzesik, "Węgierska i polska tradycja o najeździe tatarskim w 1241 roku" [Hungarian and Polish tradition about the Tartar Invasion in 1241], Roczniki Historyczne 69 (2003), pp. 79–90.

these records quite rarely.³ Even though the most important ones can be found in source compilations, they have not been made use of in research and in historical narration.⁴ From a Polish perspective, readers may even have the impression that the Mongols are better known to the Poles than the Hungarians, since Poles have access to a large number of works concerning the history of the Mongols. However, there are relatively few Polish secondary sources about the history of the Hungarian state in the Middle Ages.⁵ This is, a fortiori, the case of analyses concerning the events in 1241–1242.⁶ Hungarians are referred to in works about the invasion of Poland and the Battle of Legnica extremely rarely.

Therefore, it is worth examining Polish sources about the *tatárjárás* from two perspectives. By analysing specific records, readers may become familiar with what learned Polish medieval elites may have known about the battles between

³ However, they have been referred to in secondary sources.

⁴ Tamás Katona, ed., *A tatárjárás emlékezete* [The remembrance of the Mongol invasion] (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1981); Balázs Nagy, ed., *Tatárjárás* [The Mongol Invasion], Nemzet és emlékezet (Budapest: Osiris, 2003).

⁵ By complete secondary sources is meant here those which were dedicated exclusively to the Middle Ages and were written as manual syntheses. Primarily, two pieces of work should be mentioned. Both of them were written by S.A. Sroka, one of which has recently been published and ends with the occurrences of 1196, omitting the events connected with the Mongol invasion. See: Stanisław Andrzej Sroka, Historia Wegier do 1526 roku w zarysie [An outline of the history of Hungary until 1526] (Bydgoszcz: Homini, 2000); Stanisław Andrzej Sroka, Wegry: Początki państw [Hungary: The birth of a kingdom] (Poznań: Poznań Publishing House, 2015). As for more detailed publications that also describe the Middle Ages, it is especially cross-sectional ones should be highlighted, the number of which has increased quite considerably in recent years. However, the Mongol invasion has been described quite superficially because none of them were written by mediaevalists. Except for W. Felczak, most were composed by Hungarian authors or authors with origins in Hungary. See: Wacław Felczak, Historia Wegier [The history of Hungary] (Wrocław – Warsaw – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź: The National Ossoliński Institute, 1983), 45; Paul Lendvai, Węgrzy: Tysiąc lat zwycięstw w klęskach [Hungarians: A thousand years of victories in defeats], trans. Adam Krzemiński and Bartosz Nowacki (Kraków: International Cultural Center, 2016), 89–99; Ignác Romsics, Historia Wegier [The history of Hungary], trans. Agnieszka Barszczewska, Szymon Brzesiński, and Maciej Sagata (Poznań: Media Rodzina, 2018), 98-99.

⁶ In Polish historiography, only a few books have been dedicated to this issue. See: Idzi Panic, "Katastrofa Węgierska w latach 1241–1242" [The Hungarian disaster in 1241-1242], Acta Archaeologica Carpathica 27 (1988), pp. 219–46; Witold Świętosławski, Archeologiczne ślady najazdów tatarskich na Europe środkowa w XIII wieku" [Archaeological remains of Tartar invasions of Central Europe in the thirteenth century] (Łódź: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1997); Grzesik, "Węgierska i polska tradycja o najeździe tatarskim w 1241 roku" [Hungarian and Polish tradition about the Tartar Invasion in 1241], pp. 79–90; Michał Korwin-Szymanowski, "Bitwa Pod Mohi" [The Battle of Mohi], Biuletyn Historyczny Koła Naukowego Studentów Historii UKSW 2 (2009), http://biuletynhistoryczny.blogspot.com/2009/02/bitwa-pod-mohi_21.html, accessed 05 January 2024; Jakub Radecki, "Bitwa na równinie Mohi nad rzeką Sojó" [Battle on the Mohi Plain on the Sojó River], https://www.konflikty.pl/, May 5, 2009, http://www.konflikty.pl/ historia/sredniowiecze/bitwa-na-rowninie-mohi-nad-rzeka-sojo/.

Hungarians and Mongols. The second important goal is trying to identify the sources of this knowledge, and, consequently, how Poles and Hungarians exchanged information between the thirteenth and fifteenth century.

The piece of work by Jan Długosz, a great Polish chronicler (1415–1480), will not be analysed here. Finally edited in 1480, the *Annales seu Chronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* (in English: *Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland*) constitutes a compilation of many sources from the whole of Central Europe. Długosz made use of numerous Hungarian sources, describing them in such a wide and detailed way that an exact analysis of his study would exceed the limits of a brief article. His way of collecting information and processing it definitely differs from the medieval norms, too. As it came into existence at the end of the Middle Ages, it did not influence the mentality of that era at all.

Therefore, this article ought to contain several elements. First, a brief description of Polish medieval historiography will be provided to present the sources in a general way. Second, the respective records about Hungary will be analysed, both in the context of the retreat of the Mongols, which devastated Poland, and in terms of an exact record of the events in the Carpathian Basin. Third, an attempt will be made to reconstruct how the respective pieces of information reached Poland, and what reception they got, in particular in annals and chronicles.

General features of Polish medieval historiography

The second half of the thirteenth century and the whole of the fourteenth century constituted a period of exceptional prosperity with regard to the medieval historiography of Poland. Many new monasteries were built, creating numerous historical records related to registering the lands the monasteries were endowed with. The former also include the making of records concerning the history of politics. This was the period of so-called feudal fragmentation (that is, division into numerous principalities ruled by the representatives of the Piast dynasty). Therefore, the majority of annals and chronicles focused especially on the principalities or duchies they belonged to, providing general information on Poland and, a fortiori, on foreign countries quite rarely. Among the five principal lands (Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, Silesia, Mazovia, and Kuyavia), Lesser Poland with Krakow, the capital, and Silesia, influenced most by Western European culture, were the most significant. These were the closest lands to Hungary, and were indirectly affected by the Mongol invasion. This fact has a crucial impact on the topic of this article.

Polish medieval historiography concerning the period between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century is quite rich, and is made up of numerous pieces of work,

especially annals. Whereas only two chronicles were composed in the early medieval period in Poland,⁷ and annals were composed mainly about rulers and bishops of cathedrals, this tendency diametrically changed in the fourteenth century. Then, several pieces of work were penned, including the so-called Cronica polonicalis, written by Dzierzwa (the Chronicle of Dzierzwa),⁸ the Annales capituli Cracoviensis (Annals of the Krakow Chapter) in Krakow;⁹ the so-called Chronicon Polono-Silesiacum (Polish–Silesian Chronicle),¹⁰ the Chronica principium Poloniae (Chronicle of the Princes of Poland) in Silesia;¹¹ and the Chronica Poloniae maioris (Chronicle of Great Poland) in Greater Poland,¹² which has been dated to the thirteenth century by several historians. The Mongol invasion of southern Poland had far-reaching impacts both in that period and later. Therefore, almost every source composed after the second half of the thirteenth century contains at least some short mention of the frightening warriors from the Asian steppes. It is particularly the sources that came into existence right after these events that have played the most crucial role, since they provide us with original information. However, the number of such pieces of work is relatively low, and they often mention the Mongol invasion or the Battle of Legnica and the death of Henry the Pious only laconically.

Hungary in the context of the Mongol campaign in 1241 and 1242

An exact analysis of every source referring to the Mongol campaign in 1241 would be pointless. Thus, only those will be analysed which also inform us about Hungary. More than twenty texts provide information about the battles between Poles

⁷ *Gesta principium polonorum* (in English: Deeds of the Princes of the Poles) by Anonymous, called Gallus, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and *Chronica Polonorum* (Chronicle of Poles) by Wincenty Kadłubek, at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth century.

⁸ August Bielowski, ed., "Mierzwy kronika" [Chronicle of Dzierzwa], in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 2 (Lviv: Own edition, 1872), pp. 145–90. In the nineteenth century, the author's name was read as *Mierzwa*, but the researchers of the manuscript considered *Dzierzwa* to be the proper form. Thus, it was published as the *Chronicle of Mierzwa*, but nowadays it is usually called the *Chronicle of Dzierzwa*. The Latin title is *Cronica polonicalis* without the "h" because the copyist made a mistake.

⁹

¹⁰ In the manuscripts, it is just called *Chronica Poloniae*, but this is the common name of several Polish medieval chronicles, so the title *Polish-Silesian Chronicle* is used to distinguish it. See: Ludwik Ćwikliński, ed., "Kronika polska" [Polish Chronicle], in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 3 (Lviv: Academy of Learning, 1878), pp. 578–655.

¹¹ Zygmunt Więclewski, ed., "Kronika książąt polskich" [Chronicle of Polish princes], in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Vol. 3 (Lviv: Academy of Learning, 1878), pp. 423–578.

¹² Brygida Kürbis, ed., "Chronica Poloniae maioris," in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Series nova* (Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House, 1970).

and Mongols, of which three chronicles and six annals fulfil the above-mentioned criterion, making up a substantial proportion. The following works are noteworthy: *Chronica principium Poloniae* (Chronicle of the Princes of Poland), *Chronicon Polono-Silesiacum* (the Polish–Silesian Chronicle), and *Chronica Poloniae maioris* (the Chronicle of Greater Poland). The first two do not characterise these events at all, and the piece of information about the *tatárjárás* appears only incidentally. Only the Chronicle of Greater Poland describes the events in Hungary in a detailed way. The *Annales capituli gnesnensis*¹³ (Annals of the Gniezno Chapter), *Annales capituli Cracoviensis* (Annals of the Krakow Chapter), *Annales Posnanienses II*¹⁴ (Second Poznań Annals), *Annales Silesiaci compilati*¹⁵ (Compilated Silesian Annals), Annales Sancti Crucis¹⁶ (Annals of the Saint Cross) and the so-called Annals of Traska¹⁷ will be analysed. The majority of these annals are rich from a narrative point of view, and provide an elaborate description of the above-mentioned historical events, without being limited to single-phrase records. Although threads related to Hungary can be found in all of them, no exact events are described.

After this general overview, the respective sources will be analysed. First of all, the *Annales capituli Cracoviensis* should be highlighted, which were certainly composed no later than in the second half of the thirteenth century, thus contains some pieces of information written shortly after the above-mentioned historical events. This source also forms the basis for many later works, mainly compilations of annals from the fourteenth and fifteenth century. This is the oldest source that contains a relatively detailed description of the events related to the Mongol invasion of Poland in 1241, and the first one to draw attention to the Hungarians. However, all information about Hungary appear only in the context of the retreat of the Mongol troops, who plundered Lesser Poland and Silesia en route, because *"sic multo excidio cedibus atque dampnis Polonie crudeliter illatis, illesi ad propria per Hungariam, totum mundum ex sua crudelitate, gravi horroris percellentes formidine redierunt."*¹⁸ In this fragment, there is no mention of Hungary at all in the

¹³ Brygida Kürbis, ed., "Rocznik kapituły gnieźnieńskiej" [The annals of the Gniezno Chapter], in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series nova*, Vol. 6 (Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House, 1962), pp. 1–20.

¹⁴ Brygida Kürbis, ed., "Rocznik poznański II (młodszy)" [The second Poznań annals], in Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series nova, Vol. 6 (Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House, 1962), pp. 135–41.

¹⁵ Maciej Błażowski, ed., "Annales Silesiati Compilati," in Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Vol. 3 (Lviv: Academy of Learning, 1878), pp. 657–79.

¹⁶ Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, ed., "Annales S. Crucis," in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*. *Nova series* (Kraków: Polish Academy of Learning, 1996).

¹⁷ August Bielowski, ed., "Rocznik Traski" [The annals of Traska], in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 2 (Lviv: Own edition, 1872), pp. 826–861.

¹⁸ Annales Capituli Cracoviensis, MGH SS XIX, 598. 1241

context of another Mongol army in operation, but it informs us about one which had crossed Poland. Therefore, Hungary is seen to have constituted only the final destination of the armies which had won at Legnica.

A similar piece of information can be found in the *Annales silesiaci compilati*, which describes the operations of Tartars in Poland in a relatively detailed way. According to the author of these annals, the Mongols arrived in Poland after destroying Ruthenia. In the description of the damage, Hungary is mentioned, but without any details. Only in the next fragment about the Battle of Legnica does the author state that the invaders' troops crossed Moravia, which had also been severely devastated, and entered the Hungarian kingdom. The Mongols stayed there for one year. Thus, a more specific piece of information concerning the Mongol stay in Hungary is provided. This is an accurate statement, since Batu Khan's army was indeed in the Carpathian Basin for about one year. However, Poland was still the main target of the attack, and the Kingdom of Hungary was only the next stage in the march of the troops who plundered Lesser Poland and Silesia.¹⁹

Two chronicles from Silesia, the *Chronicon Polono-Silesiacum*, and the *Chronicon principium Poloniae*, contain basically identical pieces of information about the Mongols. They do not provide a detailed description of events south of the Carpathians, but Hungary is the first of the areas described as being ravaged by the invaders. This seems to prove the actual order of the marches of the Mongol troops, as their ingresses to Polish lands are listed in chronological order, from the Sandomierz region in the east through the Krakow region to Silesia. However, no other information is available.²⁰

Three other Polish sources written in the thirteenth and fourteenth century deserve attention: *Annales capituli gnesnensis, Annales Sancti Crucis,* and also *Chronica Poloniae maioris*. These sources have the most complete view of the southern neighbours of Poland, too. Therefore, when looking for information about the events in 1241 and 1242 in Hungary, these sources should be taken into account. All the sources mention the name of the Hungarian ruler Béla IV, who commanded the army and defended his country. None of these three sources directly mention the name of the place where the extremely bloody battle was fought – Muhi. Nevertheless, all these pieces of work make it possible to draw many important conclusions, which help characterise the entire Tartar invasion relatively well.

It is worth pointing out the *Annales Sancti Crucis*, although it provides little information, and the facts concerning the invasion in 1241 are not concise as regards details connected with Tartars and Hungarians. In these annals, there is a mention of the division of the invading army into two parts. The names of members of the

¹⁹ Błażowski, "Annales Silesiati Compilati," p. 678.

²⁰ Kronika Polsko-Śląska", 651. "Kronika Książąt Polskich", p. 489.

Árpád dynasty (King Béla IV, and Coloman, his brother), and details such as the death of Coloman and the escape of Béla to the Adriatic Sea are mentioned. Hungary is undoubtedly referred to as the main target of the nomads, and the fact that the army was sectioned off to Poland only partially present.²¹

The Annales capituli gnesnensis are considered to be the basis of our knowledge about the Mongols in Greater Poland. An unknown author described the events in 1241, providing exceptional detail about occurrences in Poland and Hungary. In contrast to most sources, the information about the Mongols does not commence with details of the characteristics of Polish events. The annalist clearly stresses that the invasion began on Hungarian territory. It is worth quoting the entire passage:

Item anno Domini M°CCXL primo Tarsis rex intravit Ungariam cum multis exercitibus. Cui occurit B[ela] rex Ungarie et Colomanus frater eius in prelio. Qui ambo multis exercitibus amissis terga veterunt. Rex vero Tarsis Ungariam vastans et homines interficiens a maximo usque ad minorem, non parcens ulli etati vel sexui, usque ad Danubium pertansivit. Quando vero fuit in introitu Ungarie, partem exercitus sui contra Poloniam destinavit.²²

Obviously, the annalist knew that Hungary was the main target of the invasion of the Asian nomads. He also knew that King Béla and his brother Coloman had opposed them. Despite the resistance, the country was ravaged. The author was also aware of the fact that this incursion had taken place at the same time, and was completely connected with the raid on Poland. He did not mention that the invasion of Hungary was more important. However, the fact that the latter country was referred to right at the beginning, and particular attention was paid to it, seems to prove that the annalist had a correct view of the situation. However, we have no clear evidence of that. The description in the annals is brief and does not provide many specific details, except for names.

More information can definitely be found in the Chronicle of Greater Poland. It is unequivocally pointed out there that Hungary was attacked from Ruthenia (*per Russiam voluit intrare Hungariam*). Interestingly, this description is divided into two parts: the first one essentially constitutes the introduction to the events in Poland, and a more elaborate account of the nomad invasion of Hungary is referred to only in the second one. Besides the military leaders' names (both Batu Khan's and those

^{21 &}quot;Rutkowska-Płachcińska, "Annales S. Crucis," pp. 36–37.

^{22 &}quot;In the year of our Lord 1241, the king of the Tartars entered Hungary along with his great army. The King of Hungary, Bela, and his brother, Coloman, rose up against him in battle. After having lost many warriors, they retreated. Meanwhile, the king of the Tartars crossed the Danube, devastating Hungary and killing people irrespective of age and sex along the way. When he reached the Hungarian border, he turned part of his army against Poland."

of the Hungarian rulers), the fact that Tartars crossed the Danube and devastated Hungary for one year constitutes a relevant piece of information and is identical to information that can be found in the *Annales Silesiaci compilati*.

These are the sources that contain any information on the *tatárjárás*. The conclusions which have been drawn so far can be seen in the table below. The sources which do not describe the Mongols' stay in Hungary have also been taken into consideration. Even though they have not been mentioned in the text, they provide a considerably wider view, facilitating the drawing of further conclusions. The date and the place of each of the historiographic compositions and some exact pieces of information on Hungary have been considered. The sources with Latin titles have been provided both in Latin and English, and those which have unknown or unavailable Latin titles have been entered only in English.

SOURCE	DATE OF ORIGIN	PLACE	INFORMATION ABOUT HUNGARY	HUNGARY AS A STAGE DURING THE RETREAT FROM POLAND	HUNGARY AS THE FIRST AND MAIN DESTINATION	NAMES OF HUNGARIAN RULERS	ELEMENTS DESCRIBING THE ACTIVITIES OF MONGOLS IN HUNGARY
Chronica Polonorum (Chronicle of Poles)	Turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century	Lesser Poland	_	_	_	_	_
Chronica principium Polonie (Chronicle of the Princes of Poland)	Around 1385	Silesia	+	_	_	_	_
Chronicon Polono- Silesiacum (Polish–Silesian Chronicle)	Turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century	Silesia	+	_	_	_	_
Chronica Poloniae maioris (Chronicle of Greater Poland)	End of the thirteenth century or fourteenth century	Greater Poland	+	_	+	+	+
Little Trzebnica Annals	Thirteenth century?	Silesia	_	_	_	_	_

SOURCE	DATE OF ORIGIN	PLACE	INFORMATION ABOUT HUNGARY	HUNGARY AS A STAGE DURING THE RETREAT FROM POLAND	HUNGARY AS THE FIRST AND MAIN DESTINATION	NAMES OF HUNGARIAN RULERS	ELEMENTS DESCRIBING THE ACTIVITIES OF MONGOLS IN HUNGARY
Annals of Henryków Cistercians	Middle of the thirteenth or first half of the fourteenth century	Silesia	_	_	_	_	_
Annales Grissowienses maiores (Major Grysów Annals)	Fourteenth century?	Silesia	_	_	_	_	_
Annales capituli Gnesnensis (Annals of the Gniezno Chapter)	Second half of the thirteenth century	Greater Poland	+	_	+	+	+
Annales capituli Cracoviensis (Annals of the Krakow Chapter)	Second half of the thirteenth century	Lesser Poland	+	+	_	—	_
Annales Cracoviensis	Fourteenth century	Lesser Poland	—	_	_	—	_
Annals of Lesser Poland	Fourteenth century	Lesser Poland	_	_	_	_	_
Annals of Lesser Poland – Szamotuły codex	1471	Lesser Poland	_	_	_	—	_
Annales Posnanienses II (Poznań Annals II)	Sixteenth century	Greater Poland	+	_	_	_	_
Annals of Sędziwój	Fifteenth century	Lesser Poland	—	_	—	—	_
Annales Silesiaci compilati (Compilated Silesian Annals)	Second half of the thirteenth century	Silesia	+	+	_	_	+
Annales Sancti Crucis (Annals of the Saint Cross)	End of the fourteenth century	Lesser Poland	+	_	+	+	+

SOURCE	DATE OF ORIGIN	PLACE	INFORMATION ABOUT HUNGARY	HUNGARY AS A STAGE DURING THE RETREAT FROM POLAND	HUNGARY AS THE FIRST AND MAIN DESTINATION	NAMES OF HUNGARIAN RULERS	ELEMENTS DESCRIBING THE ACTIVITIES OF MONGOLS IN HUNGARY
Annals of Traska	Second half of the fourteenth century	Lesser Poland	+	_	_	_	_
Old Wrocław Annales	First half or the beginning of the second half of the thirteenth century	Silesia	_	_	_	_	_
Annales Wratislaviensis maiores (Major Wrocław Annals)	Fourteenth century	Silesia	_	_	_		_

Table 1. The Mongol invasion of Hungary in the light of Polish medieval sources.²³

Eight sources appertain to the Silesian historiography. Some of them were composed in the thirteenth and some of them in the fourteenth century. The number of chronicles that originate from Lesser Poland is identical. However, the majority of them emerged at the end of the Middle Ages. Only two sources from Krakow (*Chronicon Polonorum*, and *Annales capituli Cracoviensis*) are supposed to have originated in the thirteenth century. Only two sources were composed in Greater Poland, even though both of them had their genesis in the thirteenth century.

Interestingly, those sources that originated from a land not afflicted by the Tartar attack (that is, Greater Poland) are the most elaborate ones and provide the most

²³ Polish medieval historiography is quite rich, but, unfortunately, there is a lack of recent, valuable pieces of work in more common languages, i.e., English or German. Conclusions concerning the dates in the table originated from several different materials. See: Jan Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do roku 1480)* [Earlier Polish historiography (until 1480)] (Wrocław – Warsaw – Kraków: The National Ossoliński Institute, 1964); Wacław Korta, Średniowieczna annalistyka śląska [Medieval Silesian annals] (Warsaw: The National Ossoliński Institute, 1966); Krystyna Gajda, ed., *Dawna historiografia Śląska* [Earlier Silesian historiography] (Opole: Silesian Institute in Opole, 1980); Wojciech Drelicharz, *Annalistyka małopolska XIII-XV wieku: Kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych* [The annals of Lesser Poland of the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries: The development of large compiled annals] (Kraków: Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2003); Brygida Kürbisówna, *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie XIII i XIV wieku* [Historiography of Greater Poland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries] (Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House, 1959).

facts about the southern neighbours of Poland. It would be fruitless to compare the records from Lesser Poland with those from Silesia, since the Chronicle of the Saint Cross is the only source containing a relatively detailed description, and this was created at the end of the fourteenth century. In the other sources, only some brief mentions can be found which may provide a specific perspective only if analysed jointly. However, this still does not constitute a complete view of the events, and does not exhaust the topic. Notwithstanding these facts, the majority of sources omitted the events in Hungary, and laconically referred only to the Mongol invasion of Poland, without any exact details, limiting themselves only to the Piast principalities. There are no fewer than 10 such sources, which make up more than half of all sources. Therefore, it may be pointless to expect detailed accounts concerning the events in Hungary, since even local events are referred to quite rarely.

The origin of the information in the context of Polish–Hungarian cultural relations

Paradoxically, the risk of the Mongol invasion constituted a factor which increased interest in the events in Poland among Hungarians. Cunegunda, the daughter of Béla IV, and Boleslav V the Chaste, duke of Sandomierz from Lesser Poland, were engaged in 1239.²⁴ Their marriage took place in 1247. Furthermore, her younger sister, Yolanda of Poland,²⁵ married Boleslav the Pious, Duke of Greater Poland.²⁶ Dynastic marriages usually constituted an opportunity for considerable cultural exchange since wives normally brought all their own compatriots (i.e. those belonging to their courts) with them. Hence, numerous Hungarians must have dwelt both in Lesser Poland and in Greater Poland.

According to a considerable proportion of Polish historians, the so-called *Chronica Hungarico-Polonicum* (Hungarian–Polish Chronicle) was brought to Poland by Cunegunda.²⁷ This is an extremely controversial work. Among others, the story of Polish princess Adelaide marrying Géza, grand duke of the Hungarians, as well as

²⁴ Kazimierz Szwarga, Żywot świętej Kingi [The life of St. Kinga] (Tarnow: Biblos, 1999), p. 24.

²⁵ In Hungarian: Jolánta, in Polish: Jolanta.

²⁶ Marcin Chwaliszewski, *Die heilige Jolenta: Fürstin und Patronin von Groß-Polen* (Posen: Verlag des Autors, 1881), p. 15.

²⁷ József Deér, ed., "Chronicon Hungaro-Polonicum," in Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938), 289–320. Ryszard Grzesik proves Cunegunda's role convincingly: Ryszard Grzesik, Polska Piastów i Węgry Arpadów we wzajemnej opinii (do 1320 roku) [Poland of the Piasts and Hungary of the Arpads in mutual opinion (until 1320)] (Warsaw: Slavic Research Center of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 2003), pp. 112–113.

that of the alleged conflict for the crown at the beginning of the eleventh century appeared in numerous Polish sources in the fourteenth and fifteenth century by way of this chronicle. Certainly, due to the presence of foreigners, several types of written and oral information concerning their respective countries, cultures, and histories became available as well. Thus, the origin of the details about the Mongol invasion of Hungary should be sought in these kinds of narratives. It has been demonstrated that most pieces of information about the activities of nomads south of the Carpathian Mountains were referred to in annals and chronicles that originated in principalities in which the rulers' wives were Hungarian royalty. Both Krakow in Lesser Poland, and Gniezno and Poznań in Greater Poland, constituted important cultural centres with a leading role regarding this issue.

This way of identifying the genesis of elaborate pieces of information such as those which can be found in the *Annales capituli gnesnensis* and *Chronica Poloniae maioris* seems to be evident and logical. One would probably seek them in written pieces of work in vain. Hypotheses based on some of the Hungarian chronicles that aim to describe Mongol issues are baseless, too. Only Jan Długosz is supposed to have compiled Polish and foreign records consciously. Therefore, details concerning the *tatárjárás* in Polish medieval historiography were spread by means of oral tradition and circulated around the courts of the Piast principalities, primarily through people connected with princesses of Hungarian origin.

Conclusions

All things considered, the authors of Polish sources usually seem to have had limited access to information related to events in Hungary. Even if they may have possessed some, describing the latter occurrences did not constitute their goal, since giving an account of circumstances in Poland was more important. Numerous sources do not characterise local events in a proper and exact way, and often limit themselves to only the following brief statement: "the Tartars devastated Poland" ("Tartari Poloniam vastaverunt"). Therefore, seeking details about the Mongol invasion of Hungary in Polish sources is pointless, as the latter do not even describe the march of Bajadar's army in Lesser Poland and in Silesia elaborately. Nevertheless, some sources offer some significantly more elaborate and valuable materials. From the *Chronicle of Great Poland*, readers can obtain a general view of circumstances in Hungary, slightly enriched by the other sources.

Regrettably, Polish sources do not add any new elements to our knowledge of the Mongol invasion of Hungary. However, they still make up a considerable part of the study of Polish-Hungarian cultural relations of the time, since the fact that these occurrences were recorded in Polish chronicles and annals testifies to mutual interests and an exchange of historical knowledge. The intensity of these relations is certainly proved by the marriages between the Piast and Árpád dynasties in the thirteenth century as well.

Bibliography:

- Bielowski, August, ed. "Mierzwy kronika [Chronicle of Dzierzwa]." In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, 2:145–90. Lviv: Own edition, 1872.
- ———, ed. "Rocznik Traski" [The annals of Traska]. In *Monumenta Poloniae Histor-ica*, 2:826–61. Lviv: Own edition, 1872.
- Błażowski, Maciej, ed. "Annales Silesiati Compilati." In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, 3:657–79. Lviv: Academy of Learning, 1878.
- Chwaliszewski, Marcin. *Die heilige Jolenta: Fürstin und Patronin von Groß-Polen*. Posen: Verlag des Autors, 1881.
- Ćwikliński, Ludwik, ed. "Kronika polska" [Polish Chronicle]. In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, 3:578–655. Lviv: Academy of Learning, 1878.
- Dąbrowski, Jan. *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do roku 1480)* [Earlier Polish historiography (until 1480)]. Wrocław – Warsaw – Kraków: The National Ossoliński Institute, 1964.
- Deér, József, ed. "Chronicon Hungaro-Polonicum." In Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum, 2:289–320.
 Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica atque Societate Histor. Hungarica, 1938.
- Drelicharz, Wojciech. Annalistyka małopolska XIII-XV wieku: Kierunki rozwoju wielkich roczników kompilowanych [The annals of Lesser Poland of the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries: The development of large compiled annals]. Kraków: Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2003.
- Felczak, Wacław. *Historia Węgier* [The history of Hungary]. Wrocław Warsaw Kraków Gdańsk Łódź: The National Ossoliński Institute, 1983.
- Gajda, Krystyna, ed. *Dawna historiografia Śląska* [Earlier Silesian historiography]. Opole: Silesian Institute in Opole, 1980.
- Grzesik, Ryszard. Polska Piastów i Węgry Arpadów we wzajemnej opinii (do 1320 roku) [Poland of the Piasts and Hungary of the Arpads in mutual opinion (until 1320)]. Warsaw: Slavic Research Center of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 2003.

- — "Węgierska i polska tradycja o najeździe tatarskim w 1241 roku" [Hungarian and Polish tradition about the Tartar Invasion in 1241]. *Roczniki Historyczne* 69 (2003), pp. 79–90.
- Katona, Tamás, ed. *A tatárjárás emlékezete*. [The remembrance of the Mongol invasion] Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1981.
- Korta, Wacław. Średniowieczna annalistyka śląska [Medieval Silesian annals]. Warsaw: The National Ossoliński Institute, 1966.
- Korwin-Szymanowski, Michał. "Bitwa Pod Mohi" [The Battle of Mohi]. Biuletyn Historyczny Koła Naukowego Studentów Historii UKSW 2 (2009), http://biuletynhistoryczny.blogspot.com/2009/02/bitwa-pod-mohi_21.html. Accesed 05 January, 2024.
- Kürbis, Brygida, ed. "Chronica Poloniae maioris." In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica: Series nova*. Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House, 1970.
- ——, ed. "Rocznik kapituły gnieźnieńskiej" [The annals of the Gniezno Chapter]. In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series nova*, 6:1–20. Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House, 1962.
- ———, ed. "Rocznik poznański II (młodszy)" [The second Poznań annals]. In Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series nova, 6:135–41. Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House, 1962.
- Kürbisówna, Brygida. *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie XIII i XIV wieku* [Historiography of Greater Poland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries]. Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House, 1959.
- Lendvai, Paul. *Węgrzy: Tysiąc lat zwycięstw w klęskach* [Hungarians: A thousand years of victories in defeats]. Translated by Adam Krzemiński and Bartosz Nowacki. Kraków: International Cultural Center, 2016.
- Nagy, Balázs, ed. *Tatárjárás*. [The Mongol Invasion] Nemzet és emlékezet. Budapest: Osiris, 2003.
- Panic, Idzi. "Katastrofa Węgierska w latach 1241–1242" [The Hungarian disaster in 1241-1242]. Acta Archaeologica Carpathica 27 (1988), pp. 219–46.
- Radecki, Jakub. "Bitwa na równinie Mohi nad rzeką Sojó" [Battle on the Mohi Plain on the Sojó River]. *https://www.konflikty.pl/*, May 5, 2009. http://www.konflikty. pl/historia/sredniowiecze/bitwa-na-rowninie-mohi-nad-rzeka-sojo/. Accessed 05, January 2024.

- Romsics, Ignác. *Historia Węgier* [The history of Hungary]. Translated by Agnieszka Barszczewska, Szymon Brzesiński, and Maciej Sagata. Poznań: Media Rodzina, 2018.
- Rutkowska-Płachcińska, Anna, ed. "Annales S. Crucis." In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Nova series*. Kraków: Polish Academy of Learning, 1996.
- Sroka, Stanisław Andrzej. *Historia Węgier do 1526 roku w zarysie* [An outline of the history of Hungary until 1526]. Bydgoszcz: Homini, 2000.
- ———. *Węgry: Początki państw* [Hungary: The origins of the states]. Poznań: Poznań Publishing House, 2015.
- Świętosławski, Witold. Archeologiczne ślady najazdów tatarskich na Europe środkowa w XIII wieku [Archaeological remains of Tartar invasions of Central Europe in the thirteenth century]. Łódź: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1997.
- Szwarga, Kazimierz. Żywot świętej Kingi [The life of St. Kinga]. Tarnow: Biblos, 1999.
- Więclewski, Zygmunt, ed. "Kronika książąt polskich [Chronicle of Polish princes]." In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, 3:423–578. Lviv: Academy of Learning, 1878.

Tibor Szőcs

Fifty Years: Mongol-Hungarian conflicts between 1242 and 1292, and the 'Second Mongol Invasion' in 1285

The great western expansion of the Mongol Empire between 1236 and 1242 reached Central Europe, including the Kingdom of Hungary, in 1241. The Mongols left the latter in 1242. However, they did not retreat beyond their pre-1236 borders. Some of them settled in the region of the Black Sea. They collected taxes from some countries of the previously conquered area in Eastern and Central Europe. Other countries (e.g. Poland and Hungary) were exempt from the taxes, but also became alarmingly close to the Mongolian sphere of influence. The Mongols themselves considered the retreat of 1242 to be only temporary, and the European countries were also convinced that the conquerors would return after gathering their strength. This 'return' did take place, but the intensity of their first major campaign could no longer be sustained. They waged some major or minor campaigns in the area in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The present study gives an overview of the thirteenth-century Mongol raids on Hungary after 1242, focusing on the invasion of 1285, which was the largest campaign after 1242. This incursion has been referred to as the 'Second Mongol Invasion' in Hungarian historiography since the nineteenth century.¹ This term is based on medieval tradition, as the passage of the Illuminated Chronicle compiled in the second half of the fourteenth century, which dates back to the first half of the fourteenth century, described the event as "the Tartars invade for the second time" ("Secunda vice intrant Tartari").²

E.g. Zsigmond Rosty, "Soovári Soos György," in *Család könyve – hasznos ismeretek és mulattató olvasmányok* [Family Book – Useful knowledge and entertaining readings], ed. Ágost Greguss, and János Hunfalvy (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1856), p. 183.; Nándor Knauz, "A milkói püspökség" [Diocese of Milkó], *Magyar Sion* 5 (1867), pp. 404.; Károly Szabó, *Kun László 1272–1290* [Ladislaus the Cuman 1272–1290] (Budapest: Méhner, 1886), p. 117. The name Second Mongol Invasion became more common in scholarly literature in the twentieth century.

² János M. Bak, and László Veszprémy, ed. and trans., Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Seac. xiv. The Illuminated Chronicle. Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2018), p. 332. (in Latin), p. 333. (in English).

International scholarly literature has partly taken over the term 'Second Mongol Invasion' from Hungarian literature in relation to the 1285 invasion of Hungary.³ What is more, the Romanian historian Şerban Papacostea more comprehensively referred to the entire region in terms of the 1280s as "the Second Tatar-Mongol Invasion of Central and South-Eastern Europe".⁴ The ordinal number 'second' reflects the contemporary historical perception: this was the campaign that left its mark on the entire Hungarian historical memory after 1241–42. Otherwise, there were other minor cross-border clashes between the Mongols and Hungarians between 1242 and 1285.

Mongol invasions in Hungary after 1242

It is hard to compile an accurate list of the Mongol-Hungarian conflicts after 1242 from medieval sources because the sources often include unsubstantiated rumours about various Mongol invasions. Additionally, the laconic descriptions mix several events, and it is not easy to tell whether reports mentioning the Mongols have any basis in reality.

In addition to the fears of Europeans, false rumours were fuelled by the fact that the Mongols tried to keep the threat of further attacks ever-present in warning letters (the former which did not take place),⁵ thus subjecting the other party to a kind of psychological pressure. It is telling that when Johannes de Plano Carpini,

³ Alexandru Gonţa, Românii şi Hoarda de Aur 1241–1502 [Romanians and the Golden Horde 1241–1502], 2nd ed. (Iasi: Demiurg, 2010), p. 105. (The first edition was published posthumously in 1983. Gonţa died in 1977.) Şerban Papacostea, Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire. The Romanians in the 13th Century. (Cluj-Napoca: Center for Transylvanian Studies, 1998.), pp. 190–191; Aleksandar Uzelac, "Tatars and Serbs at the End of the Thirteenth Century," Revista de Istorie Militară no. 5–6 (2011), p. 11.; [Aleksandar Uzelac] Александар Узелац: Под сенком Пса. Татари и јужнословенске земље у другој половини XIII века [Under the Shadow of the Dog. Tatars and South Slavic Lands in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century] (Belgrade: Утопија, 2015), p. 151; Michal Holeščák, "Mongol Attack on the [sic] Upper Hungary in 1285," in The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala (London–New York: Routledge, 2021), p. 137., etc.

⁴ Quoted by Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 199. Victor Spinei wrote something similar: "in 1285, the ruler of the Horde initiated a new ample invasion of the countries in Central-Eastern Europe". Victor Spinei, "The Domination of the Golden Horde in the Romanian Regions," in *The Golden Horde in World History. A Multi-Authored Monograph* (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017), p. 404. Aleksandar Uzelac rightfully criticised this extension from the perspective that it was not, in fact, a single comprehensive campaign like the one at the turn of the 1240s, but a series of independent campaigns: [Uzelac], *Под сенком Пса*, p. 151.

⁵ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, p. 123.

the envoy of Pope Innocent IV, and the envoy of Béla IV, King of Hungary, were in Qaraqorum in 1246, where they attended the election of Güyük as the Great Khan, the plan for a new invasion to be launched partly against Europe was discussed in their presence.⁶ It seems that the Mongols definitely wanted the Christian world to know about their plans, regardless of how seriously they meant what the delegates heard. There was a continuous exchange of information between Hungary and the papal court (in a letter dated 4 February 1247, Pope Innocent IV specifically asked the King of Hungary to keep inquiring about the arrival of the Mongols, and if he heard any important news, to not hesitate to report it to him),⁷ and King Béla also had his own sources of information in the East. The main source of information about the Mongols was not Béla's own envoys, but Daniel, Prince of Galicia, who personally visited Batu in early 1246 and acknowledged his suzerainty. Béla also made peace with Daniel shortly afterwards, and then the mutual visits of envoys ensured the quick and correct acquisition of information about some potential military preparation.⁸

Nevertheless, not all the information that spread in the West was accurate. After the election of Güyük Khan, the news concerning the preparation of the Mongols reached many places and several sources reported that the Mongols invaded Hungary and Poland in 1246 and 1247. Matthew Paris (Mattheus Parisiensis) reports the event under the year 1246, when "the Tartars [...] made a formidable incursion into the Christian countries [...] they again daringly invaded the provinces of Hungary [...] The king of that country, greatly alarmed at their approach, withdrew with the inhabitants from the weaker portions of this territories, and fleeing to the most fortified places [...] there awaited a bloody battle".⁹ In a letter of 1247, the Archbishop of Canterbury informed Peter of Savoy as follows: "it is also said

⁶ Christopher Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955.), pp. 44–45.; Denis Sinor, "John of Plano Carpini's Return from the Mongols: New Light from a Luxemburg Manuscript," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* no 3–4 (1957), p. 203. For a philological analysis of the manuscript and the historical background to the entry, see ibid. pp. 193–206.

⁷ Augustinus Theiner, ed., Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia. Matthaei Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica majora Tom. I. (Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1859), p. 203. (no. 379.)

⁸ Béla himself described his Eastern information channels in a letter to a Pope (undated but written around 1247–1250) as follows: "we married two of our daughters to two Ruthenian princes and the third to the prince of Poland so that through them and our other friends in the east we would be informed of highly secret news about the Tartars, and thus to be able to face their intentions and deceptive tricks somewhat better prepared". In Latin: Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Hungariam Sacram*, p. 231.

⁹ John Allen Giles, trans., *Matthew Paris's English History from the Year 1235 to 1273.* Vol. II. (London: Henry J. Bohn, 1853), p. 165.

that the Tartars returned to Hungary".¹⁰ The two reports refer to the same piece of news, and more surprisingly, the Eastern sources also know of a Mongol incursion at this time. A piece of the Russian chronicle tradition, the Nikon Chronicle. gives a confusing account of a second Mongol campaign against Hungary and the countries to the north in the years 1247 and 1248. According to a Mongol-Chinese source, the son of Sübetei (Subutai) took part in a campaign led by Batu in 1246 against the Germans and Poles, and was still in the West when Güyük Khan died (1248).¹¹ Although the accounts given by these independent sources seem very convincing, it is important to emphasise that these reports were recorded by people who were far from the Central Europe of around 1246–47 in space, and often in time as well. The Hungarian (and Polish) written records do not mention any incursion taking place at that time (Hungarian historical memory also referred to the campaign of 1285 as the 'second' one), although five years after the retreat of the Mongols, such an event would certainly have left some mark. King Béla also sent letters to the Pope between 1247 and 1250 on the "subject of the Tartars", but he also speaks only of a potential attack in the future, not a recent one.¹² Therefore, in the second half of the 1240s, there was certainly no real military conflict on the border between the Mongols and Hungarians.

In the 1250s, the sense of menace was still present, although—apart from some misinterpretations on the part of twentieth-century historians—there is no data from this decade about any Mongol attack.¹³ This relative imperturbation was not

^{10 &}quot;Dicitur etiam, quod Tartari reversi sunt super regnum Hungariae." Henry Richards Luard, ed., *Matthaei Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica majora*. Vol. VI.: Additamenta (Burlington: Tanner Ritchie Publishing, 2008), p. 133.

¹¹ For a collection of accounts about the 1246–48 campaign with precise references to the sources, see Stephen Pow, "Hungary's Castle Defense Strategy in the Aftermath of the Mongol Invasion (1241–1242)," in *Fortifications, defence systems, structures and features in the past*, ed. Tatjana Tkalčec, et al. (Zagreb: Institute of Archaeology Zagreb, Croat., 2019), pp. 244–5.

¹² Theiner, Vetera monumenta Hungariam Sacram, 230–2. Translated into German: Hansgerd Göckenjan and James R. Sweeney, ed. and trans., Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250 (Graz, Wien and Köln: Styria, 1985), pp. 299–314.

¹³ For a long time, Béla's undated letter (written sometime between 1247 and 1250) mentioned above was considered to have been issued in 1254. It was this letter that the renowned German historian Bertold Spuler referred to in his monograph on the Golden Horde, when he wrote that Hungary was hit by another Mongol Invasion in 1254: Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Rußland 1223–1502*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965), p. 31. Not only is the dating of the letter incorrect, but the text (see the previous note) makes no mention of a real attack at all. Romanian historian Alexandru Gonţa published the erroneous idea that the Mongols embarked on a major campaign along the Danube in 1257, but were heavily defeated by the Romanian-Hungarian armies at the confluence of the Danube and Tisza rivers: Gonţa, *Românii şi Hoarda de Aur 1241–1502*, 90. Although the reference to the source given by Gonţa is completely wrong, the fallacy was taken up in other works as well.

exclusively a Hungarian phenomenon. Although rumours of imminent raids spread across Europe even later,¹⁴ the Western battlefield was not a priority for Batu, who had control over the area. The situation only changed after Berke rose to power in the late 1250s. All this was embodied in several campaigns led by Burunday, who was chosen by Berke. His army first attacked Lithuania and then the Principality of Galicia, which refused to obey, and this activity culminated in the Mongol invasion of Poland in 1259 and 1260.¹⁵ From 1258 to 1260, there was also growing fear in Europe that another major attack would soon take place, which was reinforced by the threatening messages received from the Mongols and the actual campaign against Poland. Before the Polish campaign, Hungary was not under military but rather diplomatic pressure from the Mongols. Berke once offered an alliance to King Béla IV sometime in 1258 or 1259. He invited the Hungarian king to form a kinship relationship with him and take part in the campaign against the West with a guarter of his army. In exchange, he offered tax relief, one-fifth of the loot, and, naturally, not to attack Hungary.¹⁶ Béla had the right impression that the offer was a trap and did not accept it. Instead, he turned to the Pope for advice and help. Pope Alexander IV could only give him the former: he talked Béla out of the alliance, but said he could not send tangible help.¹⁷ However, written sources clearly attest that there were cross-border military conflicts in the 1260s.

- 15 For the antecedents and for the campaigns in Lithuania and Galicia, see [Roman Hautala], Роман Хаутала, "От Бату до Джанибека: военные конфликты Улуса Джучи с Польшей и Венгрией" [From Batu to Janybek: Military Conflicts of the Ulus of Jochi with Poland and Hungary], 1. Golden Horde Review 4.2 (2016), pp. 287–289. On the campaign in Poland: ibid. pp. 289–290.; Roman Hautala, "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe from the Mid-13th to the Mid-14th Centuries" in *The Golden Horde in World History. A Multi-Authored Monograph* (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017), pp. 368–369.; Witold Świętosławski, "The Mongol invasions of Poland in the thirteenth century. The current state of knowledge and perspectives for future research," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe*, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), p. 89.
- 16 Denis Sinor, "The Mongols in the West," *Journal of Asian History* 33.1 (1999), p. 25.; [Hautala], "От Бату до Джанибека" 1., pp. 296–7.; Hautala, "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe," p. 369.
- 17 The date of the Mongol offer is unknown; we only know about all this from the answer writ-

For Gonţa's critique in detail, see Stephen Pow, "Conquest and Withdrawal: The Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century" (PhD diss., Central European University, 2020), pp. 194–195. (The part of Gonţa's work discussing the 1285 invasion is also full of misunderstandings.)

¹⁴ In a letter dated 14 May 1253, Pope Innocent IV wrote, among other things, that he had recently learnt "from the king of Russia whose closeness [to the Tartars] allow him to know many of their secrets" ("rege Russcie [...] quem loci vicinitas suorum secretorum plerimque reddit participem") that they will soon launch another attack against the Christian world: Augustinus Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiem illustrantia*. Tom. I. (Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1860), p. 51.

Although it cannot be denied that these conflicts occurred, the sources reporting on them are quite scattered in time and space, it is not always clear exactly when the reported events took place, and what the real content of the exaggerated allegations was. The sources clearly indicate confrontations in the early 1260s. The oldest legend of Saint Margaret, written in Hungary sometime between 1272 and 1275, dates a Mongol incursion around the date of the peace treaty between Ottokar II, King of Bohemia, and Béla IV, King of Hungary, and at the time when Stephen, Béla's son, was Prince of Transylvania.¹⁸ Béla's charter dated 7 January 1263 also suggests the period of conflict between the Hungarian and Bohemian kings. In this document, he wrote about his war with the Ottokar, King of Bohemia, and explained the reason for their making peace as follows: "the Tartars, who heard about our discord approached our borders and their attacks could not be repelled otherwise than establishing a bond of kinship between us and the king of Bohemia, and marrying our granddaughter to him".¹⁹ Based on the logic of events, the cross-border raids by the Mongols must have taken place before the end of the war with Bohemia. The truce that ended the Styrian fights was made in 1260, and the peace treaty was finally concluded on 31 March 1261. It was after these that the wedding noted above took place. Prince Stephen, mentioned in the Legend of Saint Margaret, was prince of Transylvania between August 1260 and 1262 on behalf of his father. He continued to rule this area as a junior king until 1270,²⁰ but both sources date the Mongol conflict around the truce, shortly before that, which is suggestive of an event in around 1260 and 1261. Another source that is more distant in time and space, a fourteenth-century continuation of the Flores historiarum

ten by Pope Alexander IV on 15 October 1259: Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Hungariam Sacram*, pp. 239–241. If we take into account that the envoy had to reach Hungary with the offer from Sarai, then Béla's letter had to get to Rome, and some time may have passed until the pope replied, the Mongol offer must have been made at the end of 1258 or in the first half of 1259.

^{18 &}quot;After a number of wars, Béla, the elder King of Hungary, and the king of Bohemia, were reconciled with each other while King Stephen was in Transylvania, in the territory that the Tartars had invaded." Ildikó Csepregy, Gábor Klaniczay, and Bence Péterfi, ed., *The Oldest Legend. Acts of the Canonization Process, and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary* (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2018), p. 65. (In Latin: ibid. p. 64.) For the date of the legend, see: ibid. p. 5.

¹⁹ For the Latin text, see: T[adija] Smičiklas, ed., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*. Tom. V. (Zagreb: Tiask Dioničke Tiskare, 1907), p. 244.

²⁰ For a brief political history of the period, the division of the country beginning with 1262, and the use of the title of junior king, see Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 106–107.; Attila Zsoldos, *The Árpáds and Their People. An Introduction to the History of Hungary from cca. 900 to 1301* (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020), pp. 89–90.

by Roger of Wendover, clearly dates the event to the spring of 1261, when Pope Alexander IV convened a general synod to be held in June of the same year. The goal of the synod was, among other things, to discuss the Mongol threat, "after the same pope was informed that 52,000 of the Tartars were slain in Hungary".²¹ This account also appears in the work of other historians until the early modern period, although the numbers became less exaggerated (for example, according to the 1694 work of Odoricus Raynaldus, only two thousand Mongol warriors were slain in Hungary in 1261).²² The fact that, according to the continuator of the *Flores* historiarum, this news was received by the pope in the spring of 1261 also suggests that the conflict must have occurred in the winter of 1260 and 1261 because the Mongols usually waged their campaigns in the winter months.²³ Nevertheless, there are two other documents that presumably tell about a different incursion. In a letter dated 14 October 1263, Pope Urban wrote to the high priests of Hungary that "we have learnt from the sad contents of your request that you have not yet been able to escape the horrors of the Tartars, because they ruthlessly devastated territories adjacent to your country, as well as your [borders] not many days ago".²⁴ Stephen, the son of King Béla and the junior king, rewarded one of his subjects in a charter of 1264 because he "was shedding his blood in the fights against the Tartars near the border".²⁵ The first account presumably does not indicate the conflict in around 1260 and 1261, at least inferring from the fact that in October 1263 the pope wrote about some devastation that took place "not many days ago". Attila Zsoldos dated the new fights against the Mongols between May and July 1263 based on a blank period in the itinerary of the junior king Stephen.²⁶ Although it is questionable whether the duration of a cross-border conflict in which Stephen,

²¹ In Latin: Henry Richard Luard, ed., *Flores historiarum*. Vol. II. (London: H.M. Stationery Off. by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), p. 465. For the synod and the plans of Alexander IV against the Mongols, see [Hautala], "От Бату до Джанибека" 1., pp. 293–294.

²² Odoricus Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno quo desinit Caes. Card. Baronius M.C.XCVIII usque ad annum M.D XXXIV continuati.* Tom. XIII. (Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Ioannem Wilhelmum Friessem juniorem, 1694.), p. 64.

²³ Sinor, "The Mongols in the West," p. 20.; István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 84. The contemporary Byzantine historian Georgios Pachymeres already wrote about the late thirteenth-century Mongols that "these people usually wage campaigns in winter" Albert Failler, ed., *Georges Pachymérès relations historiques.* I. Livres I–III. (Paris: Les Belles Letters, 1984), pp. 658–659.

²⁴ Theiner, Vetera monumenta Hungariam Sacram, p. 250.

²⁵ Arnold Ipolyi et al., ed., *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus*. Tom. VI. (Budapest: Kocsi Sándor, 1876), p. 123.

²⁶ Attila Zsoldos, Családi ügy. IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as években [Family business. The conflict between Béla IV and Stephan, the junior king, in the 1260s] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2007), p. 36.

the junior king, may not have even taken part may be defined with such certainty (in this case the itinerary has no informative value), it is probable that it took place sometime around 1262 and 1263. It is noteworthy that a late account by Kemal Pasha-Zade also makes vague reference to the fact that during the rule of Berke Khan a Mongol troop crossed the Carpathian Mountains and raided Hungary, but the victorious Hungarians captured many of the survivors (and makes an excuse for the defeat of the Mongols with a comparison to the game backgammon).²⁷ If this is accurate information about a clash that took place during the rule of Berke (1257–1267), it must indicate one of the Transylvanian conflicts.

Despite the dramatic tone of some sources, the two incursions affected only the area adjacent to the border of Transylvania, or perhaps a county by the border. In two cases, the sources themselves also marked the country's borders as the place of the clashes. Consequently, the Mongols had not yet invaded Hungary at that time, as they had done in Poland in 1259.

In addition to military conflicts, we also have information about more intensive diplomatic relations. After the two attacks, Berke Khan repeated his offer to Béla of a marital alliance sometime in the second half of 1263, but nothing came of it, again.²⁸ We have information about a Hungarian envoy who visited the Mongols twice, and the second time—according to the rewarding diploma—the Mongols had already declared war at the encouragement of neighbouring countries but Stephen's envoy talked them out of it with great skill.²⁹ The time of these two delegations is unknown, but the same Stephen (still junior king at that time) rewarded his envoy in 1263, but he mentioned only one of his missions among his merits at that time,³⁰ so the first visit must have taken place in 1263 or before that. The second delegation is perhaps already mentioned in a 1265 charter, and it is certainly

^{27 &}quot;At the time, a party from Bereket-Khan's army [...] crossing the Balkan Mountains [=the Carpathians], raided the ill omen Hungarian country. The evil foe victorious in that battle for faith took the survivors of the clash [...] Such as in a game of backgammon one can be outrun, and other times one can be the outrunner, so are the brave-hearted riders, who roam the hunting ground sometimes apprehended, and other times become apprehenders themselves." Quoted by: Tudor Sălăgean, *Transylvania in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century. The Rise of the Congregational System* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), p. 71. According to him, this account refers to the 1260 raid.

²⁸ Theiner, Vetera monumenta Hungariam Sacram, pp. 264–265.

²⁹ A charter issued by King Stephen V on 10 December 1270: Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae*. Tom. V., p. 569. This was certainly not a grand diplomatic deal in which the parties divided the spheres of interest in the Balkans (Sălăgean, *Transylvania in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century*, p. 74.); the text is clearly about averting an attack.

³⁰ The charter of the junior king Stephen from 1263: György Györffy, "Adatok a románok XIII. századi történetéhez és a román állam kezdeteihez" [On the thirteenth-century history of the Romanians and the beginnings of the Romanian state] 1., *Történelmi Szemle* 7.1 (1964), p. 7.

referred to in a charter from 1270,³¹ so it can be assumed that the second visit (according to which the neighbouring countries had sent Mongol armies against Hungary) took place sometime between 1263 and 1265. It may also be that the news of the unfulfilled attack mentioned in connection with the second visit is related to what can be read in the letter of Pope Clement IV dated 25 June 1265—namely, that King Béla had "recently learned from a reliable source" that the Mongols were about to attack Hungary and Poland.³² The attack—whether because of the envoy's merits or for any other reason—did not take place in the end. It was not only Hungary that sent envoys to the khan, but vice versa, too. King Béla mentioned that one of his men had just announced the victory over Uroš I, King of Serbia when he received envoys from various countries at his court. In addition to the Byzantine, Bulgar, Bohemian, and French envoys, he was visited by three Mongol delegates named by the source.³³ Although the document mentions the year 1264, this is certainly an error since the war with Uroš as well as the visit of the Mongol delegates to Béla's court can be dated to 1268.³⁴ Sources gave an account of another military conflict before the great invasion of 1285. In 1270, Stephen, son of Béla IV, was crowned king, and one of the continuators of the Minor Chronicle of the Erfurt Franciscan Order (Chronica minor Minoritae Erphordensis) wrote about the year 1270 that "the king of Hungary called Béla died and the Mongols wounded his brother Stephen in a war, and thousands of people were slain in the war in Hungary".³⁵ The report was wrong not only about the kinship relationship between the two kings but the subsequent parts also contain erroneous data and exaggerated figures in the accounts related to the Hungarians. This clash is not confirmed by any other source,³⁶ so it is likely that the continuator of the Erfurt text (or the source it

³¹ The charter of 1265 writes in plural about the delegations sent to the Mongols ("in deferendis legationibus ad Thartaros"): Imre Nagy, ed., *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus*. Tom. VIII. (Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1891), p. 99. Since the 1270 charter specifically tells about two delegations, the plural may indicate that both were over by that time, although it is true that this may also be explained by the generalised use of the words.

³² Theiner, Vetera monumenta Hungariam Sacram, p. 280.

^{33 &}quot;Vybar filium Beubarth, Abachy et Thamasy nuncios Tartharorum" Nagy, Hazai okmánytár. Vol. VIII., p. 96.

³⁴ On the war, see Judit Gál, "IV. Béla és I Uroš szerb uralkodó kapcsolata" [The Relationship of Kings Bela IV of Hungary and Uroš I of Serbia], *Századok* 147.1 (2013), p. 483. Aleksandar Uzelac, a Serbian historian, dates the event to 1268, as well: [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, p. 135.

^{35 &}quot;rex Ungarie Bela nomine mortuus est, et Tartari fratrem suum Stephanum in bello vulneraverunt et multa milia in bello occiderunt in Ungaria" Georg Waitz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores.* Vol. XXIV. (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1879), p. 213.

³⁶ Aleksandar Uzelac also cited two more sources. A chronicler from Piacenza recorded under the year 1271 that there was deep controversy between the 'Great Khan' (which, according to him, may refer to Möngke Temür) and the Hungarian king. In addition, King Ottokar II of the Přemysl

used) mixed the struggles of Stephen, when he was still a junior king, in the 1260s with the reign of King Stephen. Therefore, although in scholarly literature it is also mentioned in connection with the 1270s that a series of Mongol attacks hit the country,³⁷ in fact, before 1285, only a charter of King Ladislaus IV dated 20 August 1283 mentions that a certain László, son of Egyed, was "slain by the Mongols while acting in our service" (*in servitio nobis impendendo per Tartaros fuit interemptus*).³⁸ It is uncertain whether this 'service' referred to a military campaign, a delegation, or something else. It may be related to the campaign led by Ladislaus against the Cumans, which took place on the Mongol border. These events lead us to the antecedents of the 1285 invasion.

dynasty claimed that the Mongol threat was one of the reasons why he and King Stephen made peace in Pressburg in the same year: [Uzelac], $\Pi o \partial$ сенком Πca , pp. 135–136. However, the two cited sources are not convincing. The 1271 entry of the Chronicle of Piacenza (Chronicon Placentinum) tells that the Byzantine emperor was "compelled to marry one of his illegitimate daughters to the Great Khan, the emperor of the Mongols, an enemy of the Hungarian king with whom Charles had a double kinship relationship through marriage". Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores. Vol. XVIII. (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1863), p. 553. In 1272 the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII truly married an illegitimate daughter to Nogai, who had a great influence within the Golden Horde, in 1272 (so he was referred to as the 'Great Khan', which was an incorrect but common mistake in the case of Nogai): Vásáry, Cumans and Tatars, pp. 71–72., 79. The double marriage contract between Charles I of Anjou, King of Sicily, and Stephen V, King of Hungary, was concluded in September 1269, involving marriage of their daughters to the sons of the other party, which was implemented in 1270. The account, therefore, also makes a chronological mistake here, and the fact that King Stephen is called the enemy of the Mongols here is of little significance, especially for the early 1270s. The other source quoted above is even less conclusive. In a letter to the Pope in 1272, Ottokar II, King of Bohemia, justified his peace treaty with the Hungarian king as follows: "we wanted [...] to renew the peace rather than have the Tartars devastate and torture the great Hungarian Kingdom in an invasion of that country and our country" Johann Friedrich Böhmer, ed., Acta imperii selecta. Urkunden deutscher Könige und Kaiser mit einem Anhange von Reichssachen. Vol. 2. (Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1870), p. 693. The text is, therefore, not about coercion caused by a past attack, but raises the possibility of a future attack against both Hungary and Bohemia if the hostilities are maintained. In those decades, the idea that the hostility of Central European countries would certainly attract the Mongols is an element that often appears in papal correspondence. Earlier, Pope Urban IV also wrote that the peace treaty of 1262 between Hungary and Bohemia could hopefully be kept so that they would gain strength against the Mongols. Since Ottokar II and his circle also liked to refer to the Mongols before the Pope at the level of propaganda (for this see Jackson, Mongols and the West, pp. 198-200), with this justification written to the Pope the Bohemian king is certainly referring back to this common argument to present himself in a positive light, regardless of whether there was any news of a specific attack.

- 37 Jackson, Mongols and the West, p. 204. Here Jackson based his opinion on statements found in a 1291 charter issued by King Andrew III and the work of a Persian historian Rashid al-Din, which – in addition to being quite general in their wording – may refer to the second half of the 1280s, as they contain no information about the period before 1285.
- 38 Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Tom. V/3. (Budae: Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1830), p. 161.

As we have seen, there was only one period before 1285 when military conflicts are likely to have taken place between the Mongols and the Hungarians; namely, the early 1260s. At that time, there were at least two incursions across the eastern border, in around 1260–61 and around 1262–63, but they no longer affected the inner parts of the country. The idea has emerged in scholarly literature that this was not only because the Mongol leaders did not really want to conduct a major campaign in the area. Many researchers assumed that Hungary had become an occasional taxpayer of the Mongols, and after the 1263 attack and even after the rejection of the offer of an alliance in 1259 they kept the peace by giving valuable gifts.³⁹ According to another assumption, Stephen, the junior king, did not offer taxes but military help to Berke, who was already preparing for the Byzantine campaign that took place at the turn of 1264 and 1265, and who accepted the military support of the Hungarians as well.⁴⁰ Although none of these assumptions can be conclusively proven, it is a fact that the attention of the Golden Horde was not focused on the region of Poland and Hungary in the 1270s.

The Mongol invasion in 1285

The 'Second Mongol Invasion' differs from other post-1242 Mongol attacks insofar as it not only affected the border area, but the invaders got as far as the middle of the country, to Pest. So far, four studies have been dedicated specifically to this campaign,⁴¹ and several works have discussed this event in more detail as part of a major topic (such as the Mongol Invasion in Hungary, or the thirteenth-century

^{39 [}Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, р. 135.; [Hautala], "От Бату до Джанибека" 1., pp. 298–9.; [Roman Hautala] Роман Хаутала, "От Бату до Джанибека: военные конфликты Улуса Джучи с Польшей и Венгрией," [From Batu to Janybek: Military Conflicts of the Ulus of Jochi with Poland and Hungary] 2. Golden Horde Review 4.3 (2016), p. 486.; Hautala, "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe," p. 369.

⁴⁰ Dániel Bácsatyai, "Bolgár-magyar háborúk az 1250–1260-as években" [Bulgarian–Hungarian Wars in the 1250s and 1260s], *Századok* 155.5 (2021), pp. 1047–1048.

⁴¹ György Székely, "Egy elfeledett rettegés: a második tatárjárás a magyar történeti hagyományokban és az egyetemes összefüggésekben" [A forgotten terror: the Second Mongol Invasion in Hungarian historical tradition and a universal context], *Századok* 122.1–2 (1988), pp. 52–88.; Tudor Sălăgean, "Transilvania şi invazia mongolă din 1285", [Transylvania and the 1285 Mongol Invasion] in *Românii în Europa medievală (între Orientul bizantin şi Occidentul latin). Studii în onoarea profesorului Victor Spinei* [Romanians in Medieval Europe (between the Byzantine East and the Latin West). Studies in Honour of Professor Victor Spinei], ed. Dumitru Jeicu, and Ionel Cândea (Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei, Editura Istros, 2008.), pp. 271–282.; Tibor Szőcs, "Egy második "tatárjárás"? A tatár-magyar kapcsolatok a XIII. század második felében" [A Second Mongol Invasion? Mongol-Hungarian relations in the second half of the thirteenth century], *Belvedere Meridionale* 23.3–4 (2010), pp. 16–49; Holeščák, "Mongol Attack on the Upper Hungary," pp. 137–160.

history of the Mongol Empire).⁴² The sources otherwise say little about the campaign, and there is no relatively long narrative source for the event. Compared to the few lines of description found in the Hungarian chronicle tradition, the accounts of foreign narrative sources in Latin are usually even shorter. They often rely on each other and are rather schematic.⁴³ Among the non-Latin narrative sources, the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle⁴⁴ provides valuable data, and the Egyptian Mamluk historian Baybars al-Mansuri probably also refers to this campaign. The latter account is problematic because it apparently mixed the 1285 Hungarian campaign and the 1287-88 invasion of Poland, and the details of the two events are confused. Baybars discussed the event under the year 686 according to the Hijrah (16 February 1287–5 February 1288), which perfectly overlaps the period of the Polish campaign,⁴⁵ and also starts the report by saying that Töle Buga became king, which also corresponds to the year 1287.46 The target of the attack was identified with Cracow by the nineteenth-century publisher of the text, but today historians tend to believe that Baybars was referring to Hungary instead.⁴⁷ The description given by Baybars, and al-Nuwayri, another Mamluk historian who followed him,⁴⁸ discuss mainly the difficulties during the retreat of Töle Buqa, which are also highlighted in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle and some Latin works in relation to the Hungarian campaign.

⁴² Selecting only from works published after 2010: [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, pp. 151–154.; János B. Szabó, A tatárjárás. A mongol hódítás és Magyarország [The Mongol Invasion. The Mongol conquest and Hungary], 3th ed. (Budapest: Corvina, 2016), pp. 177–185.; Sălăgean, Transylvania in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century, pp. 135–138.; [Hautala], "От Бату до Джанибека" 2., pp. 486–491.; a shortened and slightly revised English version of this study published in two parts in Russian: Hautala, "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe," p. 370.; Pow, "Conquest and Withdrawal," pp. 280–286.

⁴³ I strived to collect all the extant Latin sources about the event in an article from 2010; see Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," pp. 20–28.

⁴⁴ George A. Perfecky, trans., *The Hypatian Codex, Part Two: Galician-Volynian Chronicle* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973), pp. 95–96.

⁴⁵ Świętosławski, "Mongol invasions of Poland," p. 90.

⁴⁶ Jackson, Mongols and the West, p. 199.

^{47 [}Vladimir Tizenhauzen], Влади́мир Тизенгаузен, Сборник Материалов, относящихся к истории золотой орды [Collection of Materials Related to the History of the Golden Horde]. Vol. 1. (Санкт-Петербург, 1884.), p. 106. Here, Tizenhauzen also indicated some uncertainty in the transcription when he wrote that Töle Buqa and Nogai invaded the "land of Cracow (Krulevskaia?)" ["Въ землю Краковскую (Крулевскую?]"]. The Arabic source, however, instead of "al-KRK", comprises "al-KRL", and Tizenhauzen found it difficult to interpret. It stands for '(Bilad) al-Karil', that is, the 'Land of Hungary'. For all this, see Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, p. 227. note 85; [Hautala], "От Бату до Джанибека" 2., pp. 490–491.; Pow, "Conquest and Withdrawal," p. 281. note 726. The uncertainties around the interpretation of the place name were emphasised by Holeščák, "Mongol Attack on the Upper Hungary," 153.

^{48 [}Tizenhauzen], Сборник Материалов, р. 156.

The details of the campaign are primarily known from Hungarian diplomas. The latter can be divided into two groups by their nature. One group is formed by the narratives of rewarding diplomas, which tell the heroic deeds of the rewarded. They also relate what the rewarded did when the Mongols invaded the country. They are somewhat one-sided from the perspective that they only focus on those who won victories over the Mongol troops, but they are quite reliable as sources and reveal many details that are missing from the narrative narratives. The other group comprises diplomas reporting about the damage. These discuss the devastation caused by the Mongols for some practical reason. They tell about deeds of privilege that were burnt and people who were impoverished during the Mongol Invasion. One charter tells of how a relative's consent was needed for selling an estate, but he was taken captive by the Mongols, while another reports that someone was killed by the Mongols in the grove behind his house.⁴⁹ Special mention should be made of one diploma—the letter written by Benedict, Provost of Esztergom-Szenttamás to the members of the Esztergom chapter. Although the letter is undated, it is clear from its text that it was written during the Mongol Invasion, towards the end of it. It is worth quoting a longer passage from the text:

"The infinite number of Tartars came from Transylvania to Pest and devastated the whole land from Transylvania to the Danube, but they managed to slay only a few of the nobles and armed men. Nevertheless, they cut down more than seven thousands of the lowly ones (the peasants, the weak and the sick) with their swords. The Hungarians and other peoples from Hungary, on the other hand, slew about twenty-six thousand Tartars in some battles. Now the Tartars have retreated to Transylvania to escape from the grasp of the Hungarians, but the Szeklers, Vlachs, and Saxons have cut them off and blocked their ways everywhere. Getting into a life-threatening situation, they were forced to decamp. I cannot tell for sure yet what happened to them. However, I know for certain that two hundred thousand well-armed Tartars, not counting women and children, have attacked Hungary to occupy the land. Their chief leaders are called Mihei [= *Nogai*] and Thalabuga, but I wish that I [had] never learnt their names in my life [...]".⁵⁰

The letter above is unique from the perspective that it shows how people directly affected by the events were thinking. As we can see, in addition to mentioning the usually exaggerated figures, the writer of the letter was both influenced by the news of success and was gripped by fear and uncertainty. It is plausible that the letter-writer was close to the king, but he had certainly survived the siege in

⁴⁹ The relevant charters can also be found in a study of mine published in 2010: Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," pp. 20–28.

⁵⁰ In Latin: Ferdinandus Knauz, ed., *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. Tom. II. (Strigonii: Gustavus Buzárovits, 1882), pp. 419–20.

some place where he regularly received news. Since he informed the members of the Esztergom chapter about everything in his letters, this place was certainly not Esztergom. The environment of the ruler is conceivable because he was regularly informed about local victories over small numbers of Mongol troops by those who had carried out the heroic deeds. He often received "tangible evidence" (prisoners, severed heads) together with the messages.⁵¹ Thus Provost Benedict was constantly informed of the minor victories, the account of which is mixed in the letter with notes about the horror of devastation.

In addition to written sources, Michal Holeščák has recently collected potential pieces of archaeological evidence of the invasion in the territory of Upper Hungary, mostly arrowheads, which may well be associated with the 1285 invasion.⁵² Concerning the artefacts, the author also emphasised the uncertainties, as it is questionable whether all the indicated finds can be linked with this incursion, and specifically with the material culture of the Mongols. At the same time, it is plausible that some of the arrowheads listed by him truly belonged to them. The archaeological material from other parts of the country has not yet been subjected to such study, and the research of settlement history cannot reveal the impact of the campaign, either.⁵³

The campaign lasted a few months. According to a chronicle from Vienna (*Continuatio Vindobonensis*), the Mongols entered the country sometime after Christmas, while the Augsburg Annals (*Annales Augustani minores*) wrote that it happened around Candlemas Day (2 February) and during Lent they occupied the land (Easter, representing the end of Lent, started on 25 March in 1285, from which we can infer an event that occurred in February–March).⁵⁴ Although no other source gives an exact date, it is striking that the Hungarian Royal Chancery issued charters until 13 January 1285. From the period of less than two weeks at the beginning of the year, we have information about five charters issued by King Ladislaus (two of which are forgeries). Then the process was interrupted, the work of issuing diplomas was

⁵¹ Amade from the kindred Aba sent the severed heads of ten Mongol "chiefs" to the king: Gusztáv Wenzel, ed., Árpádkori új okmánytár. *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*. Tom. XII. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia Történelmi Bizottmánya, 1874), p. 497. Sebestyén, son of Konrád, sent three captives to the king: Imre Nagy, Farkas Deák, and Gyula Nagy, ed., *Hazai Oklevéltár. Codex diplomaticus patrius: 1234–1536* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1879), p. 117. György, son of Simon, sent "many" Mongol heads: Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae.* Tom. V/3., p. 394.

⁵² Holeščák, "Mongol Attack on the Upper Hungary," pp. 137–138; pp. 141–152.

⁵³ Székely, "Egy elfeledett rettegés," pp. 72–74.

⁵⁴ Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum. Vol. IX. (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1851), p. 713.; Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum. Vol. X. (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1852), p. 10.

radically reduced, and only continued on 4 May. A total of eleven diplomas issued by the king have remained from the month of May.⁵⁵ The suspension of work at the Royal Chancery, of course, does not indicate the exact time of the invasion, as the issue of diplomas must have stopped when they were informed about the attack. The work must have been restarted when they were convinced that the danger was over. Based on all this, we may assume that the campaign had already been launched in late 1284. The Mongols crossed the eastern borders of the country in late December or early January and left the country in around late March or April. To assume a later date would be excessive,⁵⁶ since the charter of King Ladislaus IV dated 27 May 1285 refers to the incursion and retreat in the past tense.⁵⁷ Additionally, the March or April withdrawal is also consistent with the fact that many sources mention that the Mongols encountered heavy rains and floods in the mountains on their way back. This is also suggestive of weather characterised by spring thaws and showers.

The direction of movement of the invading troops cannot be reconstructed with certainty. If we consider the written documents in which the Mongols are mentioned (either because of clashes with them or because of the devastation caused by them), we find two regions in the country where the invaders had a strong presence. One is the north-eastern part of the kingdom, mainly the historical counties of Sáros, Szepes, and Abaúj (Újvár), and the other is Transylvania.⁵⁸ The Mongols certainly reached the line of the Danube River and the settlement of Pest (which was confirmed by several sources), but they did not cross the Danube. Although the campaign was launched in winter, as usual,⁵⁹ which was partly because of the fact that the rivers and swamps were more passable, we have evidence that the

⁵⁵ Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," p. 20.

⁵⁶ According to Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, p. 205. they were in the country until June.

⁵⁷ Károly Szabó, ed., *Székely oklevéltár* [Szekler Diplomas]. Tom. IV. (Kolozsvár: Ajtai K. Albert Könyvnyomda, 1895), p. 2.

⁵⁸ The sites mentioned by sources and relevant archaeological sites were mapped by Holeščák, "Mongol Attack on the Upper Hungary", p. 139. Figure 6.1 (The author also indicated the supposed routes taken by the Mongols.)

⁵⁹ In a study published in 2008, Tudor Sălăgean referred to the winter campaign of 1285 as a unique phenomenon, and he specifically indicated this as the reason for the Mongol's defeat. According to him, the Mongols miscalculated by surprisingly attacking in winter and barely survived due to supply-related difficulties and withdrew so quickly from the country because they were aware that they would no longer be able to survive in the area until spring: Sălăgean, "Transilvania şi invazia mongolă din 1285," p. 274; pp. 277–278. In another place – although he still mentioned it – he no longer placed so much emphasis on the decisiveness of winter warfare: Sălăgean, *Transylvania in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century*, p. 135. As we have seen, the Mongols were very accustomed to winter warfare, and specifically looked for the possibility of it; see note no. 23.

Danube was not frozen in January and February 1285, so crossing it was not viable for them.⁶⁰

It is not clear how the three regions (North-East Hungary, the Pest area, and Transylvania) are related to each other—that is, in what direction the Mongol troops moved. There is no consensus about the issue in previous scholarly literature either. Earlier, Hungarian historians named north-eastern Hungary as the only place where the Mongols entered the country.⁶¹ Conversely, international and recent Hungarian literature talks about a twofold invasion (through north-eastern Hungary and Transylvania) led by two Mongol leaders, Nogai and Töle Buga, separately.⁶² Recently, Michal Holeščák has abandoned the idea of the twofold attack and returned to the proposition of the north-eastern direction, saying that Nogai and Töle Buga entered the country at the same time and they split only later.⁶³ The arguments published by Holeščák are thought provoking, and it is also true that the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle, guoted as evidence of an invasion from two directions, did not tell about the splitting of the Mongol army when it entered but when it left: "The cursed and lawless Nogaj started back with Telebuga, after they had pillaged the Hungarian land. Then they separated, and Nogaj set out for Brašev, while Telebuga went through the Carpathian Mountains".⁶⁴ Nevertheless, it is a fact that several medieval sources (including the account given by the aforementioned Provost Benedict, who wrote his letter at the time of the invasion), only mentioned Transylvania when referring to the place of the ingress.⁶⁵ As there are important arguments supporting the claim of a north-eastern incursion,⁶⁶ it is not

⁶⁰ According to a diploma dated 14 June 1285, the ferrymen near Pest had become very rich due to the Mongol invasion a few months earlier. Presumably, on the news of the incursion everyone wanted to cross to the safer side of the river, so the ferrymen had plenty of work. This would only have been possible if the Danube was navigable at the time of the invasion. The Latin text of the diploma: Knauz, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. Tom. II., p. 197.

⁶¹ For the list of these works, see Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," p. 41. note 42.

⁶² Spuler, Die Goldene Horde, p. 67.; Gonţa, Românii şi Hoarda de Aur 1241–1502, p. 104.; Sălăgean, "Transilvania şi invazia mongolă din 1285," p. 274.; Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," p. 21–2.; [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, pp. 152–153.; Sălăgean, Transylvania in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century, p. 135.; [Hautala], "От Бату до Джанибека" 2., p. 488.; Spinei, "The Domination of the Golden Horde in the Romanian Regions," p. 404.; Hautala, "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe," p. 370. In his works cited here, Tudor Sălăgean wrote about an incursion not only from two but even from three directions.

⁶³ Holeščák, "Mongol Attack on the Upper Hungary," p. 140–141.

⁶⁴ Perfecky, Galician-Volynian Chronicle, p. 96.

⁶⁵ In addition to the letter of Benedict cited above, the Annales Polonorum IV also wrote that "the land of Hungary, it is said, was invaded by the Mongols from Transylvania" ("Tartari terram Hungarie, que dicitur, de Septemcastris intraverunt"): Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*. Vol. XIX. (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1866), p. 649.

⁶⁶ Holeščák, "Mongol Attack on the Upper Hungary," pp. 140–141.

possible to decide for certain on the issue, so the possibility of a twofold attack cannot be excluded, either. As for the direction of the withdrawal, the sources named Transylvania.⁶⁷ According to the passage of the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle quoted above, the two leaders went in two directions from there: "Nogaj set out for Brašev [modern Brașov, Romania] while Telebuga went through the Carpathian Mountains". Baybars al-Mansuri and after him al-Nuwayri also wrote that Nogai and Töle Buqa led their troops home separately.

Between the two dates, during the few months that they spent in the country, they got as far as the line of the Danube and Pest. They did not waste time laying siege to major castles, but rather attacked unfortified places, plundering and taking prisoners. No major army was amassed against the raiders (we will return to the reasons below), but the minor, scattered groups of Mongols were constantly harassed by locals, who retreated into castles. Several successful raids were carried out against them in the north-eastern part of Upper Hungary and Transylvania, including those that freed captives.⁶⁸ The Mongols, however, suffered the most severe blow from weather. Latin narrative sources also highlighted that during their retreat the Mongols encountered very bad weather in the mountains. Some wrote about torrential rains and floods in which the Mongols drowned. Others told of hail, snow, and frost.⁶⁹ Russian and Mamluk sources give an even more comprehensive description than the Latin records. The latter also pointed out that Töle Buga and his army suffered the most. While Nogai returned home unharmed, Töle Buga got lost in the mountains and his men faced severe famine. Muslim historians explain that with this event the relationship between the two warlords worsened considerably.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ In addition to the letter of Provost Benedict cited above, see the Annales Polonorum IV (Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Vol. XIX., p. 649.), and the Continuatio Vindobonensis (Pertz, ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Vol. IX., p. 713.). Two diplomas of King Ladislaus IV also suggest a retreat through Transylvania. According to a letter dated 27 May 1285, the Voivode of Transylvania, Loránd of the Borsa kindred, clashed with the Mongols when "these Tartars, loaded with the goods of our kingdom, wanted to return to theirs" – that is, at the time of the withdrawal. Szabó, *Székely oklevéltár*. Tom. IV., p. 2. The letter of donation written to the Szeklers, dated 18 September 1289, also wrote about the Tartars returning to Transylvania: Knauz, Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis. Tom. II., p. 254.

⁶⁸ For the individual cases in detail, see Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," pp. 23–28.; Holeščák, "Mongol Attack on the Upper Hungary," pp. 141–152.

⁶⁹ Continuatio Vindobonensis: Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Vol. IX., p. 713.; Ottokars österreichische Reimchronik: Joseph Seemüller, ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum qui vernacula lingua usi sunt. Tom. V. pars I. (Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1890), p. 313.; Continuatio I., Altahensis Annalium: Georgius Heinricus Pertz, ed., Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum. Vol. XVII. (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1861), p. 414.

⁷⁰ Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 96.; [Tizenhauzen], Сборник Материалов, p. 106., p. 156.

Hungarian strategy and the role of King Ladislaus IV

The medieval institution of the Christian state was traditionally built around the person of the king. It operated smoothly when the king was there in person. However, we do not know where King Ladislaus IV was, nor what he was doing (if he was doing anything at all) at the time of the invasion. The sources reveal about the king only that several soldiers sent him the severed heads of Mongols and captives, and that is how they reported their victory to him. Therefore, his whereabouts must have been known to his contemporaries. It is a fact that he did not retreat to the safety of the part of the country lying beyond the Danube, which is revealed by a story about one of his messengers. When Tamás Talpas was dispatched to Visegrád with a message during the Mongol Invasion, he was wounded by the raiders on his return to the king.⁷¹ Consequently, if the courier bringing a message to Visegrád (located in Transdanubia, an area unaffected by the Mongols) was wounded on his way back to the king, at that time the king was certainly in a place where the Mongols could be expected to appear.

However, there is no indication that he tried to recruit any central army to fight back the invaders. It is certain that during the Second Mongol Invasion there was no major battle that the Hungarian main forces would have been engaged in. What is more, there is no evidence at all that the main forces were in Hungary. A diploma of reward issued by Isabella (Elisabeth), the Queen of Ladislaus, is instructive in this regard. Quoting from the document word by word: "we were locked up in the

⁷¹ "Postremo cum perfida gens Tartarorum regnum nostrum adiisset, idem magister Thomas cum legationibus nostris in Wysagrad per nos esset destinatus, ad nos redeundo per eosdem Tartaros exstitit vulneratus." Its incorrect Latin edition: Fejér, Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Tom. V/3., p. 411. Michal Holeščák used the incorrect edition of the text, which comprised Bizadragh instead of Wysagrad, and he presumed that that the place-name could be identified with an unknown settlement in Sáros County instead of Visegrád. According to him, the identification with the latter settlement was wrong because "Visegrad was not at all in danger, being on the right bank of the Danube, where the Mongol threat didn't expand during this invasion. The messenger sent from Buda to Visegrad didn't have to pass through any dangerous land, as there is no evidence to assume [...] that any Mongols, even small detachments[,] crossed the river". Holeščák, "Mongol Attack on the Upper Hungary," p. 144. However, it is unknown from where the envoy set out (i.e. where the king was). We only know that he returned to the king from the settlement of Wysagrad (which can certainly be identified with Visegrád). It is unlikely that Ladislaus IV was in Buda, because his queen, Isabella, took refuge in Buda during the invasion. The diploma listed who was there with the queen, including the pages and the citizens of Buda, but the king was not among them. (Fejér, Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Tom. VII/2., p. 110.). The incorrectly transcribed place-name 'Bizadragh' was the source of an even greater mistake in the case of Alexandru Gonta, who interpreted it as a place in the area of the Golden Horde where Ladislaus sent a delegate to Nogai in 1284: Gonța, Românii și Hoarda de Aur 1241–1502, p. 103.

Buda Castle with our loyal barons and the young members of our court and the citizens of Buda for fear of the Tartars".⁷² It is understandable that the gueen and her pages as well as the citizens of Buda took refuge in the Castle of Buda. The fact that the barons (apparently high-ranking officials belonging to the queen's court) were also there is more revealing, because if a centrally amassed army had existed they should have been serving in the military. It is also telling that if we examine diplomas that rewarded heroic deeds during the Second Mongol Invasion, we find mention of only one high-ranking official: Lorand, Voivode of Transylvania, from the kindred Borsa, who was engaged in the Transylvanian fights. He was connected to Transylvania both as a voivode and as a landowner, so nothing is surprising about this at all. None of the other named persons (besides him, we know the names of fourteen other people who fought against the Mongols at that time) held any office in the first half of 1285.73 Therefore, even if the counts and barons of the country fought in the battles, we have no information about this—and this may also suggest that no central army clashed with the Mongols. This is rather strange, because beginning in the eleventh century, whenever light-cavalry-based peoples invaded the country from the east or south, a national army led by a king or high dignity went to the border to confront them. Sometimes they got there late, or reacted late, but they set out. If, however, in 1285 there was no national army to face them, or it was only amassed too late, we can think of three reasons for this. First, they received news of the Mongol Invasion so late that there was no time to build up an army, panic broke out, and there was confusion even at the level of top administration—as a result, control was out of the king's hands right from the beginning. Second, the king may not have raised an army because he himself had invited the Mongol troops in. This idea should be considered at least briefly, because a few years after the events the king was accused of having made a deal with the Mongols, wanting them to come into the country and support him against his own domestic opponents. This charge emerges even in modern Hungarian historiography time and time again. This is, of course, consistent with the image of a ruler who sabotaged any defence. The third possibility is that the population took refuge in castles instead of raising a central army as a conscious strategy. It

⁷² See the previous note.

⁷³ From the diplomas we know the names of the following individuals who fought against the Mongols: Péter and Jovánka, sons of György from the Aba kindred; Amade from the Aba kindred; Sebestyén, son of Konrád; Csépán and Iváncs royal serfs; sons of Sándor: Jakó and Gergely; sons of Benke: Miklós, Fülöp, and Jakab; György, son of Simon; sons of Meggyes: Péter and Miklós (for the exact references of the sources, see Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," pp. 20–28). For who held what national offices at this time, see Attila Zsoldos, Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301 [Secular Archontology of Hungary 1000–1301] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011)

is known that King Béla IV, who suffered the Great Mongol Invasion of 1241–42, favoured the construction of castles in defence of the Mongols.⁷⁴ It is still uncertain how effective this could have been, but it was considered useful by contemporaries. It is also plausible that because of extreme fear of the Mongols and excessive anticipation, and also because the Hungarians were fully aware of the mobility of the equestrian peoples, they did not want to seek out the enemy in an open battle, sending against them men from the counties. Instead, they concentrated their forces, instructing everyone to confront the raiders only in their immediate environment.⁷⁵

Only the second possibility can be ruled out with certainty—namely, that the king could have deliberately let the Mongols into the country and hindered the defence. This issue needs to be addressed in detail because this charge re-emerged in twentieth-century Hungarian historiography (e.g. Bálint Hóman, and Lajos Tardy)⁷⁶ based on the fact that King Ladislaus IV had already been accused of "being on friendly terms with the Mongols" by contemporaries between 1287 and 1290. However, some misunderstandings need to be resolved here. Those who accused Ladislaus of being friendly with the Mongols never implied that he had anything to do with the 1285 campaign. They only resented the fact that the king had completely turned away from the Christian elite between 1287 and 1290, was in constant conflict with both the high clergy and the barons, and spent most of his time among the Cumans who were loyal to him. These problems already existed before.⁷⁷ The new aspect was that after the 1285 Mongol Invasion, Ladislaus used the Mongols to put pressure on his own elite: he threatened them by saying he would invite the Mongols into the country himself. The situation is best illustrated by the letters written by Lodomér, Archbishop of Esztergom. One was written to the Pope on 8 May 1288. According to this, the king "openly proclaims his alliance with the Tartars and the interests of the Tartars". For this reason, the barons captured Ladislaus for some time, "so that he would not put the whole country in peril [...] by inviting the Tartars". After the king was released, the barons and high priests made him take an oath that "he would keep himself wholeheartedly away from public or secret alliance and friendship with the Tartars, and would not send any ceremonial or simple delegation to the Tartars for any reason". It seems

⁷⁴ Sălăgean, *Transylvania in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century*, pp. 58–61.; Pow, "Hungary's Castle Defense Strategy."

⁷⁵ Tudor Sălăgean also suggested that the king and his circle avoided the clash for conscious tactical reasons: Sălăgean, "Transilvania și invazia mongolă din 1285," p. 275.

⁷⁶ For the exact references, see Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," p. 45. note 89.

⁷⁷ Nora Berend, At the Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000–c. 1300 (Cambridge, New York etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 171–176.

that the oath was no use because after his release Ladislaus was reproved again, and—according to Archbishop Lodomér—the king retorted angrily, saying that he would "exterminate this whole race starting with the archbishop of Esztergom and his subordinates with Tartar swords, all the way to Rome". The situation deteriorated to such an extent that Archbishop Lodomér requested that the Pope launch a crusade against King Ladislaus. The other letter written by the archbishop to the Transylvanian clergy also reveals further details about Ladislaus; namely, that he dispatched many envoys to the Mongols in violation of his oath and "sent his ring to Nogai's daughter to become his bride, sending her the message and telling her that by this ring he recognises her as the queen of the whole Hungarian Kingdom. So, from now on, she can do whatever she likes anywhere in the country".⁷⁸ It is evident that the charges were based on truth. Towards the end of his life, Ladislaus IV turned away completely from his elite, who tried to get exemption from their pledge of loyalty to the king as his subjects by requesting that the Pope declare a Crusade against him, which would allow them to confront him legally. In the end, this did not happen as the problem was solved in a different way: King Ladislaus IV was murdered by Cuman assassins in his own tent in the summer of 1290. (The identity of the direct instigator is uncertain because, although many were relieved to hear the news, no one admitted the king's assassination openly).79

However, if his subjects had turned against the king in large numbers and openly, Ladislaus would have had one powerful trump card: entry into an alliance with the Golden Horde, which had otherwise increased its influence considerably in the region in those years, and to seek their military help. In other words, he would have had to 'invite the Mongols in' in order to retain his power. According to the account given by the Archbishop of Esztergom, Ladislaus took the first steps towards Nogai by initiating kinship (whether the ring was really sent, or if Ladislaus just wanted to scare his barons with false rumours he had invented is uncertain—anyhow, Nogai did not take steps to enforce the 'rights' of his unknown daughter). However, this was the period between 1287 and 1290. The relationship between Ladislaus and his elite was not so bad in 1283 and 1284. At this time, after defeating the Cumans who had revolted against him in 1282, a more peaceful period ensued, and no multitude wanted to overthrow the king.⁸⁰ There was no need to seek the help of

⁷⁸ The publication of the quoted letters in Latin: János Karácsonyi, "A mérges vipera és az antimonialis. Korkép Kun László király idejéből" [The venomous viper and the antimonial. On the age of Ladislaus the Cuman], *Századok* 44.1 (1910), pp. 2–11. (the quoted passages: p. 3; p. 4; p. 7; p. 10.)

⁷⁹ Jenő Szűcs, Az utolsó Árpádok [The last members of the Árpád dynasty] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993), p. 321.; Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, p. 109.

⁸⁰ Szűcs, Az utolsó Árpádok, pp. 311–313.

the Mongols and wage a campaign in early 1285. Evidently, historians projected the charges from the period between 1287 and 1290 back to the campaign of 1285 without any reason, since not even contemporaries who had the lowest opinion of Ladislaus accused their king of having anything to do with the 1285 invasion.

The possibility, therefore, that the king deliberately sabotaged the defence in 1285 and this is why no central army had been raised, can be excluded with certainty. It is plausible, however, that some kind of mixture of the first and third options described above was the case—namely, that they reacted late and considered it less risky to choose the 'castle strategy' rather than to amass an army. The letter of Provost Benedict quoted above also said that "they managed to slay only a few of the nobles and armed men. Nevertheless, they cut down more than seven thousands of the lowly ones". This also suggests that the capable forces retreated into castles. It is also worth mentioning that all the sites of clashes with the Mongols mentioned in the rewarding diplomas were without exception near a castle or a walled town (Pest, Tarkő, Regéc, and Torockó).⁸¹

All in all, the source material shows that those who had the possibility took refuge in castles, and only those engaged in fights with the Mongols in whose neighbourhood the looting armies appeared. Even they were content to have these armies expelled from the vicinity of their castles. If, in parallel with this, a central response was prepared as a counterattack, it was belated and the Mongols leaving Transylvania were only afflicted by local military forces and weather conditions. The castle strategy developed by Béla IV proved to be successful, at least in the case of an invasion of this size.

The place of the Second Mongol Invasion among the contemporary military campaigns

The 1285 invasion was by no means the only Mongol campaign in the area. In this period, the Golden Horde's interests in Central Europe increased considerably. After the great western campaign ended in 1242, this area was no longer a top priority for Batu. However, it seems that after Batu's death and the subsequent succession turmoil, the situation changed with Berke coming to power. Berke's ambitious warlord, Burunday, led several campaigns into the region of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland

⁸¹ The region of Pest: Fejér, Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae. Tom. VII/2., p. 110.; the castles of Tarkő [now Kamenica in Slovakia] and Regéc: Fejér, Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae. Tom. VI/2. pp. 150–152.; the castle of Torockó: Knauz, Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis. Tom. II., p. 254.

in the late 1250s.⁸² At the beginning of the 1260s, as discussed above, they started 'testing' the Hungarian border region, as well. However, they lost momentum due to the imminent internecine war between the Jochids and Ilkhanids, which led to the final disruption of the Mongol Empire. This again diverted attention from the region of Central Europe. From this decade onwards there is evidence of one more incident that the forces of the Golden Horde had an active part in, but they did not initiate this either. In the mid-1260s (most likely in the winter of 1264 and 1265), the united Bulgar-Mongol forces led a campaign against Byzantium, the official aim of which was to set free Izz al-Din (Izzeddin), the former sultan of Iconicum, who asked Berke for help in a letter. Nevertheless, this must have been a pretext rather than the real cause. The campaign was mainly in the interests of the Bulgars, who had plenty of conflicts with the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII. The Mongol troops who helped the Bulgar forces even ravaged Thrace after the campaign.⁸³ Incidentally, a few Hungarian auxiliary troops also took part in the war on the side of the Bulgar-Mongol forces.⁸⁴

After Berke's death, the war between the Jochids and the Ilkhanids became less intense, and Mönge Temür, who gained power after Berke, carried out a seemingly insignificant transfer of personnel at the end of the 1260s: his relative, Nogai, who had been fighting on the Eastern Front until then, was sent to the shores of the Black Sea to represent the interests of the khan in the western region.⁸⁵ The decision had important consequences because Nogai played an increasingly important role within the Golden Horde from the 1270s onwards, culminating in the second half of the 1280s.

⁸² Jackson, Mongols and the West, pp. 123–124.; [Hautala], "От Бату до Джанибека," 1. pp. 287–289.; Hautala, "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe," pp. 368–369.

⁸³ Vásáry, Cumans and Tatars, pp. 72–77.; [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, pp. 83–88.; Aleksandar Uzelac, "The Golden Horde and the Balkans (13–14th Centuries)," in The Golden Horde in World History. A Multi-Authored Monograph (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017), pp. 378–80. Vásáry and Uzelac interpreted certain details in a different way. See also: Alexander Nikolov, "Byzantium and the Mongol World. Contacts and Interaction (from Batu to Tamerlane)," in The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala (London–New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 200–201.; Aleksandar Uzelac, "A Century of the Tatars' 'Hegemony'. The Golden Horde and Bulgarian Lands (1241–1341)," in The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala (London–New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 215–216.

⁸⁴ Bácsatyai, "Bolgár-magyar háborúk," pp. 1044–1047. The author considers the Hungarians to be direct allies of the Mongols, but it is much more likely that Stephen, the junior king, joined at the request of the Bulgars.

^{85 [}Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, pp. 128–131.; Aleksandar Uzelac, "An Empire Within an Empire? Ethnic and Religious Realities in the Lands of Nogai (c.1270–1300)," *Chronica* 18 (2018), p. 272.

Nogai was also a Jochid prince, but not born to the chief wife of Jochi, after whom the dynasty was named. His mother was a concubine, so he was at the end of the order of succession.⁸⁶ He never became the khan of the Golden Horde, but he had considerable influence from the late 1280s onwards. Twentieth- (and partly twenty-first-) century historiography considered this influence to have been very significant, based on a relatively short (less than sixty-page-long) but influential monograph⁸⁷ on Nogai written by the eminent Russian historian Nikolai Veselovsky, which was published in 1922. According to this, Nogai was the most influential person in the Golden Horde, partly beginning in the 1270s, but mainly after the death of Mönge Temür Khan. He never became a khan, but he helped the khans seize power and overthrew them if it was necessary. Eventually, he failed to bring down Togta, the last khan he had helped to take power. A war broke out between them and the khan defeated the old 'khan-maker'. Consequently, what happened within the Golden Horde from the 1270s to the 1290s predominantly reflected Nogai's will. Recent historiography has somewhat refined the role of Nogai. Moreover, some historians even question this point of view.⁸⁸ However, the fact is that Nogai's influence had increased to a great extent in the Balkans by the late 1270s, and he also played some role in the subsequent strategic shift.

Shortly after moving west, Nogai showed himself and the Mongol power he represented. In the early 1270s another Mongol Invasion hit the Byzantine Empire, this time due to an external suggestion. The internal enemies of Emperor Michael VIII invited the Mongols to weaken the emperor in this way.⁸⁹ This was followed by a turn in diplomacy that directed events in a different direction in the Balkans. Emperor Michael VIII married one of his illegitimate daughters to Nogai (this procedure was not unusual, as he married another illegitimate daughter to Abaqah, the

⁸⁶ Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 71.; [Uzelac], *Под сенком Пса*, pp. 121–3.; Timothy May, "Nogai (d. 1299)," in *The Mongol Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Timothy May. Vol. I. (Santa Barbara–Denver: ABC-Clio, 2017), p. 24.

^{87 [}Nikolaj Veselovskij] Николай Веселовский, Хань изь темниковь золотой орды: Ногай и его время [From temnik to khan of the Golden Horde: Nogai and his time] (Петроградъ, 1922).

⁸⁸ Aleksandar Uzelac, a Serbian historian, accepted the influence of Nogai, but rightly re-evaluated several claims, including the one about the 'khan-making': [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, р. 121; p. 129; p. 132–134; p. 139; p. 160–164. etc.; Uzelac, "An Empire Within an Empire?," p. 272. In his MA thesis, Jack Wilson, a Canadian student of history at Central European University, reviewed the traditional image of Nogai even more radically than Uzelac did. Jack Wilson, "The Role of Nogai in Eastern Europe and the Late Thirteenth-Century Golden Horde: A Reassessment" (MA thes., Central European University, 2021) https://www.etd.ceu.edu/2021/wilson_jack.pdf, accessed 2 January, 2024. In international Mongol studies, there is a great need for a new monograph on Nogai a hundred years after Veselovsky's.

⁸⁹ Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 79.; [Uzelac], *Под сенком Пса*, pp. 136–138.; Uzelac, "The Golden Horde and the Balkans," p. 380.; Nikolov, "Byzantium and the Mongol World," p. 203.

son of Hülegü Ilkhan, who later came to power), and with this step, he managed to make the Jochid Mongols an ally, who instead of Byzantium, attacked their enemies.⁹⁰ This alliance lasted until the death of Emperor Michael VIII in December 1282. During this time, the Mongols never harassed Byzantium, but much rather its enemies, especially the Bulgars. From the late 1270s onwards, Nogai actively intervened in the turbulent power struggles of the Bulgars, but then only on the side of the claimant to the throne, who was supported by Emperor Michael.⁹¹ The emperor died on 11 December 1282, shortly after he invited the Mongols to join his campaign against Thessaly (the Mongol troops coming into the Empire were directed against Serbia by the confused Byzantine heir to the throne), ⁹² and this situation represented another important turning point in the chain of events. From that time on, Nogai was able to feel like the only powerful man in the region. In a sense, he carried on Byzantine politics, meaning that the main enemies remained the Bulgars and Serbs, although Byzantium itself was no longer taboo, either. This is evidenced by the Mongol Invasion of Northern Thrace in late 1285. Although the offensive was repulsed in the same way as in the case of the Hungarian campaign more than half a year earlier, the devastation was still considerable. The most important consequence of the attack, however, was that Byzantine influence in the Balkans ceased altogether, and the Golden Horde was now the only potent superpower in the region.⁹³ Roughly at the same time as Emperor Michael (albeit somewhat earlier), Mönge Temür Khan—who had sent Nogai to the area—also died. He was succeeded by Töde Möngke, and this was the first time when Nogai was said to have confronted the new khan in connection with the battles for the throne of the Vladimir-Suzdalian Rus'. Töde Möngke was on Andrei's side with his Mongol troops, while Nogai supported Dimitri (Andrei's brother) with his own troops against Andrei. Nogai also managed to achieve that the latter would regain his title of Grand Duke.⁹⁴ Nogai did not necessarily want to secede and create an independent 'khanate' in the area, but this event also demonstrates that after the accession of Töde Möngke to the throne, he began to behave more and more like an independent actor who sometimes opposed even the will of his own khan. In

⁹⁰ Vásáry, Cumans and Tatars, p. 79.

⁹¹ Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 79–84.; Uzelac, "The Golden Horde and the Balkans," pp. 380–383; Uzelac, "A Century of the Tatars' 'Hegemony'," pp. 216–218.

⁹² Uzelac, "Tatars and Serbs at the End of the Thirteenth Century," pp. 9–10.

⁹³ Uzelac, "The Golden Horde and the Balkans," p. 382.

⁹⁴ Leo de Hartog, *Russia and the Mongol Yoke. The History of the Russian Principalities and the Golden Horde, 1221–1502* (London and New York: British Academic Press, 1996), pp. 68–69.; [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, pp. 149–150.; Roman Pochekaev, "First Rulers of the Ulus of Jochi," in *The Golden Horde in World History. A Multi-Authored Monograph* (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017), p. 230.

the second half of the 1280s, under the khanate of Töle Buqa, he was described as an autonomous figure beside the khan,⁹⁵ which led to the fact that after the 1285 campaign against Hungary (or the 1287 campaign against Poland—the two Mamluk sources mentioned above are unclear in this respect) the relationship between Töle Buqa and Nogai worsened considerably. The relationship—further deteriorated by the campaign against the Ilkhans in 1288 and 1289, as well as the interference in the internal affairs of the Russian principalities around Kursk in 1289 and 1290—eventually worsened to such an extent that Nogai was also involved in the overthrow of Töle Buqa in around 1291.⁹⁶

From the early 1280s (after the deaths of Möngke Temür Khan and the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII), Nogai started to become an autonomous actor in the region and to look at the Balkans as his own territory. He took good advantage of the turbulent situation in the region involving the struggles between the foci of power, many of whom specifically turned to Nogai for help from the late 1270s onwards. In addition to Nogai's ambitions, the intensified Mongol activities after 1282 were supported by the fact that the conflict between the Ilkhanids and Jochids eased after Abaga Ilkhan died in 1283. His successor, Tegüder, took up the religion of Islam (and the name Ahmad), and also started to become reconciled with the Mamluk Egypt, an important ally of the Golden Horde. At the same time, in 1283 Töde Möngke Khan also made peace with Qubilai, the Great Khan of the Far East, acknowledging his authority. In a second letter to the Mamluk Sultan in 1283, Ahmad Ilkhan was already writing about the unity of the Mongol princes.⁹⁷ By 1283, therefore, a political environment had been created in which the Golden Horde could feel completely secure and Nogai could concentrate on the affairs of his Balkan region without any hindrance.

⁹⁵ For example, Friar László, a Franciscan missionary, recorded in April 1287 (when Töle Buqa was the actual khan) that "Emperors (*imperatores*) Telebuga and Nogai dispatched the most powerful of their chiefs, respectively" to the town of Solkhat (now Staryi Krym). Its latest Latin edition: [Roman Hautala], Роман Хаутала, "Письмо Ладислава, францисканского кустодия Газарии (Каффа, 10 апреля 1287 года)" [A Letter of Ladizlaus, the Franciscan Custodian of Gazaria (Caffa, April 10, 1287)], *Golden Horde Review* 5.1 (2017), pp. 194–195. (The quoted passage: p. 194.) For an analysis of the letter, see Szilvia Kovács, "A Franciscan Friar's Letter from the Crimea (1287)," Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 69.2 (2016), pp. 157–162. (Especially, pp. 159–160.)

⁹⁶ Vásáry, Cumans and Tatars, p. 88.; Jackson, Mongols and the West, p. 199.; The conflicts between Nogai and Töle Buqa are analysed in detail by [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, pp. 161–163. The latter (and partly after him, Jack Wilson) pointed out that, contrary to popular belief, Töle Buqa was, in fact, the only khan in whose fall Nogai certainly had a role. In the case of Töde Möngke there is no source to support this: [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, pp. 160–164.; Wilson, 'The Role of Nogai," pp. 62–65; p. 67.

⁹⁷ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, pp. 168–169; p. 198.

Nevertheless, the campaigns in Hungary in 1285 and Poland in 1287 were certainly not part of the power policy started in the Balkans. These were new territories for Nogai. A part of the earlier scholarly literature explains the reason for the campaign led against Hungary as the poor harvest and (plague) epidemic that struck farm animals: Nogai was forced to plunder food abroad.⁹⁸ That the incursion was indeed a plundering campaign is a possibility that cannot be excluded at all, even if it was not food shortage caused by some kind of cattle plague that lies in the background. The Mongols were interested in slaves and treasure hoards that were easy to move. In one of his charters, Ladislaus IV described the Mongol army as having "dragged an infinite number of the inhabitants of our country into cruel captivity, and these Tartars returned home laden with the precious treasures and goods of our kingdom".⁹⁹ The capture (and liberation) of slaves is mentioned by several documents. However, such looting campaigns may have served multiple purposes at the same time, and it is possible that there were also political reasons behind them.

It is not known whether there was any open confrontation between Hungary and the Golden Horde after Ladislaus IV ascended to the throne (1272). We have information about one conflict, but it was not directly between Hungary and the Mongols, but forces under Mongol authority. This was the case of the Cumans. In the early 1280s, Ladislaus IV came into conflict with the Hungarian Cumans on several occasions, culminating in the Battle of Lake Hód in 1282, where the king defeated the Cuman army that was about to leave the country. Some of them remained in the country and surrendered to the king, but a minor part fled to territories under Mongol rule. Ladislaus followed them even there with his army to force them to return, and then, as he wrote in a charter, the royal army entered an area lying "beyond the mountains, around the confines and frontiers of the Tatars, which none of our predecessors had penetrated".¹⁰⁰ According to the Hungarian chronicle tradition, the Mongol incursion in 1285 took place at the urging of the Cumans who had fled the country.¹⁰¹ It cannot be excluded that Nogai was

⁹⁸ Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*, p. 66.; Hartog, *Russia and the Mongol Yoke*, p. 70. The idea of the cattle plague was also raised by the Romanian historian Alexandru Gonţa, but he mentioned it as the reason for the retreat and not for the attack. Gonţa, *Românii şi Hoarda de Aur 1241–1502*, p. 104.

⁹⁹ Knauz, Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis. Tom. II., p. 254.

¹⁰⁰ For the battle of Lake Hód, see Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, p. 109. The most detailed summary of the events is offered by Attila Zsoldos, "Téténytől a Hód-tóig. (Az 1279 és 1282 közötti évek politikatörténetének vázlata)" [From Tétény to Lake Hód. Political history in the years between 1279 and 1282], *Történelmi Szemle* 39.1 (1997), pp. 69–98. The quoted part of the charter in Latin: Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae*. Tom. V/3., p. 410.; cited in English by Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, p. 204.

^{101 &}quot;A few of the Cumans who escaped sought refuge with the Tartars, and it was at their instigation that in the year of our Lord 1285 entered Hungary for the second time [...]" Bak and Veszprémy ed. and trans., *Illuminated Chronicle*, p. 333.

annoyed by the Hungarian army venturing into the border area, and as the (apparently vengeful) Cumans who fled to him were well acquainted with the Hungarian geographical and political conditions, the opportunity presented itself to try an invasion in the near future, thus reminding Hungary to whom the region belonged. It is unlikely that the campaign would have been the first step in a larger-scale plan of conquest, as was suggested before.¹⁰² The Mongols did not even attempt to lay siege to major fortifications as had happened during their 1241–42 campaign in Hungary. They apparently focused on collecting as much loot and as many prisoners as possible and returning home afterwards.

Mongol incursions after 1285

Although, from a Mongol point of view, the campaign in Hungary did not end well, Nogai himself certainly did not regard it as a big disaster. It is revealing that Rashid al-Din, an early fourteenth-century Persian historian who had access to information from the Golden Horde's perspective, described this campaign when writing about Hungary as follows: "Nogai from the Jochid kindred kept attacking this land with a large Mongol army, and defeated them".¹⁰³ If the difficulties encountered while returning home, which are mentioned in the oriental sources, refer to this campaign, the great loser of the events (both physically and in terms of prestige) was the other warlord, Töle Buqa. Nogai's policy of power was not affected by what happened in Hungary. Moreover, he reached the peak of his power in the subsequent decade. In the winter of 1287–88, and in 1293, the Mongols invaded Poland, and Nogai was also very active in maintaining and expanding his influence in the Balkans. The incursions into Hungary after 1285 were the 'by-products' of these campaigns, which affected the Hungarian border, and the Mongols did not invade the interior of the country later in the Middle Ages.

The next Mongol-Hungarian clash after 1285 was part of the Polish invasion. During the Mongol campaign that began in December 1287,¹⁰⁴ György, son of Simon from the Baksa kindred, hurried with his army to the aid of Leszek II (the

¹⁰² Attila Bárány, "Magyarország, Anglia és a tatár veszély a XIII. század második felében" [Hungary, England and the Tatar Menace in the Second Half of the 13th Century], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 122.2 (2009), pp. 274–275.

¹⁰³ Karl Jahn, trans., Die Frankengeschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977), p. 52.: "Nūķā (Noqai) aus dem Geschlechte des Ğūğī (Ğöči) griff dieses Land mit einem großen mongolischen Heere unentwegt an und besiegte sie."

^{104 [}Hautala], "От Бату до Джанибека," p. 2; pp. 492–493; Hautala, "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe," p. 371; Świętosławski, "Mongol invasions of Poland," p. 90.

Black), Prince of Cracow. He was fighting there against the Mongols as early as during the 1285 invasion. According to a deed of 1288, "in the vicinity of the castle of Zundoch [Szandec, now Stary Sacz], he attacked more than a thousand Tartars, and during the fights killed their leader and prince, slew many of them, and with his soldiers freed an almost infinite number of local people from the captivity of the Tartars".¹⁰⁵ The Hungarians may have rightly feared that the Mongols raiding near the Polish-Hungarian border would invade Hungary as well. This fear was not unfounded, as Jan Długosz, a chronicler who kept the most detailed account of the Mongol invasions in Poland, mentioned that when the Tartars learnt that Prince Leszek had fled to Hungary, they followed him and wanted to break into the country.¹⁰⁶ György had to defend the borders, too. According to the charter relating the merits of György, "when these Tartars wanted to extend their power as far as the neighbourhood of our country, in the direction of Scepes [Hung. Szepes, Slov. Spiš], this much-invoked Master György [...] stayed near the land of Szepes to defend our country, and fought against these Tartars, with troops, night and day, and slew many of them [...] So, thanks to the efforts of Master György [...] these Tartars were not able to penetrate our land and occupy it [...] but retreated from here fewer in number and defeated".¹⁰⁷ The border skirmishes in Szepes/Spiš can be dated to December 1287, or rather January 1288.

The last Mongol-Hungarian military conflict of the century occurred four years later, at the turn of 1291 and 1292, near the southern border. This was not an attack led directly against Hungary, but the consequence of a Serb-Bulgar conflict.

In the late thirteenth century, the area around Braničevo (Hung. Barancs) was held by Dorman and Kudelin, two Bulgar magnates of Cuman descent (otherwise half-brothers). Since the area was under Hungarian rule until the early 1270s, King Ladislaus IV made an unsuccessful attempt to recover it as early as the spring of 1284.¹⁰⁸ Shortly after his failure, in the summer of 1284, he entrusted Dragutin, the Serbian king who had lost his throne, with the administration of the Macsó (Serbian Mačva) territories lying south of the River Sava, and presumably, he also

¹⁰⁵ The (slightly inaccurate) Latin edition of the passage quoted: Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae*. Tom. V/3., p. 395.

¹⁰⁶ Ioannes Dlugossii, Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Lib. 7–8. Ed., Danuta Turkowska (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), p. 247.

¹⁰⁷ Fejér, Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae. Tom. V/3., p. 395. According to Jackson, Mongols and the West, p. 205, this attempted incursion into Szepes/Spiš was an act of revenge that took place later, but still in 1288. However, the wording of the text and the date of issue of the diploma (dated in the sixteenth year of the reign of Ladislaus IV, i.e. before 3 September 1288) demonstrate clearly that it was part of the campaign led against Poland.

¹⁰⁸ The time of the campaign was clarified by István Vásáry: Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 104–107.

authorised him to the enforce his claim for Braničevo/Barancs. Accordingly, in the late 1280s, Dragutin started a war against Dorman and Kudelin to obtain Barancs, but the brothers not only repulsed his attack but also turned to Nogai for help, thus preparing for a retaliatory attack. In return for gold, they invited Mongol and Cuman mercenaries and dispatched them to the region of Macsó ruled by Dragutin.¹⁰⁹ The Mongol mercenaries attacking Macsó found themselves confronted by Hungarian armies. The clash is described by two charters issued by King Andrew III in 1293 and 1298.¹¹⁰ The time of the campaign was generally dated to the beginning of 1291 by the former Serbian and Bulgarian historiography. Additionally, in Hungarian literature, the year 1297 also appears. However, the earlier charter of King Andrew III mentioned above gives the date (being the only source): it happened "in the second year after our coronation, around winter" ("*post coronationnem nostram secundo anno circa yemem*"). Based on this, we can definitely date the Macsó incursion to the turn of 1291 and 1292.¹¹¹

At the end of the thirteenth century, Nogai, who controlled the area, was defeated in the war with the Toqta Khan, which cost first his and then his son's life. As a result, Mongol control over Central Europe did not end immediately, but was significantly reduced.¹¹² The Mongols no longer invaded the inner areas of Hungary in the Middle Ages, but we still have information about minor cross-border raids, which mainly affected north-eastern Hungary. However, the attacks were so insignificant at a national level that there is little evidence about them except for a few scattered references. A charter from 1307 issued by the Lelesz Convent and another undated charter of Amade Aba (but perhaps from 1308) may have

¹⁰⁹ The events are discussed in detail by [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, pp. 204–208. See also, Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," pp. 36–37.; Uzelac, "Tatars and Serbs at the End of the Thirteenth Century," pp. 11–13.; Bálint Ternovácz, "A macsói és barancsi területek története 1319-ig" [The Territories of Macsó and Barancs until 1319], in *Micae Mediaevales VI.*, ed. Laura Fábián et al. (Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2017), pp. 236–237.

¹¹⁰ Latin editions of the diplomas: Iván Borsa, ed., Az Árpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke, Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Vol. II/4 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), p. 125. (no. 3951); Wenzel, Árpádkori új okmánytár. Tom. XII., p. 617; for passages related to the event, see also Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," p. 48. (Note 134 and 135.)

¹¹¹ Andrew III was crowned king on 23 July 1290. The second year of his reign falls between 23 July 1291 and 22 July 1292, see Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," p. 37. For Bulgarian and Serbian historians who argue for the year 1291, see [Uzelac], Под сенком Пса, p. 210. note 74. The idea of the year 1297 goes back to the late nineteenth-century summary by Gyula Pauler, as he still did not know the charter from 1293. Other historians also took it over from him. For the critique of this idea, see Szőcs, "Egy második tatárjárás," p. 36.

¹¹² Pochekaev, "First Rulers of the Ulus of Jochi," pp. 231–234; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 91–97.

referred to a Mongol raid which also affected Ung County. According to this, the crime was committed "in the third year after the withdrawal of the Tartars" ("*ter-tio anno post exitum Tartarorum*").¹¹³ The fact that the Mongols were still around in the fourteenth century is demonstrated by the abstract of a German chronicle preserved in an early eighteenth-century manuscript, which discusses the history of Szepes/Spiš. Under the year 1334 it recorded that "the Tartars invading Szepes for the fourth time were defeated by King Louis, and the people of Szepes also killed many hundreds" of the invaders.¹¹⁴ However, in the fourteenth century, it was already the Hungarians who were acting offensively, especially during the reign of King Louis I (1342–1382).¹¹⁵

Bibliography

- B. Szabó, János, *A tatárjárás. A mongol hódítás és Magyarország* [The Mongol Invasion. The Mongol conquest and Hungary], 3th ed. Budapest: Corvina, 2016.
- Bácsatyai, Dániel. "Bolgár-magyar háborúk az 1250–1260-as években" [Bulgarian– Hungarian Wars in the 1250s and 1260s]. *Századok* 155.5 (2021), pp. 1025–1054.

¹¹³ Vincent Sedlák, ed., *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae*. Tom. I. (Bratislavae: Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae, 1980), p. 239., 260. It is, however, certain that they did not refer to an event that took place in 1305, as suggested by Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, p. 206; p. 226. note 75. (and, after him, by [Hautala], "OT Бату до Джанибека," p. 2; pp. 494–495; Hautala, "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe," p. 372.). When listing the incidents, the complainants first mentioned this, using the time of the withdrawal of the Mongols for dating, but then, for the rest of the crimes recently committed against them, they gave the exact year (1307), month, and day. It seems that the complainants did not remember the year of the first case exactly, which is why they used the time of the Mongol devastation as a reference. Since in such court lawsuits grievances sometimes even going back decades were mentioned, it is possible that the oldest incident mentioned together with the recent complaint happened in 1287, so they were referring to the 1285 invasion. However, it is also plausible that they were referring to an unknown incursion that happened sometime between 1287 and 1307.

^{114 &}quot;Kamen die Tartarn zum viertenmahl in Zips wurden von König Ludwig geschlagen, die Zipser erschlugen auch viel Hundert." Károly Pekár, "A szepesi egyház történetére vonatkozó kivonatos krónika" [A chronicle on the history of the church in Szepes], *Történelmi Tár. Új folyam* 5.1 (1904), p. 51.

¹¹⁵ For the fourteenth-century Mongol-Hungarian encounters, see [Hautala], "От Бату до Джанибека," p. 2; pp. 495–501; pp. 512–515; Hautala, "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe," p. 372; István Vásáry, "Mongol-Hungarian Encounters in the Fourteenth Century," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe*, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala (London–New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 161–174.

- Bak, János M., and László Veszprémy, ed. and trans. *Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Seac. xiv. The Illuminated Chronicle. Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex.* Budapest: Central European University Press, 2018.
- Bárány, Attila. "Magyarország, Anglia és a tatár veszély a XIII. század második felében" [Hungary, England and the Tatar Menace in the Second Half of the 13th Century]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 122.2 (2009), pp. 251–280.
- Berend, Nora. At the Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000–c. 1300. Cambridge, New York etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Böhmer, Johann Friedrich, ed. Acta imperii selecta. Urkunden deutscher Könige und Kaiser mit einem Anhange von Reichssachen. Vol. 2. Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1870.
- Borsa, Iván, ed. Az Árpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke, Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Vol. II/4. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.
- Csepregy, Ildikó, Gábor Klaniczay, and Bence Péterfi, ed. *The Oldest Legend. Acts of the Canonization Process, and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary.* Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2018.
- Dawson, Christopher, ed. *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955.
- de Hartog, Leo. *Russia and the Mongol Yoke. The History of the Russian Principalities and the Golden Horde, 1221–1502.* London and New York: British Academic Press, 1996.
- Dlugossii, Ioannes. *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. Lib. 7–8. Ed., Danuta Turkowska. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975.
- Engel, Pál. *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001.
- Failler, Albert, ed. *Georges Pachymérès relations historiques*. I. Livres I–III. Paris: Les Belles Letters, 1984.
- Fejér, Georgius, ed. *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Tom. V/3. Budae: Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1830.
- Gál, Judit. "IV. Béla és I Uroš szerb uralkodó kapcsolata" [The Relationship of Kings Bela IV of Hungary and Uroš I of Serbia]. *Századok* 147.1 (2013), pp. 471–499.

- Giles, John Allen, trans. *Matthew Paris's English History from the Year 1235 to 1273*. Vol. II. London: Henry J. Bohn, 1853.
- Göckenjan, Hansgerd, and James R. Sweeney, ed. and trans. *Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250*. Graz, Wien and Köln: Styria, 1985.
- Gonța, Alexandru. *Românii* și *Hoarda de Aur 1241–1502* [Romanians and the Golden Horde 1241–1502], 2nd ed. Iasi: Demiurg, 2010.
- Györffy, György. "Adatok a románok XIII. századi történetéhez és a román állam kezdeteihez" [On the thirteenth-century history of the Romanians and the beginnings of the Romanian state]. 1. *Történelmi Szemle* 7.1 (1964), pp. 1–25.
- Hautala, Roman. "The Confrontation Between the Ulus of Jochi and the Catholic Europe from the Mid-13th to the Mid-14th Centuries." In *The Golden Horde in World History. A Multi-Authored Monograph*, 364–376. Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017.
- Hautala, Roman. "От Бату до Джанибека: военные конфликты Улуса Джучи с Польшей и Венгрией" [From Batu to Janybek: Military Conflicts of the Ulus of Jochi with Poland and Hungary]. 1. *Golden Horde Review* 4.2 (2016), pp. 272–313.
- Hautala, Roman. "От Бату до Джанибека: военные конфликты Улуса Джучи с Польшей и Венгрией," [From Batu to Janybek: Military Conflicts of the Ulus of Jochi with Poland and Hungary], 2. *Golden Horde Review* 4.3 (2016), pp. 485–528.
- Hautala, Roman. "Письмо Ладислава, францисканского кустодия Газарии (Каффа, 10 апреля 1287 года)" [A Letter of Ladizlaus, the Franciscan Custodian of Gazaria (Caffa, April 10, 1287)]. *Golden Horde Review* 5.1 (2017), pp. 193–199.
- Holeščák, Michal. "Mongol Attack on the [sic] Upper Hungary in 1285." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe*, edited by Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala, 137–160. London–New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Ipolyi, Arnold et al., ed. *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus*. Tom. VI. Budapest: Kocsi Sándor, 1876.
- Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West, 1221*–1410. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- Jahn, Karl, trans. *Die Frankengeschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*. Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977.

- Karácsonyi, János. "A mérges vipera és az antimonialis. Korkép Kun László király idejéből" [The venomous viper and the antimonial. On the age of Ladislaus the Cuman]. Századok 44.1 (1910), pp. 1–24.
- Knauz, Ferdinandus, ed, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. Tom. II. Strigonii: Gustavus Buzárovits, 1882.
- Knauz, Nándor. "A milkói püspökség" [Diocese of Milkó]. *Magyar Sion* 5 (1867), pp. 401–415.
- Kovács, Szilvia. "A Franciscan Friar's Letter from the Crimea (1287)." Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 69.2 (2016), pp. 157–164.
- Luard, Henry Richard, ed. *Flores historiarum*. Vol. II. London: H.M. Stationery Off. by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890.
- Luard, Henry Richards, ed. *Matthaei Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica majora*. Vol. VI.: Additamenta. Burlington: Tanner Ritchie Publishing, 2008.
- May, Timothy. "Nogai (d. 1299)." In *The Mongol Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia*, edited by Timothy May. Vol. I, page numbers needed! (Santa Barbara–Denver: ABC-Clio, 2017),
- Nagy, Imre, ed. *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius Hungaricus*. Tom. VIII. Budapest: Franklin Társulat, 1891.
- Nagy, Imre, Farkas Deák, and Gyula Nagy, ed. *Hazai Oklevéltár. Codex diplomaticus patrius: 1234–1536*. Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1879.
- Nikolov, Alexander. "Byzantium and the Mongol World. Contacts and Interaction (from Batu to Tamerlane)." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe*, edited by Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala, 191–211. London–New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Papacostea, Şerban. *Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire. The Romanians in the 13th Century.* Cluj-Napoca: Center for Transylvanian Studies, 1998.
- Pekár, Károly. "A szepesi egyház történetére vonatkozó kivonatos krónika" [A chronicle on the history of the church in Szepes]. *Történelmi Tár. Új folyam* 5.1 (1904), pp. 49–73.
- Perfecky George A., trans. *The Hypatian Codex, Part Two: Galician-Volynian Chronicle*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973.
- Pertz, Georgius Heinricus, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*. Vol. XVIII. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1863.

- Pertz, Georgius Heinricus, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*. Vol. IX. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1851.
- Pertz, Georgius Heinricus, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*. Vol. X. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1852.
- Pertz, Georgius Heinricus, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*. Vol. XIX. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1866.
- Pertz, Georgius Heinricus, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum*. Vol. XVII. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1861.
- Pochekaev, Roman. "First Rulers of the Ulus of Jochi." In *The Golden Horde in World History. A Multi-Authored Monograph*, 220–238. (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017),
- Pow, Stephen. "Conquest and Withdrawal: The Mongol Invasions of Europe in the Thirteenth Century." PhD diss., Central European University, 2020.
- Pow, Stephen. "Hungary's Castle Defense Strategy in the Aftermath of the Mongol Invasion (1241–1242)." In Fortifications, defence systems, structures and features in the past, edited by Tatjana Tkalčec, et al., 239–250. Zagreb: Institute of Archaeology Zagreb, Croat., 2019.
- Raynaldus, Odoricus, Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno quo desinit Caes. Card. Baronius M.C.XCVIII usque ad annum M.D XXXIV continuati. Tom. XIII. Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Ioannem Wilhelmum Friessem juniorem, 1694.
- Rosty, Zsigmond. "Soovári Soos György." In Család könyve hasznos ismeretek és mulattató olvasmányok [Family Book – Useful knowledge and entertaining readings], edized by Ágost Greguss, and János Hunfalvy, 182–185. Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1856.
- Sălăgean, Tudor. "Transilvania şi invazia mongolă din 1285", [Transylvania and the 1285 Mongol Invasion]. In *Românii* în *Europa medievală* (între *Orientul bizantin* şi *Occidentul latin*). *Studii* în *onoarea profesorului Victor Spinei* [Romanians in Medieval Europe (between the Byzantine East and the Latin West). Studies in Honour of Professor Victor Spinei], edited by Dumitru Ţeicu, and Ionel Cândea, 271–282. Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei, Editura Istros, 2008.
- Sălăgean, Tudor. Transylvania in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century. The Rise of the Congregational System. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017.
- Sedlák, Vincent, ed. *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae*. Tom. I. Bratislavae: Academiae Scientiarum Slovacae, 1980.

- Seemüller, Joseph, ed. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum qui vernacula lingua usi sunt. Tom. V. pars I. Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1890.
- Sinor, Denis. "John of Plano Carpini's Return from the Mongols: New Light from a Luxemburg Manuscript." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* no 3–4 (1957), pp. 193–206.
- Sinor, Denis. "The Mongols in the West." *Journal of Asian History* 33.1 (1999), pp. 1–44.
- Smičiklas, T[adija], ed. *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae. Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije.* Tom. V. Zagreb: Tiask Dioničke Tiskare, 1907.
- Spinei, Victor. "The Domination of the Golden Horde in the Romanian Regions." In *The Golden Horde in World History. A Multi-Authored Monograph*, 394–426. Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017.
- Spuler, Bertold. *Die Goldene Horde. Die Mongolen in Rußland 1223–1502*, 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965.
- Świętosławski, Witold. "The Mongol invasions of Poland in the thirteenth century. The current state of knowledge and perspectives for future research." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe*, edited by Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala, 82–97. London and New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Szabó, Károly, ed. *Székely oklevéltár* [Szekler Diplomas]. Tom. IV. Kolozsvár: Ajtai K. Albert Könyvnyomda, 1895.
- Szabó, Károly. *Kun László 1272–1290* [Ladislaus the Cuman 1272–1290]. Budapest: Méhner, 1886.
- Székely, György. "Egy elfeledett rettegés: a második tatárjárás a magyar történeti hagyományokban és az egyetemes összefüggésekben" [A forgotten terror: the Second Mongol Invasion in Hungarian historical tradition and a universal context]. Századok 122.1–2 (1988), pp. 52–88.
- Szőcs, Tibor. "Egy második "tatárjárás"? A tatár-magyar kapcsolatok a XIII. század második felében" [A Second Mongol Invasion? Mongol-Hungarian relations in the second half of the thirteenth century]. *Belvedere Meridionale* 23.3–4 (2010), pp. 16–49.
- Szűcs, Jenő. *Az utolsó* Árpádok [The last members of the Árpád dynasty]. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993.

- Ternovácz, Bálint. "A macsói és barancsi területek története 1319-ig" [The Territories of Macsó and Barancs until 1319]. In *Micae Mediaevales VI.,* edited by Laura Fábián et al., 227–240. Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2017.
- Theiner, Augustinus, ed. *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam Sacram illustrantia.* Tom. I. Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1859.
- Theiner, Augustinus, ed. *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiem illustrantia*. Tom. I. Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1860.
- Tizenhauzen, Vladimir. Влади́мир Тизенгаузен, Сборник Материалов, относящихся к истории золотой орды [Collection of Materials Related to the History of the Golden Horde]. Vol. 1. Санкт-Петербург, 1884.
- Uzelac, Aleksandar. "Tatars and Serbs at the End of the Thirteenth Century." *Revista de Istorie Militară* no. 5–6 (2011), pp. 9–20.
- Uzelac, Aleksandar. "A Century of the Tatars' 'Hegemony'. The Golden Horde and Bulgarian Lands (1241–1341)." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe*, edited by Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala, 212–232. London–New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Uzelac, Aleksandar. "An Empire Within an Empire? Ethnic and Religious Realities in the Lands of Nogai (c.1270–1300)." *Chronica* 18 (2018), pp. 271–283.
- Uzelac, Aleksandar. "The Golden Horde and the Balkans (13–14th Centuries)." In *The Golden Horde in World History. A Multi-Authored Monograph*, 376–394. Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, 2017.
- Uzelac, Aleksandar. Александар Узелац: Под сенком Пса. Татари и јужнословенске земље у другој половини XIII века [Under the Shadow of the Dog. Tatars and South Slavic Lands in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century]. Belgrade: Утопија, 2015.
- Vásáry, István, "Mongol-Hungarian Encounters in the Fourteenth Century." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe*, edited by Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala, 161–175. London–New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Vásáry, István. *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans,* 1185–1365. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Veselovskij, Nikolaj. Николай Веселовский, Хань изь темниковь золотой орды: Horaй *u* его время [From temnik to khan of the Golden Horde: Nogai and his time]. Петроградъ, 1922.

- Waitz Georg, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*. Vol. XXIV. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1879.
- Wenzel, Gusztáv, ed. Árpádkori *új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*. Tom. XII. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akademia Történelmi Bizottmánya, 1874.
- Wilson, Jack. "The Role of Nogai in Eastern Europe and the Late Thirteenth-Century Golden Horde: A Reassessment." MA thes., Central European University, 2021. https://www.etd.ceu.edu/2021/wilson_jack.pdf. Accessed 2 January, 2024.
- Zsoldos, Attila. "Téténytől a Hód-tóig. (Az 1279 és 1282 közötti évek politikatörténetének vázlata)" [From Tétény to Lake Hód. Political history in the years between 1279 and 1282] *Történelmi Szemle* 39.1 (1997), pp. 69–98.
- Zsoldos, Attila. *Családi* ügy. *IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as* években [Family business. The conflict between Béla IV and Stephan, the junior king, in the 1260s]. (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2007.
- Zsoldos, Attila. *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* [Secular Archontology of Hungary 1000–1301]. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011.
- Zsoldos, Attila. *The* Árpáds *and Their People. An Introduction to the History of Hungary from cca. 900 to 1301*. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020.

"Sicut per aerem volans": the Mongols on the Adriatic (AD 1242) and the Long-Lasting Echoes of their Campaign in the Croatian National Imaginary

The Mongols in Central Europe

The Mongol invasion of Central Europe in 1241/42 has been studied extensively, and since the present volume is dedicated solely to it as well, I will compress this section maximally, just to introduce and contextualise the events, briefly referring to the existing scholarship.

Inner-Asian nomadic empires always had intense and complex relations with China, their arch-rival. Conquering the Chinese lands was a priority for both Činggis-Khan and his successor Ögödei-Khan. The latter launched a final campaign against the Chin kingdom immediately upon taking the throne in late 1229. On the other hand, the battlefields of Europe were remote, not only geographically. The sole extant Mongol source, the *Secret History*, gives a rather vague account of Batu's westward (European) campaign of 1236-1242, even confusing it with earlier operations by Süb'etei.¹ The two most important sources for the campaign from the Latin perspective are two church dignitaries, Thomas the Archdeacon of Spalato, and the Italian canon of Várad, Roger of Torre Maggiore. Both clerics wrote very impressive accounts of the invasion. In his history of the church of Salona/Spalato, *Historia Salonitana*, Thomas (1200-1268) dedicated four of his fifty chapters exclusively to the Mongol invasion.² In *Carmen miserabile* Master Roger (ca. 1205-1266) first gave

¹ Igor de Rachewiltz, trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, Brill's Inner Asian Library 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2004). *Cf.* Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, *1221-1410*, The Medieval World (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 58.

² Thomas of Spalato, Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum = History of the bishops of Salona and Split, ed. Damir Karbic, Mirjana Matijevic-Sokol,

an introduction by describing the events in Hungary just prior to the invasion, such as the relations of Béla IV with his magnates and with Frederick II, duke of Austria, followed by the arrival of the Cumans which was problematic from many aspects. It was only after he had established all these relations that he gave descriptions of Mongol operations in the Pannonian Basin, including his own captivity.³

What brought the Mongols to the Kingdom of Hungary in the first place? Panos Sophoulis gives a short overview of this debate, listing the arguments made by the finest scholars in the field, including Peter Jackson, David Morgan, Nora Berend, Denis Sinor, and others.⁴ The most likely aim of the campaign was, arguably, to chastise King Béla for sheltering Cuman fugitives who were Mongol subjects, and for killing Mongol envoys—a horrible offense stigmatised by Činggis himself.

In the late winter and early spring of 1241, the Mongols armies divided into several contingents to cover a 500-kilometre-long front in a coordinated action never previously experienced by medieval Christian knights who were significantly less mobile.⁵ Cutting off help from the important European rulers that King Béla was related to was the first step in Mongol operations. Their unsurpassed military intelligence, which included a wide network of informants in the field, consisted mostly of merchants and captured locals, revealed the strengths and weaknesses of the rulers and armies of Central and Eastern Europe. The Mongols' first major victory was on 18 March over the armies of duke of Poland, Bolesław V, Béla's son-in-law. The Mongols then defeated an army led by Béla's cousin Duke Henry II of Silesia at Legnica Field on 9 April, only to swiftly turn to the king of Hungary himself. The

and James Ross Sweeney, Central European Medieval Texts 4 (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006). As Thomas's *History* covers the most important events related to the Church and the city of Split in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, his detailed account of this topic is praiseworthy.

³ Anonymus and Master Roger, Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, trans. Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010).

⁴ Panos Sophoulis, "The Mongol Invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242," *Fragmenta Hellenoslavica* 2 (2015), p. 253.

⁵ On various elements of supreme Mongol strategy and tactics, see: Denis Sinor, "On Mongol Strategy," in *Proceedings of the Fourth East Asian Altaistic Conference*, ed. Ch'en Chieh-hsien (Tainan: National Ch'eng-kung University, 1975), pp. 238–49; Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2007). Recently, I have read a couple of military treatises by alumni of US military academies in which it is argued that the complexity of Mongol operations arguably matches something named 'operational art', generally recognized in practice only from the nineteenth century onwards. Spectacularly well-timed and well-executed Mongol campaigns in Central Asia and Europe have attracted much attention by both military historians and active military officers.

decisive battle for the Pannonian Basin (and beyond) took place at the Sajó River on 11 April 1241. There has been abundant discussion of whether the Christian army under Béla IV suffered a defeat due to their own flawed preparation and tactical mistakes, but it seems the cause was rather to be found in Mongol discipline and their diligently planned and executed mission.⁶ The king was fortunate enough to escape the battlefield and sought safety in the south, reaching Zagreb by May 1241.

Thomas the Archdeacon mentions some names of Mongol commanders; however, he is careful enough not to mention the number of troops that had invaded the Kingdom of Hungary.⁷ Why then can one read about the greatly exaggerated size of the Mongol army in Master Roger (who set it at 500,000) and other contemporary sources, and (especially) in the reports of later ages? The reason may be three-fold, or is probably a combination of three reasons. First, the Mongols armies moved around the European theatre of operations so swiftly that their opponents could not comprehend the fact that particular units they were confronting could have been used in another remote battlefield within the space of just a few days. Second, the Mongols themselves, through merchants and (dis)informers, inflated the size of their own units to instil fear, which was their regular practice.⁸ Finally, in the aftermath, the chroniclers or survivors would very likely be more comfortable with the fact that they had been defeated by an enemy who (significantly) outnumbered them.

The Mongols in the Adriatic

The lands and cities of the present-day Croatia would certainly not have been of any interest to the Mongol armies in the 1241/42 campaign if King Béla IV had not chosen to seek refuge there. The northern parts of present-day Croatia, alongside

⁶ János B. Szabó, "The Hungarian View of the Battle of Muhi (April 11, 1241): A New Interpretation of Historiographic Traditions," *Golden Horde Review* 8, no. 2 (2020), pp. 243–57. See also: József Laszlovszky et al., "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42: Shortand Long-Term Perspectives," *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2018), pp. 419–50; Stephen Pow and József Laszlovszky, "Finding Batu's Hill at Muhi: Liminality between Rebellious Territory and Submissive Territory, Earth and Heaven for a Mongol Prince on the Eve of Battle," *The Hungarian Historical Review* 8, no. 2 (2019), pp. 261–89.

⁷ Thomas did mention that the Mongols "had forty thousand men with axes who went in advance of the main host cutting down forests, laying roads, and removing all from the places of entry." Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, p. 259. This particular number, the same as the number of Cumans who had come to Hungary on the eve of invasion, in ancient and medieval times was more of an attribute, meaning "a lot of barbarians" rather than referring to an exact numerical value. See: Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000 – c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 71 n. 114.

⁸ May, The Mongol Art of War, pp. 79–81.

a garland of Dalmatian coastal cities (that had maintained a degree of autonomy) in the Adriatic, had been under the rule of the kings of Hungary from the early twelfth century onwards.⁹

Let us examine the most important primary source related to the Mongol incursion to Croatia, the account of the Mongols given by Thomas the Archdeacon, an educated cleric from Split, the seat of the Dalmatian archbishopric. On 18 May 1241, King Béla was certainly in Zagreb where he also probably spent the summer and autumn of the same year.¹⁰ He moved towards the coastal cities upon hearing the news that the Mongols had crossed the frozen Danube in January 1242. He had previously sent his wife Maria Laskarina, their children, and the kingdom's most important treasures, including the body of St Stephen the King, to Split.¹¹ He himself, along with "many prelates of the church and a large number of princes and barons" reached Split in January or February.¹² It was not only high officials that came to Split: "the host of refugees from among the commoners, of both sexes, was almost countless."¹³ The king asked the officials of Split to prepare a galley for him and his entourage. When they were unable to do this at such short notice, Béla moved to Trogir (Trau), a well-defended ancient city on an island just off the shore, prepared to set sail for more distant islands if necessary.

It is (still) not possible to reconstruct the route by which the Mongols moved within Croatian lands. Thomas noted that they had certainly surprised the

⁹ On the status of Dalmatian cities in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary and their relationship with the kings see: Judit Gál, *Dalmatia and the Exercise of Royal Authority in the Árpád-Era Kingdom of Hungary* (Budapest: Research Centre for Humanities, 2020).

¹⁰ On this particular day the king sent a letter to the pope, requesting help, from Zagreb. See: Tadija Smičiklas, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 4: *Diplomata annorum 1236–1255 continens* (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1906), p. 128.

¹¹ Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, p. 287. The queen did not feel comfortable with the atmosphere in Split, so she retreated to Klis fortress, several kilometres north of the city. The king's two daughters died at Klis in 1242 and were buried in Split cathedral. Frane Bulić, "Il sarcofago di Margherita e Caterina figlie di Bela IV. re d'Ungheria sul portale del Duomo di Spalato," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 29 (1906): Table IV; Frane Bulić, "Il sarcofago di Margherita e Caterina figlie di Spalato," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 29* (1906): Table IV; Frane Bulić, "Il sarcofago di Margherita e Caterina figlie di Bela IV. re d'Ungheria sul portale del Duomo di Spalato," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 31* (1908), pp. 171–72; Frane Bulić, "Il sarcofago di Margherita e Caterina figlie di Bela IV. re d'Ungheria sul portale del Duomo di Spalato," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 31* (1908), pp. 171–72; Frane Bulić, "Il sarcofago di Margherita e Caterina figlie di Bela IV. re d'Ungheria sul portale del Duomo di Spalato," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 31* (1908), pp. 171–72; Frane Bulić, "Il sarcofago di Margherita e Caterina figlie di Bela IV. re d'Ungheria sul portale del Duomo di Spalato," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 32* (1909), p. 97.

¹² Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, p. 291; mentioning the names of these dignitaries.

¹³ Thomas of Spalato, Historia Salonitanorum, p. 291. See also James Ross Sweeney, Michael Gervers, and Wayne Schlepp, "'Spurred on by the Fear of Death': Refugees and Displaced Populations during the Mongol Invasion of Hungary," in Nomadic Diplomacy, Destruction and Religion from the Pacific to the Adriatic: Papers Prepared for the Central and Inner Asian Seminar, University of Toronto, 1992-93 (Toronto: Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 1994), pp. 34–62.

defenders, as they moved around "sicut per aerem volans" – as though they were flying.¹⁴ Surprising the enemy by crossing impenetrable terrain was one of the favourite manoeuvres of Mongol units, reported in other crucial campaigns such as that of Činggis Khan's against Bukhara, when he crossed the Kyzyl Kum Desert which the Khwarezmians had believed to be impassable.

One of the first things the Mongols did in southern Croatian lands, at least according to Thomas, was to massacre civilians. In a field near the River Sirbium they undertook a terrible slaughter of the prisoners they had brought with them from Hungary. One can speculate why exactly that particular place was chosen for the slaughter. One of the reasons might be sought in the significance of the decapitation of enemies within the Mongol spiritual realm.¹⁵ Another reason could have been to instil fear in the population whose lands had just been invaded,¹⁶ especially since I believe it was not too far away from that location that the Mongols established their camp, from which they launched missions to the coastal area. Vjekoslav Klaić was the first to locate Sirbium (more or less) precisely near the headwaters of the River Una, the location of the present-day settlement of Srb.¹⁷

In Chapter 39 of Thomas's chronicle one can read that the Mongols created a camp from which they descended to the coastal cities: "Sic ergo per totum fere Martium in Chroatie ac Dalmatie partibus commorantes, quinque aut sex uicibus ad ciuitates has descendebant et postea ad sua castra redibant." The question is: Where might this camp have been? There are two rather implicit leads that cannot be called evidence, but which should not be dismissed lightly. The first one is from the work of a famous Arab cartographer from Seville, 'Alī ibn Mūsā Ibn Sa'īd al-Maġribī (1214-1286), taken over later by Abu'l-Fida, better known in the West by his Latinised name Abulfeda (1273-1331).¹⁸ It mentions Šibenik (Sebenico) as the place where the "Germans, Hungarians, and Bashkirs defeated the Tartars." I argue that this merely suggests that the Mongols were present in the hinterland of

¹⁴ Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, pp. 294–95: "He (the Mongol leader) arrived not as one journeying but as one flying through the air, surmounting pathless wastes and the most hostile mountains, where no army had gone before."

¹⁵ On decapitations of the enemy by the Mongols see the contribution of Dorotthya Uhrin in this volume.

¹⁶ Cf. Johannes Gieβauf, "A Programme of Terror and Cruelty: Aspects of Mongol Strategy in the Light of Western Sources," Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged, 2007, pp. 85–96. The prisoners of war would probably have died anyway due to food shortage and harsh winter.

¹⁷ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata: od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća* [The history of the Croats: From ancient times to the end of the nineteenth century] (Zagreb: Tisak i naklada knjižare L. Hartmana, 1899), 1:225.

¹⁸ Josip Ante Soldo, "Provala Tatara u Hrvatsku" [The Tatar incursion into Croatia], Historijski zbornik 21–22 (1968-1969), pp. 371–88; Sophoulis, "The Mongol Invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242," p. 268.

Šibenik. The elevated ground from which one can observe the activity on the quite long coastal strip from Split across Trogir and around Šibenik, divided by the Krka and Čikola rivers from the west, would have been a suitable place for reconnaissance from a nearby camp. Just a few miles east of Šibenik there is a ridge called Trtar, mentioned in sixteenth-century sources as Monte Tartari.¹⁹

In March of 1242, a detachment of the Mongol army came close to the city walls of Split, creating panic among the Hungarian refugees, who recognised their standards. The Mongols thought the king might be hiding in Klis, the iconic fortress that had defended the pass from the coast to the hinterland for millennia (from ancient Greek: $\kappa\lambda\epsilon i\varsigma =$ the key). It is impossible to conquer the fortress without war machines and a longer siege, but the Mongols started climbing it in a determined yet almost suicidal attempt to get their hands on the king.²⁰ However, when the news that he was not in the fortress reached them, they turned to Trogir, twelve miles to the west.

When the Mongols focused on that city, King Béla loaded everything on the ships, prepared to get on board at any sign of danger. The pursuers, under command of Kadan, were disappointed to discover that, although the distance from the coast to the city was rather short (probably no greater than 50 metres), the seabed was muddy and unsuitable for crossing. Therefore, they tried to convince the citizens to surrender the king, and they did this in the Slavonic language, as reported by Thomas.²¹ The guards on the walls did not respond, following the king's instructions. Immediately after that, Thomas concludes the Croatian episode of the Mongol invasion as follows: "Then the whole horde of Tatars rose up and departed, returning the way that they had come. They remained in the region of Croatia and Dalmatia for the whole of March, during which time they descended five or six times on the cities, returning thereafter to their camp."²²

When it comes to the northern Adriatic at the bottom of the Alps, the counts of Krk (later known as Frankapans, who will be discussed below) would not have been

- 21 Thomas of Spalato, Historia Salonitanorum, p. 300: "voce magna Sclavonice dicens."
- 22 Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, p. 301.

¹⁹ See: Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Borba Hrvatah s Mongoli i Tatari: Povjesno-Kritična Razprava [The conflict between Croats and the Tatars: A historical treatise] (Zagreb: Nakladom i brzotiskom A. Jakića, 1863), p. 34. The view from Mount Trtar is exquisite. On a bright day one can see the coastal cities and the islands below as far as Italy, with the mountain range of Bosnia behind to the north. In the Croatian war of 1991-95 the soldiers had an observation post there named Oko sokolovo (The Eye of the Falcon). The oronym appears on early modern maps of the region as 'Monte Tartari'. The name was also mentioned in a historical novel written in German by a Croatian Jew, widely read in Austria: Eduard Breier, *Die Tartaren in Croatien und Dalmatien: Historisches Gemälde aus den Zeiten König Bela des Vierten* (Vienna: Stöckholzer von Hirschfeld, 1841).

²⁰ Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, p. 299: "So then they (the Mongols) dismounted from their horses and began to creep up hand over hand to higher ground. But the defenders of the fort hurled huge stones at them and managed to kill a number of them."

the only ones interested in interfering with Mongol plans. However, their problem would have certainly been their quite limited military potential. Furthermore, had the Mongols decided to pass through these areas *en route* to Venice and Central Italy, the patriarch of Aquilea would most probably not have stood in their way. Berthold V of Andechs-Meran, the patriarch of Aquileia (born *c*. 1180; 1212-1251) and margrave of Istria, was an influential figure with many family ties across Europe, but he was also a loyal supporter of Emperor Frederick II. Therefore, he would certainly have been present further north, as he was in the summer of 1241 when a detachment of Mongols was repelled from the vicinity of Vienna (or Wiener-Neustadt) by a large army under the duke of Austria, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Carinthia, and Berthold himself.²³

This is where the story recorded by the first-hand witness to the events ends, at least as far as Croatian lands are concerned.²⁴ The Mongols went south past Dubrovnik and Kotor, pillaged Drivast and Svač on the Montenegrin coast and went back to the steppes through Serbia and Bulgaria. The fact that the Mongols truly had been in Croatian lands, and that King Béla IV did need help to evade the pursuers, was quite a useful seed that started bearing some fruit within the Croatian imaginary in centuries to come, as will be explained below.

Although quoted by Andrej Janeš already, it is worth requoting the assessment given by Stanko Andrić as it summarises the impact that the invasion had on future referencing, especially in northern Croatia; that is, it "serves as an inexhaustible reservoir of arguments for the alleged destruction, reconstruction and other forms of discontinuity in the history of sacral building, even though there are often no local indications pointing to destruction, which is understandable if the search for such indications is replaced by flat connections to the more easily available general fact."²⁵

²³ Peter Jackson, "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)," The Journal of Ecclesiastical History 42, no. 1 (1991), p. 8. See also: Kukuljević Sakcinski, Borba Hrvatah s Mongoli i Tatari, p. 25. I am thankful to Professor Ivan Jurković for reminding me of this.

²⁴ As far as other parts of Southeast Europe are concerned, see: Aleksandar Uzelac, Pod senkom Psa: Tatari i južnoslovenske zemlje u drugoj polovini XIII veka [In the shadow of the dog: Tatars and South Slavic lands in the second half of the thirteenth century] (Belgrade: Utopija, 2015); Sophoulis, "The Mongol Invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242."

²⁵ Andrej Janeš, "A Phantom Menace: Did the Mongol Invasion Really Influence Stone Castle Building in Medieval Slavonia?," in *Fortifications, Defence Systems, Structures and Features in the Past: Proceedings of the 4th International Scientific Conference on Mediaeval Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology, Zagreb, 7th – 9th June 2017*, ed. Tatjana Tkalčec et al. (Zagreb: Institute of Archaeology, 2019), pp. 225–38; Stanko Andrić, "Arheolozi, povjesničari umjetnosti i povjesničari u istraživanju slavonskog srednjovjekovlja: prilog za bilancu uzajamnih dugovanja" [Archaeologists, art historians and historians researching medieval Slavonia: A contribution to mutual indebtedness], in Zbornik II. kongresa povjesničara umjetnosti, ed. Irena Kraševac (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2007), pp. 417–18.

Early Modern Interpolations and Views

The past, especially the recorded one, has always been an asset. Forgeries in the Middle Ages and the early modern period were created for two main reasons: to achieve financial gain or prestige of some kind; or, even more often, to intervene in the historical record, i.e., to (re)write history.²⁶

At the very end of Master Roger's Carmen miserabile there is the following sentence: "rex Bela maritimis de partibus per cruciferos de insula Rhodi, et dominos de Frangapanibus, multis agminibus militum adiutus, certificatus prius per Hungaros de recessu Tartarorum, in Hungariam uenit."27 A seemingly simple statement of Béla's return to Hungary contains two noticeable anachronisms. If the year is 1242, the cruciferos (Knights Hospitallers) mentioned should still have been in the Holy Land – i.e., the name 'cruciferos of Rhodes' did not exist before 1309/10 when the Order moved the headquarters to the island. This was noticed by more than a few historians.²⁸ Stjepan Antoljak dedicated a whole essay to this issue, and concluded that this interpolation must have occurred sometime between 1428 and 1488.²⁹ He drew this conclusion from the second anachronism in this sentence: dominos de Franqapanibus. This is a reference to a well-known family of Croatian magnates who were called 'the Counts of Krk' in thirteenth-century sources, and it was only in the third decade of the fifteenth century that they started using the suffix de Frangapanibus (with Croatian variants Frankapan and Frankopan). To be precise, it was first used in an official document in 1422.³⁰

²⁶ Alfred Hiatt, "Forgery as Historiography," in *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland*, 500–1500, ed. Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner, and Elizabeth M. Tyler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 405. *Cf.* Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins* of Europe (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

²⁷ Anonymus and Master Roger, Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen, p. 225.

²⁸ Zsolt Hunyadi, "The Military Activity of the Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries)," in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert, and Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot, England – Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), p. 194; Anonymus and Master Roger, *Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen*, p. 225 n. 5.

²⁹ Stjepan Antoljak, "Kako je i kada došlo do jednog umetka u Rogerijevoj 'Carmen miserabile'" [How and when a paragraph was Inserted into Roger's 'Carmen Miserabile'], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3, no. 2 (1952), pp. 187–200; Soldo, "Provala Tatara u Hrvatsku," p. 377.

³⁰ Luka Špoljarić, "Illyrian Trojans in a Turkish Storm: Croatian Renaissance Lords and the Politics of Dynastic Origin Myths," in *Portraying the Prince in the Renaissance: The Humanist Depiction of Rulers in Historiographical and Biographical Texts*, ed. Patrick Baker et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), pp. 124–28. I would like to thank Dr Luka Špoljarić (University of Zagreb) for the discussion on this topic.

The simple question of who would benefit the most from this kind of interpolation has an obvious answer: the Frankapans themselves. I, therefore, browsed through fifteenth-century history to find out who would have been best positioned to influence the editor to insert this quite short yet quite significant line of text. The only Frankapan who had a close relationship with the king of Hungary in the fifteenth century was Bernardin Frankapan, whose wife Louise of Aragon was a cousin of Queen Beatrice. Not only was he highly educated, fluent in German, Italian, and Latin, but he was also favoured by King Matthias himself, much more than any other Croatian magnate in the fifteenth century. He spent a lot of time at the king's court.³¹ Documents issued by Bernardin in 1486 1486—e.g., those related to the well-known Urbarium of Modruš (*Modruški urbar*)—testify to the fact that he resided in Buda at the time. In 1489 his ties with King Mathias were further strengthened by the engagement of his daughter Maria Magdalena to Mathias Pongrácz of Dengeleg, the son of the *Voivode* of Transylvania.³²

To understand the position of the Frankapans in the second half of the fifteenth century, one needs to consider several important issues.³³ The first two both originated in 1463. In that year, the Ottomans conquered Bosnia and it was just a matter of time before they began putting the pressure on the adjacent Frankapan lands. Moreover, the Treaty of Wiener Neustadt was signed by Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, and Frederick III, the Holy Roman Emperor. King Matthias thus strengthened his position, and it was also only a matter of years before he would put pressure on the Frankapans, the most influential magnates in Croatian lands. One of the most important results was the change of rule over Senj, a very important port and stronghold in the northern Adriatic. The king's armies took over Senj from Bernadin's father Stjepan III in 1469 after almost 200 years of Frankapan possession of the city (they had taken it over from the Knights Templar in 1271).

³¹ Milan Kruhek, "Bernardin Frankopan krčki, senjski i modruški knez: posljednji modruški Europejac hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja, 1453.–1529" [Bernardin Frankopan, count of Krk, Senj, and Modruš: The last European from Modruš of the Croatian Middle Ages], *Modruški zbornik* 3 (2009), pp. 187–235.

³² Kruhek, "Bernardin Frankopan krčki, senjski i modruški knez," pp. 199–201. See also: Szabolcs de Vajay, "Un ambassadeur bien choisi: Bernardinus de Frangipanus et sa mission à Naples, en 1476," in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), pp. 550–57.

³³ On King Matthias, Croatian lands, and the Frankapan family, see more in: Borislav Grgin, "The Center and the Periphery: Medieval Croatia in the Realm of King Matthias Corvinus," *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 44 (2012), pp. 197–208. Ivan Jurković, "Turska opasnost i hrvatski velikaši: knez Bernardin Frankopan i njegovo doba" [The Ottoman threat and Croatian noblemen: Count Bernardin Frankapan and his times], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 17 (1999), pp. 61–83.

All these events contributed to the quite unfavourable position the Frankapans found themselves in.

This intervention of Bernardin's strengthened the position of the Frankapans as long-standing defenders of Christian lands from the time of the Mongols through to the period of increasing pressure from the Ottomans and their conquest of Southeast Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1523, Bernardin's son Count Krsto I Frankapan delivered a speech before Pope Hadrian VI in Rome and referred to Croatian lands as *Antemurale Christianitatis*. There are several other forgeries that the Frankapan family created, but this topic has been dealt with in Croatian historiography.³⁴ However, as far as the Mongols are concerned, another work influenced the Croatian national imaginary much more. In 1561, the sixteenth-century chronicler and Franciscan Ivan Tomašić compiled a work called *Brevis chronologia Croatiae* that contributed to 'immortalising' the famous (alleged) victory against the Mongols in 1242.

Stjepan Antoljak argues that it was not János Thuróczy in the first place who added Roger's *Carmen miserabile* to the *Chronicon Hungarorum*, but whoever organised the publishing of the book.³⁵ Antoljak supports his argument with the comment that Thuróczy would have used Roger's account of the invasion when writing his chronicle had he had it beforehand. I can agree with the premise that it was indeed not Thuróczy himself who added Roger's *Carmen* as a supplement to his work, but I am not inclined to believe that he would have used it even if he had had it beforehand. He compressed the events of 1241/42 regarding the Mongols into ten lines of text, providing just the basic information: they invaded, won the battle against Béla; many soldiers died in battle, as well as so many afterwards, slain by the Mongols or exhausted by famine; the king fled to the coast and returned only upon hearing the news that the Mongols had gone.³⁶

³⁴ Nada Klaić, "Paški falsifikati" [The forgeries of Pag], Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta: Odsjek za povijest 1 (1959), pp. 15–63; Lujo Margetić, "Vijesti iz vjerodostojnih i krivotvorenih isprava o provali Tatara u hrvatske primorske krajeve (1242.)" [The news from authentic and forged documents on the Tatar Incursion into the maritime parts of Croatia (1242)], Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu 25, no. 1 (1992), pp. 5–14; St-jepan Antoljak, "Pitanje autentičnosti paške isprave" [The question of authenticity of the Pag Charter], Starohrvatska prosvjeta 3, no. 1 (1949), pp. 115–42; Nada Klaić, Vinodol: od antičkih vremena do knezova Krčkih i vinodolskog zakona [Vinodol: From the antiquity to the counts of Krk and the Law Code of Vinodol] (Pazin – Rijeka: Historijski arhiv, 1988).

³⁵ Antoljak, "Kako je i kada došlo do jednog umetka u Rogerijevoj 'Carmen miserabile'," p. 199.

³⁶ Nada Klaić assumed that the key person behind both the publishing of Thuróczy's chronicle and the addition of Roger's *Carmen miserabile* might have been Jan Filipec, an influential prelate, as was already suggested by László Juhász, who edited the 1938 edition of Master Roger's *Carmen*. Klaić, "Paški falsifikati," p. 47 n. 209. See also: Anna Boreczky, "Historiography and Propaganda in the Royal Court of King Matthias: Hungarian Book Culture at the End of the Middle Ages and Beyond," *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, no. 43 (2019), pp. 23–35.

There is a famous forgery, a privilege issued by King Béla IV on 5 October 1260,³⁷ in which the king elevates Frederick and Bartholomew (*Feldricum et Bartholomeum*) Frankapan among the *primates* of the kingdom for their support and assistance during the Mongol invasion. It was Vjekoslav Klaić who put several medieval documents under his scrutinising lens and after an analysis labelled them forgeries. All other Croatian scholars agreed with the assessment, but there was still dispute around the issue of when this forgery had been created. Klaić speculated that it had been created in the period when the Frankapans needed support for their claims over Senj, either at the time of King Charles Robert (ca. 1321) or when Matthias Corvinus took the city over from them in 1469. Taking the form and content into account, he concluded it was a fifteenth-century forgery. Nada Klaić noted that Hungarian historians all date this document to the second part of the fifteenth century, either between 1468 and 1472 (János Karácsonyi, Gyula Pauler) or after 1490 (Lajos Thallóczy).³⁸

What is most important here is to underline the 'birth certificate' Nada Klaić gave for the genesis of the image of the Frankapans and the Knights of Rhodes. This image from the 1260 forgery found its way into Roger's *Carmen* in the supplement of Thuróczy's chronicle, then into Tomašić's chronicle, then into Pavao Ritter Vitezović's work, and so on, well into the twentieth century.³⁹

As for the number of Mongol troops invading Central Europe, Thuróczy recorded 500 thousand (*quinquies centenis*). The same number can be found in the chronicle of Antonio Bonfini's, who has the following account of the king's return to Hungary and the parties who assisted him: "*Crucigeri namq. Rhodiani milites, qui sacrosancta stipendia faciunt, item nonnulli Frangepanum reguli, qui in Dalmatia & Croacia ad Sauum usque late imperabant, excidium Pannoniae miserati cum auxiliaribus copiis, & validissimo equitatu, Regem in Ungariam restituêre.*"⁴⁰

The Legendary Battle of Grobnik

It is time to address arguably the most splendid moment of Croatian medieval history, at least as presented for the first time by the Franciscan Ivan Tomašić (Joannes Tomasich) in 1561. His account reads:

³⁷ Tadija Smičiklas, ed., Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, vol. 5: Diplomata annorum 1256-1272 continens (Zagreb: JAZU, 1907), pp. 173–75.

³⁸ Klaić, "Paški falsifikati," p. 45.

³⁹ Klaić, "Paški falsifikati," p. 47 n. 209.

⁴⁰ Bonfinius, Antonii Bonfinii historia Pannonica: Sive Hungaricarum rerum decades IV. et dimidia libris XLV (Coloniae Agrippinae: Widenfeldt & De Berges, 1690), p. 208.

Bartholomeus et Federicus fratres uterini de Frangepanibus, regi proiecto decies centena millia aurum et argentum; congregato exercitu copioso ualde, et castrametati sunt iuxta castrum Gelen vulgo Grobnich eius in campo, ubi nunc castrum Grobnich uiget, Tataros persecuti sunt, et millibus dato prelio, fugerunt. Ibi Bartholomeus de Frangepanibus coruit, ex Tartaris LCV milia mortui sunt ex rege Bela XL millia coruerunt, et sic prelians uincitur, et Federicus de Frangepanibus regem Belam in sua Budensi sedia colocavit. Tunc rex donauit (ei) magnam partem Dalmatie, Segae, Modrusie comitatusque Vegle perpetue, et alia quoque plura, cuius progenies adhunc vigent, quos Deus conseruet longum per euum.⁴¹

In short, someone not familiar with thirteenth-century history would interpret this account as a report of a colossal battle at Grobnik (*nota bene*, in possession of the Frankapan family known then as the counts of Krk since 1225), in which the Mongols were utterly defeated, suffering terrible losses. Again, the protagonists from the Croatian side are the Frankapan brothers, who not only assisted the king with an ample financial donation, but also through their heroic performance in a splendid victory, which the king generously returned with grants. The circumstances of the genesis of this construct have been analysed,⁴² but to sum up: the Frankapans needed corroboration of their status, and Croatian lands, significantly reduced by the Ottoman conquest, also needed this kind of morale booster.

Emilij Laszowski (1868-1949), a renowned and well-read archivist and historian, wrote down a legend he had heard in the Grobnik area. On the day of the battle, the church bell of St Trinity started ringing on its own, and arrows started pouring down on the Tartars alongside huge stones of up to nine cubits wide.⁴³ Fifteen years ago, when I was in Istria, I heard some hints of Tartar legends, but I was unable to trace them properly. I tried to find them in collections of stories and legends compiled by Maja Bošković-Stulli, but there was nothing about the Tartars, only several stories of King Atila 'the Paligrad' (the City Burner).⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ivan Tomašić and [Joannes Tomasich Minorita], "Chronicon breve Regni Croatiae," in Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku, ed. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, vol. 9 (Zagreb: Dragutin Albrecht, 1868), p. 14.

⁴² Lujo Margetić, "Izvještaj Ivana Tomašića o Grobničkoj bici" [The report on the Battle of Grobnik by Ivan Tomašić], *Grobnički zbornik* 2 (1992), pp. 28–34. See also Lujo Margetić, "Tradicija bitke s Tatarima (1242. godine)" [The tradition of the battle with the Tartars (in the year 1242)], *Grobnički zbornik* 2 (1992), pp. 11–17.

⁴³ Emilij Laszowski, Gorski Kotar i Vinodol: dio državine knezova Frankopana i Zrinskih; mjestopisne i povjesne crtice [Gorski Kotar and Vinodol: A part of the possessions of the Counts Frankopan and Zrinski; Geographical and historical notes] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1923), p. 74.

⁴⁴ Maja Bošković-Stulli, *Istarske narodne priče* [Istrian folk tales] (Zagreb: Institut za narodnu umjetnost, 1959), pp. 126–30. I owe thanks to my colleague Dr. Elvis Orbanić for help with the ethnographic material.

The island of Krk (known in medieval times by its Italian name Veglia) maintains some of the oldest Slavic legends known collectively as *Veyske Povede*. One of these is named the "*Povêda od kruôla Bělova tar pašoglàveh Uôbrah*" or "The Legend of King Béla and the Dog-Headed Avars (i.e., Tatars)." The legend has it that the Tatars drove King Béla from his court all the way to the island of Krk. But there he put his throne on a mountain peak from which he coordinated battles with the Tatars in the coastal area. The Tatars used the bellies of sheep in an attempt to swim across the channel to get to the king. However, the islanders lit 'holy fires' and prayed to God and St Mary (Štomorŷna) who sent a hurricane that drowned most of the attackers in the channel. The survivors were captured and eventually settled in a village called Bašćanska Draga. On the day of the Nativity of Mary (8 September), the islanders burn fires on hilltops and capes to commemorate the event.⁴⁵

The identification of the Tatars with dog-headed creatures was quite common in northern parts of Croatia as well, especially in Podravina (the Drava valley) and Međimurje (the Mura valley). In South Slavic regions the former were known by various names such as *pesoglavci*, *pasjaci*, and similar. These legends pre-date the appearance of the Mongols, but the two converged easily, similarly to the way that the Ottomans ("the Turks") were, a few centuries later, merged into this imaginary and mythological othering.

In Croatian lands, especially in the Dalmatian hinterland, similarly as in Moravian and Czech traditions one needs to consider that the records of the Tatar name are mostly related to more recent events—i.e., to the Ottoman wars.⁴⁶ The Crimea Tatar light cavalry (the Sultan's Raiders) pillaged the region in many waves, so one should make the assumption that any legends and folk tales should more probably be related to seventeenth and eighteenth century events.

To summarise, and to make an assessment of the possibility of a large-scale clash between a Mongol army in pursuit of King Béla and Christian forces anywhere in the Adriatic region, including Grobnik Field: Even if the numbers are reduced to a reasonable size—i.e., from hundreds of thousands to hundreds or thousands—it is extremely hard to believe that any significant conflict occurred, for two reasons. First, King Béla had already led his best warriors to battle on the plains of Hungary, where many lost their lives, and there was no other army that could have immediately been deployed against the invaders. Second, Thomas the Archdeacon

⁴⁵ Fabijan Tomašić and Mihovil Lovrić, "Arhaična pučka predaje u 'cakajšćini' brdskih sela na otoku Krku" [An archaic folk tradition of the hill villages on the Island of Krk, in 'Cakavian' dialect], ed. Andrija-Željko Lovrić, *Čakavska rič* 25, no. 1–2 (1997), p. 173.

⁴⁶ Tomáš Somer, "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241," *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 2 (2018), p. 245.

would have recorded a major battle, if there had been one, in the Adriatic. What might have happened was a minor 'victory' over smaller Mongol reconnaissance units that, according to strict schedule and military discipline, would certainly have avoided unnecessary engagements, giving the impression of flight before their opponents. Nonetheless, the most plausible explanation for the legend is much-needed amplification related to the creation of a crucial image in the proto-national imaginary.

Echoes in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

In the nineteenth century, there were several major examples of re-interpretation of the Mongol episode of 1242 in Croatia, all given by prominent members of the Croatian national movement, and all based on Tomašić's constructed Battle of Grobnik.

In 1842, on the 600th anniversary of the Mongol incursion, Dimitrija Demeter (1811-1872) wrote an early romantic epic poem entitled *Grobničko polje* (Grobnik Field, 540 verses). It is based on two major motifs: the landscape and patriotism. One of the most famous parts of this poem, and nineteenth-century patriotic poetry in general, is the octosyllabic 'reveille' known by its first verse *Prosto zrakom ptica leti*. Vatroslav Lisinski, a national icon who, among others, composed the first Croatian opera, wrote music for this poem. It is worth reproducing the first six verses, which generations of Croatian schoolchildren, including the author of this paper, have learnt by heart.

Prosto zrakom ptica leti,	The bird is free to fly about,
Prosto gorom zvijer prolazi,	The beast is free to roam the mount,
A ja da se lancim speti	While I should be in chains of steel
Dam tuđincu da me gazi?	And suffer under foreign heel?
Tko ne voli umrijet prije,	If any would not rather die,
U tom naša krv ne bije!	Their blood and ours have no tie!47

Demeter was born into a Greek family and earned his medical degree in Padua, only to return to Croatia in 1841, fully dedicating himself to literary and theatrical work. He was one of the most influential 'Illyrians', i.e., protagonists of the Croatian national movement in the nineteenth century, and the first director of the Croatian National Theatre.

⁴⁷ Many thanks to Marko Maras for the English translation.

The 1840s were the culmination of the Croatian (or 'Illyrian', as it was known at the time) national process. In 1840, the National Theatre was founded, and in 1842 Matica ilirska (known today also as Matrix Croatica) started publishing books of highest national interest. In early 1843, the Illyrian name was prohibited, and in May 1843 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski delivered the first speech in the Croatian Parliament in the Croatian language, urging that it should become the official language of the country, instead of Latin (which eventually happened in 1847).

In the same year, 1842, Ivan Trnski (1819-1910) published his short poem *Smàrt Ilira na grobničkom polju* (The Death of the Illyrians on Grobnik Field). It can be summarised in these three verses: "Ki ubivši zmaja aziatskoga / Vratili su slobod Europi, / On u kàrvi kû htě da utopi!" (They killed the Asian dragon, / Bringing freedom to Europe, / That he wanted to drown in blood).⁴⁸

Antun Nemčić (1813-1849) wrote *Putositnice* (1845), a canonical work of Croatian romanticism, a travelogue inspired by Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*. There he celebrates a Croatian victory over 30,000 Tatars under Batu.⁴⁹

Petar Preradović (1818-1872), one of the most prominent figures of the Illyrian movement as well as a poet and a general, wrote the poem "Na Grobniku" (1851). It consists of 13 quatrains, and the main idea can be found in the third: Ovdje divlje *čete* smrvi / Rod naš *čil* i zdrav, / Hrvatskom se ovdje krvi / Spasi Zapad sav. (Our kin hale and hearty / Crushed the wild foes here; / It is here where Croatian blood / Saved the West).⁵⁰ It is quite interesting that both Demeter and Preradović use the same syntagm for Grobnik Field: "sveta Meka" (holy Mecca) for the sacred space of the victory.

In 1862, Grobnik Field was the stage upon which the new flag of Rijeka county was consecrated, gathering more than 10,000 people, and many important figures, including Bishop J. J. Strossmayer who was one of the godfathers of the flag.⁵¹ On that occasion, the famous Croatian writer August Šenoa wrote a poem celebrating a victory over the "dog-headed, bloodthirsty army from the heights of icy Altai." He invited Croatians to be united, intrepid of savage winds, to believe in God and, if ever in trouble— just remember Grobnik Field!

⁴⁸ In the first Croatian literary magazine: Danica ilirska 8, no. 32 (August 6, 1842), p. 125.

⁴⁹ Ivana Žužul, "Pamćenje, sjećanje i zaborav: figure oblikovanja nacionalne kulture" [Remembering, memory, and oblivion: Figures shaping the national culture], Dani Hvarskoga kazališta: Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu 37, no. 1 (2011), pp. 49–54; Antun Nemčić Gostovinski, Putositnice (Zagreb: Ljudevit Gaj, 1845), p. 245.

⁵⁰ Free translation by the author of this paper.

⁵¹ On the historical importance of the event, as well as its political context, see: Maja Polić, "Uzroci i posljedice posvećenja zastave Riječke županije na Grobnišćini" [The causes and consequences of the consecration of the flag of the Rijeka County at Grobnik Field], Grobnički zbornik 10 (2016), pp. 95–102.

All the reminiscence of the Grobnik battle and the Mongol episode of Croatian history was especially important in this particular year, 1862. The issue of Rijeka, a *corpus separatum* since 1779, was a major political dispute between the Hungarians and Croats for many decades. By a decision of the Hungarian Parliament of 1807, the city belonged to the Hungarian crown, but Croatians saw the city as an integral part of the Croatian nation. It was a complex issue as there were also important economic and strategic aspects related to the city. Hungarian investments made the port of Rijeka the fifth most important in the Mediterranean (after Marseilles, Genoa, Naples, and Trieste). There was also great rivalry with Trieste, the main Austrian port, on the other side of the Istrian peninsula. In such an atmosphere, images of historical Croatian victories (historical accuracy was of no importance in terms of the reception and effect thereof) were crucial for supporting the national tendencies of this sensitive period.

The priest Paško Antun Kazali (1815-1894), who was a very talented poet, polyglot and translator from Dubrovnik, and the first to translate Shakespeare (*Julius Caesar* and *King Lear*) into Croatian, wrote an epic poem entitled *Grobnik*.⁵² (He had recently translated the first song of the *Iliad* from ancient Greek and was quite inspired). This poem consists of several thousand verses and it is divided into three songs. It was published in 1863, in the very same year the first scholarly work on the Mongol invasion of Croatia was published.⁵³ Although Dubrovnik-born, from 1861 onwards Kazali resided and taught in Rijeka, where he had close contact with prominent Croatian figures.

Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski was a major political figure, a polymath and a diligent collector of the most important historical documents of Croatian history. Some even called him "the father of modern Croatian historiography" (e.g., Ferdo Šišić in 1925). He did put much effort into collecting the sources for his work. When writing about the Battle of Legnica in April 1241, he insists that the Mongol army was 15 times more numerous than that of the Christians.⁵⁴

Šime Ljubić, who promptly criticised Kukuljević's treatise in 1864, thought the two main battles, one on land and the other at sea, must have been in the vicinity of Trogir, not somewhere in the northern Adriatic.⁵⁵ Since one of the documents explicitly mentions the River Krka, he placed the battle just outside Šibenik, corroborating his argument with the fact that this is the location of Mount Tartar.

⁵² Paško Antun Kazali, Grobnik (Rijeka: Huber'ov i Mohovich'ev Tiskarski Kamen. Zavod, 1863).

⁵³ Kukuljević Sakcinski, Borba Hrvatah s Mongoli i Tatari.

⁵⁴ Kukuljević Sakcinski, Borba Hrvatah s Mongoli i Tatari, p. 9.

⁵⁵ Šime Ljubić, Ogledalo književne poviesti jugoslavjanske: na podučavanje mladeži [A mirror of Yugoslav literary history], vol. 1 (Rijeka: Emidij Mohović Tiskarski Kamen. Zavod, 1864), pp. 135–36. Cf. Soldo, "Provala Tatara u Hrvatsku," p. 374.

The whole process of integrating the Battle of Grobnik into the freshly-established national imaginary was summarised by the historian of Croatian literature, Ivana Žužul: "In that sense the protagonists of the Croatian national movement perseveringly kept the reference to 'a victory to remember' – i.e., the one in which the Croats won at Grobnik Field. Regardless of whether the battle actually took place or not, it is one of the richer veins of Croatian history from which the nationalistic ideology drew much."⁵⁶

Sir Arthur Evans, before his famous archaeological excavations on Crete, spent the 1880s doing research (among other things) on Roman monuments in present-day Bosnia and Croatia. He read Archdeacon Thomas' account of the Mongols and wrote a note that two toponyms still keep the memory of the event: "Monte Tartaro, near Sebenico, and Kraljazza, or the King's island whither King Béla transported his treasures."⁵⁷ He also wrote down a legend, as "told by the inhabitants" (of Bosnia) about King Béla's passage south. The legend has it that Béla paved a road as he travelled south, putting high milestones along the way. Evans recognised traces of a Roman road there, which suggests that in the legend two historical periods merged into one, combining evidence of the paved road with the king's flight. Interestingly enough, as he walked and described the road, Evans mentions the portion near "the village of Drvar" and the River Una, which is just several kilometres from the location of Sirbium (Srb) mentioned by Thomas the Archdeacon.

In the twentieth century, two periods were particularly interesting for reviving the atmosphere of the legendary victory against the Mongols. Not only was the 700th anniversary the right time to remember, but it was 1941/42, and World War II had heavily affected (among other areas) Southeast Europe. Internally, Croatia was torn between two factions, both of which supported the idea of Croatian independence. However, at the time one faction saw the most convenient framework for this goal within the German-Italian protectorate, while the other fought for Croatia within the Partisan movement, actively resisting the Axis forces. In this period two literary works related to the Mongols were published: Milutin Mayer's *Tatari u Hrvatskoj* (The Tatars in Croatia, Zagreb 1941), and Ante Tresić Pavičić's

⁵⁶ English translation by the author of this paper. The original Croatian quote is as follows: "U tom smislu preporoditelji ustrajno referiraju na 'pobjedu za pamćenje' Hrvata na Grobničkom polju; bez obzira na to je li se dogodila ili ne, ona je jedna od bogatijih žila hrvatske povijesti iz koje crpi nacionalistička ideologija." Žužul, "Pamćenje, sjećanje i zaborav," p. 51.memory, and oblivion: Figures shaping the national culture]","title-short":"Pamćenje, sjećanje i zaborav","volume":"37","author":[{"family":"Žužul","given":"Ivana"}],"issued":{{"date-parts":[["2011"]]}},"locator":"51"}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

⁵⁷ Arthur Evans, Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum: Part I-IV Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries (Westminster: Nichols & Sons, 1883), p. 58.

Izgon Mongola iz Hrvatske (The Banishment of the Tatars from Croatia, Zagreb 1942), written to mark the 700th anniversary.

Fifty years later, Croatia was in the middle of the war for independence (1991-1995) from Yugoslavia. In 1992, the 750th anniversary of Grobnik battle was celebrated under the auspices of the first president of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tuđman, who attended the event himself.

Conclusions

The Adriatic episode of the Mongol invasion of Central Europe and the Kingdom of Hungary was not in any way a game changer. It had not been planned in the first place, and it happened only because the king of Hungary had managed to escape the hands of the attackers in the crucial battle. From the Mongol perspective, the mission to the Adriatic was unsuccessful, and they returned to the steppes for various other reasons.⁵⁸

It was important for King Béla as he survived the pursuit using an obstacle impassable to the Mongol armies at the time: the Adriatic Sea. It was also very important for Croatian noble families, most notably the Frankapans, who had established their identity as the defenders of Christianity ever since the time of the Mongols. Their most famous forgeries referring to help they gave to King Béla are dated to the fifteenth century when the Frankapans: 1.) gained international recognition as the descendants of the Roman Frangepanis (in the 1420s); and 2.) were involved in both internal and external struggles as the Ottomans raided their lands and King Matthias Corvinus put them under pressure in the 1460s and 1470s.

Primary sources do not talk of any significant clashes between Mongol and Christian armies in the Adriatic area. On the other hand, starting with the sixteenth century and the chronicle by Ivan Tomašić (1561), references to a huge battle at Grobnik, which supposedly took place and in which the Tatars were defeated, suddenly appear. This narrative had a noticeable role in the shaping of Croatian national identity in the nineteenth century.

Ethnographic material (legends, stories, and traditions) that refers to Ta(r)tars is quite rich in various parts of Croatia. However, it requires locating, systematisation, and analysis, which is a complex task and beyond the scope of this essay.

⁵⁸ For one of the most recent discussions on the topic see: Stephen Pow, "Climatic and Environmental Limiting Factors in the Mongol Empire's Westward Expansion: Exploring Causes for the Mongol Withdrawal from Hungary in 1242," in Socio-Environmental Dynamics along the Historical Silk Road, ed. Liang Emlyn Yang et al. (Cham: Springer Open, 2019), pp. 301–21.

* I would like to thank Aleksandar Uzelac for a discussion on the draft of this paper, and Sarah Rengel for her help in making this text more comprehensible.

Bibliography

- Andrić, Stanko. "Arheolozi, povjesničari umjetnosti i povjesničari u istraživanju slavonskog srednjovjekovlja: prilog za bilancu uzajamnih dugovanja" [Archaeologists, art historians and historians researching medieval Slavonia: A contribution to mutual indebtedness]. In *Zbornik II. kongresa povjesničara umjetnosti*, edited by Irena Kraševac, 417–18. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2007.
- Anonymus and Master Roger. Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars. Translated by Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak. Central European Medieval Texts 5. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010.
- Antoljak, Stjepan. "Kako je i kada došlo do jednog umetka u Rogerijevoj 'Carmen miserabile'" [How and when a paragraph was Inserted into Roger's 'Carmen Miserabile']. Starohrvatska prosvjeta 3, no. 2 (1952): 187–200.
- ———. "Pitanje autentičnosti paške isprave" [The question of authenticity of the Pag Charter]. Starohrvatska prosvjeta 3, no. 1 (1949): 115–42.
- Berend, Nora. At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000 – c. 1300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Bonfinius. *Antonii Bonfinii historia Pannonica: Sive Hungaricarum rerum decades IV. et dimidia libris XLV.* Coloniae Agrippinae: Widenfeldt & De Berges, 1690.
- Boreczky, Anna. "Historiography and Propaganda in the Royal Court of King Matthias: Hungarian Book Culture at the End of the Middle Ages and Beyond." *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, no. 43 (2019): 23–35.
- Bošković-Stulli, Maja. *Istarske narodne priče* [Istrian folk tales]. Zagreb: Institut za narodnu umjetnost, 1959.
- Breier, Eduard. *Die Tartaren in Croatien und Dalmatien: Historisches Gemälde aus den Zeiten König Bela des Vierten*. Vienna: Stöckholzer von Hirschfeld, 1841.

- Bulić, Frane. "Il sarcofago di Margherita e Caterina figlie di Bela IV. re d'Ungheria sul portale del Duomo di Spalato." *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 29 (1906): 27–39, table IV.
- ———. "Il sarcofago di Margherita e Caterina figlie di Bela IV. re d'Ungheria sul portale del Duomo di Spalato." Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 31 (1908): 171–72.
- ———. "Il sarcofago di Margherita e Caterina figlie di Bela IV. re d'Ungheria sul portale del Duomo di Spalato." *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata / Vjesnik* za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku 32 (1909): 97.
- Danica ilirska 8, no. 32 (August 6, 1842).
- Evans, Arthur. Antiquarian Researches in Illyricum: Part I-IV Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries. Westminster: Nichols & Sons, 1883.
- Gál, Judit. Dalmatia and the Exercise of Royal Authority in the Árpád-Era Kingdom of Hungary. Budapest: Research Centre for Humanities, 2020.
- Geary, Patrick J. *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Gieβauf, Johannes. "A Programme of Terror and Cruelty: Aspects of Mongol Strategy in the Light of Western Sources." *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged*, 2007, 85–96.
- Grgin, Borislav. "The Center and the Periphery: Medieval Croatia in the Realm of King Matthias Corvinus." *Radovi Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 44 (2012): 197–208.
- Hiatt, Alfred. "Forgery as Historiography." In *Medieval Historical Writing. Britain* and Ireland, 500–1500, edited by Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner, and Elizabeth M. Tyler, 404–19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Hunyadi, Zsolt. "The Military Activity of the Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries)." In *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, edited by Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert, and Helen J. Nicholson, 193–203. Aldershot, England – Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.
- Jackson, Peter. "The Crusade Against the Mongols (1241)." The Journal of Ecclesiastical History 42, no. 1 (1991): 1–18.
- ———. *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410*. The Medieval World. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005.

- Janeš, Andrej. "A Phantom Menace: Did the Mongol Invasion Really Influence Stone Castle Building in Medieval Slavonia?" In Fortifications, Defence Systems, Structures and Features in the Past: Proceedings of the 4th International Scientific Conference on Mediaeval Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology, Zagreb, 7th – 9th June 2017, edited by Tatjana Tkalčec, Tajana Sekelj Ivančan, Siniša Krznar, and Juraj Belaj, 225–38. Zagreb: Institute of Archaeology, 2019.
- Jurković, Ivan. "Turska opasnost i hrvatski velikaši: knez Bernardin Frankopan i njegovo doba" [The Ottoman threat and Croatian noblemen: Count Bernardin Frankapan and his times]. Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 17 (1999): 61–83.
- Kazali, Paško Antun. *Grobnik*. Rijeka: Huber'ov i Mohovich'ev Tiskarski Kamen. Zavod, 1863.
- Klaić, Nada. "Paški falsifikati" [The forgeries of Pag]. *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta: Odsjek za povijest* 1 (1959): 15–63.
- ———. Vinodol: od antičkih vremena do knezova Krčkih i vinodolskog zakona [Vinodol: From the antiquity to the counts of Krk and the Law Code of Vinodol]. Pazin – Rijeka: Historijski arhiv, 1988.
- Klaić, Vjekoslav. *Povijest Hrvata: od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća* [The history of Croats: From the ancient times to the end of the nineteenth century]. Vol. 1. Zagreb: Tisak i naklada knjižare L. Hartmana, 1899.
- Kruhek, Milan. "Bernardin Frankopan krčki, senjski i modruški knez: posljednji modruški Europejac hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja, 1453.–1529." [Bernardin Frankopan, count of Krk, Senj, and Modruš: The last European from Modruš of the Croatian Middle Ages]. *Modruški zbornik* 3 (2009): 187–235.
- Kukuljević Sakcinski, Ivan. *Borba Hrvatah s Mongoli i Tatari: Povjesno-Kritična Razprava* [The Fight of the Croats with the Mongols and Tatars: A Historical Treatise]. Zagreb: Nakladom i brzotiskom A. Jakića, 1863.
- Laszlovszky, József, Stephen Pow, Beatrix F. Romhányi, László Ferenczi, and Zsolt Pinke. "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42: Short- and Long-Term Perspectives." *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2018): 419–50.
- Laszowski, Emilij. *Gorski Kotar i Vinodol: dio državine knezova Frankopana i Zrinskih; mjestopisne i povjesne crtice* [Gorski Kotar and Vinodol: A part of the possessions of the Counts Frankopan and Zrinski; Geographical and historical notes]. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1923.

- Ljubić, Šime. Ogledalo književne poviesti jugoslavjanske: na podučavanje mladeži [The mirror of Yugoslav literary history: For teaching youth]. Vol. 1. Rijeka: Emidij Mohović Tiskarski Kamen. Zavod, 1864.
- Margetić, Lujo. "Izvještaj Ivana Tomašića o Grobničkoj bici" [The report on the Battle of Grobnik by Ivan Tomašić]. *Grobnički zbornik* 2 (1992): 28–34.
- ———. "Tradicija bitke s Tatarima (1242. godine)" [The tradition of the Battle with the Tartars (in the year 1242)]. *Grobnički zbornik* 2 (1992): 11–17.
- — . "Vijesti iz vjerodostojnih i krivotvorenih isprava o provali Tatara u hrvatske primorske krajeve (1242.)" [The news from authentic and forged documents on the Tatar Incursion into the maritime parts of Croatia (1242)]. Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu 25, no. 1 (1992): 5–14.
- May, Timothy. *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2007.
- Nemčić Gostovinski, Antun. Putositnice. Zagreb: Ljudevit Gaj, 1845.
- Polić, Maja. "Uzroci i posljedice posvećenja zastave Riječke županije na Grobnišćini" [The causes and consequences of the consecration of the flag of the Rijeka County at Grobnik Field]. *Grobnički zbornik* 10 (2016): 95–102.
- Pow, Stephen. "Climatic and Environmental Limiting Factors in the Mongol Empire's Westward Expansion: Exploring Causes for the Mongol Withdrawal from Hungary in 1242." In Socio-Environmental Dynamics along the Historical Silk Road, edited by Liang Emlyn Yang, Hans-Rudolf Bork, Xiuqi Fang, and Steffen Mischke, 301–21. Cham: Springer Open, 2019.
- Pow, Stephen, and József Laszlovszky. "Finding Batu's Hill at Muhi: Liminality between Rebellious Territory and Submissive Territory, Earth and Heaven for a Mongol Prince on the Eve of Battle." *The Hungarian Historical Review* 8, no. 2 (2019): 261–89.
- Rachewiltz, Igor de. *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*. Brill's Inner Asian Library 7. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Sinor, Denis. "On Mongol Strategy." In *Proceedings of the Fourth East Asian Altaistic Conference*, edited by Ch'en Chieh-hsien, 238–49. Tainan: National Ch'eng-kung University, 1975.
- Smičiklas, Tadija, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 4: *Diplomata annorum 1236–1255 continens*. Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1906.

- ———, ed. Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, vol. 5: Diplomata annorum 1256-1272 continens. Zagreb: JAZU, 1907.
- Soldo, Josip Ante. "Provala Tatara u Hrvatsku" [The Tatar Incursion into Croatia]. *Historijski zbornik* 21–22 (1968–1969): 371–88.
- Somer, Tomáš. "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241." *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 2 (2018): 238–51.
- Sophoulis, Panos. "The Mongol Invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242." *Fragmenta Hellenoslavica* 2 (2015): 251–77.
- Špoljarić, Luka. "Illyrian Trojans in a Turkish Storm: Croatian Renaissance Lords and the Politics of Dynastic Origin Myths." In *Portraying the Prince in the Renaissance: The Humanist Depiction of Rulers in Historiographical and Biographical Texts*, edited by Patrick Baker, Ronny Kaiser, Maike Priesterjahn, and Johannes Helmrath, 121–56. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.
- Sweeney, James Ross, Michael Gervers, and Wayne Schlepp. "Spurred on by the Fear of Death': Refugees and Displaced Populations during the Mongol Invasion of Hungary." In Nomadic Diplomacy, Destruction and Religion from the Pacific to the Adriatic: Papers Prepared for the Central and Inner Asian Seminar, University of Toronto, 1992-93, 34–62. Toronto: Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 1994.
- Szabó, János B. "The Hungarian View of the Battle of Muhi (April 11, 1241): A New Interpretation of Historiographic Traditions." *Golden Horde Review* 8, no. 2 (2020): 243–57.
- Thomas of Spalato. *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum = History of the bishops of Salona and Split*. Edited by Damir Karbic, Mirjana Matijevic-Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney. Central European Medieval Texts 4. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006.
- Tomašić, Fabijan, and Mihovil Lovrić. "Arhaična pučka predaje u 'cakajšćini' brdskih sela na otoku Krku" [An archaic folk tradition of the hill villages on the Island of Krk, in 'Cakavian' dialect]. Edited by Andrija-Željko Lovrić. *Čakavska rič* 25, no. 1–2 (1997): 167–99.
- Tomašić, Ivan, and [Joannes Tomasich Minorita]. "Chronicon breve Regni Croatiae." In *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*, edited by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, 9:1–34. Zagreb: Dragutin Albrecht, 1868.
- Uzelac, Aleksandar. *Pod senkom Psa: Tatari i južnoslovenske zemlje u drugoj polovini XIII veka* [Under the shadow of the dog: Tatars and South Slavic lands in the second half of the thirteenth century]. Belgrade: Utopija, 2015.

- Vajay, Szabolcs de. "Un ambassadeur bien choisi: Bernardinus de Frangipanus et sa mission à Naples, en 1476." In *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, edited by Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők, 550–57. Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999.
- Žužul, Ivana. "Pamćenje, sjećanje i zaborav: figure oblikovanja nacionalne kulture" [Remembering, memory, and oblivion: Figures shaping the national culture]. *Dani Hvarskoga kazališta: Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 37, no. 1 (2011): 37–65.

Should the Papal Envoys Bring Gifts for the Mongol Emperors? The Role of Polish and Russian Intelligence in the Mission of John of Plano Carpini compared to that of Ascelin of Lombardy¹

Introduction

After the Mongol invasion of Central Europe in 1241–1242, the countries from this region like Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, as well as the Principality of Galicia–Volhynia, had lively experiences with the formerly less well-known Oriental nomadic group. They collected various kinds of information on the Mongols, either from face-to-face encounters on the battlefield, or through the envoys that traveled between these royal courts. The Roman pontiffs also kept their eyes on these new developments from the E2ast. It was within such a context that seeking remedy against the Tartars became one of the main items on the agenda of the First Council of Lyon in 1245. In order to obtain more intelligence on the Mongols, Pope Innocent IV decided to dispatch diplomatic corps to the Mongols directly. These four diplomatic corps were separately led by John of Plano Carpini, Ascelin of Lombardy, Andrew of Longjumeau, and Lawrence of Portugal. Among them, the missions of John of Plano Carpini and Ascelin of Lombardy were quite well recorded by Carpini himself and Simon of Saint-Quentin separately.² Interestingly,

¹ The original idea for this article was conceived during the writing of my MA thesis prepared at CEU during the academic year 2018–19. This draft was also presented at the 2020 ELTE conference from where this volume originates.

² John of Plano Carpini, "Ystoria Mongalorum," in Sinica Franciscana, vol. 1: Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV, ed. A. Van den Wyngaert (Florence: Collegium

these two missionaries had very different experiences at the Mongol court. Carpini successfully arrived at Karakorum and was granted an audience by Güyük. In contrast, Ascelin of Lombardy ended up in severe conflict with the Mongols concerning the issues of giving gifts and ways of showing reverence to the Mongol lords. He did not meet the great khan and barely escaped with his own life. Some scholars have noticed the distinctive results of these two missions and have given different explanations. Yet the issue of conflicts over gifts has not been given due attention.³

Meanwhile, in recent years, blooming research interest in the gift-giving associated with transcultural contact between the European envoys and the Mongols can be traced in publications. A. J. Watson argues that the success of Rubruck was largely owing to his good understanding of the Mongol and Inner Asian customs of gift-giving, thus the status of Rubruck was elevated by his appropriate gifts.⁴ Adriano Duque concludes a complicated interpretation of the role of gift-giving in the mission of Carpini based on the model of Derrida and Mauss. A less well-known source used in the analyzed article was the chronicle of Adam of Salimbene, which records that Carpini carried gifts presented by the Mongol great khan to the pope back to Europe. These gifts included a wooden cup and a robe for mass celebration. Interestingly enough, these gifts did not appear in the writings of Carpini and Benedict.⁵ Geraldine Heng conceptualizes the gift-giving in Mongol court society as part of an Asiatic gift economy that acted as the fundamental glue for maintaining the unity of different clans in Mongolian society. In this context, social hierarchy

- 3 Antti Ruotsala noted that as Ascelin arrived with empty hands he may have annoyed the Mongol governor, yet he has not provided further elucidation, see Antti Ruotsala, *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other* (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Sciences, 2001), p. 83. A recent contribution from the perspective of conflicts in emotion, see Mirko Sardelić, "John of Plano Carpini vs Simon of Saint-Quentin: 13th–Century Emotions in the Eurasian Steppe," Golden Horde Review 5.3 (2017), pp. 494–508.
- 4 A. J. Watson, "Mongol Inhospitality, or How to Do More with Less? Gift Giving in William of Rubruck's Itinerarium," *Journal of Medieval History* 37.1 (2011), pp. 90–101.
- 5 Adriano Duque, "Gift Giving in the Carpini Expedition to Mongolia, 1246-1248," in *Remapping Travel Narratives, 1000-1700: To the East and Back Again,* ed. Montserrat Piera (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018), pp. 187–200.

Sancti Bonaventurae, 1929), pp. 27–130. English translation in John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," in *The Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, trans. Christopher Dawson (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), pp. 3–72. German translation, see John of Plano Carpini [Johannes von Plano Carpini], *Kunde von den Mongolen*, *1245–1247*, trans. Felicitas Schmieder (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1997). Simon of Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, trans. Jean Richard, DRHC 8 (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1965); Jean Richard, ed., *Au-delà e la Perse et de l'Arménie: L'Orient latin et la découverte de l'Asie intérieure; Quelques textes inégalement connus aux origines de l'alliance entre Francs et Mongols (1145–1262) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 75–158. English translation, see Simon of Saint-Quentin, "History of the Tartars," trans. Stephen Pow et al., accessed December 15, 2020, www.simonofstquentin.org.*

was represented and negotiated through the deed of gift-giving.⁶ Claudia Garnier provides an excellent overview of intercultural gift exchanges between Europeans and Mongols in the thirteenth century. She identifies three forms of gifts in the Mongol court; namely, payment, tribute, and diplomatic gifts in a narrow sense. Her conclusion is that although Carpini and Rubruck could not fully sense the so-cial-political meanings and importance of gifts to the Mongol court, the practice of gift-giving functioned quite well during their intercultural contact with the Mongols.⁷ Marianna Shreve Simpson provides a very interesting case study of artistic exchange during the Mongol era in general, and the Il-Khanid period in particular, within the historical context of intercultural gifting and borrowing.⁸

However, noticeable gaps still exist in these pieces of research and a dynamic and balanced perspective of the gift diplomacy between the western rulers and the Mongols has not yet been developed. One of the gaps is that an understanding of the internal processes of gift-giving in the Mongol imperial court and the latter's perception of gift-giving at times of diplomatic contact has largely been neglected, or gifts simply rendered as tributes. Yihao Qiu's recent contribution and my own MA thesis, recently defended at CEU, have made some inroads in this direction.⁹ Another research gap—somehow no less astonishing—is that these activities of gift-exchange have not been examined in line with the traditions of papal diplomacy and missions. Scholars tend to readily accept the narrative from the pens of these Latin missionaries that the Mongols were simply greedy in terms

⁶ Chapter "Mongol Women, the Asiatic Gift Economy, and Mongol Political Alterity" in Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 298–311.

⁷ Claudia Garnier, "Gabe, Macht und Ehre: Zu Formen und Funktionen des Gabentauschs in den Beziehungen zwischen Mongolen und Europäern im 13. Jahrhundert," Jahrbücher fur Geschichte Osteuropas 63 (2015), pp. 47–68.

⁸ Marianna Shreve Simpson, "Manuscripts and Mongols: Some Documented and Speculative Moments in East-West/Muslim-Christian Relations," *French Historical Studies* 30.3 (2007), pp. 351–394.

⁹ Yihao Qiu argues that in the early thirteenth century the Mongols indeed prepared diplomatic gifts for their counterparts in continuation of previous central Eurasian diplomatic tradition. Yet, a change took place after the Mongol conquest of the Khwarazm Empire, resulting in a diplomatic strategy of non-negotiation gaining the upper hand. See Yihao Qiu, "Gift-Exchange in Diplomatic Practices during the Early Mongol Period," *Eurasian Studies* 17 (2019), pp. 202–227. By examining the social life of gifts in the Mongol imperial court from institutional, gendered, and ideological perspectives, my thesis argues that the Mongol court did develop a protocol of gifts in terms of receiving, presenting, reposting, distributing, and consuming. See Ya Ning, "The Reception and Management of Gifts in the Imperial Court of the Mongol Great Khan, from the Early Thirteenth Century to 1368" (M.A. thes., Central European University, 2020). See also Ya Ning, "The Repository and Distribution of Gifts in the Imperial Court of the Mongol Great Khan in the Early Thirteenth Century," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 27 (2021), pp. 52–64.

of demanding gifts. The role of gifts in papal diplomacy and missionary activities either during the pre-Mongol period or after has not yet attracted the requisite scholarly attention. Through a comparative analysis of the gift-related experience of John of Plano Carpini and Ascelin of Lombardy in the Mongol court, this article aims to shed some new light on this issue.

In the following section, I shall first identify the practical and theoretical reasons for the completely different outcomes of these two missions, and then inquire whether the argumentation about gifts provided by Ascelin of Lombardy was really grounded on the papal practices of gift-giving. By setting the discussion within the wider context of gift-giving in the related transcultural contacts, my article argues that traditional scholarship that stresses the avarice and excess of the Mongols in demanding gifts should be reconsidered.¹⁰ Further, I claim that, along with a better understanding of the gift-giving culture of the Mongols, a notable transformation to a much more positive strategy of giving gifts can be identified in Western diplomatic policy towards the Mongols in the following periods.

John of Plano Carpini and Ascelin of Lombardy: Two Encounters with the Politics of Gifts

As mentioned, John of Plano Carpini and Ascelin of Lombardy were dispatched by Innocent IV on the eve of the First Council of Lyon with the purpose of reaching the Mongol rulers. Since they were the first envoys to be sent by the pope to the Mongols, very limited information on the Mongols and their respective protocols were available and known to them. We will start with the preparation phase of these two missionaries.¹¹ We know that both Carpini and Ascelin might not have obtained the information that came with refugees from the newly Mongol-occupied territories. Although renowned scholars like Felicitas Schmieder have suggested that Carpini arranged his book chapters in a resemble way to the questions put to the Russian Archbishop Peter at the First Council of Lyon, we have no confirmative

¹⁰ Denis Sinor undertook seminal research on the topic of the greed of the barbarians, published in 1978, yet no more research was done by scholars in the following decades. See Denis Sinor, "The Greed of the Northern Barbarian," in Aspects of Altaic Civilization II. Proceedings of the XVIII PIAC, Bloomington, June 29 – July 5. 1975, ed. Larry V. Clark and Paul Alexander Draghi, vol. 134, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Publications, 1978), pp. 171–182. reprinted in Denis Sinor, Studies in Medieval Inner Asia (London: Ashgate, 1997), chap. XII.

¹¹ On the missionary preparation in the thirteenth century in a general sense, see Mathias Braun, "Missionary Problems in the Thirteenth Century: A Study in Missionary Preparation," *Catholic Historical Review* 25.2 (1939), pp. 146–159.

sources to prove that Peter acted as the direct informant of Carpini and his peer missionaries.¹² The chronological sequence of the exact dates concerning the arrival of Russian Archbishop Peter and the Italian prelate Master Roger at Lyon and the departure of the papal missionaries has not yet been solved. Nevertheless, Carpini was luckier in the sense that he chose the northeastern route through Poland and Russia, and the princesses of these countries had already some experience with the Mongols. Carpini mentions the intelligence and help he obtained from these central and Eastern European royal courts in his *Ystoria Mongalorum*. Due to its obvious relevance, the passage is quoted in detail below:

When we had planned, as has already been told in another chapter, to set out for the Tartars, we first came to the King of the Bohemians. As this lord was a friend of ours from of (sic) old we sought his advice concerning the best route to follow, and he replied that it seemed to him it would be best to go through Poland and Russia, for he had relations in Poland by whose aid we would be able to enter Russia. He gave us a letter and safe conduct for the journey so that we could cross Poland and he also arranged for victuals to be supplied to us throughout his country and cities, until we should reach his nephew Boleslaus, Duke of Silesia, who was also a friend and acquaintance of ours. The latter likewise gave us a letter, safe-conduct and supplies in his towns and cities until we should come to Conrad, Duke of Lenczy. We were favoured by the grace of God, for at that time the Lord Vasilko, Duke of Russia, was there and from him we did in fact learn a good deal about the Tartars, for he had sent envoys to them and they had returned to him and his brother Daniel, bringing a safe-conduct for the Lord Daniel to go to Bati. He told us that if we wished to go to them we ought to have valuable gifts to present to them, for they asked for such things with the most pressing importunity, and if they were not given them (as is indeed true) an envoy could not properly fulfil his mission, nay rather he would be held of no account.

We did not wish the business of the Lord Pope and the Church to be hindered on that score, so out of the money which had been given to us as alms to help us on our way so that we should not be in want, we bought some beaver pelts and also the skins of various other animals. Duke Conrad, the Duchess of Cracow, certain knights and the Bishop of Cracow, learning of this, also presented us with a number

¹² See Felicitas Schmieder, Europa und die Fremden: die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 16 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), p. 199, n. 8; Peter Jackson, "The Testimony of the Russian 'Archbishop' Peter Concerning the Mongols (1244/5): Precious Intelligence or Timely Disinformation?," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 26.1–2 (2016), p. 70.

of skins of this kind. Duke Conrad and his son and the Bishop of Cracow most earnestly begged the aforementioned Duke Vasilko to do all in his power to help us make the journey to the Tartars, and he replied that he would gladly do this. And so he took us with him to his own country, and after he had kept us for some days as his guests so that we could rest a little [...].¹³

This passage clearly shows that due to the suggestion of a Russian prince, Carpini purchased some beaver pelts and other precious furs as gifts for the Mongols. At the same time, the secular and ecclesiastical leaders in Cracow also sponsored him with the same kind of things. These gifts indeed smoothed their passage through the Mongol territories, although when they finally arrived at the imperial court of Güyük, the gifts they had prepared had already run out.¹⁴ In contrast, Ascelin and his companions (who bypassed the route of the Near East) had prepared not a single gift. They encountered huge difficulties at the Mongol camp in Asia Minor. According to Simon of Saint-Quentin, Ascelin's companion, Ascelin not only refused to give gifts but also gave reasons why he should not do this:

Assuredly, we bring nothing to him on behalf of the lord pope for it is not customary for him to send *exennia* to anyone, especially infidels and unknowns. In fact, it is better the case that his believing children, namely Christians, and also many infidels often send him presents and offer *exennia*.¹⁵

In addition, when the Mongol principal counsellor and interpreters stated that giving gifts was considered indispensable when delivering diplomatic letters, Ascelin responded as follows:

Though it is customary anywhere and especially among Christians that any envoy bearing the letter of his lord should come before the one to whom he was sent to deliver it, see him, and deliver it to him with one's own hands, if it is not permitted to come before your lord without presents and this is not pleasing to you, we will

¹³ John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," pp. 50–51. For the original Latin texts, see John of Plano Carpini, "Ystoria Mongalorum," pp. 101–103.

¹⁴ John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," p. 54; p. 56; p. 64.

¹⁵ The English translations of the texts of Simon of Saint-Quentin used in this article are taken from Simon of Saint-Quentin, "History of the Tartars." For a critical edition of the Latin texts, see Simon of Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*. For a French translation, see Richard, *Au-delà e la Perse et de l'Arménie: L'Orient latin et la découverte de l'Asie intérieure; Quelques textes inégalement connus aux origines de l'alliance entre Francs et Mongols (1145–1262)*, pp. 75–158.

commit the letter of the lord pope to all of you, if it is pleasing, to hand it over to your lord, Baiju Noyan, on his behalf.¹⁶

The arrogance of not respecting Mongol protocol and treating them equally irrigated the Mongols greatly. In addition to refusing to give gifts, Ascelin of Lombardy and his companions had further conflicts with the Mongols. They were at odds in relation to the issue of showing reverence to the Mongol lord by kneeling, the method of adoration, while Ascelin of Lombardy also refused to present himself at the imperial court of the great khan in the East. In the end, predictably, they were not granted an audience by the Mongol general Baiju, and their own lives were barely spared, partly thanks to the persuasion of one of the wives of Baiju.¹⁷

Then what factors contributed to these two entirely different results? First, it can be fairly argued that the routes these two papal envoys took and the intelligence they obtained en route mattered. Carpini crossed the lands of Central and Eastern Europe, whose countries after the Mongol invasions in the 1230s and 1240s had already had some diplomatic contact with the Mongols. The key informer of Carpini was "Lord Vasilko, duke of Russia", who we know is Vasilko Romanovich. prince of Volhynia, the younger brother of Daniel of Galicia. The Romanovich brothers had had very close and complicated relations with the Polish and Hungarian kings and dukes since their early life in exile during childhood.¹⁸ The appearance of Vasilko at the court of Duke Konrad of Masovia in 1245 might have had something to do with the recently defeated campaign of Rostislav Mikhailovich, who attempted to conquer Halych with support from Béla IV of Hungary and Bolesław V the Chaste.¹⁹ It may also possibly have been related to the Mongols, since it was in the same year that a Mongol envoy arrived at the camp of Daniel of Galicia and urged him to go to Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, to submit to the Mongols.²⁰ It would have been necessary for the princes of Galicia–Volhynia to inform their Polish allies of their decision. Daniel of Galicia accepted the ultimatum and had a very interesting story of an encounter at the court of Batu. As for Carpini, he was

¹⁶ Simon of Saint-Quentin, "History of the Tartars," chap. 32:41.

¹⁷ Simon of Saint-Quentin, chap. 32:44.

¹⁸ On the relations of the Rus' Principality of Galicia-Volhynia and beyond with its western neighboring countries, see Márta Font, "Ungarn, Polen und Halic-Volhynien im 13. Jh.," *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 38.1–2 (1993), pp. 27–39; Márta Font, "Prince Rostislav in the Court of Béla IV," *Russian History* 44 (2017), pp. 486–504.

¹⁹ George A Perfecky, trans., *The Hypatian Codex, Part II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973), pp. 55–57.

²⁰ Perfecky, The Hypatian Codex, p. 57.

lucky enough to meet Vasilko and obtained very first-hand intelligence about the Mongols from him.

The ecclesiastical network also functioned well in the region of Central and Eastern Europe, which had been incorporated into Latin Christendom since the eleventh century. We know that in Breslau a monk named Benedict the Pole joined Carpini and acted as his interpreter of the Old East Slavic language. Christopher Dawson even suggests that these Christian princes of Eastern Europe were first and foremost Benedict's contacts, although Stephen of Bohemia, another companion of Carpini who set out from Lyon with him, yet stopped at Kiev due to illness, may likewise have played a role.²¹ The text quoted above also shows that the bishop of Cracow partly sponsored Carpini's journey onwards by giving him a lot of precious gifts.²²

Another convenience Carpini enjoyed was the network among Central and Eastern European dynasties which facilitated the travels of Carpini from one court to another. Besides the above-mentioned connection of the Romanovich brothers to Duke Konrad of Masovia, family connections existed among these kings and dukes. Carpini might have been wrong to indicate that Bolesław V the Chaste was the nephew of Wenceslaus I of Bohemia, yet Duke Konrad of Masovia was indeed the paternal uncle of Bolesław V the Chaste. These dynastic connections acted as network of patronage for Carpini, who could expect warm receptions and useful help in these courts. In fact, such networks were crucial for long-distance travelers in the medieval Eurasian world. An interesting parallel can be found in Eastern Eurasia in the seventh century. Xuanzang玄奘, a Chinese Buddhist monk who was on a pilgrimage to India, received similar assistance during his stay in Gaochang 高昌, present-day Turpan. Although Xuanzang was not an official envoy sent by Tang China, the local ruler Wentai Ju鞠文泰 treated him with rather high regard and gave him enough gifts to cover his travelling expenses for twenty years. More importantly, Wentai Ju sent his own envoy to introduce Xuanzang to the Western Turkic khan, who then held hegemonic control over Inner Asian countries, and gave Xuanzang twenty-four letters with silken textiles as gifts addressed to the rulers of the countries Xuanzang might travel through. It was under the latter's patronage that Xuanzang finally arrived safely to India.²³

As for Ascelin of Lombardy, Gregory G. Guzman has carefully reconstructed his travel routes in the Middle East. According to Guzman, Ascelin and his companions

²¹ Christopher Dawson, trans., *The Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. xv.

²² John of Plano Carpini, "History of the Mongols," p. 51.

²³ See Xinjiang Rong榮新江, "高昌王國與中西交通 [The kingdom of Gaochang and the Sino-western communications]," International Journal of Eurasian Studies 歐亞學刊 2 (2000), pp. 73-84.

first disembarked at Acre, then headed for central Turkey, and passed through the city of Sebaste, then stopped at Tiflis, and finally arrived at the camp of Baiju in the territory of Sitens.²⁴At that time, the mendicant orders had already established several posts in the Middle East (since the early thirteenth century). In terms of the Dominicans, their Holy Land Province was established in 1228.²⁵ Presumably, Ascelin could have received some help from his brothers there. What we know now is that in Tiflis he was joined by Guichardus of Cremona, who had been living there for seven years. Guichardus must have been a very important source of information for Ascelin, since later he reminded Ascelin that genuflecting to the Mongol lords was not a form of idolatry; rather, it was customary for envoys to show reverence, although Ascelin in the end did not follow his advice.²⁶ Thus how can we interpret the noncompliance of Ascelin in the Mongol court? Guzman has suggested that it concerns Ascelin's personality, lacking in strategy and diplomacv.²⁷ In a recent article, Jacques Paviot proposed that Ascelin precisely understood the potential meaning of submission through gifts, and deliberately refused to perform the genuflection and prepare gifts. ²⁸ Both arguments have their merits. As it is well known, Latin Christians could only genuflect in front of the pope or the kings, any other cases might be condemned as idolatry. Ascelin had a reason to convince himself to behave as a devout Christian if he ignored his new identity as the pope's envoy. Concerning the gifts, it would be relevant here to retrospect briefly the attitude of the mendicants towards properties and poverty.²⁹ A great change of the religious life in thirteenth-century Europe is the rising of the mendicant orders, with the Franciscan and Dominican as their representatives. Central to their new way of life is the idea of voluntary poverty, and these mendicants did not own their personal properties. Therefore, it can easily be understood that mendicants like Carpini and Ascelin themselves could not afford to buy gifts for the Mongols. However, it does not mean that they could figure it out in another way.

²⁴ Gregory G. Guzman, "Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongol Baiju: A Reappraisal," in *The Spiritual Expansion of Medieval Latin Christendom: The Asian Missions*, ed. James D. Ryan (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 232–249.

²⁵ Rita George-Tvrtkovic, A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo Da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 11–13.

²⁶ Simon of Saint-Quentin, "History of the Tartars," chap. 32:42.

²⁷ Guzman, "Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongol Baiju: A Reappraisal," p. 249.

²⁸ Jacques Paviot, "The Mendicant Friars: Actors in Diplomatic Encounters with the Mongols," in *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy*, ed. Maurits Ebben and Louis Sicking (Leiden: Brill, 2021), p. 133.

²⁹ More on this topic see Ron Baxter, Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages (Stroud; London: Sutton; Courtauld Institute, 1998). and the articles in Constant J. Mews and Anna Welch, eds., Poverty and Devotion in Mendicant Cultures 1200-1450 (London: Routledge, 2016). I would like to thank Dr. Dorottya Uhrin for drawing my attention to this issue.

When Carpini learned of the gift-giving protocols, he readily accepted the donations of the Polish lords and prepared gifts for the Mongol rulers. Following the Rule of St Francis can only explain why the mendicants were not willing to accept precious gifts from the Mongol rulers, rather vice versa.

My own proposal is that, compared to Daniel of Galicia and other Eastern European princes Carpini had come across, the Mendicant monks in the Middle East were not in a position to access details about diplomacy with the Mongols, at least at a high level. It is highly likely that they did not perfectly well understand the place of gifts in the general Mongol diplomatic protocol. Moreover, Ascelin might have underestimated the importance of the information provided by Guichardus of Cremona, just as his arrogance in denying the Mongol protocols almost cost him his own life at the Mongol court. We could approach this personality of Ascelin from another perspective. Concerning the goals of Ascelin, he stated several times that he was commanded to deliver the letter of the pope to the first Mongol army he could find, and to meet the great khan personally in the East was not his obligation. ³⁰ This assertion may be questioned. We do not have the original letter delivered by Ascelin, yet the two letters carried by Lawrence of Portugal and Carpini do exist, which were clearly addressed to the emperor of the Mongols and had the dual purpose of achieving conversion and gathering intelligence.³¹ It may not be unreasonable to argue that Ascelin had the same tasks, since the envoys were dispatched at the same time. It is hard to imagine that there would be a better way to fulfill these goals than entering into the heartland of the Mongols and meeting their highest ruler. Circumstantial evidence can also be found in the biography of Innocent IV, authored by the Italian Franciscans and bishop of Assisi, Nicholas of Calvi (?-1273). In the text related to the Eastern missionaries sent by Innocent IV, Calvi commented that although many of the former had attempted to reach the Mongol emperor, only Carpini had succeeded since the distance was too far, the emperor was at the extreme end of his army, and the army itself stretched an endless length.³² It seems that Ascelin was among the few who did not try.

³⁰ Simon of Saint-Quentin, "History of the Tartars," chap. 32:46.

³¹ See Christopher Dawson, trans., "Two Bulls of Pope Innocent IV Addressed to the Emperor of the Tartars," in *The Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1955), pp. 273–76.

³² Niccolò da Calvi, "Vita Innocentii IV," in Archivio della Società romana di storia patria, ed. F. Pagnotti, vol. 21 (Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1898), 92. "Hic solus ad ipsorum regem pervenit, cum plurimi hoc temptassent, nec unquam ipsum actingere potuissent, et propter ipsius distantiam, qui erat in ultima parte sui exercitus constitutus, qui quidem exercitus in longum nimium tendebatur." Also see Paul Pelliot, "Les Mongols et la papaute, II," Revue de l'Orient Chrétien 24 (1924), pp. 270–71.

Should the Papal Envoys Bring Gifts for the Mongol Emperors?

A further question is if Ascelin of Lombardy claimed the pope would not prepare gifts for the Mongols since they were pagans—then should the papal envoys have brought gifts for the Mongol great khan and lords? Can Ascelin's declaration really be justified if we examine it in light of knowledge about the practice of papal diplomacy and proselytism with pagan rulers during the previous and following periods? I have not thoroughly investigated this topic, but some sporadic but illuminating cases I have come across show that gifts played a role in these transcultural contacts on the periphery of Latin Christendom. In the fifth century, the Catholic missionary Maewyn Succat, later known as Saint Patrick, sometimes made his proselytizing easier by giving gifts to the local Irish chiefs.³³ In 1120s, Otto of Bamberg, a German bishop of Bamberg, carried lots of gifts during his missionary work among the Pomeranians, which contributed to his peaceful and successful work. The gift package he presented to the duke of Pomerania was recorded by the contemporary sources: a walking stick was among the gifts.³⁴ In the early thirteenth century in the Baltic region, a Livonian leader, Caupo of Turaida, was given generous gifts by Pope Innocent III—and this gift-giving strategy worked so well that Caupo became a faithful Christian and reliable ally in that region.³⁵

Moreover, it is much more assured that in the following period both the pope and secular rulers of Western Europe recognized the importance of gifts and even used them to approach the Mongol rulers. In these encounters, some of these were religious gifts that possessed distinctive transcultural features. ³⁶ The latter gifts included the Bible, a cross, and a tent-chapel in their material forms. The most

³³ J. B. Bury, St. Patrick: The Life and World of Ireland's Saint (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010), pp. 139– 140. Also see the article in Hungarian by Mónika Belucz, "Szent Patrik térítőútjának anyagi háttere: Ajándékozás az 5. századi Írországban [The financial background of Saint Patrick's mission: gift-giving in fifth-century Ireland]," in Magister historiae: Válogatott tanulmányok a 2012-ben és 2013-ban megrendezett középkorral foglalkozó, mesterszakos hallgatói konferenciák előadásaiból, ed. Belucz Mónika et al. (Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2014), pp. 13–30. I am grateful to Dr. Dorottya Uhrin for this last cited reference.

³⁴ Ebo and Herbordus, *The Life of Otto, Apostle of Pomerania, 1060-1139*, trans. Charles Henry Robinson (New York: Macmillan, 1920), p. 40. See also Robert Bartlett, "The Conversion of a Pagan Society in the Middle Ages," *History* 70.229 (1985), pp. 185–201.

³⁵ Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, "Riga and Rome: Henry of Livonia and the Papal Curia," in *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, and Carsten Selch Jensen (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 215–216.

³⁶ Religious gifts and Islamic items in this context much more frequently appeared in the gift packages of the Western Mongols Khanates with their Islamic peers (mainly Mamuluk Egypt) after their own conversion to Islam, the Ilkhanate in 1295, the Golden Horde, and Chagatai Khanate in the next decades.

well-known gift package of such a type was sent by Louis IX to the Mongol rulers in 1250, which comprised a lavishly ornamented portable chapel and many other religious itemsand through the hands of the Dominican missionary Andrew of Longjumeau, the tent-chapel came to Oghul Qaimish, the widow of Güyük Khan).³⁷ It is arguable that, three years later, William of Rubruck saw it again near Karakorum.³⁸ In a letter written to Louis IX in 1262, Hülegü likewise referred to a special chapel.³⁹ Some scholars disagree with this interpretation of its provenance. According to Marianna Shreve Simpson, Louis IX's gifts were presented not to Güyük but to his widow Oghul Qaimish, then serving as regent after the death of Güyük, and may not have been passed on to Güyük's successor, Möngke. It seems unlikely that the chapel in the court of Möngke was "the" one sent by Louis IX.⁴⁰

William of Rubruck, who acted as the envoy of the French King Louis IX to the Mongols in 1250s, took a lot of objects with him during his journey. Some of them were originally intended to be offered as gifts, and some others were not, but ended up as gifts.⁴¹ Among them were many books, including a Bible presented as gift from Louis IX of France, and a beautifully illuminated psalter from his queen. The psalter had a very interesting afterlife. When Rubruck arrived at the camp of Sartaq, the son of Batu, in July of 1253, these Christian objects interested Sartaq, who himself was a Christian. Upon the former's departure for Batu's headquarters, Rubruck was forced to leave many belongings behind, the psalter among them.⁴² One year later, during the return journey, Rubruck came to Sartaq again and claimed back most of his belongings, except for the Queen's psalter, which Sartaq was very much taken with. Rubruck decided to give it as a gift to Sartaq.⁴³ A similar scene was repeated decades later. Marco Polo mentions that in 1266 Kublai Khan asked the two brothers Niccolò and Maffeo Polo to bring holy oil from the lamp at Jesus's tomb in Jerusalem for him (for Kublai's mother Sorghaghtani

³⁷ Jean de Joinville, *The History of Saint Louis*, trans. Joan Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 40; p. 142.

^{38 [}William of Rubruck] Guillelmus de Rubruquis, The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255, trans. Peter Jackson (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990), pp. 173–174.

³⁹ Paul Meyvaert, "An Unknown Letter of Hülegü II-Khan of Persia to King Louis IX," Viator 11 (1980), p. 257.

⁴⁰ Simpson, "Manuscripts and Mongols: Some Documented and Speculative Moments in East-West/Muslim-Christian Relations," pp. 361–367.

⁴¹ For a recent interesting study on these Christian objects, see Jana Valtrová, "Christian Material Culture and the Mongols: The Case of William of Rubruck," *Eurasian Studies* 17 (2019), pp. 228–43..

^{42 [}William of Rubruck] Guillelmus de Rubruquis, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck*, pp. 117–18.

^{43 [}William of Rubruck] Guillelmus de Rubruquis, p. 258.

was a Christian), and the great khan rejoiced very much over this gift when he finally received it in 1274.⁴⁴

Such gift exchanges also took place during the mission of Rabban Sauma in the 1280s. Sauma, perhaps the most famous Mongol envoy in Europe, was sent to Europe by the Ilkhan Arghun with the mission of negotiating a potential alliance against the Mamluk Egypt. There, he was granted an audience by the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus, Pope Nicholas IV, King Philip the Fair of France, and King Edward I of England. The Nestorian monk brought precious gifts provided by the Ilkhan Arghun and Yahballaha III, his former student and then the patriarch of the Church of the East for the Latin rulers. Arghun prepared gifts for the Byzantine emperor, the king of France, and the king of England, while Yahballaha III presented suitable gifts for the Roman pope. The content of the gift package was unfortunately not recorded in the text.⁴⁵ Sauma and his Mongol lords also received gifts in return. The most symbolic of these were the relics given by Pope Nicholas IV to Patriarch Yahballaha III, which included a small piece of the apparel of the Lord Christ, a piece of the kerchief of Lady Mary, and some small fragments of the saints buried in Rome.⁴⁶

A famous later example is the horse sent by Pope Benedict XII to Khanbaliq in 1342, taken to China by the Franciscan John of Marignolli.⁴⁷ The mission was a continuation of century-long communications between the Mongol great khans and popes, yet the direct impetus was the occasion of the return visit of envoys sent by the Yuan emperor Toghon. Temür arrived in Avignon in 1338 to ask the pope to send a new archbishop for the catholic archdiocese of Khanbaliq. This archdiocese had previously been established by Pope Clement VI in 1307 with the Franciscan John of Montecorvino as its first archbishop, yet Montecorvino passed away in 1328 and the position had remained vacant since then.⁴⁸ Pope Benedict

⁴⁴ Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. L. F. Benedetto, trans. Aldo Ricci (London: Routledge, 1931), pp. 7–12.

⁴⁵ E. A. Wallis Budge, trans., *The Monk of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1928), p. 166.

⁴⁶ Budge, The Monk, p. 195–196.

⁴⁷ On the mission of John of Marignolli and the gift of a horse, see Paul Pelliot, "Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient," *T'oung Pao* 15 (1914), pp. 623–644; Franke Herbert, "Das 'himmlische Pferd' des Johann von Marignola," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 50 (1968), pp. 33–40. On the way to Khanbaliq, Marignolli was stationed at the court of Jochid Khan Uzbeg; see Denis Sinor, "Some Latin Sources on the Khanate of Uzbek," in *Essays on Uzbek History, Culture, and Language*, ed. Bakhtiyar A. Nazarov and Denis Sinor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 110AD), pp. 110–119. On the late life of Marignolli after the mission, see Irene Malfatto, "John of Marignolli and the Historiographical Project of Charles IV," *Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 15 (2017), pp. 131–140.

⁴⁸ See A. C. Moule, Christians in China before the Year 1550 (London: Society for Promoting

XII readily prepared letters and gifts and appointed his legates; John of Marignolli was one of them. Marignolli and his companions arrived in Khanbaliq in 1342 and Toghon Temür welcomed them warmly. The emperor rejoiced greatly when he saw the horses they had brought for him. According to *Yuan Shi*, one of the horses was very special, being 11 feet 6 inches in length, and 6 feet 8 inches high, with a skin color of pure black, and two white hind hooves.⁴⁹

Marignolli and his companions were quite well treated at the imperial court, as the former narrates, "with the greatest honor."⁵⁰ The great khan accommodated Marignolli and his companions in one of his imperial apartments, sent servants from his court to wait upon them, and additionally, two princes were appointed to take care of their needs. Not only was meat and drink provided endlessly as they wished, but also Chinese paper. Marignolli and his companions enjoyed this bountiful treatment for nearly four years until they set out on their return journey.⁵¹ The horse also enjoyed a shining afterlife. Toghon Temür ordered his courtiers and court painters to immortalize it in their work.⁵² Obviously, the horse was very well received by the Yuan emperor due to its symbolic meaning of compliance and submission, which was nevertheless not the intention of the gift givers.

Conclusion

In sum, based on the case studies of John of Plano Carpini and Ascelin of Lombardy, as well as the social life of the famous gifts such as a tent-chapel and horse from the West, we can fairly argue that traditional scholarship that stresses the avarice and excess of the Mongols in demanding gifts should also be reconsidered. Gift-giving in the context of diplomatic contact was more or less a Eurasian phenomenon, which the Roman papacy likewise practiced, even with pagans. The Mongol

Christian Knowledge, 1930), pp. 252–264. The letters written by John of Montecorvino during his tenure were published in Anastasius van den Wyngaert and John of Montecorvino, "Epistolae," in *Sinica Franciscana, vol. 1: Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Florence: Collegium Sancti Bonaventurae, 1929), pp. 335–355. English translations in Henry Yule, trans., *Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, vol. 3 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1914), pp. 3–27.

⁴⁹ Song Lian 朱濂 and Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, eds., Yuanshi 元史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), p. 865.

⁵⁰ John of Marignolli, "John de' Marignolli's Recollections of Eastern Travel," in *In Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*, ed. and trans. Henry Yule, vol. 3 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1914), p. 214.

⁵¹ John of Marignolli, "John de' Marignolli's Recollections," pp. 214–215.

⁵² Herbert Franke translated one of these poems into German, see Herbert, "Das 'himmlische Pferd' des Johann von Marignola," pp. 37–38.

imperial court had a protocol involving the reception of envoys and their gifts, which during the latter period was also recognized by Western secular and spiritual rulers such as French King Louis IX and Pope Benedict XII. The transformation to a much more positive strategy of gift-giving can be identified in Western diplomatic policy towards the Mongols in the following periods. Pleasing and well-prepared gifts were certainly able to smooth the contact between the Western envoys and the Mongols, no different to such exchanges in our contemporary society. The symbolic meanings of gifts, however, may have been understood differently by the two parties, which from my perspective is part of the symbolic competition in Mongol Eurasia—an area of competition other than military conflict.

Bibliography

- Bartlett, Robert. "The Conversion of a Pagan Society in the Middle Ages." *History* 70.229 (1985), pp. 185–201.
- Baxter, Ron. *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*. Stroud; London: Sutton; Courtauld Institute, 1998.
- Belucz, Mónika. "Szent Patrik térítőútjának anyagi háttere: Ajándékozás az 5. századi Írországban [The financial background of Saint Patrick's mission: gift-giving in fifth-century Ireland]." In Magister historiae: Válogatott tanulmányok a 2012ben és 2013-ban megrendezett középkorral foglalkozó, mesterszakos hallgatói konferenciák előadásaiból, edited by Belucz Mónika, Judit Gál, István Kádas, and Eszter Tarján, 13–30. Budapest: ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, 2014.
- Braun, Mathias. "Missionary Problems in the Thirteenth Century: A Study in Missionary Preparation." *Catholic Historical Review* 25.2 (1939), pp. 146–159.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis, trans. *The Monk of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1928.
- Bury, J. B. St. Patrick: The Life and World of Ireland's Saint. London: I.B.Tauris, 2010.
- Dawson, Christopher, trans. *The Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*. London: Sheed and Ward, 1955.
- Dawson, Christopher, trans. "Two Bulls of Pope Innocent IV Addressed to the Emperor of the Tartars." In *The Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the*

Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, 73–76. London: Sheed and Ward, 1955.

- Duque, Adriano. "Gift Giving in the Carpini Expedition to Mongolia, 1246-1248." In *Remapping Travel Narratives, 1000-1700: To the East and Back Again*, edited by Montserrat Piera, 187–200. Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018.
- Ebo, and Herbordus. *The Life of Otto, Apostle of Pomerania, 1060-1139*. Translated by Charles Henry Robinson. New York: Macmillan, 1920.
- Fonnesberg-Schmidt, Iben. "Riga and Rome: Henry of Livonia and the Papal Curia." In Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia, edited by Marek Tamm, Linda Kaljundi, and Carsten Selch Jensen, 209–227. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Font, Márta. "Prince Rostislav in the Court of Béla IV." *Russian History* 44 (2017): 486–504.
- ———. "Ungarn, Polen und Halic-Volhynien im 13. Jh." *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 38.1–2 (1993), pp. 27–39.
- Garnier, Claudia. "Gabe, Macht und Ehre: Zu Formen und Funktionen des Gabentauschs in den Beziehungen zwischen Mongolen und Europäern im 13. Jahrhundert." Jahrbücher fur Geschichte Osteuropas 63 (2015), pp. 47–68.
- George-Tvrtkovic, Rita. A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq: Riccoldo Da Montecroce's Encounter with Islam. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012.
- Guzman, Gregory G. "Simon of Saint-Quentin and the Dominican Mission to the Mongol Baiju: A Reappraisal." In *The Spiritual Expansion of Medieval Latin Christendom: The Asian Missions*, edited by James D. Ryan, 131–48. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Heng, Geraldine. *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Herbert, Franke. "Das 'himmlische Pferd' des Johann von Marignola." Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 50 (1968), pp. 33–40.
- Jackson, Peter. "The Testimony of the Russian 'Archbishop' Peter Concerning the Mongols (1244/5): Precious Intelligence or Timely Disinformation?" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 26.1–2 (2016), pp. 65–77.
- Jean de Joinville. *The History of Saint Louis*. Translated by Joan Evans. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938.
- John of Marignolli. "John de' Marignolli's Recollections of Eastern Travel." In In Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China,

edited and translated by Henry Yule, 3:177–269. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1914.

- John of Plano Carpini. "History of the Mongols." In *The Mission to Asia: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, translated by Christopher Dawson, 3–72. London: Sheed and Ward, 1955.
- — "Ystoria Mongalorum." In Sinica Franciscana, vol. 1: Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV, edited by A. Van den Wyngaert, 27–130. Florence: Collegium Sancti Bonaventurae, 1929.
- John of Plano Carpini [Johannes von Plano Carpini]. *Kunde von den Mongolen, 1245–1247*. Translated by Felicitas Schmieder. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1997.
- Malfatto, Irene. "John of Marignolli and the Historiographical Project of Charles IV." Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis 15 (2017), pp. 131–40.
- Mews, Constant J., and Anna Welch, eds. *Poverty and Devotion in Mendicant Cultures 1200-1450*. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Meyvaert, Paul. "An Unknown Letter of Hülegü II-Khan of Persia to King Louis IX." *Viator* 11 (1980), pp. 245–261.
- Moule, A. C. *Christians in China before the Year 1550*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930.
- Niccolò da Calvi. "Vita Innocentii IV." In *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, edited by F. Pagnotti, 21:7–120. Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana, 1898.
- Ning, Ya. "The Reception and Management of Gifts in the Imperial Court of the Mongol Great Khan, from the Early Thirteenth Century to 1368." M.A. thes., Central European University, 2020.
- ———. "The Repository and Distribution of Gifts in the Imperial Court of the Mongol Great Khan in the Early Thirteenth Century." Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU 27 (2021), pp. 52–64.
- Paviot, Jacques. "The Mendicant Friars: Actors in Diplomatic Encounters with the Mongols." In *Beyond Ambassadors: Consuls, Missionaries, and Spies in Premodern Diplomacy*, edited by Maurits Ebben and Louis Sicking, 119–136. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- Pelliot, Paul. "Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient." *T'oung Pao* 15 (1914), pp. 623–644.

- ———. "Les Mongols et la papaute, II." Revue de l'Orient Chrétien 24 (1924), pp. 225–335.
- Perfecky, George A, trans. *The Hypatian Codex, Part II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1973.
- Polo, Marco. *The Travels of Marco Polo*. Edited by L. F. Benedetto. Translated by Aldo Ricci. London: Routledge, 1931.
- Qiu, Yihao. "Gift-Exchange in Diplomatic Practices during the Early Mongol Period." *Eurasian Studies* 17 (2019), pp. 202–227.
- Richard, Jean, ed. Au-delà e la Perse et de l'Arménie: L'Orient latin et la découverte de l'Asie intérieure; Quelques textes inégalement connus aux origines de l'alliance entre Francs et Mongols (1145–1262). Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.
- Rong, Xinjiang 榮新江. "高昌王國與中西交通 [The kingdom of Gaochang and the Sino-western communications]." *International Journal of Eurasian Studies* 歐亞 學刊 2 (2000), pp. 73–84.
- Ruotsala, Antti. *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other*. Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Sciences, 2001.
- Sardelić, Mirko. "John of Plano Carpini vs Simon of Saint-Quentin: 13th–Century Emotions in the Eurasian Steppe." *Golden Horde Review* 5.3 (2017), pp. 494–508.
- Schmieder, Felicitas. *Europa und die Fremden: die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert.* Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 16. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994.
- Simon of Saint-Quentin. *Histoire des Tartares*. Translated by Jean Richard. DRHC 8. Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1965.
- ———. "History of the Tartars." Translated by Stephen Pow, Tamás Kiss, Anna Romsics, and Flora Ghazaryan. Accessed December 15, 2020. www.simonofstquentin.org.
- Simpson, Marianna Shreve. "Manuscripts and Mongols: Some Documented and Speculative Moments in East-West/Muslim-Christian Relations." *French Historical Studies* 30.3 (2007), pp. 351–394.
- Sinor, Denis. "Some Latin Sources on the Khanate of Uzbek." In *Essays on Uzbek History, Culture, and Language*, edited by Bakhtiyar A. Nazarov and Denis Sinor. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 110AD.

———. Studies in Medieval Inner Asia. London: Ashgate, 1997.

- ———. "The Greed of the Northern Barbarian." In Aspects of Altaic Civilization II. Proceedings of the XVIII PIAC, Bloomington, June 29 – July 5. 1975, edited by Larry V. Clark and Paul Alexander Draghi, 134:171–182. Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Publications, 1978.
- Song Lian 宋濂 and Yang Jialuo 楊家駱, eds. Yuanshi 元史. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976.
- Valtrová, Jana. "Christian Material Culture and the Mongols: The Case of William of Rubruck." *Eurasian Studies* 17 (2019), pp. 228–243.
- Watson, A. J. "Mongol Inhospitality, or How to Do More with Less? Gift Giving in William of Rubruck's Itinerarium." *Journal of Medieval History* 37.1 (2011), pp. 90–101.
- [William of Rubruck] Guillelmus de Rubruquis. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253–1255*. Translated by Peter Jackson. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990.
- Wyngaert, Anastasius van den, and John of Montecorvino. "Epistolae." In *Sinica Franciscana, vol. 1: Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum saeculi XIII et XIV*, 335–55. Florence: Collegium Sancti Bonaventurae, 1929.
- Yule, Henry, trans. *Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China*. Vol. 3. London: Hakluyt Society, 1914.

Sources on the Mongol Invasion of the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1241¹

The Mongol invasion of Central Europe in 1241–1242 has been investigated thoroughly from many points of view, but many aspects remain problematic, such as the nature of the Mongol presence in Moravia (part of the Kingdom of Bohemia) in the spring of 1241. This event is even more complicated because of the existence of forged documents from the nineteenth-century such as the poem *Jaroslav* (supposedly from the thirteenth century, but in fact forged at the beginning of the nineteenth century) and never existing charters published in 1841 by Antonín Boček.² The problem is—and this is also one of the reasons why Boček created his forgeries—that very few authentic documents shed light on the events of the Mongol 'invasion' of Moravia in 1241. These forgeries, as well as other myths about this event, have been dealt with in other studies; this paper, however, investigates the nature of the authentic sources that describe the Mongol activities in Moravia in 1241.

Let us take a closer look at the sources on the Mongol invasion of Moravia first at the charters. These documents (in the Kingdom of Bohemia in the thirteenth century always made of parchment) were issued to secure legally binding acts—typically contracts, resolutions of disputes, mandates, etc. Most of the thirteenth-century charters contain the name of the issuer and the date and place of issue, among other information (typically also a list of witnesses, etc.). Royal charters therefore represent the most important source for mapping the itineraries of medieval kings (especially since the High Middle Ages). It would be useful to know the whereabouts of the king of Bohemia, Wenceslaus I (r. 1230–53), at the time of the Mongol invasion of Poland and Hungary, but unfortunately this is not possible.

¹ This study is based on research conducted for the project FPVC2018/13 supported with a grant from the Palacký University in Olomouc, Faculty of Arts from the Fond pro podporu vědecké činnosti.

² Tomáš Somer, "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241," Golden Horde Review 6.2 (2018), pp. 246–248; Tomáš Somer, "The Bohemian Kingdom and the Mongol 'Invasion' of 1241," in The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala (Oxford – New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 119–133.

Even though the number of charters issued in the Kingdom of Bohemia rose rather exponentially after the beginning of the thirteenth century, there is only a very limited number of royal charters from the 1240s. Wenceslaus I issued 160 surviving documents altogether,³ but only five of them in 1241.⁴ Only two of those charters bear a date (the rest only mark the year); another one is very dubious, and none of them deal directly with the Mongol invasion. Out of the two charters with a date, only one is relevant for our survey—the one issued on 7 May 1241 at Königstein (the other bears the date 19 October 1241). Königstein is a castle on the river Labe (Elbe in German) a few kilometres east of Dresden, and at the time was part of the Kingdom of Bohemia. The charter itself deals with the delimitation of borders between the Záhvozd and Budyšín regions (Zagost and Bautzen in German), which were fixed some years earlier during the reign of Ottokar I (d. 1230). The charter is preserved in four copies (two of them have slightly different invocation and intitulation) and one copy was clearly written by someone from the royal office so there is no doubt that this document is authentic.⁵

Apart from the royal itinerary, the charters can also provide information, in retrospect, about the damage inflicted by the marauding Mongol troops in Moravia. We can learn about events such as when a ruler (the margrave of Moravia, who was also a subject of the king of Bohemia) granted his subjects (typically a city or a monastery) some privileges based upon the damage inflicted by the Mongols. In this case, however, only one such charter exists. It was issued on 3 May 1247 by Wenceslaus's son Ottokar (the future King Ottokar II), who was the margrave of Moravia at that time.⁶ Ottokar granted the city of Opava (Troppau in German) economic privileges (namely, the right to hold an annual fair) based upon the (non-specified) destruction of the region by marauding Mongol forces. Even though some historians had doubts about the authenticity of this charter, it is clearly not a nineteenth-century forgery since it was confirmed by Charles VI in 1732. The charter might have been altered slightly in the Middle Ages though.⁷

³ Jindřich Šebánek and Saša Dušková, eds., *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae*, Vol. 4.1 (Prague: Československé Akademie Věd, 1962), p. 11.

⁴ Šebánek and Dušková, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae*, 4.1:59–64 (no. 4), 67–69 (no. 8), 69–70 (no. 9), 70–71 (no. 10), 71–72 (no. 11).

⁵ Šebánek and Dušková, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae, 4.1:59–64 (no. 4). For the analysis of the documents see Sáša Dušková, "Počátky kanceláře Václava I." [The beginnings of the royal office of Wenceslaus I], Rozpravy Československé akademie věd—řada společenských věd 69.9 (1959), p. 62. All of the charters are in Dresden in Sächsisches Staatsarchiv, 10001 Ältere Urkunden, Nr. 366a–d.

⁶ Šebánek and Dušková, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae*, 4.1:201–203 (no. 108). Original parchment charter in Zemský archiv v Opavě [Land Archive in Opava], AM Opava fonds, no. 1.

⁷ Berthold Bretholz, "Die Tataren in Mähren und die moderne mährische Urkundenfälschung," Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens 1.1 (1897), p. 18, p. 22; Šebánek and Dušková, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae, 4.1:202.

Berthold Bretholz voiced his doubt about the former at the end of the nineteenth century while investigating the real forgeries by Antonín Boček, since all of them followed the pattern of the authentic charter from 1247—in all of them the ruler seemingly granted economic privileges to cities and monasteries because of the previous Mongol destruction.

Charters yield only very limited information about the Mongol invasion of Moravia. We can only assess that on 7 May 1241 Wenceslaus I was in the westernmost part of his kingdom in Königstein and also that the surroundings of Opava (Troppau), which was (and still is) very close to the borders of Poland, were damaged by the Mongols. The damage to the Opava region probably occurred when the Mongol army entered Moravia around mid-April 1241 or maybe even earlier when Mongols were plundering Silesia.

Apart from the charters, there is also another type of medieval source-letters. There are no original letters about the Mongols and the Kingdom of Bohemia but copies of them can be found in various collections. This makes this type of source (and the information it provides) rather problematic since the letters could be (and very often were) altered in the process of copying, or even extrapolating. Those letters were written (or rather dictated) by rulers such as Wenceslaus I himself or clergymen such as brother Jordanes, a high-ranking Dominican, and Albert Behaim and others. The best-known collection of such letters is preserved in Chronica Majora by Matthew Paris.⁸ Many letters containing information from the king of Bohemia can be found in the collection of letters from the Ottobeuren monastery, which is covered in detail in a study by Matthew Coulter.⁹ All of the letters mentioning the Kingdom of Bohemia in any way are included in the fourth volume of the Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae (which is a modern critical edition of charters and letters concerning Bohemia and Moravia).¹⁰ Three of these letters contain some new pieces of information about the invasion. One of them is a letter of Wenceslaus I addressed to an unknown ruler (perhaps even Emperor Friedrich II), informing him that at the time of the Battle of Legnica (Liegnitz, 9 April 1241) he and his army were just two days' march away from the battlefield on their way to help Wenceslas's brother-in-law Henry II, who fought

⁸ Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, Vol. 4, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 57 (London: Longman, 1877), pp. 109–119; Matthew Paris, *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, Vol. 6, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 57 (London: Longman, 1882), pp. 76–84 (no. 47–51).

⁹ Matthew Coulter, "Patterns of Communication during the 1241 Mongol Invasion of Europe: Insights from the Ottobeuren Letter Collection," *Journal of Medieval History* forthcoming 48.4 (2022), pp. 496–523.

¹⁰ Šebánek and Dušková, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae*, 4.1:493–509 (no. 297–323).

there.¹¹ Another is from the above-mentioned brother Jordanes and a cleric from Prague who informed the duke of Brabant about the Mongol invasion of Poland and Hungary, mentioning also that the Mongols entered Moravia some time before the Feast of the Ascension (which was 9 May in 1241).¹² This letter is to be found in the additions of *Chronica Majora*, together with a letter from the abbot of St. Mary's Abbey in Hungary, who wrote on 4 January 1242, among other things, that the river Danube had frozen over at Christmas and that the Mongols had crossed the river and attacked Austria and Moravia.¹³ All the other letters only confirm that Mongols entered Moravia and that the king of Bohemia was ready to fight but was unable to directly confront the enemy.

We will now proceed to investigate what narrative sources (chronicles) can tell us about the Mongol invasion. Let us begin with Bohemian chronicles. The list is unfortunately very short. Strange as it might sound, there are actually more chronicles from the twelfth century as well as from the fourteenth than from the thirteenth century. This is not easy to explain, but at least some of the chronicles and annals written in the thirteenth century must have been lost. The only more or less contemporary testimony can be found in the so-called *Second Sequel to Cosmas*. The problem is that this chronicle is in fact a compilation from the end of the thirteenth century containing older (now non-existent) chronicles and annals—or, to be more precise, their extrapolations. Also problematic is the way this compilation was edited in 1874. The editor, Josef Emler, tried to reconstruct the extrapolated texts, which was not an ideal approach since we do not know how the compiler proceeded in his work.¹⁴ A more sensitive approach was adopted in 1974 when a modern Czech translation of the *Second Sequel to Cosmas* was published. The editors left the whole text of this compilation intact.¹⁵ The author of the part

¹¹ Šebánek and Dušková, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae, 4.1:499 (no. 307).

¹² Šebánek and Dušková, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae*, 4.1:500 (no. 308); Matthew Paris, *CM*, 1882, 6:83–84 (no. 51).

¹³ Šebánek and Dušková, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae, 4.1:507 (no. 320); Matthew Paris, CM, 1882, 6:78–80 (no. 48).

¹⁴ Josef Emler, ed., "Letopisy České od roku 1196 do roku 1278" [The Bohemian Annals from 1196–1278], in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, Vol. 2 (Prague: Museum Království českého, 1874), pp. 282–303.

¹⁵ Marie Bláhova, ed., "Druhé pokračování Kosmovy kroniky" [The Second sequel to Cosmas], in Pokračovatelé Kosmovi (Prague: Svoboda, 1974), pp. 75–190."language":"Czech","page":"75–190","publisher":"Svoboda","publisher-place":"Prague","title":"Druhé pokračování Kosmovy kroniky [The Second sequel to Cosmas]","title-short":"Druhé pokračování Kosmovy kroniky","editor":[{"family":"Bláhova","given":"Marie"}],"issued":{,,date-parts":[[,,1974"]]}},"locator":"75-190"}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"} About the chronicle, see Bláhova, "Druhé pokračování Kosmovy kroniky," pp. 5–39; Jana Nechutová, Latinská literatura české hostředově kudoroku 1400 [The Latin literature of the Czech Mid-

mentioning Mongols was most probably contemporary to the events; unfortunately, he was extremely brief (he most probably wrote annals). In about 1240 he only wrote that in Bohemia there was fear of the Tartars, and in about 1241 that the Tartars destroyed a lot of Christian kingdoms, shot dead Coloman, brother of the king of Hungary, depopulated all of his kingdom and killed the Polish duke, Henry (Henry II the Pious, T.S.). Not a mention is made about Mongols in Moravia. Concerning 1241 he only added that Vitus was elected the dean of the Prague church and that on 5 October there was a solar eclipse.¹⁶

Unfortunately, there is no other contemporary narrative source of Bohemian or Moravian origin on the issue. Yet there is still one more Bohemian source of later origin that could shed some light on the events of 1241. It is the rhymed Chronicle of the so-called Dalimil. This early fourteenth-century source is important because it is the very first chronicle (and one of the earliest surviving pieces of literature) in Czech. The author of the chronicle is unknown (his name was certainly not Dalimil, though), but he was clearly a nobleman with access to the royal court. It is also clear that this rhymed piece was meant to be recited (perhaps even with musical accompaniment) to a noble audience and as such was intended to provide both entertainment and education. This form of course excludes a detailed description of historical events. It is also clear that the author was educated, and he incorporated in his work information from older chronicles such as the early twelfth-century Chronica Boemorum by Cosmas. He might have also used some unpreserved texts as well as oral narration by the elders and thus have preserved otherwise unknown details about the Mongol invasion. The so-called Dalimil unfortunately confused the events of 1241 with the 1253 invasion of Béla IV (when Cumans served in his

dle Ages until 1400] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2000), pp. 78–83. "language": "Czech", "page": "75–190", "publisher": "Svoboda", "publisher-place": "Prague", "title": "Druhé pokračování Kosmovy kroniky [The Second sequel to Cosmas]", "title-short": "Druhé pokračování Kosmovy kroniky", "editor": [{"family": "Bláhova", "given": "Marie"}], "issued": {"date-parts": [["1974"]]}}, "locator": "5 -39"}, {"id": 5637, "uris": ["http://zotero.org/groups/4465130/items/D2GWVJ2W"], "itemData": {"id": 5637, "type": "book", "event-place": "Prague", "language": "Czech", "publisher": "Vyšehrad", "publisher-place": "Prague", "title": "Latinská literatura českého středověku do roku 1400 [The Latin literature of the Czech Middle Ages until 1400]", "title-short": "Latinská lite eratura českého středověku", "author": [{"family": "Nechutová", "given": "Jana"}], "issued": {"date-parts": [["2000"]]}}, "locator": "78-83"], "schema": "https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

¹⁶ Emler, "Letopisy České od roku 1196 do roku 1278," 285. To 1240: "Timor Tartarorum magnus irruit super Bohemos" to 1241 (the whole entry): "Pagani, qui Tatari dicuntur, multa regna christianorum destruxerunt; et Vitus decanus electust est in ecclesia Pragensi X Kal. Octobris. Hiidem Colmannum, fratrem regis Ungariae, sagittaverunt et Ungariam totam depopulaverunt, et Henricum, ducem Poloniae, in bello occiderunt cum exercitu eis in ipsa Polonia. III Nonas Octobris solis facta est post meridiem, ita ut putaretur crepusculum ab hominibus."

army) into Moravia. For instance, the siege of Olomouc that is part of the latter campaign is dated to 1241 by the so-called Dalimil.¹⁷

Apart from clear mistakes (like the one just described, or the mention of Henry the Bearded instead of Henry II the Pious), the so-called Dalimil also offers some interesting pieces of information. About one half of the chapter in question is a story about Mongol spies called the Kartasi (they supposedly asked for bread saying *"kartas bóh"*). These spies had distinctive clothes (high hats, short tunics, trousers legs, pouches, and long canes) and went all the way to the Rhine and back and then showed the way to the Mongol army. We can probably identify these Kartasi as Roma people but otherwise they remain rather mysterious.¹⁸ The chronicle also mentions that the Bohemians were afraid of the Tartar threat and were preparing for the invasion by building fortifications. After destroying Poland, the Mongols supposedly stopped near Kladsko (at that time part of the Bohemian kingdom, today Kłodzko in Poland). The king of Bohemia with his army set off from Žitava (then part of the Bohemian kingdom, today Zittau in Germany) to attack the Mongols but they were informed by their spies about the strength of the king of Bohemia and they preferred to flee.¹⁹

It is not easy to assess how much of this information is true. There are no other sources about the Kartasi people or the building of fortifications. On the other hand, some information can be at least partially corroborated. There is no other source about any Mongol activity at Kladsko but Polish sources mention that the Mongol army was operating near Otmuchów, which is only about 35 kilometres from Klads-ko.²⁰ Also, it was discussed earlier that Wenceslaus I was ready to help Henry II and was about two days away from him on 9 April. Žitava mentioned by the so-called

¹⁷ The *Chronicle of the so-called Dalimil* was very popular and was later translated into German and even Latin. There are lot of studies in Czech about this chronicle; see, for instance, Jan Lehár, *Nejstarší česká epika* [The oldest Czech epic] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1983), pp. 12–76.

¹⁸ Bartoloměj Daniel, Dějiny Romů: Vybrané kapitoly z dějin Romů v západní Evropě, v Českých zemích a na Slovensku [The history of the Roma people: Selected chapters of the history of the Roma people in Western Europe, in the Bohemian lands and in Slovakia] (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1994), 39–41; Bohuslav Horák, "Kartasi v Dalimilově kronice" [Kartasi in the chronicle of Dalimil], Sborník Československé společnosti zeměpisné 47 (1942), pp. 49–50.

¹⁹ Modern critical edition: Dalimil, Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila: vydání textu a veškerého textového materiálu [The old Czech Chronicle of the So-called Dalimil: Publication of the text and all textual material], ed. Jiří Daňhelka, Vol. 2 (Prague: Academia, 1988), pp. 313–326. There is also an older (but more accessible) edition: Josef Emler, ed., "Rýmovaná kronika česká [The rhymed Bohemian chronicle]," in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, Vol. 3 (Prague: Museum Království českého, 1882), pp. 171–74.

²⁰ Wilhelm Arndt, ed., "Annales Silesiaci compilati," in Annales aevi Suevici, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 19 (Hannover: Hahn, 1866), p. 540; Jan Długosz, Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Lib. 7-8, ed. Sofia Budkowa, Christina Pieradzka, and Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa (Warsaw: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe, 1975), pp. 24–25.

Dalimil is about 100 km from Legnica, which is a distance that could be covered in haste in two days. Žitava is also about 50 km from Königstein, where the king issued a charter on 7 May. Last, the fear of the Tartars was also mentioned before in the *Second Sequel to Cosmas*. The so-called Dalimil is quite an interesting source for the Mongol invasion, but great caution is needed when working with it since it is not contemporary and the information therein is sometimes clearly wrong.²¹

By analysing the account of the so-called Dalimil we have exhausted the more or less contemporary Bohemian and Moravian narrative sources about the Mongol invasion. As it is clear that sources of domestic origin only shed dim light on the events of 1241, we need to search elsewhere. Of utmost importance is the account of Master Rogerius, an educated Apulian cleric who built a career in the Kingdom of Hungary and was captured by the Mongols in spring of 1241 in Oradea (at the time part of the Kingdom of Hungary, now in present-day Romania). Rogerius managed to escape and soon after wrote a first-hand report about the invasion (*Epistola* magistri Rogerii or Carmen Miserabile).²² He understandably focuses on the events in the Kingdom of Hungary, but at one point he writes that the Mongol leader Peta (Latin for Baidar) plundered Poland, killed one of the Polish dukes and destroyed the city of Wrocław. After that he hastened through the land of the duke of Moravia, who received no help from other rulers, towards the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary and he plundered the land on his way.²³ The duke of Moravia here is Wenceslaus's oldest son Vladislaus (d. 1247), who held the title of margrave of Moravia. According to Master Rogerius, the Mongols exited Moravia through the Hungarian gate ("porta Hungarie" in Latin), which is most commonly associated with the Hrozenkov Pass since it is the closest one to the area around Trenčín which was plundered by the Mongols.²⁴ A new paper by Michal Holeščák (see in this vol-

²¹ See also Václav Flajšhans, "Dalimil o Tatarech" [Dalimil about Tartars], Český časopis historický 40 (1934), pp. 529–534.

²² There are many editions of the source; in this paper, a modern edition with Slovak translation was used. Rogerius magister, "Epistola magistri Rogerii in Miserabile Carmen super destruction regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta editum ad reverendum dominum Iohannem Pesthensiensis ecclesie episcopum feliciter incipit," in *Tatársky vpád: historické rozprávanie o strašných udalostiach, ktoré priniesli obyvateľom Uhorského kráľovstva veľa utrpenia a celú krajinu priviedli na pokraj skazy* [Tartar invasion: A historical account of the terrible events that brought a great deal of suffering to the inhabitants of the Hungarian Kingdom and brought the whole country to the brink of destruction], ed. Richard Marsina and Miloš Marek (Budmerice: Rak, 2008), pp. 57–125.

^{23 &}quot;Peta rex per Poloniam dirigens gressus suos uno ab ipso de ducibus Polonie interfecto et destructa Vratislavia civitate nobilissima et strage facta mirabili ac in terram ducis Moravie aliis ducibus prestare sibi auxilium nequentibus simili crudelitate pervadens ad portam Hungarie festinavit". Rogerius magister, "Epistola magistri Rogerii in Miserabile Carmen," p. 81, p. 83.

²⁴ Richard Marsina, and Miloš Marek, Tatársky vpád [Tatar invasion] (Bratislava: Rak, 2008), p. 17.

ume) suggests that the Mongols were also able to enter the present-day Slovakia elsewhere (perhaps even through the Jablůnkov Pass, which is further north), most probably from multiple directions but definitely through some pass (or rather passes) in the mountains located on the border between Moravia and the present-day Slovakia. Another important piece of information provided by Master Rogerius is that the Mongols 'hastened' through the territory of Moravia (*festinavit*). What is *not* mentioned here is also significant—no battle took place in Moravia.

It is not easy to assess the size of the Mongol army that plundered Poland and subsequently entered the Kingdom of Hungary through Moravia, especially considering that it was likely considerably diminished by that point. Perhaps the most reliable source addressing this issue is a nearly contemporary report by a Franciscan friar identified only by the initial 'C.', who likely came from the Polish town of Brzeg. According to him, Poland was invaded by 10,000 men, which corresponds to one tümen.²⁵

Other pieces of our puzzle survive in the chronicles or annals from the Holy Roman Empire. Noteworthy evidence is provided by the *Annales sancti Pantaleonis Coloniensis*. These annals were written in the Benedictine monastery of St. Pantaleon in Cologne at the time of the Mongol invasion, the former which was very well informed about the situation. This is not surprising since Cologne was an important merchant city with a wide network of connections. The author of the annals wrote that, after exiting Poland, the Mongols entered Moravia and within just one day and night moved in four groups through its territory and devastated it except for castles and other fortified places. Some of the Mongols also reached the boundaries of Meissen (which was a margraviate in the Holy Roman Empire bordering on Bohemia and Lower Silesia).²⁶ This information is in accordance with a fragment of a text about the Mongol invasion which is possibly of Hungarian origin. In this fragment, we can read that three weeks after Easter (21 April) the four armies that destroyed Poland entered the Kingdom of Hungary through Moravia. The fragment continues with a lament for Moravia, which was tormented by the impious visitors.²⁷

²⁵ Alf Önnerfors, Hystoria Tartarorum C. de Bridia Monachi (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967), p. 19.

^{26 &}quot;Exiens a Polonia predicta gens [Mongols, T.S.] Moraviam intrat et, quod incredibile dictu est, unius diei et noctis spatio per quatuor dietas pertransitis rapidis fluviis mota est, totam devastans Moraviam preter castra et loca munita. In transitu etiam fines Missinensis diocesis attigit et ibi plurimas personas peremit." Hermann Cardauns, ed., "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis Coloniensis," in *Historici Germaniae saec. XII.*, Vol. 2, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), Scriptores in Folio (SS) 22 (Hannover: Hahn, 1872), p. 535.

^{27 &}quot;Post tres ebdomadas pasce quartus exercitus Tartarorum, qui Poloniam vastaverat et christianos superaverat, transiens usque Maroviam [Moravia, T.S.] venit in terram Ungarie et in villis vel oppidis, ubi fere omnes Teotonici manebant, pugnavit cum eis, vicit, occidit omnes preter eos qui fuga lapsi sunt. (...) Timor et tremor, Marovia [Moravia, T.S.], venerunt super te, hostis impius vallavit te et coangustiavit te undique". Oswald Holder-Egger, ed., "De in-

Last, we shall mention the famous fifteenth-century Polish chronicler Jan Długosz and his Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae (or Chronicle of the Kingdom of Poland).²⁸ This chronicle, written in the second half of the fifteenth century, is of course not a contemporary source but Długosz incorporated many older chronicles and other sources into his work. It is possible that for the Mongol invasion (especially the Battle of Legnica) he used some manuscript (or manuscripts) that also included content from a first-hand witness from the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, the chapter describing the Mongol invasion of Moravia is drawn mostly from the first variant of the late fourteenth-century chronicle of Přibík Pulkava of Radenín, who again confuses the events of 1241 and 1253.²⁹ Długosz therefore mostly describes the events of 1253 with the siege of Olomouc at the centre of the story and also propagates the family myth of the house of Sternberg.³⁰ Apart from these obvious blunders, his chronicle also contains some relevant pieces of information. One of them is the mention about the Mongols operating in the vicinity of Otmuchów (some 35 kilometres from Kladsko). This information is in accordance with Dalimil's account of the Mongols stopping near Kladsko and also with a sixteenth-century compilation (most probably using now-lost thirteenth-century accounts) from Silesia.³¹ Another interesting piece of information concerns Boleslaus (son of Dipold, supposedly the margrave of Moravia) who led the first rank of the army of Henry II the Pious at Legnica and lost his life there.³² This is only partly true. Dipold (Theobaldus) III was in fact a member of a secondary lineage of the Přemyslid dynasty (the ruling dynasty in the Kingdom of Bohemia), but he never became the margrave of Moravia. Dipold probably died in 1223 unsuccessfully defending his castle Kouřim from the king of Bohemia, and his kin were in fact expelled from the Kingdom of Bohemia and took refuge in Poland. It is possible that after the death of the margrave of Moravia, Vladislaus Henry, in 1222, Dipold tried to seize the reins of power over Moravia and this might also have been the

vasione Tartarorum fragmentum," in *Ex rerum Danicarum scriptoribus saec. XII. et XIII. Ex historiis Islandicis. Ex rerum Polonicarum scriptoribus saec XII. et XIII. Ex rerum Ungaricarum scriptoribus saec. XII.*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), Scriptores in Folio (SS) 29 (Hannover: Hahn, 1892), pp. 599–600.

²⁸ About Dlugosz and his works, see Jan Dąbrowski, Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do roku 1480) [The old Polish historiography (until 1480)] (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1964), pp. 189–240.

²⁹ Josef Emler and Jan Gebauer, eds., "Kronika Pulkavova" [The Pulkava's chronicle], in Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, Vol. 5, 8 Vols. (Prague: Nákladem Nadání Františka Palackého, 1893), pp. 1–326.

³⁰ Długosz, Ioannis Dlugossii Annales, p. 26.

³¹ Arndt, "Annales Silesiaci compilati," p. 540; Długosz, *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales*, pp. 24–25. About the Annales Silesiaci compilati see Dąbrowski, *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie*, pp. 60–62.

³² Długosz, *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales*, pp. 20–21, p. 23, p. 25.

reason for his downfall. Unfortunately, though, we have no other account about this than that of Długosz's.³³

With no more written sources about the Mongol invasion of Moravia in 1241. we can turn to archaeology. Unsurprisingly, the very limited number of artefacts and archaeological situations that may be definitively connected with the Mongols only confirms that the Mongol army marched very quickly through the territory of Moravia and did not siege any of the fortified places. Mention can only be made of just a handful of artifacts. The first artifact is a small bone carving of a warrior with nomadic features found in Olomouc castle. Unfortunately, it was discovered in a layer of mixed materials and thus can only be dated very vaguely to between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, thus it is very problematic to connect it with the Mongol incursion of Moravia.³⁴ Only recently was a fragment of a recurve composite bow found on the border of the medieval city. This artefact is most probably a relic of the Hungarian-Cuman siege of Olomouc in 1253 rather than of the Mongol invasion.³⁵ The last place worth mentioning is the now defunct castle Bánov (in South-eastern Moravia). An arrowhead that can be connected with the eastern nomadic influence was found there. Since the castle was located on the Moravian-Hungarian border (not far from Trenčín) it is not clear, whether it could be connected with the Mongol invasion of 1241 or Hungarian-Cuman invasion of 1253.³⁶ The only definitive proof of Mongol presence in Moravia was discovered by accident in 2020 near Hostýn Hill in eastern Moravia. This site has been associated with Mongol myth since the late 17th century. The discovery consists of a silver coin (dirham) struck in Khwarazm between 1220 and 1225 during the reign of Genghis Khan.³⁷

³³ Jindřich Dejmek, "Děpoltici: K mocenskému postavení jedné vedlejší větve Přemyslovců" [Děpoltici: About the position of one of the secondary lineages of Přemyslids], *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 1 (1991), pp. 118–122.

³⁴ Pavel Kouřil and Jana Gryc, "Hradiska 10.–12. století na severní Moravě a v českém Slezsku" [Fortified settlements of the tenth to twelfth centuries in the territory of northern Moravia and bohemian Silesia], in *Funkcje grodów w państwach wczesnośredniowiecznej Europy Środkowej. Społeczeństwo, gospodarka, ideologia*, ed. Krystian Chrzan, Krzysztof Czapla, and Sławomir Moździoch (Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2014), p. 114, p. 116.

³⁵ Pavel Šlézar, "Od knížecího hradu k právnímu městu" [From a princely castle to legal town], in Rudolfovo číslo. Rudolfu Procházkovi k 65. Narozeninám kolegové a přátelé, ed. Irena Loskotová (Prague: NLN, 2021), pp. 218–219.

³⁶ Anna Gardelková-Vrtelová, "Šipky z hradu Bánova ve sbírkách muzea Jana Amose Komenského v Uherském Brodě" [Arrowheads from the Bánov castle from the Jan Amos Komenský Museum in Uherský Brod], in S licenciou 007. Zborník príspevkov k 70. narodeninám Petra Baxu, ed. Peter Bistrák, and Jana Maříková-Kubková (Prague – Bratislava: Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, v.v.i. – Pamiatkový úrad Slovenskej republiky, 2020), p. 136.

³⁷ The type of the coin was determined by mgr Dorota Malarczyk, Gabinet Numizmatyczny, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie.

In conclusion, the general outline of the events in Moravia in 1241, drawn from the above-discussed sources, can be presented and placed into a broader historical context. The king of Bohemia. Wenceslaus I, was aware of the Mongol threat since at least the fall of Kyiv in 1240, and it is plausible that he initiated preparations for repelling their attack, as suggested by an early-fourteenth-century chronicler.³⁸ What the Bohemian king did not know in advance was that the main destination of the Mongol army in 1241 would be the Kingdom of Hungary. To secure the operations there, a detached army was assembled under the leadership of Orda and Baidar (known in the West as Peta).³⁹ Its task was probably to attack the Piast rulers of Poland and Silesia in order to secure the northern border of Hungary.⁴⁰ This army of about 10,000 men launched its campaign early in 1241, and after several victorious battles and skirmishes finally faced the strongest of the local Piast rulers, Henry II the Pious, in the western part of Silesia near the town of Legnica.⁴¹ At the beginning of April, the Bohemian King Wenceslaus I with his knights was on his way to help his brother-in-law Henry II, but at the time when the battle took place, he was still about two days' march away from Legnica.⁴² The Mongols managed to lure Henry II out of the well-fortified Legnica, and not only defeated his army but also killed him. Just two days after this defeat, the Battle of Mohi (or the Battle of the Sajó River) took place in Hungary with a similar outcome—the defeat of Béla IV and his army. The Mongol leaders in Silesia had no reason to stay there any longer and were about to join their comrades in Hungary, but it is possible that before they hastened to the Kingdom of Hungary, part of the Mongol army reached the limits of the Holy Roman Empire in Meissen.

³⁸ Dalimil, Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila, 2:314.

³⁹ Peter Jackson, The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410 (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 62; Wacław Korta, Najazd Mongołów na Polskę i jego legnicki epilog [The Mongol raid on Poland and its Legnica epilogue] (Katowice: Śląski Instytut Naukowy, 1983), p. 70.

⁴⁰ Stephen Pow points out that the idea that the strategic reason of this operation was to stop Polish reinforcements from coming to Hungary is a modern conjecture and is not mentioned in historical sources. Stephen Pow, "Mongol Inroads into Hungary in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations*, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala (Oxford – New York: Routledge, 2021), p. 100.

⁴¹ According to Polish historians, it was just about one tümen: Korta, Najazd Mongołów na Polskę, p. 69, p. 108. The latest overview about the Mongol invasion of Poland is provided by Witold Świętosławski, "The Mongol Invasions of Poland in the Thirteenth Century," in The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov, and Roman Hautala (Oxford – New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 82–97.

⁴² Šebánek and Dušková, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae*, 4.1:498–99 (no. 306–7).

What happened next is largely unclear. The Bohemian king and his army did not enter Silesia after the unfortunate battle. Wenceslaus probably remained in the north-western part of his kingdom, expecting the Mongols to move further west; part of his forces might have returned to secure the northern border of the Bohemian kingdom, which is hard to cross due to its predominantly mountainous character. Some later Polish sources suggest that, after the Battle of Legnica, the Mongol army operated near Otmuchów.⁴³ This information is supported by the early-fourteenth-century Bohemian chronicler-the so-called Dalimil-who mentioned that after Legnica the Mongols stopped near Kladsko (then part of the Bohemian kingdom, today Kłodzko in Poland, some 35 kilometres from Otmuchów).⁴⁴ However, it is unclear whether any conflict with the Bohemian forces took place there. After that, the Mongol army moved further to the east, to the vicinity of the city of Opava (Troppau) where they entered Moravia through a natural pass with a fitting name: the Moravian Gate.⁴⁵ The strength of the army that entered Moravia is guite unclear, but Wacław Korta estimated that before the Battle of Legnica the army was about 8,000 men strong.⁴⁶ If Korta was right, the total strength of the great khan's army in Moravia had to be even smaller, but we will never know the precise number. What else happened in Moravia is once again largely unknown. We know for sure that no major battle took place there, and that the Mongol army probably split into four bands of troops. Two well-informed sources agree on one important detail though: the Mongolian troops were in a hurry, and although they plundered the Moravian countryside with the usual cruelty, they left all of the fortified places alone and marched quickly to Hungary.⁴⁷ Divided into multiple groups, possibly four, and encountering little resistance, they successfully reached several border passes, entering the Kingdom of Hungary by late April or early May. Upon reaching present-day Slovakia, they approached the strategically significant Trenčín Castle. Although the castle remained unconquered, its surroundings reportedly suffered significant damage from the invaders.48

Wenceslaus I was unable to react since he was most probably in the Margraviate of Meissen. The king of Bohemia expected the Mongols to move further west. This assumption was not without reason, since after the Battle of Legnica some

⁴³ Arndt, "Annales Silesiaci compilati," p. 540; Długosz, *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales*, p. 24–25. Both sources state that the Mongols plundered the surroundings for fourteen days.

⁴⁴ Dalimil, Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila, 2:314.

⁴⁵ Šebánek and Dušková, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae, 4.1:508–9 (no. 323).

⁴⁶ Korta, Najazd Mongołów na Polskę, p. 108. Korta, Najazd Mongołów, p. 108.

⁴⁷ Rogerius magister, "Epistola magistri Rogerii in Miserabile Carmen, ed. Marsina and Marek," p. 81, p. 83; Cardauns, "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis," p. 535.

⁴⁸ Rogerius magister, "Epistola magistri Rogerii in Miserabile Carmen, " p. 83; Holder-Egger, "De invasione Tartarorum fragmentum," pp. 599–600.

of the Mongol troops are reported to have plundered the territory located at the border of Meissen.⁴⁹ The king also issued a charter on 7 May 1241 in Königstein, which suggests that he was there the whole time.⁵⁰ This was nearly the end of the Mongol threat to the Kingdom of Bohemia. Some Mongol troops may have visited the southern reaches of Moravia again in the winter of 1241–42 when the Danube froze and attacked the western bank of the river, including Austrian and probably even Moravian territory.⁵¹

Bibliography:

- Arndt, Wilhelm, ed. "Annales Silesiaci compilati." In *Annales aevi Suevici*, 536–40. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 19. Hannover: Hahn, 1866.
- Bláhova, Marie, ed. "Druhé pokračování Kosmovy kroniky" [The Second sequel to Cosmas]. In *Pokračovatelé Kosmovi*, 75–190. Prague: Svoboda, 1974.
- Bretholz, Berthold. "Die Tataren in Mähren und die moderne mährische Urkundenfälschung." Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens 1.1 (1897), pp. 1–64.
- Cardauns, Hermann, ed. "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis Coloniensis." In *Historici Germaniae saec. XII.*, 2:529–47. Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), Scriptores in Folio (SS) 22. Hannover: Hahn, 1872.
- Coulter, Matthew. "Patterns of Communication during the 1241 Mongol Invasion of Europe: Insights from the Ottobeuren Letter Collection." *Journal of Medieval History* forthcoming 48.4 (2022), pp. 496–523.
- Dąbrowski, Jan. *Dawne dziejopisarstwo polskie (do roku 1480)* [The old Polish historiography (until 1480)]. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich. Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1964.
- Dalimil. Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila: vydání textu a veškerého textového materiálu [The old Czech Chronicle of the So-called Dalimil: Publication of the text and all textual material]. Edited by Jiří Daňhelka. Vol. 2. Prague: Academia, 1988.
- Daniel, Bartoloměj. *Dějiny Romů: Vybrané kapitoly z dějin Romů v západní Evropě, v Českých zemích a na Slovensku* [The history of the Roma people: Selected

⁴⁹ Cardauns, "Annales Sancti Pantaleonis," p. 535.

⁵⁰ Šebánek and Dušková, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae, 4.1:59–64 (no. 4).

⁵¹ Šebánek and Dušková, Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae, 4.1:507 (no. 320).

chapters of the history of the Roma people in Western Europe, in the Bohemian lands and in Slovakia]. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 1994.

- Dejmek, Jindřich. "Děpoltici: K mocenskému postavení jedné vedlejší větve Přemyslovců" [Děpoltici: About the position of one of the secondary lineages of Přemyslids]. *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 1 (1991), pp. 89–144.
- Długosz, Jan. *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Lib. 7-8.* Edited by Sofia Budkowa, Christina Pieradzka, and Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa. Warsaw: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe, 1975.
- Dušková, Sáša. "Počátky kanceláře Václava I. [The beginnings of the royal office of Wenceslaus I]." *Rozpravy Československé akademie věd—řada společenských věd* 69.9 (1959), pp. 57–81.
- Emler, Josef, ed. "Letopisy České od roku 1196 do roku 1278" [The Bohemian Annals from 1196–1278]. In *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, 2:282–303. Prague: Museum Království českého, 1874.
- ———, ed. "Rýmovaná kronika česká" [The rhymed Bohemian chronicle]. In *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, 3:1–302. Prague: Museum Království českého, 1882.
- Emler, Josef, and Jan Gebauer, eds. "Kronika Pulkavova" [The Pulkava's chronicle]. In *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, 5:1–326. Prague: Nákladem Nadání Františka Palackého, 1893.
- Flajšhans, Václav. "Dalimil o Tatarech" [Dalimil about Tartars]. Český časopis historický 40 (1934), pp. 529–534.
- Gardelková-Vrtelová, Anna. "Šipky z hradu Bánova ve sbírkách muzea Jana Amose Komenského v Uherském Brodě" [Arrowheads from the Bánov castle from the Jan Amos Komenský Museum in Uherský Brod]. In *S licenciou 007. Zborník príspevkov k 70. narodeninám Petra Baxu*, edited by Peter Bistrák and Jana Maříková-Kubková, 131–41. Prague – Bratislava: Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, v.v.i. – Pamiatkový úrad Slovenskej republiky, 2020.
- Holder-Egger, Oswald, ed. "De invasione Tartarorum fragmentum." In *Ex rerum* Danicarum scriptoribus saec. XII. et XIII. Ex historiis Islandicis. Ex rerum Polonicarum scriptoribus saec XII. et XIII. Ex rerum Ungaricarum scriptoribus saec. XIII., 599–600. Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), Scriptores in Folio (SS) 29. Hannover: Hahn, 1892.
- Horák, Bohuslav. "Kartasi v Dalimilově kronice" [Kartasi in the chronicle of Dalimil]. Sborník Československé společnosti zeměpisné 47 (1942), pp. 49–50.
- Jackson, Peter. The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410. London: Routledge, 2005.

- Korta, Wacław. *Najazd Mongołów na Polskę i jego legnicki epilog* [The Mongol raid on Poland and its Legnica epilogue]. Katowice: Śląski Instytut Naukowy, 1983.
- Kouřil, Pavel, and Jana Gryc. "Hradiska 10.–12. století na severní Moravě a v českém Slezsku" [Fortified settlements of the tenth to twelfth centuries in the territory of northern Moravia and bohemian Silesia]. In Funkcje grodów w państwach wczesnośredniowiecznej Europy Środkowej. Społeczeństwo, gospodarka, ideologia, edited by Krystian Chrzan, Krzysztof Czapla, and Sławomir Moździoch, 99–171. Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2014.
- Lehár, Jan. Nejstarší česká epika [The oldest Czech epic]. Prague: Vyšehrad, 1983.
- Marsina, Richard, and Miloš Marek. *Tatársky vpád* [Tatar invasion]. Bratislava: Rak, 2008.
- Matthew Paris. *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*. Vol. 4. 7 vols. Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 57. London: Longman, 1877.
- ———. Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora. Vol. 6. 7 Vols.
 Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores 57. London: Longman, 1882.
- Nechutová, Jana. *Latinská literatura českého středověku do roku 1400* [The Latin literature of the Czech Middle Ages until 1400]. Prague: Vyšehrad, 2000.
- Önnerfors, Alf, ed. *Hystoria Tartarorum C. de Bridia Monachi*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967.
- Pow, Stephen. "Mongol Inroads into Hungary in the Thirteenth Century." In The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations, edited by Alexander V. Maiorov and Roman Hautala, 98–118. Oxford – New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Rogerius magister. "Epistola magistri Rogerii in Miserabile Carmen super destruction regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta editum ad reverendum dominum Iohannem Pesthensiensis ecclesie episcopum feliciter incipit." In *Tatársky vpád: historické rozprávanie o strašných udalostiach, ktoré priniesli obyvateľom Uhorského kráľovstva veľa utrpenia a celú krajinu priviedli na pokraj skazy* [Tartar invasion: A historical account of the terrible events that brought a great deal of suffering to the inhabitants of the Hungarian Kingdom and brought the whole country to the brink of destruction], edited by Richard Marsina and Miloš Marek, 57–125. Budmerice: Rak, 2008.
- Šebánek, Jindřich, and Saša Dušková, eds. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni bohemiae*. Vol. 4.1. Prague: Československé Akademie Věd, 1962.

- Šlézar, Pavel. "Od knížecího hradu k právnímu městu" [From a princely castle to legal town]. In *Rudolfovo číslo. Rudolfu Procházkovi k 65. Narozeninám kolegové a přátelé*, edited by Irena Loskotová, 202–228. Prague: NLN, 2021.
- Somer, Tomáš. "Forging the Past: Facts and Myths behind the Mongol Invasion of Moravia in 1241." *Golden Horde Review* 6.2 (2018), pp. 238–251.
- ———. "The Bohemian Kingdom and the Mongol 'Invasion' of 1241." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations*, edited by Alexander V. Maiorov and Roman Hautala, 119–133. Oxford New York: Routledge, 2021.
- Świętosławski, Witold. "The Mongol Invasions of Poland in the Thirteenth Century." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations,* edited by Alexander V. Maiorov and Roman Hautala, 82–97. Oxford – New York: Routledge, 2021.

The Mongol Invasion and the Latin Empire of Constatinople

The Mongol Invasion of 1241–42 had profound consequences in Southeast Europe. It led to the inclusion of Bulgaria into their sphere of influence, and it drastically altered the existing balance of power between the Nicaean Empire and the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Nonetheless, the Mongol military operations in the region left only fragmentary notices in the sources, and they attracted little scholarly attention, at least compared to the immense research dedicated to the large-scale events in Central Europe. In general, the Mongol attack on the Latin Empire in 1242 was either omitted, or very briefly presented, in the studies and books dealing with the turbulent events of the early forties of the thirteenth century.¹

As the text focuses on the conflict between the forces of the Latin Empire and the Mongol invaders, it is convenient to begin with an overview of the political conditions in Southeast Europe on the eve of the invasion. During the fourth decade of the thirteenth century, the Latin Empire of Constantinople was in political and financial dire straits. In 1235, the biggest threat to the Frankish rule in Constantinople materialized, when their two neighbours and adversaries, Nicaean ruler John III Vatatzes (1222–1254), and John Asen II of Bulgaria (1218–1241), formed a coalition, and launched a campaign against the Latin Empire. This was the conflict conveniently named in contemporary historiography as the War of the Three Johns—Vatatzes, Assen, and John of Brienne (1229–1237), co-emperor of the Latin Empire, who held the reins of power on behalf of the underage emperor Baldwin II of Courtenay (1228–1261). The Nicaean and Bulgarian army besieged Constantinople, and although John of Brienne had at his disposal only 160 knights, he organized heroic resistance; the Venetian fleet, and naval forces of the Frankish principality

¹ The only article dedicated to this issue is John Giebfried's "The Mongol invasions and the Aegean world (1241-61)," Mediterranean Historical Review 28.2 (2013), pp. 129–139. See also: Jean Richard, "À propos de la mission de Baudouin de Hainaut: l'empire latin de Constantinople et les mongols," Journal des savants, 84.1 (1992), p. 116; István Vásáry, Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans 1185-1365 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 70; Peter Jackson, The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410, Second Edition (London– New York: Routledge, 2018), p. 72; Filip van Tricht, The Horoscope of Baldwin II. Political and Sociocultural Dynamics in Latin-Byzantine Constantinople (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2019), p. 70.

of Achaea assisted the besieged city on the Bosporus. In early 1236, the Bulgarians withdrew from the coalition and Vatatzes was forced to lift the siege. However, in the course of the war the Nicaean army captured most of the Frankish fortresses on the Eastern shores of the Marmara Sea, Gallipoli peninsula, and the fortified city of *Tzouroulou (modern* Çorlu), *between Adrianople (*Edirne) *and Constantinople*.² Consequently, the territory of the Latin Empire was greatly reduced, and for the first time since the Fourth Crusade, its very existence hung in the balance.

Energetic John of Brienne died in March 1237,³ while young Baldwin II was in the West, attempting to secure help for the survival of the Empire. Due to financial difficulties, at the beginning of 1238, and in his absence, the regency in Constantinople led by Anseau of Cayeux, had to pawn the most precious relic—the Crown of Thorns—to the Venetians; later that year, Louis IX of France (1226–1270) redeemed the Crown and made a resting place for the relic in Paris in the newly built Sainte-Chapelle.⁴ And approximately at that time the first echoes of the Mongol campaigns reached Southeast Europe.

* * *

In 1237, the unstoppable Mongol onslaught caused several waves of Cuman migrations from the Volga basin to the West. The flight of the Cumans to the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary is attested in the letter of Dominican traveller friar Julian, which reached the West in the early 1238.⁵ Probably in the same year,

² John Langdon, "The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault and Siege of Constantinople, 1235–1236, and the Breakup of the Entente Cordiale between John III Ducas Vatatzes and John Asen II in 1236 as Background to the Genesis of the Hohenstaufen-Vatatzes Alliance of 1242", in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Speros Vryonis (Malibu: Undena, 1985), pp. 105–136; Ani Dancheva-Vasileva, България и Латинската империя: 1204-1261 [Bulgaria and the Latin Empire (1204-1261)] (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1985), p. 137–143; Guy Perry, John of Brienne (King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175-1237) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 174–180; Alexandru Madgearu, *The Assanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185-1280)* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016), pp. 216–219.

³ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium, A Monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis Interpolata", in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, Vol. 23, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst (Hannover: Hahn, 1874), p. 941; Perry, *John of Brienne*, pp. 181–183.

⁴ Alexandre Teulet, ed., Layettes du Trésor des chartes, vol. 2 (Paris: Plon, 1866), pp. 391–392, no. 2744; Paul E. D. Riant, Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae, vol. 2 (Geneva: I. G. Fick, 1878), pp. 118–121; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica", p. 947; Andrea Dandolo, Chronica per extensum descripta: 46-1280, ed. Ester Pastorello (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1938), p. 298; Benjamin Hendrickx, "Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/72)", Byzantina 14 (1988), pp. 127–131, nos. pp. 192–197.

⁵ Heinrich Dörrie, Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionsreisen des fr. Julianus O.P. ins Uralgebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237): und der Bericht des Erzbischofs

the Cumans appeared on the left bank of the Lower Danube. According to the Byzantine historian George Akropolites, they crossed the Danube on skin bags and passed over the Balkan mountains "together with children and wives".⁶ If we are to believe our source, their onslaught was so ferocious that John Asen II was unable to pacify them, although it is not impossible that the Bulgarian ruler was unwilling to provide them refuge in order not to provoke the Mongols and their leader Batu.⁷ Be that as it may, several thousand Cumans⁸ made their way to Thrace, where they plundered the countryside and several smaller towns in the vicinity of Adrianople (Edirne) and *Didymoteicho*, and made the region along the Maritsa river their grazing ground, turning it into the "proverbial Scythian desert".⁹ Arabic writer Ibn Taghrībirdī (who drew from the thirteenth-century writer Ibn Shaddād) also recorded the Cuman migrations in the Balkans. His notices, dated couple of years later, refer to another group of refugees, who fled to the land of the "Asen khan" (John Asen II), but were treacherously captured and sold into slavery.¹⁰ Ibn

Peter über die Tartaren (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), p. 175; Roman Hautala, От "Давида, царя Индий" до "ненавистного плебса сатаны". Антология ранних латинских сведений о татаро-монголах [From David, "Emperor of India" to the "Hateful Plebs of Satan": Anthology of Early Latin Testimonies about the Tatar-Mongols] (Kazan: Institute Sh. Marjani, 2015), p. 378, p. 387.

⁶ George Akropolites, *The History*, trans. Ruth Macrides (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 199. The appearance of the Cuman refugees on the Lower Danube is usually dated to 1237, based on the report of Akropolites but his chronology of the events is somewhat confusing. The year of 1238 seems a more probable date considering Julian's report and the scale and distance of the Cuman migrations.

⁷ Aleksandâr Nikolov, "Цар Йоан Асен II и 'монголският ужас'" [Emperor John Assen II and 'the Mongol Terror'], in Цар Иван Асен II (1218–1241). Сборник по случай 800-годишнината от неговото възшествие на българския престол, ed. Vasil Gyuzelev, Iliya Iliev, and Kiril Nenov (Plovdiv: Bulgarian Historical Association, 2019), pp. 205–211.

⁸ The fourteenth-century Byzantine historian Nikephoros Gregoras assessed their strength at 10,000, Nikephoros Gregoras, *Rhomäische Geschichte*, vol. 1, trans. Jean-Louis van Dieten (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1973), p. 81. This figure is usually accepted by contemporary historians, but it implies nothing else than a 'multitude' and taking into account the usual exaggeration of the numbers of nomads in Byzantine sources, it is likely they hardly numbered more than several thousand people; Aleksandar Uzelac, "Cumans in the Latin Empire of Constantinople," Золотоордынское обозрение [Golden Horde Review] 7.1 (2019), p. 12.

⁹ George Akropolites, History, p. 199; Catherine Asdracha, La Région des Rhodopes aux XIII' et XIV' siècles: étude de géographie historique (Athènes, Verlag der Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher, 1976), p. 81; Vásáry, Cumans and Tatars, pp. 63–64.

¹⁰ Vyacheslav G. Tizengauzen, Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды, Т. 1: Извлечения из сочинений арабских [Collection of Materials related to the History of the Golden Horde. Vol. 1, Excerpts from the Arab writings] (St. Petersburg, Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1884), p. 542; Plamen Pavlov, "Средновековна България и куманите. Военнополитически отношения (1186-1241)" [Medieval Bulgaria and the Cumans. Military and Political Relations (1186-1241)], Трудове на Великотърновския универститет "Св. Св. Кирил и Методий", Исторически факултет 27 (1989), pp. 44–46; Dimitri Korobeinikov,

Sa'id al-Maghribi, on the other hand, related how the Cumans, fleeing from the Mongols, entered the land of Constantinople;¹¹ unlike Ibn Taghrībirdī, the report of Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi probably reflected the fortunes of the same group of Cumans whose migrations were described by Akropolites, as we shall see.

In Constantinople, before December 1238, the regency of the Latin Empire passed from the hands of Anseau of Cayeux to experienced veteran Narjot of Toucy.¹² Meanwhile, in Western Europe, after difficult negotiations with Venice, Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241), King Henry III of England (1216–1272) and Louis IX, Baldwin II of Courtenay was eventually able to muster a long-awaited rescue army, although the support came at a hefty price; the emperor was forced to mortgage the county of Namur to the French king for 50,000 Parisian *livres*.¹³ The army allegedly numbered 30,000 men and 700 mounted knights, according to the well-informed Cistercian chronicler Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, or as many as 60,000 crusaders according to Akropolites.¹⁴ Both figures are undoubtedly greatly exaggerated, but the force now commanded by Baldwin II was formidable enough that he could finally return to Constantinople, via Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria.

The king of Hungary, Béla IV (1235–1270), provided necessary provisions for the emperor's army, and John Assen II, who switched sides and renounced the alliance with Nicaea, did the same. Nonetheless, according to Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, the passage of the Crusaders through Bulgaria was difficult due to the nature of the terrain and the time of year; Baldwin II and his army did not reach Bulgaria before autumn of 1239;¹⁵ the date is circumstantially evidenced by the letter of

[&]quot;A Broken Mirror: the Kıpçak World in the Thirteenth century", in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Florin Curta, and Roman Kovalev (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 386–388, pp. 398–402.

¹¹ Irina G. Konovalova, Восточная Европа в сочинениях арабских географов XIII-XIV вв – текст, перевод, коментарии [Eastern Europe in the Works of the Arabic Geographers of the 13th-14th centuries – Texts, Translation, Commentaries] (Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 2009), p. 34.

¹² Riant, Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae, Vol. 2, p. 122; Jean Longnon, L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée (Paris: Payot, 1949), p. 182; Hendrickx, "Regestes," pp. 129–130, no. 195.

¹³ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 947; Philippe Mouskes, Chronique rimée, vol. 2, ed. Frédéric A. F. T. de Reiffenberg (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1838), p. 663, verses 30453–30458; Longnon, L'empire Latin, pp. 179–181; Robert Lee Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204-1261", in A History of the Crusades, Volume II, The Later Crusades, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962), pp. 220–222; Hendrickx, "Regestes," pp. 134–135, no. 207.

¹⁴ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica", 946; George Akropolites, *History*, 203; cf. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 3, ed. Henry R. Luard (London: Longman, 1876), 517-518.

¹⁵ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 946–947; Dancheva-Vasileva, България и Латинската империя, pp. 148–149.

Béla IV to Gregory IX from January 13, 1240, attesting the previous papal mission to Bulgaria, with the plea to allow the passage of the crusaders.¹⁶ The two seals of Baldwin II, found in Plevna and in the town of Popovo near Târgovishte, were possibly directly related to his return voyage to Constantinople.¹⁷ The finds indicate that his army followed the route close to the Danube and then along the Black Sea; a fact confirmed by Alberic's words that two ships had been wrecked (on the Danube?) on their voyage through Asen's land.¹⁸ Such a route was much longer than the Via Militaris which connected Belgrade and Constantinople; but the latter was inaccessible to the crusaders, as sections of the road between Adrianople and *Tzouroulou* were under the control of the Nicaea. After the exhausting journey Baldwin II eventually arrived in Constantinople before Easter (April 15, 1240), when he was solemnly crowned as the sole emperor of the Latin Empire.¹⁹

Even before his return, it seems that the regency in Constantinople, led by Narjot of Toucy, was quick to realize the military potential of the Cumans settled in the valley of Maritsa. According to Akropolites, the Franks "won over Asen, concluding a peace treaty with him. Then, along with him, they drew to themselves the Scythians (Cumans), barbarian men, vagrants and intruders, and made them accomplices in their deeds, with some small favours but larger promises".²⁰ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines was under impression of the high expectations that Cumans raised in Constantinople. He related how a wise man went to the city and summoned a daemon, who in return gave the laconic prophecy: "The king will execute the unjust enemies, but not through friends". These words, as our source further notes, were thought to be related to the Cumans: "There was a belief that the arrival of the Cumans announced this prophecy and that the King of Heaven would destroy the enemies of the Constantinopolitan Empire—Vatatzes and Asen—not through friends, but through the Cumans, who were infidels, and not the friends of Christ".²¹

¹⁶ Jean Louis Huillard-Bréholles, Examen des chartes de l'église romaine contenues dans les rouleaux dits rouleaux de Cluny (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1865), p. 97, no. 35 (wrongly dated to 1239); Vasil Gyuzelev, "Das Papstum und Bulgarien im Mittelalter (9–14. Jahrhundert)," Bulgarian Historical Review 5.1 (1977). p. 49.

¹⁷ Nikolay Kânev and Konstantin Totev, "Новооткрит оловен печат на латинския император Бодуен Втори [Newly Discovered lead seal of the Latin Emperor Baldwin II]", in България в европейската култура, наука, образование, религия, Vol. 1, ed. Todor Todorov, and Konstantin Konstantinov (Shumen: Association of Scientists in Bulgaria, 2015), pp. 374–380; Madgearu, The Assanids, p. 223.

¹⁸ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," pp. 946–947.

¹⁹ Longnon, *L'empire Latin*, p. 182; Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, "Les seigneurs tierciers de Négrepont," *Byzantion* 35 (1965), p. 245.

²⁰ George Akropolites, *History*, p. 200.

^{21 &#}x27;Ante paucos annos quidam bonus magister et sapiens venit Constantinopolim. Qui rogato

The initial contacts between the Franks and the Cuman fugitives took place in 1239. or as Alberic of Trois-Fontaines relates referring to the prophecy, "paucos annos", before 1241.²² However, the ceremony that cemented their mutual agreement happened in early 1240, after the emperor's return, and it was described in detail by Jean of Joinville, the famous biographer of Louis IX. Joinville mentioned Narjot of Toucy as his informant, but this is a mistake, because Narjot was dead at the time, so it must have been his son Philip of Toucy who was with Louis IX and his entourage in Caesarea in Palestine in July 1251,²³ and who probably on that occasion related the fascinating story of how the emperor of Constantinople and his magnates were in league with Cumans ("people que l'on appeloit Commains") against John III Vatatzes. As Joinville adds, "the Emperor of Constantinople and the nobles in his company had submitted to being bled, and their blood had been put into a great silver goblet. The King of the Cumans ("li roys des Commains") and the nobles with him had done the same in their turn, and had mingled the blood with the blood of our people. After water and wine had been added both parties had drunk from the goblet and had thereupon declared themselves blood-brothers". The ceremony also included a sacrifice of a dog, which both sides slashed and cut to bits with their swords "at the same time vowing that whoever failed the other in this alliance would be cut to pieces in the same way".²⁴

The establishment of the sworn brotherhood by blood was strengthened by mutual marital ties. According to Alberic, two Cuman "kings" (*reges*), Iona and Saronius, gave their daughters in marriage to the magnates of the Latin Empire. The older and more respected Cuman chief Iona, obviously identical to Joinville's unnamed Cuman king, gave his daughter to Narjot of Toucy, while two daughters of Saronius, who were baptized in Constantinople, were married to William (Guillaume), son of constable Geoffroy of Merry, and the emperor's cousin Baldwin of

quorundam per suas incantationes coegit demonem respondere sibi certa et vera, cui demon tale dedit responsum: Rex inimicos / Perdet iniquos / non per amicos. Quo dicto demon obmutuit, et ulterius non respondit. Interrogatus vero magister de interpretatione versus, dicebat: 'Quoniam vos ipsi per vos cito interpretationem videbitis et cognoscetis sine iudicio alicuius.' Creditur autem quod in adventu Comanorum illud vaticinium sit completum: Nam rex celestis perdet et destruet iniquos inimicos imperii Constantinopolis, videlicet Vastaghium et Alsanum, non per amicos, id est Comanos, qui sunt infideles, nec sunt amici Christi', Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 949.

²² Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 947, p. 949; Uzelac, "Cumans in the Latin Empire," p. 12.

²³ Joseph Laborde, ed., Layettes du Trésor des chartes, Vol. 3 (Paris: Plon, 1875), p. 138, no. 3934.

²⁴ Jean de Joinville, and Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Chronicles of the Crusades, trans. Margaret R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin, 1963), pp. 289–290; See also Peter Golden, "Wolves, Dogs and Qipchaq Religion," Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 50 (1997), pp. 95–96.

Hainaut.²⁵ Marital ties between the Cumans and the Franks are also recorded in the French continuation of *The History* of William of Tyre (the so-called *Eracles*).²⁶

In such a way, while the last stage of the Mongol campaign in the Pontic-Caspian steppes was taking place, the Franks in Constantinople secured the support of the western knights and the Cumans, aiming to reconquer lost possessions in Thrace. Preparations for the campaign seem to have been launched immediately after the emperor's coronation. At the beginning of May 1240, near the imperial capital, Baldwin II issued rights of the Kingdom of Thessaloniki to Guglielmo da Verona, triarch of Negroponte.²⁷ Possibly, he was already in the field, training the troops. The main target of the campaign was the fortress Tzouroulou, which fell under the rule of Nicaea four years earlier. It was besieged by the forces of the Latin Empire in the summer of 1240. According to Akropolites, "the infinite number of Scythians, and the quantity and strength of the siege towers" had forced the Nicaean commander Petralyphas to surrender the city; the defenders were taken as captives to Constantinople.²⁸ Baldwin II enthusiastically informed his cousin, the King of England, of the capture of an important fortress not far from Constantinople, together with surrounding lands.²⁹

The war continued the following year. After the loss of *Tzouroulou*, Vatatzes intended to counterattack with both his army and the navy, while Baldwin II kept his knights behind the walls of the capital and the forts in eastern Thrace. In the spring of 1241, the Nicaean fleet sailed from Nicomedia towards Bosporus, while the army captured three remaining Frankish outposts on the shores of Marmara: Dakibyza (modern Gebze), Niketiatou (Eskihisar), and Charax.³⁰ The Greek navy was, however, defeated in the vicinity of Constantinople by the approximately half as large Venetian fleet of 16 ships led by Podestà Giovanni Michele. The battle

30 George Akropolites, *History*, p. 203.

^{25 &#}x27;Saronius insuper traditor quidam duas habebat filias baptizatas in Constantinopoli, quarum unam duxit Guillelmus conestabuli filius, alteram Balduinus de Haynaco. Filiam vero regis Ione, qui videbatur esse maior in regibus Cumanorum, duxerat domnus Nargoldus balivus', Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 950.

^{26 &}quot;Guilelmi Tyrensis Continuata belli sacri historia," in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, Vol. 201, ed. Jean-Paul Migne (Paris: Petit Montrouge, 1853), p. 1010. The continuator of William of Tyre speaks of the marriage between Anseau of Cayeux and a daughter of a Cuman. However, Anseau of Cayeux was at that time married to a Greek princess Eudokia Laskarina, so he could not have had a Cuman wife, cf. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 911; George Akropolites, *History*, p. 173, p. 245. Evidently, the two consecutive regents of the Latin Empire, Anseau of Cayeux and Narjot of Toucy, were conflated in the source.

²⁷ Loenertz, "Les seigneurs tierciers de Négrepont," p. 268, no. 1.

²⁸ George Akropolites, *History*, p. 203.

²⁹ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 4, ed. Henry R. Luard (London: Longman, 1877), pp. 54–55.

probably took place in May of 1241.³¹ The war ended soon, or as Alberic states, around the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24), John Asen II died and the Latin Empire concluded a two-year truce with both Bulgaria and Nicaea.³² The Bulgarian emperor probably died sometime earlier, in May or early June, as the date in Alberic's chronicle refers to the conclusion of the truce.³³ It was usually observed from the perspective of the conflict between Nicaea and the Latin Empire. Nevertheless, it is conspicuous that Bulgaria was also included in the tripartite agreement, and that its date coincided with the important events taking place in Pannonia; namely, the Mongol invasion over the Carpathians, their victory at the *Sajó* river (April 11, 1241), and the establishment of their control over the eastern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary. It is quite plausible that the news of the Mongol threat was also a factor that led to a temporary halt in the hostilities in Thrace.³⁴

Narjot of Toucy died in the same year, probably soon after the conclusion of the truce. His Cuman wife afterwards took monastic vows.³⁵ In the same year, she lost not only her husband, but also her father Iona, another man who was responsible for the establishment of the Frankish-Cuman alliance. Iona was not baptized and he was buried in accordance with nomadic customs. His body was put under a high tumulus just outside of the walls of Constantinople, while the funeral ceremony was followed by a voluntary sacrifice of eight of his men, and 26 horses, according to Alberic.³⁶ Joinville also described in detail a funeral of a certain Cuman magnate, evidently none other than Iona, by relating how his folk dug a grave, and put him inside in rich attire. The Cumans also "lowered the best horse he had, and his best sergeant into the grave alive" and raised a great mound of stones and earth above the tomb in memory of those they had thus buried".³⁷ Joinville's informant Philip of Toucy was obviously present at the funeral. He and the other dignitaries

³¹ Martino da Canale, "La Chronique des Veniciens," in Archivio Storico Italiano, Vol. 8, ed. Filippo-Luigi Polidori (Firenze: G.P. Vieusseux, 1845), p. 366; Andrea Dandolo, Chronica, p. 298; George Akropolites, History, pp. 203–204; Giebfried, "The Mongol Invasions," p. 131.

³² Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 950.

³³ Madgearu, The Assanids, pp. 225–226.

³⁴ Uzelac, "Cumans in the Latin Empire," p. 17.

³⁵ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 950; Philippe Mouskes, *Chronique rimée*, Vol. 2, pp. 673–674, verses 30747–30758. Mouskes reported that the news of death of John Assen II and Narjot de Toucy came from Constantinople at the same time. See also: Pierre Courroux, "Philippe Mousket, Aubri de Troisfontaines et la date de composition de la 'Chronique rimée'," *Medioevo Romanzo* 39.2 (2015), 429–431.

³⁶ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 950.

³⁷ Joinville and Villehardouin, Chronicles of the Crusades, p. 290; Yuriy K. Guguev, "Рассказ Жана де Жуанвиля о похоронах знатного кумана" [Jean de Joinville's Story about the Funeral of a Cuman Noble], in Тюркологический сборник. 2007–2008: история и культура тюркских народов России и сопредельных стран, ed. Sergey G. Klyashtornyy, Tursun I. Sultanov, and Vadim V. Trepavlov (Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 2009), pp. 124–145.

of the Latin Empire had every reason to mourn Iona, as after his death the alliance between the Franks and the nomads was effectively terminated.

Following the truce, John III Vatatzes directed his attention to Thessaloniki. ruled by the Epirote prince John Doukas Angelos (1237–1244), who styled himself emperor. Akropolites recorded that when Vatatzes launched the campaign in 1242, he had "a battle-worthy army" of Cumans at his disposal. He "had won [them] over a short time ago with gifts and manifold liberalities" and settled them in the eastern regions of his state.³⁸ Akropolites does not mention who was the leader of these Cumans, but it is noteworthy that Alberic branded Saronius a traitor,³⁹ and that later Byzantine emperor and writer John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1354) mentioned Cuman leader Sytzigan as being in the service of Vatatzes; Sytzigan is probably just a variant of the same name that Alberic recorded as "Saronius", as István Vásáry convincingly argued.⁴⁰ Evidently, either in late 1241 or at the beginning of the next year, Saronius switched his allegiance and led the Cuman host under the banner of Nicaea. Vatatzes took care of their provisions and settlement in Asia Minor,⁴¹ before he called his new allies to join the march against Thessaloniki. Some Cumans may have stayed in Constantinople; such was the case of Perrin the Cuman, a sergeant in the service of Narjot's younger son Anseau of Toucy, mentioned by the fourteenth-century Chronicle of Morea in some later events,⁴² but his example was rather the exception than the rule.

Besides the death of Iona, the lack of resources for the sustenance of a large nomadic group—as the Latin empire was limited to a small, largely urbanized territory in the vicinity of Constantinople—undoubtedly played a role in the decision of the Cumans to switch their allegiance to Nicaea. Another reason that influenced such a move was fear of the Mongols.⁴³ Béla IV received serious threats from the Mongol leader Batu on the eve of the invasion, because he was sheltering a large group of Cumans led by Cuthen,⁴⁴ and it is not impossible that similar warnings arrived in Constantinople. As Peter Jackson rightfully pointed out, the Mongols attacked Baldwin II because, in all probability, like the King of Hungary he had

³⁸ George Akropolites, *History*, p. 215.

³⁹ Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," p. 950.

⁴⁰ Johannes Kantakuzenos, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, trans. Georgios Fatouros and Tilman Kirscher (Stuttgart: Anton Hierseman, 1982), p. 22; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 67–68.

⁴¹ Dimitri Korobeinikov, "Кыпчаки в Пафлагонии" [Kipchaks in Paphlagonia], in Кипчаки Евразии: история, язык и письменныие памятники, ed. Bulat E. Kumekov (Astana: Eurasian National University Lev Gumilev, 2013), pp. 100–108; Dimitri Korobeinikov, Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 76–78; Rustam Shukurov, The Byzantine Turks 1204-1461 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016), pp. 92–93.

⁴² John Schmitt, ed., *The Chronicle of Morea* (London: Methuen, 1904), p. 353, verse 5420.

⁴³ Uzelac, "Cumans in the Latin Empire," pp. 16–17.

⁴⁴ Dörrie, Drei Texte, p. 179; Hautala, Om "Давида, царя Индий," p. 380, pp. 388–389.

given asylum to the Cumans.⁴⁵ An identical motive for the Mongol attack was unintentionally provided by two other Balkan countries, Serbia and Bulgaria, to where the Cumans, who left Hungary after the treacherous murder of Cuthen, fled in the spring of 1241.⁴⁶

* * *

In 1242, Baiju, commander of the Mongol forces in Armenia, launched a campaign and captured Erzurum after a prolonged siege.⁴⁷ This was an ominous announcement of further Mongol penetration into the heart of Anatolia. The news reached Vatatzes in his camp near Thessaloniki. The emperor initially kept the information secret in order not to erode the morale of his troops. Nonetheless, fearing trouble on the eastern borders, he accepted the formal submission of John Doukas Angelos and left in haste to Asia Minor to prepare defences in case the Mongols threatened his domains.⁴⁸ In the meantime, at the end of January or early February of 1242, Batu's war machinery in Pannonia had already pushed over the frozen Danube. The detachment, led by prince Qadan, descended on the Adriatic coast in an attempt to capture Béla IV, who found refuge in the town of Trau (Trogir). Unsuccessful in this task, Qadan stayed in Dalmatia through the course of the winter and thoroughly devastated the countryside. The Mongol leader then left towards southern Bosnia and the maritime regions of the Serbian medieval state, where his forces stormed a few towns on the way. After arriving in the vicinity of Scutari (Shkodër), the Mongols turned to the interior of the Balkan Peninsula, eventually reaching northwest Bulgaria. Archaeological traces of the Mongol campaign are particularly

⁴⁵ Jackson, *Mongols and the West*, p. 72.

⁴⁶ Anonymi Bele regis notarii, *Gesta Hungarorum*. Anonymus Notary of King Bela, *The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Edited, translated and annotated by Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy, Magistri Rogerii, *Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta*. Master Roger's, *Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars*. Translated and annotated by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, (Central European Medieval Texts, 5) (Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 176–177 (hereinafter Anonymus and Master Roger); Gerard de Frachet, "Vitae fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum," in *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, Vol. 1, ed. Benedict M. Reichert (Leuven: Charpentier & Schoonjans, 1896), p. 307; Hautala, *Om "Давида, царя Индий,"* p. 349, p. 351.

⁴⁷ Ibn Bibi, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, ed. and trans. Herbert W. Duda (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959), p. 227; Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 256; John Langdon, "Byzantium's initial Encounter with the Chinggisids. An Introduction to the Byzantino-Mongolica," *Viator* 29 (1998), pp. 113–114.

⁴⁸ George Akropolites, *History*, p. 216.

noticeable in the northern parts of the Asenid state, between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains.⁴⁹

There are some clues that help us to determine the directions of the Mongol campaign in Bulgaria. Persian writer Rashīd *al*-Dīn mentions that Qadan attacked the cities of Qïrqïn and Qïla; the first city is usually assumed to be the Bulgarian medieval capital Târnovo, while the second one was identified with Kilia, at the mouth of the Danube.⁵⁰ However, Kilia was an insignificant place at the time, and another proposed identification of Qïla with the major port of Anchialos (also known as Ahilu, Asilo, Achillo) or modern Pomorie, further south, seems much more credible.⁵¹ If such identification is correct, it would suggest that the Mongols, similarly to the Crusading army in the late 1239, used the ancient coastal route leading from Anchialos through Pirgos (Burgas), Agathopolis (Ahtopol) and Midye (Kıyıköy) towards Constantinople in order to reach the Latin Empire.⁵²

The Mongol attack on the Latin Empire of Constantinople is attested in two sources. The first is a well-known entry preserved in the anonymous Chronicle of Heiligenkreuz Abbey, dated *sub anno 1243*, and repeated in the early four-teenth-century Chronicon Austriacum, the Chronicle of Leoben, and the Chronicle of Klosterneuburg: "The Tatars and the Cumans, without resistance and unopposed, returned from Hungary with innumerable spoils in gold and silver [...] After

⁴⁹ Plamen Pavlov and Georgi Atanasov, "Преминаването на татарската армия през България (1241-1242 г.)" [The passage of the Tatar Army through Bulgaria (1241-1242)], Военноисторически сборник 63, по. 1 (1994), pp. 5–20; Plamen Pavlov and Georgi Vladimirov, Златната орда и българите [The Golden Horde and Bulgarians] (Sofia: Voenno izdatelstvo, 2009), pp. 77–89; Aleksandar Uzelac, Под сенком Пса. Татари и јужнословенске земље у другој половини XIII века [Under the Shadow of the Dog. Tatars and South Slavic Lands in the Second half of the Thirteenth Century] (Belgrade: Utopia, 2015), pp. 47–52; Panos Sophoulis, "The Mongol Invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242," Fragmenta Hellenoslavica 2 (2015), pp. 251–278; Dejan Radičević, "Археологические следы монгольского нашествия на территории Сербии" [Archeological traces of Mongol Invasion on the Territory of Serbia], Stratum Plus, 7.5 (2020), p. 231–247.

⁵⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John Andrew Boyle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 71. Aurel Decei, "L'invasion des Tatars de 1241/1242 dans nos régions de selon la Djamiot Tevarikh de Fazl ol-lah Rashid od-Din," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 12 (1973), pp. 120–121.

⁵¹ Silvia Baraschi, "Izvoare scrise privind aşezările dobrogene de pe malul Dunării în secolele XI-XIV" [Written Sources about the Dobrogean settlements on the Danube in the Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries], *Revista de istorie* 34.2 (1981), p. 323; Madgearu, *The Assanids*, pp. 229–230. On medieval Anchialos see also Krasimira Gagova, *Тракия през българското средновековие. Историческа география* [Thracia in the Bulgarian Middle Ages. Historical Geography] (Sofia: Sofia University Press, 2002), pp. 163–168.

⁵² On this route see: Dimitâr Angelov and Boris Cholpanov, Българска военна история през средновековието (Х-ХV век) [Bulgarian Military History in the Middle Ages (Tenth-Fifteenth century)] (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1994), p. 324 and Gagova, Тракия, p. 101.

entering Greece, they laid waste to the entire country, apart from the fortresses and well-fortified cities. The king of Constantinople, named Baldwin, confronted them, being victorious in the first battle and suffering defeat in the second one."⁵³

The report presents a couple of problems to researchers: the first is the mention of Cumans as the attackers, together with the Mongols, and the second is the recorded date of the incursion. In fact, both are mistakes, which can be easily explained. In the Austrian chronicle, the role of the Cumans in these turbulent events is garbled; considering that they are mentioned as the invaders in Hungary as well, it is not surprising that they appear as Mongol allies in their march to Thrace. Their mention thus seems to have no connection to the earlier Cuman settlement in the Latin Empire. Moreover, the previous entry in the Chronicle dates the "Cuman and Mongol invasion" of Hungary and death of Pope Gregory IX in 1242 instead of 1241,⁵⁴ and it is necessary to apply the same correction (i.e. the subtraction of one year) to the passage dealing with the Mongol incursion into the domains of Baldwin II.

A more detailed note about the chronology needs to be inserted here. It is known that Baldwin II was in Constantinople on February 12, 1242, when he wrote a letter to Louis IX regarding his dispute with countess Matilda of Nevers about the ownership of several castles.⁵⁵ Another piece of documentary evidence comes from August 5, 1243, when he sent a letter to Queen Blanche of Castille, mother of Louis IX, in which he defended himself from the accusations that he had surrounded himself by Greeks and had tried to win her for a particular political project of which more will be said below.⁵⁶ His clashes with the Mongols took place in the time span between these two dates, and considering that there was no mention

^{53 &#}x27;Tartari et Chumani nemine resistente et occurrente, recesserunt ab Ungaria cum infinita preda auri et argenti, vestium, animalium, multos et captivos utriusque sexus ducebant in obproprium christianorum. Qui intrantes Greciam totam terram illam depopulabant, exceptis castellis et civitatibus valde munitis. Rex vero Constantinopolitanus nomine Baldwinus, congressus est cum eis, a quo primo victi in secunda congressione victus est ab eis,' "Anonymi Chronicon Austriacum", in *Rerum Austriacarum scriptores*, vol. 2, ed. Adrian Rauch (Vienna: J. Stahel, 1793), p. 245. For other chronicols where the same passage is repeated: Joseph von Zahn, ed., *Anonymi Leobiensis Chronicon*, (Gräz: Leuschner & Lubensky, 1865), p. 8; "Chronicon Claustroneuburgense", in *Rerum Austriacarum scriptores*, vol. 1, ed. Adrian Rauch (Wien: J. Stahel, 1793), p. 85; "Continuatio Sancrucensis II," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Scriptores*, vol. 9, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach (Hannover: Hahn, 1851), p. 641. See also Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, p. 70.

^{54 &}quot;Anonymi Chronicon Austriacum," p. 244; cf. "Chronicon Claustroneuburgense," p. 84; "Continuatio Sancrucensis II," p. 640.

⁵⁵ Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, vol. 2, p. 464, no. 2954; Hendrickx, "Regestes," p. 138; no. 213.

⁵⁶ André Duchesne, Historiae Francorum Scriptores, vol. 5 (Paris: Sebastian Cramois, 1649), pp. 424–426; Teulet, Layettes du Trésor des chartes, vol. 2, pp. 518–519, no. 3123; Hendrickx, "Regestes," p. 143, no. 221.

or any reminiscence of the invaders in the latter document, it would indicate that they had taken place at least several months earlier.⁵⁷ The chronology of Qadan's activities is more helpful in this aspect. An eyewitness of Mongol action in Dalmatia, Thomas of Spalato, remembered that the Mongols had stayed there until the end of March, 1242.⁵⁸ Qadan then passed through Bosnia and Serbia and arrived in Bulgaria during the spring of the same year. According to Rashīd *al*-Dīn, the Mongols ended their campaign in the Balkans in January, 1243.⁵⁹ Therefore, their inroads into the territory of the Latin Empire should be dated either as summer or the autumn of 1242 at the latest.

Unlike the well-known entry from the Austrian chronicle, another source in which the conflict between the Mongols and the Franks was recorded is generally neglected. This is the *Chronography* of Syriac writer Gregory Abulfaraj (1226-1286), better known as Bar Hebraeus. In a passage of this work that deals with the Mongol invasions, Bar Hebraeus noted how Batu "prepared to attack Constantinople from the quarter of the Bulgarians. And the kings of the Franks heard [of this], and they gathered together and they met Batu in battle, and they broke him and made him flee. And no man of the Tatars afterwards went to the country of the Franks, but they dwelt in the plain of Cappadocia."⁶⁰ Almost the same text is repeated in the *History of Dynasties*, an Arabic rendition of *Chronography* written by Bar Hebraeus himself, where it is added that the battle between the Franks and the Mongols took place within the borders of Bulgaria.⁶¹ It is certain that "Bulgaria" in this section

⁵⁷ Giebfried, "The Mongol Invasions," p. 133.

⁵⁸ Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text edition by Olga Perić. Edited and English translation by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006), pp. 300–301.

⁵⁹ Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, р. 71; Roman Hautala, "Ездил ли Александр Невский в Монголию? Несколько замечаний о поездках Александра Невского и его отца к монгольским правителям" [Did Alexander Nevsky go to Mongolia? Some Remarks on the Travels of Alexander Nevsky and his Father to the Mongol Rulers], in *Александр Невский: личность, эпоха, историческая память. К 800-летию со дня рождения* [Alexander Nevsky: Personality, Era, Historical Memory. To the 800th Anniversary of his Birth], ed. Elena L. Konyavskaya and Leonid A. Belyaev (Moscow: Indrik, 2021), p. 200. A marginal note in a manuscript from the Vatican archive attests that a book was bought from a certain Theodore Gramatikos at the time of the reign of Kaliman Asen (1241–1246), son and successor of John Asen II in Bulgaria in the year 6751 of the Byzantine calendar (September 1, 1242–August 31, 1243) "after the attack of the godless Tatars", Peter Schreiner, "Die Tataren und Bulgarien. Bemerkungen zu einer Notiz im Vaticanus Reginensis gr. 18," *Études balkaniques* 21.4 (1985), 25–29.

⁶⁰ Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus,* Vol. 1, trans. Ernest A. W. Budge (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 398.

^{61 &#}x27;Batu autem, quae ad Sclavos spectarent peractis, ad partes Constantinopolis invadendas se accinxit: quod cum auditione accepissent Francorum Reges, illi unanimiter congregati Mo-

of the *Chronography* (and *History of Dynasties*) is the Danubian Bulgaria, not its counterpart on the Volga, while the puzzling mention of the plain of Cappadocia should probably imply "the plain of Kipchaks"—that is, the steppes to the north of the Black Sea, not the Anatolian region.⁶² As with the Austrian Chronicle, the chronology in the report of Bar Hebreus is wrong; the event is dated in "the year 1542 of the Greeks"; that is, 1231/32.

How this information came to the Syriac chronicler will be discussed later. Before that, it is necessary to look at another alleged piece of evidence of the Mongol inroads into the territory of the Latin Empire. John Giebfried recently brought into argument an intriguing rumour that circulated in the West about the death of the Latin Emperor Baldwin II, connecting it with the defeat of the Frankish knights in the second battle against the Mongols. The rumour is recorded in no less than two instances. The first is the *Chronique Rimée* of Phillipe Mouskes, who conveys how "from Greece the news came [...], that emperor Baldwin, brother of Robert was dead".⁶³ Allegedly, hearing the news, Geoffroy of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaea, sailed to Constantinople to take over the regency on behalf of Baldwin's wife Marie of Brienne and their underage son Philip.⁶⁴ Another notice is preserved in documents from the Papal chancery. Namely, in two letters of Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254), dated April 23, 1244 and confirming Baldwin's grants in the Kingdom of Thessaloniki, the emperor was mentioned as deceased ("clare memorie Balduinus, imperator Constantinopolitanus").65 The papal documents are unfortunately omitted by Giebfried, who instead focused on another piece of information preserved in the poem De triumphis ecclesiae by John of Garland (ca. 1190–1270), a university teacher in Paris. In the passages of his poem reflecting on the Mongol campaigns in the Black Sea region, John of Garland noted that the Caucasus and the Danube bowed to the Mongols, while "defeated Thrace mourned its leader"; the leader of Thrace was recognized as none other than Baldwin II.⁶⁶

gulensibus in Bulgariae finibus occurrerunt; ubi frequentium quae commiserunt praeliorum exitus fuit, ut victi Mogulenses terga darent, atque in fugam se converterent', Bar Hebraeus, *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum authore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio, Malatiensi Medico*, trans. Edward Pococke (Oxford: H. Hall, 1663), p. 310.

⁶² Petâr Goliyski, "Древните и средновековните българи в сирийските и сирийскоарменските извори" [Ancient and Medieval Bulgarians in Syriac and Syriac-Armenian Sources], Enoxu 27.2 (2019), 466–467.

^{63 &#}x27;De viers Grisse revint noviele / Assés périllouse et non biele / Que mors estoit li emperère Bauduins / ki fu Robiert frère / L'emperéour mort devant lui', Philippe Mouskes, *Chronique rimée*, vol. 2, p. 689, verses 31181–31185.

⁶⁴ Philippe Mouskes, *Chronique rimée*, vol. 2, p. 689, verses 31191–31198

⁶⁵ Loenertz, "Les seigneurs tierciers de Négrepont", pp. 267–270, nos. 1–2.

^{66 &#}x27;Armenie proceres pereunt, Syrieque tyranni / Succumbunt; Pontus colla subacta gemit. Caucasus inclinat sese, sua porrigit Hister / Arma, suum luget Thracia victa ducem', John of

The hypothesis that the rumour emerged as an echo of Baldwin's defeat in the second battle with the Mongols is tempting, but to test its validity we must again turn to chronology. Mouskes' report about the alleged death of the emperor is present in the final sections of his work that refers to various events from 1242 and 1243, but independently of his short notices about the Mongol campaigns and the spurious battle between the "King of the Vlachs" (Bulgarians) and the invaders.⁶⁷ In contrast, John of Garland noted the death of the "leader of Thrace" in connection with the Mongol invasion, but he finished his poem in 1252, when Baldwin II was safe and sound in Constantinople, and many years after the rumour proved false. Therefore, the man in question whose death was recorded in Garland's poem seems to be John Asen II, who indeed died at the time of the Mongol invasion, not the emperor in Constantinople. The most important argument for the rejection of the hypothesis is the date of the papal documents. They show that the rumour of Baldwin's death did not emerge at the time of the conflict with the Mongols, but rather in the second half of 1243, and after Baldwin's letter to Blanche of Castille, as convincingly argued by Filip van Tricht.⁶⁸ Whether the rumour was an echo of a new Nicaean attack against Constantinople following the expiry of the truce concluded in 1241, as van Tricht thinks, or is due to a possibly otherwise unrecorded illness of the emperor, is something that can only be speculated about. However, for the purpose of this article, it is sufficient to note that the proposed connection between the Mongol inroad into Thrace and the rumour of Baldwin's death can be dismissed altogether.

Accordingly, we are left with the short entry from the Austrian chronicle and the neglected passage from the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus. Both sources were written long after the events, but they are also independent of each other. Their information about the battle(s) in the open field between the Mongols and the Franks from Constantinople can be accepted as trustworthy. Even after the departure of Cumans, Baldwin II still had at his disposal the knights he led from the West two years earlier, or at least parts of this army. A year before, he had kept his military resources behind the walls of fortresses against the superior forces of the Empire of Nicaea, and his decision to meet the Mongols on the battlefield indicates that the number of the invaders was small; it was probably just a raiding party, or a reconnaissance force. On the other hand, the location of the battle(s) between

Garland, *De triumphis ecclesiae libri octo. A Latin Poem of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. Thomas Wright (London: Nichols & Sons, 1856), p. 108; Giebfried, "The Mongol Invasions," p. 132.

^{67 &#}x27;Des Tartares revint noviele / Ki par tot le monde fu biele / Que li rois de la tière as Blas / Les ot descomfis à l pas', Philippe Mouskes, *Chronique rimée*, vol. 2, p. 681, verses 30959–30963.

⁶⁸ van Tricht, *Horoscope of Baldwin II*, pp. 69–70; cf. Courroux, "Philippe Mousket," pp. 432–433.

the Mongol marauders and the Franks is somewhat differently presented in the two sources. The Austrian chronicler speaks of the encounters after the Mongols entered "Greece", or the territory of the Latin Empire, while remarks of Bar Hebraeus imply that the battle took place within Bulgaria, or in the border region between the two states. Based on this information and the previously supposed route of the Mongols, it may be suggested that the confrontations took place in the vicinity of the Bulgarian town of Agathopolis and the Frankish fortress of Midye further south.⁶⁹

The Syriac chronicler claimed that Batu personally led the assault, which is impossible to accept at face value. However, it is conceivable that he ordered Qadan to send a part of his force to Thrace, either before or after the two Mongol leaders joined their forces in northern Bulgaria, probably near the mouth of the Danube.⁷⁰ Eventually, after testing the strength of the Latin Empire in the two battles—if we are to believe the Austrian chronicler—or rather skirmishes with the crusaders, the Mongols withdrew. In the same source it is stated that the attackers did not storm any of the cities or fortresses, and considering that the land of the Latin Empire was heavily fortified it is doubtful that they could have caused much damage. Finally, it may be supposed that the Mongol defeat in the first encounter served as a basis for the story that spread from Constantinople to Levant, in which it grew into a decisive battle, whose outcome forced the defeated Mongols and Batu himself to return to the East, thus earning its place in the opus of Bar Hebraeus.

The two short conflicting reports about the clashes between the Mongols and the Franks do not offer the possibility to reconstruct the course of events in more detail. However, it can be concluded that the effects of the Mongol attack were limited, at least compared to the devastation that the neighbouring Bulgaria suffered. It was due to the small number of attackers, the readiness of Baldwin II and his knights to meet them in the open field, and the strong fortifications that guarded the roads to Constantinople. Thus, the Mongol inroad to Thrace seems to have been a minor episode in the history of their invasion of Europe, without serious direct repercussions on the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The long-term effects of the Mongol invasion on the region and on the Latin Empire were, however, tremendous, and they will be discussed in the last part of this text.

* * *

⁶⁹ On medieval Agathopolis: Gagova, *Тракия*, 154-156. Midye was under Frankish control until 1247, when it was conquered by the Empire of Nicaea, see infra.

⁷⁰ Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia* Salonitanorum, pp. 302–303.

After 1242, the political map of the Southeastern Europe drastically changed. Bulgaria, won for the Frankish cause near the end of John Asen's reign, was thoroughly ravaged by the Mongols, and was eventually forced to become their tributary in ca. 1247.⁷¹ The majority of the Cumans, whose affection the Franks in Constantinople so painstakingly tried to win, eventually settled within the empire of Vatatzes, and thus strengthened the power of their bitter rival. And in the early forties, another political project of Baldwin II was destined to fail due to the impact of the Mongol invasions: his attempt to secure the alliance with the Seljuk sultanate of Rum and its ruler Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (1237–1246).

The only trace of the contacts between the Latin Empire and the Seljuks is preserved in the above-mentioned letter of Baldwin II to Blanche of Castille from August 5, 1243. In the letter, the emperor described his negotiations with the Turks which led to the conclusion of the pact of friendship. Baldwin II also tried to use the influence of the Queen mother to convince his sister Elizabeth of Montaigu to send one of her daughters to marry the sultan and thus cement the alliance.⁷² The contents of the letter show that such idea was motivated exclusively by the intent of suppressing the threat of John III Vatatzes (*"ad inimicum nostrum Vastachium deprimendum"*). The initial negotiations of Baldwin II with Kaykhusraw II were probably set in motion several months earlier when the tripartite truce with the Nicaea and Bulgaria was approaching an end, but it was the Mongols that again came into play and shattered to pieces the prospects of the alliance.

After the conquest of Erzurum, Baiju made preparations for a further campaign in Anatolia. Kaykhusraw II realized the magnitude of danger and sent pleas for help in all directions. According to Dominican friar Simon of St. Quentin, Vatatzes answered the call and sent 400 lancers, while Persian historian Ibn Bibi mentions 3,000 Franks and Greeks in the Seljuk army in the decisive battle of Köse Dağ (June 26, 1243).⁷³ The presence of the Frankish mercenaries on the Seljuk side is also attested by Bar Hebraeus,⁷⁴ and by Armenian nobleman and historian Hayton of Korikos; according to Hayton, they were led by a certain John of Liminati from Cyprus and Boniface de Molinis from Venice.⁷⁵ It seems that no help came to the

⁷¹ On the date: Pavlov and Vladimirov, Златната орда и българите, p. 89 and Uzelac, Под сенком Пса, pp. 74–75.

⁷² Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, Vol. 5, pp. 424–426; Hendrickx, "Regestes," pp. 141–143, nos. 219–221.

⁷³ Simon of Saint-Quentin, *Histoire des Tartares*, ed. Jean Richard (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1965), p. 70; Ibn Bibi, *Seltschukengeschichte*, p. 227.

⁷⁴ Bar Hebraeus, Chronography, Vol. 1, p. 406.

⁷⁵ Hayton of Korikos, "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient", in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens*, vol. 2, ed. Charles Kohler (Paris: Imprimerie nationale 1906), pp. 158–159, pp. 292–293; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, p. 178, n. 62.

sultan from Constantinople. The "betrayal" of the Cumans, followed by the losses in the campaigns against Nicaea in 1240–41, and the Mongol marauders in 1242, probably depleted the military resources of the Latin Empire to a great extent, and Baldwin II was in either unwilling, or more probably unable, to send military support to his desired ally when he desperately needed it.⁷⁶

As many historians agree, the disastrous Seljuk defeat at Köse Dağ opened a new chapter in the history of Asia Minor. It initially made the sultan and his subjects fully dependent on aid from Vatatzes, but eventually the weakened Seljuk state had no other choice but to become a Mongol vassal.⁷⁷ As a result, in the mid-thirteenth century the Mongol sphere of influence encompassed the whole basin of the Black Sea, with the exception of the Latin Empire and the Empire of Nicaea,⁷⁸ and the latter was the only state in the region not directly affected either by the Qadan's operations in 1242, or by Baiju's campaign in 1243. In fact, in the long run, as Giebfried rightfully argued, the Mongol invasions benefited Vatatzes and his state by weakening his rivals and allowing him to make great advances.⁷⁹

In 1244, Baldwin II set out again for Europe in a desperate attempt to secure help against the threat to Nicaea that seemed imminent. He left his domains in the hands of empress consort Marie of Brienne, Philip of Toucy, and Anseau of Cayeux. He participated in the Council of Lyons (1245), where he sat at the right hand of Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254) in the place of honour among secular princes, but despite the initial hope this time no help came from the Pope, Louis IX, nor representatives of the Military order of Saint James; while the attention of Western Europe was directed at the events in the Holy Land and the Mongols, there was not much sympathy for the cause of the Franks in Constantinople. Besides, neither Baldwin II nor the regency on the Bosporus had anything to offer in return as the state treasury of the Latin empire was again empty.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ The so-called Minstrel of Reims remarked that many Baldwin's knights and followers left him before he left on a second journey to Europe in 1244, because he was bancrupt, Natalis de Wailly, ed., *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle* (Paris: Renouard, 1876), p. 224.

⁷⁷ Vryonis, *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, p. 234; Langdon, "Byzantium's initial encounter," pp. 114–117; Korobeinikov, *Byzantium and the Turks*, pp. 178–180.

⁷⁸ On the Mongol sphere of influence in the Black Sea region, see the report of Flemish Franciscan and traveller William of Rubruck to Louis IX, Peter Jackson and David Morgan, trans., The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253–1255 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990), pp. 65-66.

⁷⁹ Giebfried, "Mongol Invasions," p. 135. A similar conclusion is arrived at by van Tricht, *Horoscope of Baldwin II*, p. 68, n. 44.

⁸⁰ Longnon, L'empire Latin, pp. 184–185; Eloy Benito Ruano, "Balduino II de Constantinopla y La Orden de Santiago. Un proyecto de defensa del Imperio Latino de Oriente [Balduin II of Constantinople and The Order of Santiago. A project for the defense of the Eastern Latin Empire]," *Hispania: Revista española de historia* 12 (1952), pp. 3–36; Wolff, "Latin Empire," pp. 224–225.

Meanwhile, Vatatzes waited for an opportune moment to exploit the power vacuum created by the Mongols and the weakness of his neighbours. In September 1246, upon hearing the news of the (possibly violent) death of the underage Kaliman Asen (1241–1246), he turned against Bulgaria. With little effort, northern Thrace and Eastern Macedonia were taken from the Asenid state, and the Bulgarians were forced to conclude a peace and to officially recognize the territorial changes.⁸¹ In December of the same year, almost without resistance, Vatatzes entered Thessaloniki in triumph.⁸² In the spring of 1247, he directed all his power against the Latin Empire of Constantinople, adding to his army auxiliary forces of Bulgarians and his newly-acquired Cuman allies. The desperate efforts of Anseau of Caveux to organize a defence were futile due to the lack of manpower. Tzourulou, where Anseau had left his Greek wife and Vatatzes' sister-in-law Eudokia, hoping thus to deter the enemy, was stormed; Eudokia was captured and by the orders of her brother sent to her husband in Constantinople unharmed. The cities of Midye, Vizye (Vize), and Derkos (Durusu) also fell into Greek hands,⁸³ while the Cumans dragged off more than twenty thousand prisoners into captivity.⁸⁴ In the course of the campaign, the Latin Empire not only lost all its gains from 1240–1241, but its domains were even further reduced to the port of Selymbria (Silivri) and the imperial capital. Baldwin II returned to Constantinople before October 1248,85 but faced with the lack of funds he even had to pawn his own son Philip to Venetian merchants not long after his return.⁸⁶ As curious as it may be, in such dire circumstances the Franks in Constantinople put their last hopes for salvation in the Mongols, and in ca. 1250–1251 a cousin of the emperor, Baldwin of Hainaut, the same man who married a daughter of a Cuman chief Saronius, travelled as far as Mongolia, meeting on the way Batu's son Sartag and probably the Great Khan Möngke (1251–1259).87

⁸¹ George Akropolites, *History*, pp. 225–232.

⁸² George Akropolites, *History*, pp. 235–238.

⁸³ George Akropolites, *History*, p. 245; Wolff, "Latin Empire," p. 226; Dancheva-Vasileva, *България и Латинската империя*, pp. 158–159.

⁸⁴ Demetrios Polemis, "A Manuscript note of the year 1247," Byzantinische Forschungen 1 (1966), pp. 270–271; Florentia Évangélatou-Notara, "Πολεμικές επιχειρήσεις στη Θράκη το Θέρος του 1247 [Military Operations in Thrace in the Summer of 1247]," Byzantinische Forschungen 14.1 (1989), p. 189.

⁸⁵ Laborde, *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, vol. 3, p. 50, no. 3727; van Tricht, *Horoscope of Baldwin II*, p. 49, n. 54.

⁸⁶ Robert Lee Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," Speculum 29 (1954), pp. 45-84; van Tricht, Horoscope of Baldwin II, pp. 85–89.

⁸⁷ The mission of Baldwin of Hainaut is recorded only by William of Rubruck, who followed the footsteps of the knight from Constantinople, Jackson, and Morgan, *The Mission of Friar*

The liberation of the imperial capital and liquidation of the Latin Empire remained an unfulfilled dream for Vatatzes, who died in 1254. However, seven years later, learning that the city was almost undefended and that the Venetian fleet was far away, the Nicaean general Alexios Strategopoulus managed to achieve this goal and to capture Constantinople. He led a small contingent of soldiers, consisting mostly of Cumans.⁸⁸ It was a bitter irony that nomads from the Pontic steppes and fugitives from the Mongols, whom the prophecy recorded by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines claimed to be the instrument of salvation of the Latin Empire, ultimately served as the means of its downfall; or as Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani summed it up: *"il detto imperio fu sconfitto e morto da' Cumani"*.⁸⁹

References

- Alberic of Trois-Fontaines. "Chronica Alberici Monachi Trium Fontium, A Monacho Novi Monasterii Hoiensis Interpolata." In *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, Vol. 23, edited by Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, 641–950. Hannover: Hahn, 1874.
- Andrea Dandolo. *Chronica per extensum descripta: 46-1280,* edited by Ester Pastorello. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1938.
- Angelov, Dimitâr, and Boris Cholpanov. Българска военна история през средновековието (X-XV век) [Bulgarian Military History in the Middle Ages (Tenth-Fifteenth century)]. Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1994.
- "Anonymi Chronicon Austriacum." In *Rerum Austriacarum scriptores*, Vol. 2, edited by Adrian Rauch, 213–312. Vienna: J. Stahel, 1793.
- Anonymi Leobiensis Chronicon, edited by Joseph von Zahn. Gräz: Leuschner & Lubensky, 1865.

William of Rubruck, p. 115, 200. On its importance and consequences see: Richard, "À propos de la mission de Baudouin de Hainaut," pp. 115–121; Aleksandar Uzelac, "Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Jochids and Crimea in the Mid-Thirteenth Century," Золотоордынское обозрение 3.3 (2015), pp. 62–75; John Giebfried, "Diplomacy, Black Sea Trade, and the Mission of Baldwin of Hainaut," in Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals, ed. Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti (Oakland CA: University of California Press, 2020), pp. 160–174.

⁸⁸ Georges Pachymeres. *Relations historiques, vol. 1: livres I-III*, ed. and trans. Albert Failler, and Vitaliy Laurent (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1984), pp. 190–191.

⁸⁹ Giovanni Villani, Nuova cronica, vol. 1: Libri I-VIII, ed. Giuseppe Porta (Fondazione Pietro Bembo – Ugo Guanda Editore: Parma, 1990), p. 254; cf. Vásáry, Cumans and Tatars, pp. 54– 55.

- Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus Notary of King Bela, The Deeds of the Hungarians. Edited, translated and annotated by Martyn Rady and László Veszprémy. Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta. Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars. Translated and annotated by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, (Central European Medieval Texts, 5). Budapest–New York: Central European University Press, 2010.
- Asdracha, Catherine. La Région des Rhodopes aux XIII' et XIV' siècles: étude de géographie historique. Athènes: Verlag der Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Jahrbücher, 1976.
- Bar Hebraeus. The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, 2 vols, translated by Ernest
 A. W. Budge. London: Oxford University Press, 1932.
- Bar Hebraeus. *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum authore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio, Malatiensi Medico*, translated by Edward Pococke. Oxford: H. Hall, 1663.
- Baraschi, Silvia. "Izvoare scrise privind așezările dobrogene de pe malul Dunării în secolele XI-XIV" [Written Sources about the Dobrogean settlements on the Danube in the Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries]. Revista de istorie 34.2 (1981): 311-345.
- Benito Ruano, Eloy. "Balduino II de Constantinopla y La Orden de Santiago. Un proyecto de defensa del Imperio Latino de Oriente [Balduin II of Constantinople and The Order of Santiago. A project for the defense of the Eastern Latin Empire]." *Hispania: Revista española de historia* 12 (1952), pp. 3-36.
- John Schmitt, ed. *The Chronicle of Morea*. London: Methuen, 1904.
- "Chronicon Claustroneuburgense." In *Rerum Austriacarum scriptores*, Vol. 1, edited by Adrian Rauch, 1–126. Wien: J. Stahel, 1793.
- "Continuatio Sancrucensis II." In *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores,* Vol. 9, edited by Wilhelm Wattenbach, 637–646. Hannover: Hahn, 1851.
- Courroux, Pierre. "Philippe Mousket, Aubri de Troisfontaines et la date de composition de la 'Chronique rimée'", *Medioevo Romanzo* 39.2 (2015), pp. 419-434.
- Dancheva-Vasileva, Ani. България и Латинската империя: 1204-1261 [Bulgaria and the Latin Empire (1204-1261)]. Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1985.
- Decei, Aurel. "L'invasion des Tatars de 1241/1242 dans nos régions de selon la Djamiot Tevarikh de Fazl ol-lah Rashid od-Din." *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 12 (1973), pp. 101–121.

- Dörrie, Heinrich. Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionsreisen des fr. Julianus O.P. ins Uralgebiet (1234/5) und nach Russland (1237): und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956.
- Duchesne, André. *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, 5 Vols. Paris: Sebastian Cramois, 1636–1649.
- Évangélatou-Notara, Florentia "Πολεμικές επιχειρήσεις στη Θράκη το θέρος του 1247 [Military Operations in Thrace in the Summer of 1247]." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 14.1 (1989), pp. 188-197.
- Gagova, Krasimira. *Тракия през българското средновековие. Историческа география* [Thracia in the Bulgarian Middle Ages. Historical Geography]. Sofia: Sofia University Press, 2002.
- George Akropolites. *The History*, translated by Ruth Macrides. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Georges Pachymeres. *Relations historiques*, 5 Vols, edited and translated by Albert Failler, and Vitaliy Laurent. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1984–2000.
- Gerard de Frachet. *Vitae fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum*, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica, Vol. 1, edited by Benedict M. Reichert. Leuven: Charpentier & Schoonjans, 1896.
- Giebfried, John. "Diplomacy, Black Sea Trade, and the Mission of Baldwin of Hainaut." In Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, and Intellectuals, edited by Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack and Francesca Fiaschetti, 160–174. Oakland CA: University of California Press, 2020.
- Giebfried, John. "The Mongol Invasions and the Aegean World (1241–61)." *Mediterranean Historical Review* 28.2 (2013), pp. 129–139.
- Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, 3 Vols, edited by Giuseppe Porta. Fondazione Pietro Bembo–Ugo Guanda Editore: Parma, 1990–1991.
- Golden, Peter. "Wolves, Dogs and Qipchaq Religion." Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 50 (1997), pp. 87–97.
- Goliyski, Petâr. "Древните и средновековните българи в сирийските и сирийско-арменските извори" [Ancient and Medieval Bulgarians in Syriac and Syriac-Armenian Sources]. Епохи 27.2 (2019), pp. 415–472.
- Guguev, Yuriy K. "*Paccкas Жана де* Жуанвиля о похоронах знатного кумана" [Jean de Joinville's Story about the Funeral of a Cuman Noble]. In *Тюркологический*

сборник. 2007-2008: история и культура тюркских народов России и сопредельных стран [Turkological Collection 2007-2008: History and Culture of the Turkic Peoples of Russia and the Neighboring Countries], edited by Sergey G. Klyashtornyy, Tursun I. Sultanov, and Vadim V. Trepavlov, 124–145. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 2009.

- "Guilelmi Tyrensis Continuata belli sacri historia." In *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, Vol. 201, edited by Jean-Paul Migne, 891–1068. Paris: Petit Montrouge, 1853.
- Gyuzelev, Vasil. "Das Papstum und Bulgarien im Mittelalter (9-14. Jahrhundert)." Bulgarian Historical Review 5.1 (1977), pp. 34–58.
- Hayton of Korikos. "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient." In Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens, vol. 2, edited by Charles Kohler, 111–363. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1906.
- Hautala, Roman. "Ездил ли Александр Невский в Монголию? Несколько замечаний о поездках Александра Невского и его отца к монгольским правителям" [Did Alexander Nevsky go to Mongolia? Some Remarks on the Travels of Alexander Nevsky and his Father to the Mongol Rulers]. In Александр Невский: личность, эпоха, историческая память. К 800-летию со дня рождения [Alexander Nevsky: Personality, Era, Historical Memory. To the 800th Anniversary of his Birth], edited by Elena L. Konyavskaya and Leonid A. Belyaev, 199–207. Moscow: Indrik, 2021.
- Hautala, Roman. *От "Давида, царя Индий" до "ненавистного плебса сатаны". Антология ранних латинских сведений о татаро-монголах* [From David, "Emperor of India" to the "Hateful Plebs of Satan": Anthology of Early Latin Testimonies about the Tatar-Mongols]. Kazan: Institute Sh. Marjani, 2015.
- Hendrickx, Benjamin. "Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204-1261/72)." Byzantina 14 (1988), 7–221.
- Huillard-Bréholles, Jean Louis. *Examen des chartes de l'église romaine contenues dans les rouleaux dits rouleaux de Cluny*. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1865.
- Ibn Bibi. *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, edited and translated by Herbert W. Duda. Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1959.
- Jackson, Peter and David Morgan, trans. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255,* London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990.

- Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West, 1221-1410, Second Edition*. London– New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Jean de Joinville, and Geoffroy de Villehardouin. *Chronicles of the Crusades*, translated by Margaret R. B. Shaw. London: Penguin, 1963.
- Johannes Kantakuzenos. *Geschichte*, 3 Vols, translated by Georgios Fatouros, and Tilman Kirscher. Stuttgart: Anton Hierseman, 1982–2011.
- John of Garland. *De triumphis ecclesiae libri octo. A Latin Poem of the Thirteenth Century*, edited by Thomas Wright. London: Nichols & Sons, 1856.
- Konovalova, Irina G. Восточная Европа в сочинениях арабских географов XIII-XIV вв – текст, перевод, коментарии [Eastern Europe in the Works of the Arabic Geographers of the 13th-14th centuries – Texts, Translation, Commentaries]. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 2009.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "A Broken Mirror: the Kıpçak World in the Thirteenth century." In *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages*, edited by Florin Curta, and Roman Kovalev, 379–412. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. *Byzantium and the Turks in the Thirteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "Кыпчаки в Пафлагонии" [Kipchaks in Paphlagonia]. In Кипчаки Евразии: история, язык и письменныие памятники [Kipchaks of Eurasia: History, Language and Written Records], edited by Bulat E. Kumekov, 100–108. Astana: Eurasian National University Lev Gumilev, 2013.
- Kânev, Nikolay, and Konstantin Totev. "Новооткрит оловен печат на латинския император Бодуен Втори [Newly Discovered lead seal of the Latin Emperor Baldwin II]." In България в европейската култура, наука, образование, религия [Bulgaria in the European Culture, Science, Education and Religion], Vol. 1, edited by Todor Todorov, and Konstantin Konstantinov, 374–380. Shumen: Association of Scientists in Bulgaria, 2015.
- Langdon, John. "Byzantium's initial Encounter with the Chinggisids. An Introduction to the Byzantino-Mongolica." *Viator* 29 (1998), pp. 95–140.
- Langdon, John. "The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian assault and Siege of Constantinople, 1235–1236, and the Breakup of the Entente Cordiale between John III Ducas Vatatzes and John Asen II in 1236 as Background to the Genesis of the Hohenstaufen-Vatatzes Alliance of 1242." In *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Speros Vryonis, 105–136. Malibu: Undena, 1985.

- *Loenertz,* Raymond-Joseph. *"Les seigneurs* tierciers de *Négrepont." Byzantion* 35 (1965), pp. 235–276.
- Longnon, Jean. *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*. Paris: Payot, 1949.
- Madgearu, Alexandru. *The Assanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185-1280).* Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016.
- Martino da Canale. "La Chronique des Veniciens." In *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Vol. 8, edited by Filippo-Luigi Polidori, 231–766. Firenze: G. P. Vieusseux, 1845.
- Matthew Paris. *Chronica Majora*, 7 Vols., edited by Henry R. Luard. London: Longman, 1872–1883.
- Nikephoros Gregoras. *Rhomäische Geschichte*, 6 Vols, translated by Jean-Louis van Dieten. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1973–2007.
- Nikolov, Aleksandâr. "Цар Йоан Асен II и 'монголският ужас'" [Emperor John Assen II and 'the Mongol Terror']. In *Цар Иван Асен II (1218-1241). Сборник* по случай 800-годишнината от неговото възшествие на българския престол [Emperor John Assen II (1218-1241) Proceedings on the occasion of 800th Anniversary of his ascendance to the Bulgarian Throne], edited by Vasil Gyuzelev, Iliya Iliev and Kiril Nenov, 205–211. Plovdiv: Bulgarian Historical Association, 2019.
- Pavlov, Plamen. "Средновековна България и куманите. Военнополитически отношения (1186–1241)" [Medieval Bulgaria and the Cumans. Military and Political Relations (1186–1241)]. Трудове на Великотърновския универститет "Св. Св. Кирил и Методий", Исторически факултет 27 (1989), pp. 7–61.
- Pavlov, Plamen and Georgi Atanasov. "Преминаването на татарската армия през България (1241–1242 г.)" [The passage of the Tatar Army through Bulgaria (1241–1242)]. Военноисторически сборник [Military History Review] 63.1 (1994), pp. 5–20.
- Pavlov, Plamen, and Georgi Vladimirov. Златната орда и българите [The Golden Horde and Bulgarians]. Sofia: Voenno izdatelstvo, 2009.
- Perry, Guy. John of Brienne (King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175-1237). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Philippe Mouskes. *Chronique rimée*, 2 Vols, edited by Frédéric A. F. T. de Reiffenberg. Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1836–1838.
- Polemis, Demetrios. "A Manuscript note of the year 1247." Byzantinische Forschungen 1 (1966), pp. 269-276.

- Radičević, Dejan. "Археологические следы монгольского нашествия на территории Сербии" [Archeological traces of Mongol Invasion on the Territory of Serbia]. *Stratum Plus*, 7.5 (2020), pp. 231–247.
- Rashīd *al*-Dīn. *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, translated by John Andrew Boyle. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.
- Riant, Paul E. D. *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 2 Vols. Geneva: I. G. Fick, 1877–1878.
- Richard, Jean. "À propos de la mission de Baudouin de Hainaut: l'empire latin de Constantinople et les mongols." *Journal des savants*, 84.1 (1992), pp. 115–121.
- Schreiner, Peter. "Die Tataren und Bulgarien. Bemerkungen zu einer Notiz im Vaticanus Reginensis gr. 18." *Études balkaniques* 21.4 (1985), pp. 25–29.
- Shukurov, Rustam. The Byzantine Turks 1204-1461. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016.
- Simon of Saint-Quentin. *Histoire des Tartares,* edited by Jean Richard. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1965.
- Sophoulis, Panos. "The Mongol Invasion of *Croatia* and *Serbia* in 1242", *Fragmenta Hellenoslavica* 2 (2015), pp. 251-278.
- Teulet Alexandre, Joseph Laborde, and Élie Berger. *Layettes du Trésor des chartes*, 4 Vols. Paris: Plon, 1863–1907.
- Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum*. Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*. Latin text edition by Olga Perić. Edited and English translation by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney. Budapest: CEU Press, 2006.
- Tizengauzen, Vyacheslav G. *Сборник материалов, относящихся к истории Золотой Орды, Т. 1: Извлечения из сочинений арабских* [Collection of Materials related to the History of the Golden Horde. Vol. 1, Excerpts from the Arab writings]. St. Petersburg, Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1884.
- van Tricht, Filip. *The Horoscope of Baldwin II. Political and Sociocultural Dynamics in Latin-Byzantine Constantinople*. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2019.
- Uzelac, Aleksandar. "Cumans in the Latin Empire of Constantinople." Золотоордынское обозрение 7.1 (2019), pp. 8–21.
- Uzelac, Aleksandar. "Latin Empire of Constantinople, the Jochids and Crimea in the Mid-Thirteenth Century." Золотоордынское обозрение 3.3 (2015), pp. 62–75.

- Uzelac, Aleksandar. Под сенком Пса. Татари и јужнословенске земље у другој половини XIII века [Under the Shadow of the Dog. Tatars and South Slavic Lands in the Second half of the Thirteenth Century]. Belgrade: Utopia, 2015.
- Vásáry, István. *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans* 1185–1365. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Vryonis, Speros. *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- de Wailly, Natalis. ed. *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle*. Paris: Renouard, 1876.
- Wolff, Robert Lee. "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople." *Speculum*, 29 (1954), pp. 45–84.
- Wolff, Robert Lee. "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261." In *A History of the Crusades, Volume II, The Later Crusades*, edited by Kenneth M. Setton, 187–233. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962.

Cumans and Mongols

Alexandar Nikolov

From the Pontic Steppes to Anatolia: The Cumanic Refugees from the "Mongol Storm" 1237-1238/9 AD.

The Mongol expansion in the first half of the thirteenth century led to the creation of the largest empire in the medieval world. Albeit for a short time, the Mongols succeeded in subjugating the vast expanses of Eurasia from Central Europe to the Pacific coast. Their unprecedented triumphs over all enemies had great resonance both in the Christian and in the Muslim world.¹ The first rumours about the fierce invaders from the East reached the Christian world around the year 1215 through the messages of Nestorian monks-travellers, missionaries, and spies without competition in 'Asia profunda.' The crusaders of the Fifth Crusade in the Nile Delta were enthusiastically expecting numerous reinforcements from the army of 'King David' and 'Prester John', consisting of Christians and pagans, ready to crush the Muslim enemy.² Only a couple of years afterwards, the real situation appeared to be rather similar to the context of the biblical story about Gog and Magog—the wild tribes, locked behind the 'Porta Ferrea' in Caucasus by Alexander the Great himself. It seemed that these fierce barbarians had succeeded in breaking through the Iron Gate and were now at the edge of the Christian world. This version started to prevail after the letters of Queen Rusudan of Georgia (1223-1245) and the chief commander of the Georgian forces, Ivané, from 1223 to Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) explained that the Georgians could not keep their promise to help the crusaders because of the Mongol invasion in 1220–1223.³

¹ David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 55–73; Michael Burgan, *Empire of the Mongols*, Revised Edition (New York: Chelsea House, 2009), pp. 7–10.

² Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410* (London – New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 21.

³ Andrew Runni Anderson, Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1932), p. 94; Zaroui Pogossian, "An 'Un-Known and Unbridled People': Vardan Arewelc'i's Colophon on the Mongols," Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies 23 (2014), pp. 7–48; Bayarsaikhan Dashdondog, The Mongols and the Armenians (1220-1335) (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 43–51.

This invasion, the campaign of Subutai and Jebe, started as a scout raid, but after the victory over Khwarazm, however, had a massive impact on the territories of Western Eurasia. The Mongols defeated many local peoples and plundered vast territories, leaving their mark on the local population. They were perceived as a sudden disaster and an imminent threat in the following decades, especially after their decisive victory at the River Kalka over the united Cuman/Kipchak forces and the army of Rus' (31 May, 1223). Their consequent retreat to the East was perhaps met with secret hope that they would not return. However, these hopes proved to be groundless. In 1227, Ögedei became Great Khan and the main Mongol forces were occupied with the conquest of China and the total destruction of the remnants of the Khwarazmian resistance. However, the peace at the Western borders of the emerging empire was short-lived.⁴

The Mongols' Western Campaign (1236–1242) was a well-planned attack on Western Eurasia and East-Central Europe and also affected the Northern Balkans at the end of the raid. Its purpose was revenge and the conquest of the western countries, and it fulfilled its goals completely. Its leaders were Subutai and Batu, son of Jochi, but other Mongol princes also took part in the invasion. In 1237, the Mongols destroyed completely Volga Bulgaria, conquering its capital Bulgar, and occupying Bashkiria or 'Magna Hungaria' of the Latin sources. Another Mongol force attacked Georgia and Greater Armenia (1236–1239). In 1238, the Mongols defeated the Great Prince of Kiev, Yuri II, and continued their raids within the territories of the Rus' principalities. They destroyed Ryazan (1237), Vladimir–Suzdal (1238), and Chernigov (1239). Their troops reached the territories of Velikiy Novgorod and Karelia to the north. In December 1240, the Mongols sacked Kiev, thus ending the history of Kievan Rus' and starting the time of the Mongol domination of the Rus' principalities. These events also marked the end of the Cuman/Kipchak hegemony in the Pontic-Caspian steppes. Numerous Cumanic refugees fled before the Mongols. Other clans accepted the Mongol rule and became Mongol subjects and part of their armies. In 1241–1242, Hungary and Poland were ravaged, and even Moravia was affected by the Mongol attacks. Last but not least, the Mongols also plundered the Northern Balkans. Danubian Bulgaria most likely became a Mongol vassal.⁵

On the eve of the Mongol attack in Central Europe and the Balkans there were other conflicts south of the Danube. After his victory over the Epirotes in 1230, the Bulgarian Tsar John Asen II (1218–1241) started a complicated diplomatic and military game aimed at securing Bulgaria's hegemony over the peninsula. In 1232

⁴ Jackson, The Mongols and the West, p. 39.

⁵ Jackson, The Mongols and the West, p. 40.

he ended the union with the Roman Catholic Church, and in 1235 with Nicaean support succeeded in restoring the autocephalous Bulgarian Orthodox Patriarchate. The Bulgarian-Nicaean anti-Latin coalition seemed to be unbreakable and both armies at one point besieged Constantinople. Later, the Bulgarian Tsar changed sides, broke the alliance with the Nicaeans and even besieged Tzouroulos—the main Nicaean stronghold in Eastern Thrace—together with the Latins. The following sudden retreat of the Bulgarian forces has been explained in various ways in the historiography and dated in general to 1237, although John Langdon stated that it happened in 1238. One reason for Tsar John Asen II's behaviour has been suggested: the theory that he felt religious fear, being accused of being an oath-breaker.⁶

Most probably, this sudden move of the Bulgarians was provoked by some other causes—namely, the massive Mongol attack in Western Eurasia and in the Near East in 1236–1237. This time it was not a series of intelligence raids, but a planned invasion in already well-explored areas. This attack, beside many other well-known events, such as the end of Volga Bulgaria, the devastation of the southern areas of Rus', (together with the sack of Kiev in 1240), and the total chaos in the Ponto-Caspian steppes, provoked massive migrations of the Cumans westward—to Hungary and Bulgaria.⁷

In around 1237, according to George Acropolites (c. 1220-82), was the first announcement of a large group of Cumans coming across the Danube and settling in 'Macedonia' (actually part of North-eastern Thrace) around Hebros (Maritsa) and Adrianople. It is important to quote this passage, because it is the only one that provides more or less reliable information about such a settlement:

It was about that time also that the Scythian race, all those who had escaped the sword of the Tatars who had overrun them, crossed the lster on skin bags and passed over the Haimos together with children and wives and, although the Bulgarians were unwilling—for there were many thousands of them—they occupied the lands of Macedonia. Some made their grazing grounds the Hebros region and the plains there; others, the lower regions and the river which, as we said, the indiscriminately babbling tongue calls the Maritza. (It is really the Hebros which runs as far as Ainos and there flows into the Aegean Sea, but since other rivers also flow into

⁶ Ivan Bozhilov and Vasil Giuzelev, Istoriia na Bŭlgariia v tri toma, vol. 1: Istoriia na srednovekovna Bŭlgariia (VII–XIV vek) [History of medieval Bulgaria, vol 1: 7th-14th Centuries] (Sofia: Anubis, 1999), pp. 490–495.

⁷ Jackson, The Mongols and the West, p. 40; Mirkasym Usmanov and Rafaėl Khakimov, ed., Istoriia tatar s drevneishikh vremën, vol. 3: Ulus Dzhuchi (Zolotaia Orda). XIII – seredina XV v. [History of Russia from the earliest times: The Ulus of Jochi (Golden Horde): thirteenth-fifteenth century] (Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, 2009), pp. 133–160.

it and enlarge it, it is known by a different name to the people who dwell near it.) At all events, they plundered everything in Macedonia and in a short time stripped the inhabitants bare of their possessions, and created a 'Scythian desert', to quote the proverb, and took those fortresses which are easily overcome in battle. Many were killed, all were despoiled, taken captive, and sold in the large towns such as Adrianople, Didymoteichon, Bizye, Kallipolis and in any other place fortified by strong walls and secured by the multitude of its inhabitants.⁸

Based on an Arab source from Egypt (*The Biography of Sultan Baybars* by Ibn Taghri Birdi abu 'I-Mahasin Yusuf, fifteenth century), Plamen Pavlov has suggested that these Cumans settled south of the Danube against the will of the Tsar.⁹ In this Egyptian source, the Cumans sent letters to 'Asan khan', master of the 'Ulaqs', and got permission to settle in his realm, between two mountains. Later they were attacked by the 'Ulaqs' and many of them, including the young Baybars, were sold as slaves in Egypt. Thus, Baybars reached his new homeland and after many years became Sultan of Egypt, founding the Kipchak dynasty of the Kalawunids. According to the latest opinions, these events happened around 1239 and even later, after the complete conquest of Crimea by the Mongols. Therefore, they should be connected with another wave of refugees from the Pontic steppes to the Balkans.¹⁰

Almost at the same time, another large group of Cumanic refugees, led by Khan Kuthen, asked for asylum from King Béla IV and, despite the hostility of the Hungarian aristocracy, were received in the Kingdom of Hungary. However, Kuthen, who earlier supported the Princes of Galicia-Wolhynia against the Hungarians, was murdered by his enemies, and many Cumans crossed the border with Bulgaria, searching for safe places in the border region of Branichevo. Thus, John Asen II also had to deal with another refugee wave from the northwest, according to data from Roger of Apulia in his *Carmen miserabile*.¹¹

The theory of a conflict between the Bulgarians and the Cumans remains debatable. From the Greek source, one may get the impression that the Bulgarians let the refugees pass. They perhaps protested against their movement, but grasped this opportunity as a convenient exit from the situation. John Asen II probably

⁸ Georgios Akropolites, *The History*, trans. R. J Macrides (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 199.

⁹ Plamen Pavlov, "Po vůprosa za zaselvanijata na kumani v Bůlgarija prez XIII v." [On the question of the settlement of Cumans in Bulgaria during the thirteenth century], in *Vtori Mezhdunaroden kongres po bůlgaristika. Dokladi*, vol. 6: Bůlgarskite zemi v drevnostta do sůzdavaneto na bůlgarskata důrzhava. Bůlgarija prez Srednovekovieto, ed. Khristo Khristov (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1987), pp. 631–632.

¹⁰ Pavlov, "Po vŭprosa," pp. 631–632.

¹¹ Jackson, *The Mongols and the West*, pp. 60–63; András Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, lasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), pp. 50–52.

succeeded in holding part of the group on the Danubian plain, but the greater part continued to Thrace ('Macedonia' in Acropolites's account). Most probably, there was no acute conflict between the Cumanic migrants and the Bulgarians. They simply continued their movement to the south, since by remaining in Bulgaria they could have provoked a Mongol attack, as happened later in Hungary because of Kuthen's Cumans.¹²

Another piece of information about the Cumanic settlers in Thrace can be found in work by Nicephorus Gregoras (c. 1295–1360). According to him, in the time of John III, Ducas Vatatzes, pushed by the 'European Scythians' (in Gregoras's work 'Scythians' is a term used for the Tartars, because they were already rulers of the steppe region), the Cumans were forced to settle in Thrace and Macedonia. The passage is important because it contains additional information about this wave of Cuman settlers:

Telepougas [In fact, Telebuga or Tulabuga, Khan of the Golden Horde from 1287 to 1291, according to Gregoras, one of the sons of Sitsiskhan, i.e. Chinggis Khan] after reaching the springs of the Tanais attacked the European peoples, who were numerous and different. Those who were in the middle of the country were fragments and remnants of the ancient Scythians, who were divided into nomads and ploughmen. The first of them who lived close to the Maeotis [the Azov Sea] and were inhabiting the coast of the Black Sea, namely the Zikhians, the Abasgians, the Goths and the Amaxobioi [lit. "living on carts, nomads"], the Tauroscythians and the Borysthenites [i.e. the people around Dnieper], and furthermore those [...] who had their pastures in Moesia, around the mouth of the Danube. They were named Huns and Cumans. There were people who called them Scythians as well. These peoples terrified by the heavy and irresistible attack of the presently invading Scythians [...] decided that they had to move elsewhere. There was no hope that they can resist to [sic] the invaders but everything bowed—the towns and peoples, and as the ears of the wheat in the summer threshing floor they were crushed and destroyed. That is why they [the Cumans] discouraged [by] the war with the Scythians, crossed the Danube on skins, filled with hay, instead of boats, together with their women and children, and wandered [for a] long time around Thrace, searching for a place [...] convenient for their settlement, being not less than 10,000.13

¹² Aleksandur Nikolov, "Tsar Ioan Asen II i 'mongolskiiat uzhas'" [Emperor John Asen II and the 'Mongol Terror'], in *Tsar Ioan Asen II (1218–1241): Sbornik po sluchaĭ 800-godishninata ot ne-govoto vüzshestvie na bŭlgarskiia prestol*, ed. Vasil Giuzelev, Iliia Iliev, and Kiril Nenov (Plovdiv: Bulgarian Historical Heritage Foundation, 2019), pp. 205–211.

¹³ Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen, vol. 1 (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1829), pp. 36–37. My translation.

More importantly, this wave of armed refugees affected all affairs in the Balkans and Western Asia Minor, also signalling major problems in the nearby Pontic steppe region. Perhaps it was also well known in the Balkans that another large group of Cumans, led by Khan Kuthen, sought shelter in Hungary. The Mongols regarded these refugees as fugitive slaves and requested that all local rulers send them back under Mongol control and that they demonstrate obedience to the new rulers of the world. Thus, the local elites were rather hesitant to provide shelter to these uninvited guests.¹⁴

Aleksandar Uzelac comments that a group of Cumans settled in the territory of the Empire of Constantinople (i.e. the Latin Empire) around that time, namely in 1239. These Cumans, according to Alberic of Trois Fontaines, were predestined to destroy Asen and Vatatzes—the enemies of the Latins, despite the fact that they were Pagans and not Christians. The new settlers became Latin mercenaries and took part in the conquest of Tzouroulos, the key Nicaean stronghold in Eastern Thrace in 1240. Jean de Joinville described in detail the conclusion of the alliance between the Latins and the Cumans, which was also confirmed by the marriages of three Cumanic princesses and three prominent Latin barons. However, one of the Cumanic chieftains, Yonas, died soon after the siege of Tzouroulos, while the other one, Saronius, changed his loyalty and became a Nicaean ally, taking part in the siege of Salonica in 1242 on the Nicaean side. According to Uzelac, these Cumanic groups were located in Thrace and Macedonia, but also in Phrygia in Asia Minor. They were split into smaller groups and stationed around the Nicaean frontier. There they became a shield against the local Turcoman tribes who were plundering the border areas.¹⁵

Dimitri Korobeinikov identified a group of Kipchaks that survived until the Ottoman conquest. He commented on the modern Turkish dialects of Paphlagonia, especially the dialects of Parthenia (Bartın), close to Amastris, and Kastamonu on the former Nicaean/Byzantine-Seljuk border, but mostly on the Byzantine side. His suggestion that this area was exactly the final place of asylum for the greater part of the Cumanic refugees from 1237–1238 sounds very convincing and is corroborated by the linguistic research. Korobeinikov states that these Cuman refugees, after the devastation of the territories along Hebros (Maritsa) River, were convinced by John III Ducas Vatatzes to accept Nicaean military service and to settle in Thrace and Macedonia. A large part of them, however, were transferred to Asia Minor, particularly to Phrygia, along the valley of the Maeander River circa 1242. Their

¹⁴ Pálóczi-Horváth, Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians, pp. 47–50.

¹⁵ Aleksandar Uzelac, "Cumans in the Latin Empire of Constantinople," Zolotoordynskoe Obozrenie / Golden Horde Review 7.1 (2019), pp. 8–21.

settlements are attested to be around Smyrna and in the province of Thrakesion. To this group Korobeinikov also links the Kipchaks in the area of Amastris in Paphlagonia, supposing their arrival from the Balkans, not from the areas controlled by the Seljuks¹⁶ Korobeinikov also supposes a possible link to Cuman/Kipchak settlers around Kastamonu, in the Seljuk part of Paphlagonia, despite the Ottoman sources describing them as descendants of Crimean captives of Kipchak origin.¹⁷

In general, the Cumanic refugee wave of 1237–1238/39 provoked turbulence in the Balkans. It also influenced the conflicts among the Bulgarians, Latins, and Nicaean Byzantines. Most probably, the largest part of these refugees ended up as Nicaean allies in the border areas of the Empire in Asia Minor (Paphlagonia and Phrygia). Smaller groups could have remained in modern Eastern Thrace. Two groups of Turkish-speaking Christians are known from the nineteenth and twentieth-century Balkans: the Christian Turks of the region of Zichni, in the eastern parts of Aegean Macedonia, now in Greece,¹⁸ and the so-called Surguch people, near Adrianople and Havsa. The latter migrated to Greece after the Balkan Wars, and settled around Orestiada in Western Thrace.¹⁹ Their possible link with Cumanic settlers is an issue that could be solved through thorough investigation of their Turkish dialects. Perhaps these Cumanic refugees did not have any relation to the larger Gagauz population of Dobrudzha and to the Pomaks of the Rhodopi Region at least the sources do not provide information about their settlement in these areas, despite some theories that seek such a link.²⁰ The major part of this group most probably migrated further, to Western Asia Minor, ending up as a Byzantine border population at the frontier with the Seljugs, Mongols, and Turcomans in the second half of the thirteenth century, on the eve of the Ottoman era.

Bibliography:

Akropolites, Georgios. *The History*. Translated by R. J Macrides. Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

¹⁶ Dimitri Korobeinikov, "The Cumans in Paphlagonia," *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi / Journal of Black Sea Studies* 9.18 (2015), pp. 37–38.

¹⁷ Korobeinikov, "The Cumans," pp. 39–40.

¹⁸ Vasil Kŭnchov, *Makedoniia: Etnografiia i statistika* [Macedonia: Ethnography and statistics], Second phototype edition (Sofia: "Prof. Marin Drinov" Academic Publising House, 1996), p. 96.

¹⁹ Nikola Robev, "Trakiĭskite gagauzi" [The Gagauz people of Thrace], Vekove 3 (1988), pp. 36–42.

²⁰ Nuray Ocaklı, "Turkization or Re-Turkization of the Ottoman Bulgaria: Case Study of Nigbolu Sandjak in the 16th Century," *West East Journal of Social Sciences* 2.1 (2013), pp. 75–77.

- Anderson, Andrew Runni. *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations*. Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1932.
- Bozhilov, Ivan, and Vasil Guzelev. Istoriia na Bŭlgariia v tri toma, vol. 1: Istoriia na srednovekovna Bŭlgariia (VII–XIV vek) [History of medieval Bulgaria, vol 1: 7th-14th Centuries]. Sofia: Anubis, 1999.
- Burgan, Michael. *Empire of the Mongols*. Revised Edition. New York: Chelsea House, 2009.
- Dashdondog, Bayarsaikhan. *The Mongols and the Armenians (1220-1335)*. Leiden Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410*. London New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "The Cumans in Paphlagonia." *Karadeniz İncelemeleri Dergisi* / Journal of Black Sea Studies 9.18 (2015), pp. 29–44.
- Kunchov, Vasil. *Makedoniia*: *Etnografiia* i statistika [Macedonia: Ethnography and statistics]. Second phototype edition. Sofia: "Prof. Marin Drinov" Academic Publising House, 1996.
- Morgan, David. The Mongols. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007.
- Nicephorus Gregoras. *Byzantina Historia*. Edited by Ludwig Schopen. Vol. 1. Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1829.
- Nikolov, Aleksandŭr. "Tsar Ĭoan Asen II i 'mongolskiiat uzhas'" [Emperor John Asen II and the 'Mongol Terror']. In *Tsar Ĭoan Asen II (1218–1241): Sbornik po sluchaĭ 800-godishninata ot negovoto vŭzshestvie na bŭlgarskiia prestol*, edited by Vasil Giuzelev, Iliia Iliev, and Kiril Nenov, 205–211. Plovdiv: Bulgarian Historical Heritage Foundation, 2019.
- Ocaklı, Nuray. "Turkization or Re-Turkization of the Ottoman Bulgaria: Case Study of Nigbolu Sandjak in the 16th Century." *West East Journal of Social Sciences* 2.1 (2013), pp. 71–88.
- Pálóczi-Horváth, András. *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary*. Budapest: Corvina, 1989.
- Pavlov, Plamen. "Po vŭprosa za zaselvanijāta na kumani v Bŭlgarijā prez XIII v." [On the question of the settlement of Cumans in Bulgaria during the thirteenth century]. In *Vtori Mezhdunaroden kongres po bŭlgaristika. Dokladi,* 6: Bŭlgarskite zemi v drevnostta do sŭzdavaneto na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava. Bŭlgarijā prez Srednovekovieto, edited by Khristo Khristov, 629–637. Sofia: Bulgarija Academy of Sciences, 1987.

- Pogossian, Zaroui. "An 'Un-Known and Unbridled People': Vardan Arewelc'i's Colophon on the Mongols." *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 23 (2014), pp. 7–48.
- Robev, Nikola. "Trakiĭskite gagauzi" [The Gagauz people of Thrace]. *Vekove* 3 (1988), pp. 36–42.
- Usmanov, Mirkasym, and Rafaėl Khakimov, ed. *Istoriia tatar s drevneĭshikh vremën, vol. 3: Ulus Dzhuchi (Zolotaia Orda). XIII – seredina XV v.* [History of Russia from the earliest times: The Ulus of Jochi (Golden Horde): thirteenth-fifteenth century]. 7 vols. Kazan: Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, 2009.
- Uzelac, Aleksandar. "Cumans in the Latin Empire of Constantinople." *Zolotoordynskoe Obozrenie / Golden Horde Review* 7.1 (2019), pp. 8–21.

Crime and Punishment: The Mongol Invasion, Cuman-Qïpchaq Refugees, and the Second Bulgarian Empire¹

"The Cumans will survive nowhere and will perish."2

Introduction

For nearly two centuries (the mid-eleventh to the mid-thirteenth) the Cuman-Qïpchaq tribes dominated the western part of the Eurasian steppe belt and gradually established long-lasting relations involving partnership and mutual raiding with the surrounding sedentary societies. After Chinggis Khan managed to unite the Mongol tribes following a series of bloody conflicts in Inner Asia, the Cuman-Qïpchaqs turned out to be the most stubborn and numerous antagonists of his pan-nomadic imperial project outside Mongolia proper. Yet, despite the resistance, the well-organized Mongol military relentlessly advanced over the steppes inhabited by the Cumans and, step by step, established Chinggisid control over these lands, known as Dasht-i Qipchāq. The eastern groupings of the Cuman-Qïpchaq community were the ones that suffered the first attacks in the second decade of the thirteenth century,³ while slightly later the famous raid of Jebe and Sübedei in Eastern

¹ The present paper is a result of research supported by the National Research Program "Cultural Heritage, National Memory and Society Development" funded by the Ministry of Education and Sciences of the Republic of Bulgaria. I am also indebted to Prof. Pavel Pavlovich for translating the passage of Taghrībirdī from Arabic, to Prof. Mirena Slavova for checking my translations from Byzantine texts, as well as to Dr. Boriana Antonova-Goleva and Dr. Delyan Rusev for reading an earlier draft of the text.

^{2 &}quot;Коумане нигдъре/?/ не боудоуть и погиб'ноуть." The Prophetic Tale of Pandekh was written soon after the middle of the thirteenth century. Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova and Anissava Miltenova, Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria (Sofia: East-West, 2011), pp. 358, 360–361.

³ For these conflicts, see the sources and literature referred to in n. 44.

Europe (1222–1223) confronted their western counterparts with the same bitter experience.⁴ After a relatively short intermedium, the imperial elite assembled a large army for the conquest of Dasht-i Qipchāq and the neighbouring peoples. The troops that were placed under the command of numerous Chinggisids and the experienced general Sübedei, managed to break the dogged resistance of the Cuman-Qïpchaq tribes in the Volga region (1236–1237) shortly after their arrival in Western Eurasia.⁵ Thus, encountering the Mongol peril became inevitable in the western steppes as well. The Cumans of the European part of Dasht-i Qipchāq were filled with fear,⁶ and soon nomadic refugees flooded the neighbouring territories of the 'outside sedentary world'.⁷ Their behaviour in Eastern Europe as well as in Asia was marked by the so-called 'Mongol fear' (*timor Tartarorum*) — a phenomenon born of the brutal effectiveness of the Mongol expansion.⁸ The impact of the 'Mongol fear' upon the Cuman refugees in Central Europe is eloquently described by the landgrave of Thuringia Heinrich Raspe in his letter to Henry, duke of Brabant, from 1242:

The Cumans, namely, warlike men, could not sustain in their land the war against them [i.e. the Mongols], but twenty thousand of the Cumans fled to the Christians

⁴ Thomas T. Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns: Mongol Military Operations in the Volga-Ural Region, 1217–1237," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 3 (1983), pp. 10–14.

⁵ Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns," pp. 18–20, and further in the present paper.

⁶ This becomes clear in an undated letter from the Dominicans, who were preaching among the Cumans, to the master of their order, apparently written in the 1230s. In the letter the nomads and the friars themselves begged the addressee to ensure that all the monks at the general chapter of the order would pray for them, since "the Tartar cruelty impends peril over these Cumans no less than over the other Oriental peoples, and even more as it is closer." (Tartarorum crudelitas non minus ipsis Cumanis quam ceteris orientalibus, imo eis eo gravius quod et vicinius imminent periculum.) Gérard de Frachet, *Fratris Gerardi de Fracheto O.P. Vitae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum: necnon Cronica ordinis ab anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV*, ed. Benedikt Maria Reichert (Leuven: Typis E. Charpentier & J. Schoonjans, 1896), p. 309.

⁷ The term 'outside world' is introduced by Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Nomads and the Outside World*, Second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 3.

⁸ Of course, this phenomenon is not characteristic only of the Cuman-Qipchaqs and is attested among many other peoples who stood in the path of the Mongol expansion. It is precisely in such a broad context that the form *timor Tartarorum* was applied in the first letter of the Hungarian Dominican Julian, Heinrich Dörrie, "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionsreisen des fr. Iulianus O.P. ins Ural-Gebiet (1234/5) und nach Rußland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse* 6 (1956), p. 154; Sergeĭ A. Anninskiĭ, "Izvestiī a vengerskikh missionerov XIII–XIV vv. o tatarakh i Vostochnoĭ Evrope" [Hungarian missionaries' accounts from the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries about the Tatars and Eastern Europe], *Istoricheskiĭ arkhiv* 3 (1940), pp. 79, 97.

and entered into alliance with them, and are ready to fight against every nation except the aforementioned [nation of the Mongols]. What is to be wondered at?⁹

An episode in the Persian chronicle of Ibn Bībī describes the extent of the fear of the Mongols among the Khwārazmian refugees (of Cuman-Qïpchaq descent, see n. 68) who took asylum in Anatolia about a decade earlier. An old woman who survived explained in the following way the defeat that four thousand Khwārazmians suffered at the hands of seven hundred Mongol riders:

If a Mongol hat was thrown in the midst of thousands of Khwārazmian horsemen, all of them would disperse. The Almighty God has instilled a Mongol fear in the Khwārazmian heart to such an extent that it is not possible to describe it[!]¹⁰

Soon after the successful Mongol advance in the Volga region, Cuman refugees started to enter the territories of the Eastern-European sedentary states. Perhaps in the summer of 1237 a large refugee wave of these nomads crossed the Danube with their women and children, and passed through the dominions of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Asen II (1218–1241) "against the will of the Bulgarians."¹¹ Eventually, the Cumans established themselves in the strategic Thracian region, whence they switched their loyalty consecutively to the Latin barons of Constantinople and the Nikaian emperor, John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–1254). It was in the latter's realm that they finally settled for good.¹² Soon afterwards, in 1241, another mass

^{9 &}quot;Comani enim, viri bellicosi, non potuerunt in terra sua contra eos bellum sustinere; sed fugerunt usque ad Christianos viginti milia Comanorum, et inierunt foedus cum Christianis; et parati sunt pugnare contra omnem gentem, praeterquam praedictam. Quid mirum?," Matthew Paris, CM 6:77; EH 3:451; Vera I. Matuzova, ed., Angliĭskie srednevekovye istochniki IX–XIII vv.: Teksty, perevod, kommentariĭ [English medieval sources, ninth-thirteenth centuries: Texts, translations, commentary] (Moscow: Nauka, 1979), pp. 128, 155. For a slightly different translation see: EH 3:451.

اع العت – دزیا. دندرگ قرفتم هلمج ،دنزادنا یمزراوخ راوس نارازه نایم رد یلوغم یهالک رگا» (ای مدی آناکم ارد نآنایم ارد نآنای هدی تسا هتخادنا ناس نادب هن یمزراوخ لد رد ار لوغم بع رُ *Tārīkh-i Ibn Bībī*, ed. Zhāle Motaḥeddīn (Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, 2011), p. 387; İbn Bibi, *El-Evâmirü'l-Alâ'iyye fi'l-Umûri'l-Alâiyye: Selçuknâme,* trans. Mürsel Öztürk, vol. 2: Tercüme (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), pp. 421–22. Apparently, the Persian expression ru'b-i moghūl (لوغم بع رُ) is equivalent to the Latin timor Tartarorum.

¹¹ Georgios Akropolites, Georgii Acropolitae opera, ed. August Heisenberg, vol. 1 (Leipzig: In aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1903), p. 53; Georgios Akropolites, The History, trans. R. J Macrides (Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 199.

¹² Plamen Pavlov, "Po vůprosa za zaselvaniiata na kumani v Bůlgariia prez XIII v." [On the question of the settlement of Cumans in Bulgaria during the thirteenth century], in Vtori Mezhdunaroden kongres po bůlgaristika. Dokladi, vol. 6: Bůlgarskite zemi v drevnostta do sůzdavaneto na bůlgarskata důrzhava: Bůlgariia prez Srednovekovieto (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1987), pp. 629–37; Alexander Nikolov, "The Cumanic Settlement in Bulgaria and Hungary in the Thirteenth

migration to Bulgaria followed—this time from the northwest. Numerous followers of the Cuman chief Kuten—who left Hungary after their leader was murdered—crossed into the Balkans and entered the domain of the Asenids. These refugees apparently remained in the Second Bulgarian Empire until c. 1246–1247, when most of them returned to the Hungarian kingdom of the *Árpáds*.¹³ In the meantime,

Century and Its Consequences" (M.A. thesis, Budapest, Central European University, Medieval Studies Department, 1996), pp. 24–26; Plamen Pavlov, "Kumanite vův Vizantiĭskata imperina (1237 g. – purvata chetvurt na XIV v.)" [The Cumans in the Byzantine Empire: From 1237 to the first guarter of the fourteenth century], *Epokhi* 1, no. 2 (1997), pp. 37–53; István Vásáry, *Cumans* and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 61-68."language": "Bulgarian", "page": "629-637", "publisher": "Bulgarian Academy of Sciences","publisher-place":"Sofia","title":"Po vuprosa za zaselvaniiata na kumani v Bŭlgarija prez XIII v. [On the question of the settlement of Cumans in Bulgaria during the thirteenth century]","title-short":"Po vŭprosa za zaselvaniiata na kumani","volume":"6: Bŭlgarskite zemi v drevnostta do sŭzdavaneto na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava. Bŭlgarija prez Srednovekovieto","author":[{"family":"Pavlov","given":"Plamen"}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["1987"]]}},"locator":"629-637"},{,,id":5061,"uris":[,,http://zotero.org/groups/4465130/items/ D5BGBSCM"],"itemData":{,,id":5061,"type":"thesis","event-place":"Budapest","genre":"M.A. thesis", "language": "English", "publisher": "Central European University, Medieval Studies Department","publisher-place":"Budapest","title":"The Cumanic Settlement in Bulgaria and Hungary in the Thirteenth Century and Its Consequences","author":[{,,family":"Nikolov","given":"Alexander"}],"issued":{,,date-parts":[[,,1996"]]}},"locator":"24-26"},{,,id":5203,"uris":[,,http:// zotero.org/groups/4465130/items/AHP9HBL9"],"itemData":{,,id":5203,"type":"article-journal","container-title":"Epokhi","issue":"2","language":"Bulgarian","page":"37-53","title":"Kumanite vův Vizantiĭskata imperiia (1237 g. – půrvata chetvůrt na XIV v.

13 Pavlov, "Po vŭprosa za zaselvanii ata na kumani," pp. 629–37; András Pálóczi-Horváth, Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary (Budapest: Corvina, 1989), pp. 50–53; Nikolov, "The Cumanic Settlement in Bulgaria and Hungary in the Thirteenth Century and Its Consequences," pp. 26-27; Vásáry, Cumans and Tatars, pp. 65-66."language":"Bulgarian","page":"629-637","publisher":"Bulgarian Academy of Sciences","publisher-place":"-Sofia","title":"Po vůprosa za zaselvanii ata na kumani v Bŭlgarii a prez XIII v. [On the question of the settlement of Cumans in Bulgaria during the thirteenth century]","title-short":"Po vŭprosa za zaselvanii ata na kumani","volume":"6: Bŭlgarskite zemi v drevnostta do sŭzdavaneto na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava. Bŭlgarin a prez Srednovekovieto", "author": [{,,family": "Pavlov","given":"Plamen"}],"issued":{,,date-parts":[[,,1987"]]}},"locator":"629-637"},{,,id":447 6,"uris":[",http://zotero.org/groups/4465130/items/ZMGJK5PT"],"itemData":{",id":4476,"type":"book","event-place":"Budapest","language":"English","number-of-pages":"192","publisher":"Corvina","publisher-place":"Budapest","title":"Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary", "title-short": "Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians", "author": [{,,family":"Pálóczi-Horváth","given":"András"}],"issued":{"date-parts":[["1989"]]}},"locator": "50-53"},{,,id":5061,"uris":[,,http://zotero.org/groups/4465130/items/D5BGBSCM"],"item-Data":{,,id":5061,"type":"thesis","event-place":"Budapest","genre":"M.A. thesis","language":"English", "publisher": "Central European University, Medieval Studies Department", "publisher-place":"Budapest","title":"The Cumanic Settlement in Bulgaria and Hungary in the Thirteenth Century and Its Consequences","author"::[{,,family":"Nikolov","given":"Alexander"}],"issued":{",date-parts":[[",1996"]]}},"locator":"26-27"},{",id":5119,"uris":[",h ttp://zotero.org/groups/4465130/items/6JSKW2CI"],"itemData":{"id":5119,"type":"book","event-place":"Cambridge","language":"English","publisher":"Cambridge University

a third, less numerous Cuman-Qïpchaq grouping migrated to Bulgaria by sea seeking asylum from the Mongol conquerors, perhaps in 1242–1243, as will be shown in more detail below.

An important characteristic of these migrations to the Second Bulgarian Empire is that they occurred from different directions, and the nomads that were part of them had quite different fates. The occurrence of so many refugee waves is not surprising because—apart from the fact that Bulgaria had a direct contact zone with Dasht-i Qipchāq—the ruling elite was traditionally connected with the nomads who inhabited this vast space, and during the previous decades they had demonstrated a distinct *Bulgarophilia*.¹⁴ It can be assumed with confidence that such a concentration of refugees is a consequence precisely of this *Bulgarophilia* of the Cuman-Qïpchaq elite in the decades preceding the Mongol invasion. Thus, it is hardly a coincidence that the sources have not preserved information about so many separate refugee waves (and in such a short time span!) in the territory of any other sedentary state.

The present paper is focused on the third and apparently less studied Cuman-Qïpchaq migration in the Second Bulgarian Empire. Information about these events has been recorded in a source tradition rather exotic for Balkan historiography—that of the Mamlūk Sultanate of Egypt. This account was brought to scholarly attention by Victor Spinei and Plamen Pavlov in some studies related to the Cuman refugee migrations to the Balkans. However, both authors mistakenly interpreted it as being in relation to the first wave of nomadic refugees that crossed the Danube in 1237.¹⁵ Later on, Dmitry Korobeinikov published a detailed study of the same source, identifying the tribal affiliations of the clan that moved to Bulgaria and offering a reconstruction of its route to that country.¹⁶ His publication includes a number of insights and conclusions that are the basis of the present paper. However, the available source information is rather sketchy, so a broad contextual survey will be

Press", "publisher-place": "Cambridge", "title": "Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365", "title-short": "Cumans and Tatars", "author": [{,,fami-ly": "Vásáry", "given": "István"}], "issued": {,,date-parts": [[,,2005"]]}, "locator": "65-66"}], "sche-ma": "https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"}

¹⁴ Konstantin Golev, "The Bulgarophilia of the Cumans in the Times of the First Assenids of Bulgaria," *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 3 (2018), pp. 37–56.

¹⁵ Victor Spinei, Moldavia in the 11th-14th Centuries (Bucharest: Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1986), p. 110; Pavlov, "Po vůprosa za zaselvaníiāta na kumani," p. 631; Plamen Pavlov, "Srednovekovna Bůlgaríiā i kumanite: voennopoliticheski otnosheníiā (1186–1241)" [Medieval Bulgaria and the Cumans: Military-political relations], *Trudove na Velikotůrnovskiia universitet "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodii*" 27, no. 3 (1989–1992), pp. 44.

¹⁶ Dimitri Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror: The Kıpçak World in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, ed. Florin Curta (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008), pp. 379–412.

required to shed additional light upon the dramatic events in Bulgaria in the early 1240s. It will include a comparison with the better documented behaviour of other Cuman-Qipchaq refugee groupings in various parts of Eurasia, such as Hungary, Transcaucasia and the Near East, as well as in the Balkans. The entire episode will be placed within the historical context of the Mongol invasion in Dasht-i Qipchāq. Thus, potentially problematic aspects of the account in the Mamlūk tradition, such as the possibility of maritime migration, the chronology of the events, etc. will be addressed and an answer to the key question of what the reason was for the catastrophe that followed the arrival of these refugees in Bulgaria will be offered.

The Cuman-Qïpchaq Migration of 1242–1243

The Mongol invasion brought many young Cuman-Qipchaqs to the slave markets, where they were sold off as *ghulāms* or *mamlūks*—professional slave-warriors of various ethnic origins who served in the armies of different rulers in the Islamic world. These Cuman youths proved to be particularly in demand by the sultan of Egypt, al-Şāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (1240–1249)—a prominent figure in the Ayyūbid dynasty, established by Saladin (1174–1193), whose contending members ruled over Egypt, Syria, al-Jazīra, and other parts of the Near East.¹⁷ In 1250, the *Mamlūks*—among whom there were many Cuman-Qipchaqs—carried out a coup d'état, murdering in the process al-Şāliḥ Ayyūb's successor, al-Mu'azẓam Giyāth al-Dīn Turan-Shāh (1249–1250), and eventually started to place on the throne members of their own caste.¹⁸ Among the most prominent of these slave-rulers was Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars (1260–1277), a Cuman by origin, born in Dasht-i

¹⁷ Al-'Umarī, in Vladimir G. Tizengauzen, ed., Sbornik" materīalov, otnosīakhshchikhsīa k" istorīi Zolotoĭ ordy, vol. 1: Izvlechenīia iz" sochinenīi arabskikh" [Collected materials for the history of the Golden Horde, vol. 1: Excerpts from Arabic Sources], trans. Vladimir G. Tizengauzen (Saint Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1884), pp. 232; Haytonus, "Flos historiarum terre Orientis," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens*, ed. Charles Kohler, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906), pp. 344–45; Aleksandŭr Nikolov, "Khaĭton ot Korikos i negoviia traktat 'Tsvete na istoriite na Iztochnata zemia' (Istoriia na tatarite)" [Hayton of Corycos and his treatise "Flower of the Histories of the Eastern Land" (History of the Tatars)], *Godishnik na Sofiĭskina universitet "Sv. Kliment Okhridski", Istoricheski fakultet* 102 (2017), p. 99; Tizengauzen, Sbornik" materīalov, 1:503; Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," pp. 383–85.

¹⁸ The assassination is described in detail by Jean de Joinville, who was at that time an Egyptian captive together with the French King Saint Louis IX (1226–1270) and a number of other French nobles, and who apparently was an eyewitness to the bloody event; Geoffroi de Villehardouin and Jean Joinville, *Memoirs of the Crusades*, trans. Frank Marzials (London – New York: J. M. Dent and E. P. Dutton, 1955), pp. 221–23.

Qipchāq.¹⁹ It is his biography, preserved in Arabic Mamlūk medieval historiography, which contains information about the third refugee wave in Bulgaria. The sultan's life was recorded by Ibn Shaddād, whose original work has not survived, but fragments of which are incorporated into the chronicle of fifteenth-century Mamlūk historian Ibn Taghrībirdī. Despite these metamorphoses, Baybars's biography is also of particular importance due to the fact that it is perhaps the only source that refers to the Cuman refugees in the age of the Mongol invasion that is related to their own perspective about these events.²⁰

20 Pavlov, "Po vůprosa za zaselvaniiata na kumani," p. 632. "language": "Bulgarian", "page": "629-637", "publisher": "Bulgarian Academy of Sciences", "publisher-place": "Sofia", "title": "Po vůprosa za zaselvaniiata na kumani v Bůlgaria prez XIII v. [On the question of the settlement of Cumans

According to the Egyptian historical tradition, Baybars was a Qipchaq (see below in the text). 19 Pachymeres, a contemporary of the sultan, referred to him as a Cuman: "because he, being from the Cumans" (ἐκ Κομάνων γὰρ ὢν ἐκεῖνος), Georgios Pachymérès, Relations historiques, ed. Albert Failler, trans. Vitalien Laurent (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984), 1:236–37. In the same way he was referred to by Hayton as "some other Cuman, named Bendocdar" (guidam alius Cumanus, nomine Bendocdar), Haytonus, "Flos historiarum terre Orientis," p. 345; Nikolov, "Khaĭton ot Korikos i negovija traktat 'Īsvete na istoriite na Iztochnata zemīa' (Istorija na tatarite)" [Hayton of Corycos and his treatise "Flower of the Histories of the Eastern Land (History of the Tatars)]," p. 100. Al-Bundugdārī was a sobriguet of Baybars, apparently named so after his first owner (see further in the text). Such a parallel usage of two different ethnonyms (which designated the Cuman-Qipchaqs in different written traditions) regarding one and the same person is typical of the history of these nomads. This is especially valid in the case of particularly prominent figures, such as Kuten, for example, who was referred to in the Latin sources as "rex Cumanorum" whereas the Rus' chroniclers mention him among "the Polovtsian princes" ("Котянь с ынъми князи," "съ князи Половьцьскыми"): Rogerius magister, "Epistola [Carmen miserabile]," in Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum, ed. László Juhász and Emericus Szentpétery, New edition, vol. 2 (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), pp. 559, 566; Anonymus and Master Roger, Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, trans. Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest - New York: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 154–55, 172–73; Wilhelm Wattenbach, ed., "Continuatio Sancrucensis Secunda: 1234–1266," in Chronica et annales aevi Salici, MGH SS 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1851), p. 640; Arsenii N. Nasonov, ed., Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov [The First Novgorod Chronicle: Senior and junior redaction] (Moscow - Saint Petersburg: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1950), pp. 62, 265. Apropos, describing the beginning of the rule of the "Cuman slaves" in Egypt, Hayton makes the following noteworthy comment regarding the relation between the ethnonyms Cuman and Qipchaq, which is very rare in the European sources: "And this race of the Cumans in the Eastern regions is called Qipchaq" (Et ista progenies Cumanorum in partibus Orientis vocatur Capchac). Haytonus, "Flos historiarum terre Orientis," p. 345; Nikolov, "Khaĭton ot Korikos i negovija traktat 'Tsvete na istoriite na Iztochnata zemia' (Istorija na tatarite)" [Hayton of Corycos and his treatise "Flower of the Histories of the Eastern Land" (History of the Tatars)], p. 100. See also the work of Korobeinikov, who brought attention to these sources: Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," pp. 383-85.

Ibn Taghrībirdī renders the account of his predecessor in the following way:

Shaykh 'Izz al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Shaddād said: "*Amīr* Badr al-Dīn Baysarī al-Shamsī told me that *malik* al-Ṣāhir [Baybars] was born in the lands of al-Qibjāq (اقاج بق ل) around 625 AH (1227–1228 AD). The reason for his migration from his homeland to [this] country [the Egyptian Sultanate] is that al-Tatār (ارات ت ل) decided to move towards their country in 639 AH (1241–1242 AD). And [when] they became aware of that, they wrote to A-n-s Khān (ن ان ان ان له so that he would protect them from al-Tatār. He responded [positively] to that and settled them in a valley between two mountains. They crossed over to him in 640 AH (1242–1243 AD). When they felt secure in their [new] place, he betrayed them and launched an attack on them, killing some of them and enslaving [others]."

Baysarī said: "I and *malik* al-Zāhir [Baybars] were among the captives." [He] said: "At that time he was about fourteen years old. He was sold off among those that were sold and brought to Sīwās. Later we separated, then we met in Ḥalab (Allepo) in the caravanserai (khān) of Ibn Qilīj and we separated again. It so happened that he was brought to al-Qāhira (Cairo) and sold to *amīr* 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydikīn al-Bunduqdārī. He remained in his hands until he was taken away together with everything, which the pious *malik* al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb took back in Shawwāl 644 AH (February–March 1247)."²¹

This rather laconic account contains several interesting and potentially problematic details. In the first place, the chronology of events should be pointed out. According to Ibn Shaddād, the Cumans learned about the Mongols' intentions "to move towards their country" in 639 AH (1241–1242 AD)—i.e. when they were already withdrawing eastward after their campaign in Central Europe—and the migration itself took place in the next year, 640 AH (1242–1243 AD). Of course, it can be assumed that this is simply a mistake by the chronicler or the later compiler Ibn

in Bulgaria during the thirteenth century]","title-short":"Po vŭprosa za zaselvanijata na kumani","volume":"6: Bŭlgarskite zemi v drevnostta do sŭzdavaneto na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava. Bŭlgarija prez Srednovekovieto","author":[{"family":"Pavlov","given":"Plamen"}],"issued":{"da te-parts":[["1987"]]}},"locator":"632"}],"schema":"https://github.com/citation-style-language/ schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json"} See also Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," pp. 386–387.

²¹ This translation from the Arabic original was made by Prof. Pavel Pavlovich. For an edition of the text see in Ibn Ibn Taghribirdi, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhira*, vol. 7 (Cairo: Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, 1967), pp. 95–96. For a slightly different English translation see Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," p. 387; for a partial Russian translation, see Ibn Taghribirdi in Tizengauzen, Sbornik" materialov, p. 542.

Taghrībirdī. Yet it is perfectly possible that the Cumans indeed migrated in this very year. In his chapter about the deeds of the Chinggisid princes in Eastern Europe, Rashīd al-Dīn reports the following information immediately after his account of the capture of the cities of the Vlachs (i.e. of the Second Bulgarian Empire):²²

And after that, in the year of the Leopard (1242 AD),²³ a number of Qipchāq had come to wage war against Kötän and Songqor, the son of Jochi. They gave battle and defeated the Qipchāqs. In the autumn they returned again and passed into the area of Tīmūr Qahalqa (i.e. Darband) and the mountains of those parts. After [the princes] gave troops to Ïla'udur, they sent him to go and seize the Qipchāqs, who fleeing had gone to that side. And they subdued the regions of the Urungqut [and] Badach²⁴ and brought their envoys. This year ended in these parts.²⁵

At the beginning of the next year of the Hire—which according to the Persian chronicler corresponds to 640 AH (1242–1243 AD)²⁶—after they had finished the conquest of "that country," the Mongol troops started their long journey back to their homes.²⁷ Apparently, the last dramatic episode of the prolonged Cuman-Qïp-

²² For the relation between these designations, see below.

²³ In the Russian translation of Verkhovsky, based upon manuscripts kept in Russia, it is added: "in the year of the Bars, corresponding to 639 AH [12 July 1241–30 June 1242 AD]," Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopiseĭ* [Compendium of chronicles], trans. Iuriĭ P. Verkhovskiĭ, vol. 2 (Moscow – Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1960), chap. 45.

²⁴ These names cannot be identified, as pointed out by Minorsky. The Russian scholar assumes that they may have referred to Qipchaq tribes: Vladimir Minorsky, "Caucasica III: The Alan Capital Magas and the Mongol Campaigns," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14, no. 2 (1952), p. 231. See Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, trans. John Andrew Boyle (New York – London: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 70, n. 354.

²⁵ هدم آ ىچوچ رسپ روقىگەنس و نتوك گەنچ هدې راىسب قاچپ ق لىى سراب لاس رد ن آ زا دعب و» دودج هدې و دنتش گ زاب راب رگىد «اگىزى ياپ و ؛دنتس كشب ار ناقاچ پ ق و دنداد فاصم دندوب و تفرب ات دندات سرفب هداد ركش ل ار رودوالى ا و ،دنت ش ذگب اەموك ن آ و هقىل هقى رومىت ار چاداب توقىگەنوروا تاىالو و ؛تفرگب دندوب هتفر فرط نادب هت خىرگى هكى يەناقاچ پى Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. لايس ن آ و .دندرواىب ار ناشى ا ناى چلى او دندركى لى Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahman Karīmī (Tehran: Alborz, 1994), pp. 678–79; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahman Karīmī (Tehran: Iqbal, 1959), p. 483; Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, p. 71; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Rashidudin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols. Parts 1-3*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 45 (Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998), p. 332; Rashid ad-Din, *Sbornik letopiseĭ*, 1960, 2:45–46; Minorsky, "Caucasica III: The Alan Capital Magas and the Mongol Campaigns," pp. 227–28.

²⁶ While Boyle points out that it actually corresponds to 1243 AD, Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, p. 71, n. 355.

²⁷ Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, 1:679; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' altawārīkh, ed. Karīmī, 1:483; Rashīd al-Dīn, The Successors of Genghis Khan, p. 71; Rashīd

chag resistance against the invaders took place in the Pontic Steppes precisely in the period described in Baybars's biography. It seems that the conflict with the Qïpchags intensified before the return of the main Mongol forces from Central Europe, and they were finally subjugated after Batu and the Chinggisids that accompanied him appeared on the Pontic steppes. Evidently, there were some nests of Cuman-Qïpchag resistance (or at least relative independence) in the vast steppes within the Mongol rear,²⁸ and it is absolutely possible that some of these nomads took their decision about a final migration only after they heard the news of the return of the Chinggisids.²⁹ In addition, the disturbances described by Rashīd al-Dīn must have been quite serious, since the same author reports an operation of the Mongol troops against the strategic Darband Pass and its surroundings as early as the spring of 1240.³⁰ Nevertheless, the Qipchag refugees took asylum precisely in that part of Caucasia. This suggests that they threatened the strategic connection between Europe and Asia, which the Chinggisids tried to put under their control as early as at the time of their entrance to the region several years earlier. Therefore, it is no wonder that the Mongol troops undertook another operation against the restless nomads in 1242. Apparently, it was precisely in the context of these last attempts at resistance that Baybars's clan left Dasht-i Qipchāg for good.³¹ In fact, this chronology is supported by the age of Baybars himself, if his biographer (or rather, his informer Baysarī) is to be believed.

Placing the migration within this context would explain the second quite interesting detail in this story—the unusual decision of the nomads "to cross the Sea of \$ūdāq"; i.e., to sail with ships through the Black Sea, named in the source after the town of Sudaq—a key commercial entrepôt on the Crimean littoral. If indeed the Mongol *tümens* were coming back through the Pontic steppes, the alternative of taking a surrounding maritime route seems to be quite a reasonable decision. In

al-Dīn, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh*, 2:332; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopiseĭ*, trans. Verkhovskiĭ, 2:46; Minorsky, "Caucasica III: The Alan Capital Magas and the Mongol Campaigns," p. 228.

²⁸ Minorsky assumes that these were the Cumans of Kuten and offers a correction of the source text to support his conjecture: Minorsky, "Caucasica III: The Alan Capital Magas and the Mongol Campaigns," p. 231. See also Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, p. 71, n. 350. Yet the hypothesis that in the turbulent years of the Mongol campaign in Central Europe the Cumans of Kuten were able (and willing!) to reach as far as the region of Caucasia, where the invaders quite recently conducted operations, is not convincing.

²⁹ Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," p. 392.

³⁰ Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, 1:669; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Karīmī, 1:477; Rashīd al-Dīn, The Successors of Genghis Khan, p. 61; Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, p. 238; Rashid-ad-Din, Sbornik letopiseĭ, trans. Verkhovskiĭ, 2:39.

³¹ See also Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," pp. 405–6.

fact, Rubruck reports that during the first wave of the invasion numerous Cuman refugees crowded on the Crimean coast and the famine that arose forced them to engage in cannibalism.³² But it seems that Baybars's clan was not among the latter, because according to Ibn Shaddād this grouping needed to engage in a prolonged period of planning and correspondence with the future sedentary host—a detail which can also explain the later date of the migration.

As for the usage of ships by the Cuman-Qipchaqs migrating under Mongol pressure, although rather unusual, such a move would not have been unprecedented. According to al-Nasāvī—a biographer of the last ruler of the Khwārazmshāhs' Anushteginid dynasty Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu (1220–1231)—a large group of Qipchaqs responded to the latter's invitation for an alliance and wanted to join him in Transcaucasia, through the Darband Pass.³³ However, the inhabitants of the strategic town of Darband refused to grant them free conduct, perhaps due to their bitter experience with another wave of Qipchaq refugees that entered the region a few years earlier.³⁴ That is why "[the Caspian Sea] was crossed only by the Gur-Khan, one of their rulers, with three hundred of his associates and relatives." The chief went to Mughān,³⁵ where he subsequently met with Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn. After the meeting, the Qipchaq leader and his retinue apparently went back to their fellow tribesmen in the same way—i.e., across the sea.³⁶ Therefore, a similar maritime voyage across the Black Sea does not appear to have been impossible. Indeed, it

^{32 &}quot;When the Tartars appeared, the Comans entered the province [i.e. Crimea] in such numbers, all fleeing as far as the sea coast, that they would eat one another, the living those who were dying; so I was told by a merchant who saw the living seizing on and tearing with their teeth the raw flesh of the dead, as dogs do with corpses" (et quando venerunt Tartari tanta multitudo Comanorum intravit provinciam illam, qui omnes fugerunt usque ad ripam maris, quod comedebant se mutuo vivi morientes, secundum quod narravit michi quidam mercator, qui hoc vidit quod vivi devorabant et lacerabant dentibus carnes crudas mortuorum, sicut canes cadavera.) Anastasius van den Wyngaert, ed., *Sinica franciscana, vol. 1: Itinera et relationes Fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV* (Quaracchi: Collegium s. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1929), p. 171. The English translation follows Guilelmus de Rubruquis, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253 - 1255*, trans. Peter Jackson, Reprint d. Ausg. London, Hakluyt Soc., 1990, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2,173 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 70.

³³ Al-Nasāvī gives the fantastic number of "about fifty thousand tents," which perhaps refers to a really large nomadic group.

³⁴ For these events, see below in the text.

³⁵ Mughān is a vast plain on the west of the Caspian Sea located in the historical region of Ādharbāyjān, which today is separated between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Iran. Richard Tapper, "Mogān, Ii. History, Population, Economy," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Online edition, 2000, https://iranicaonline.org/articles/mogan-parent-i-ii#pt2.

³⁶ an-Nasavi, Sirat as-sultan Dzhalal ad-Din Mankburny (Zhisneopisanie sultana Dzhalal ad-Dina Mankburny) [Biography of Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu], ed. Ziia M. Buniiatov (Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 1996), pp. 213–14.

seems even more realistic if one considers the fact that the Cuman-Qïpchaqs in Eastern Europe had intensive contacts with the population of the coastal cities in Crimea, and even exercised a loose political dominance over some of them, including Sudaq, before the advent of the Mongols.³⁷ Thus, Korobeinikov reasonably assumed that the starting point of the migration was somewhere on the Crimean littoral or on the Black Sea coast between this peninsula and the Caucasus.³⁸

Another key question is that regarding the destination of the refugees. Korobeinikov sees in "A-n-s Khān, the *malik* of Awlāq," mentioned by Ibn Shaddād, some of the Asenids, supporting this identification with other cases in which the name Awlāq was used in the Arabic sources as a designation for the Bulgarians and their realm.³⁹ As is well known, this ethnonym is applied in relation to the Asenids and their state by Choniates and a number of western authors,⁴⁰ so the hypothesis of the Russian scholar seems to be fully acceptable. Regrettably, more precise identification of the region where the newcomers were settled based on the general statement "a valley between two mountains" remains impossible.

As regards the number of newly arrived nomads, this must not have been too large, due to the circumstance that entire families had to be transported across the sea by vessels, perhaps together with some horses and cattle. Thus, this refugee wave can hardly be compared with the preceding migrations of 1237 and 1241. Most probably, it only involved the clan of the future Mamlūk Sultan Baybars. Is it possible to identify this clan and to relate it to the political geography of Dasht-i Qipchāq? Korobeinikov draws attention to other evidence in the rich Mamlūk historiography preserved in the work of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, the chief biographer of

³⁷ Konstantin Golev, "The Cuman-Qipčaks and Crimea: The Role of the Peninsula in the Relationships between the Nomads and the Outside World," Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 24 (2018), pp. 23–107.

³⁸ Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," pp. 390, 392, 398, 406.

Skorobeinikov, pp. 392–402. See also Irina G. Konovalova, "Arabskie istochniki XII—XIV vv. po istorii Karpato-Dnestrovskikh zemel'" [Twelfth-fourteenth-century Arabic sources for the history of the Capathian-Danubian lands], in *Drevneishie gosudarstva na teritotii SSSR. Materialy i issledovanii a, 1990* (Moscow: Nauka, 1991), pp. 88–92; Irina G. Konovalova, *Vostochnai a Evropa v sochinenii akh arabskikh geografov XIII–XIV vv.* [Eastern Europe in the works of the Arabic geographers, thirteenth–fourteenth centuries] (Moscow: Eastern Literature, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2009), 151, n. 3. See in particular the accounts of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars in Tizengauzen, *Sbornik" materīalov*, 1:139, 161; Abu-'I-Fidā' Ismā'īl Ibn-'Alī, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abu'I-Fidā', Sultan of Ḥamāh (672-732/1273-1331)*, trans. Peter Malcolm Holt (Wiesbaden: Frantz Steiner, 1983), p. 39; Konovalova, "Arabskie istochniki XII—XIV vv.," pp. 72, 88; Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," pp. 395–96. It must be pointed out, however, that in other passages some of these authors use the same ethnonym to designate the Vlach population in Eastern Europe.

⁴⁰ See the sources referred to in Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, pp. 22–26, 29–32.

the Sultan. According to him, Baybars was a "Turk, from the clan (*al-jins*) of Barlī (الع لرب)."⁴¹ The nephew of Ibn 'Abd al-Ṣāhir, Shāfi' ibn 'Alī reproduces the name of the grouping as "al-Barlī."⁴² Apparently, Baybars originated from the Cuman-Qïpch-aq grouping named Ölberli, known from Chinese, Persian, Rus' and other sources, which was one of the mightiest tribal entities of Dasht-i Qipchāq before the Mongol invasion.⁴³ They were somehow connected with the groupings that provided numerous Qïpchaq warriors for the armies of the Khwārazmshāhs Anushteginids, and from which was descended the famous Terken Khatun—wife of Khwārazmshāh Te-kesh (1172–1200) and the mother of Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad II (1200–1220).⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that this grouping initially inhabited the eastern parts of Dasht-i Qipchāq and was among the first to collide with the Mongols, sometime in the 1210s.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," p. 382.

⁴² Korobeinikov, "A Broken Mirror," p. 382, n. 12. There is also other evidence for the tribal affiliation of Baybars. Such, for example, is the statement of al-'Aynī, pointed out by Tiesenhausen, that Baybars and the later Mamlūk Sultan of Qipchaq origin al-Manşūr Qalāwūn (1279–1290) belonged to the Cuman-Qipchaq tribe Burjoghli ("from Burjoghlī, a tribe from the Turks," (الجُرت الذي الذي الم المرابي), al-'Aynī, in Tizengauzen, Sbornik" materīalov, 1:503, n. 1. But undoubtedly priority should be given to the earlier accounts of Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir and Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, the first of whom had access to oral information of Baybars himself.

⁴³ Peter B. Golden, "Cumanica II: The Ölberli: The Fortunes and Misfortunes of an Inner Asian Nomadic Clan," Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 6 (1986), pp. 5–29; Peter B. Golden, "Cumanica IV: The Cumano-Qıpčaq Clans and Tribes," Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 9 (1997 1995), pp. 116–17.

⁴⁴ This assumption is based on some indirect evidence in one of the versions of Terken Khatun's origin, described by al-Nasāvī. According to him, she was "from the Bayaut tribe, and this is one of the Yemek branches," an-Nasavi, Sirat as-sultan Dzhalal ad-Din Mankburny, 82, see also p. 65; Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad Khurandizī Zaydarī Nasawī, Sīrat-i Djalāluddīn, ed. Mudjtabā Mīnuvī (Tehran: Scientific & Cultural Publications Company, 1986), p. 62, see also p. 38. The sultan's biographer never used the ethnonym Ölberli, but other sources connect with them both groupings mentioned by him. Thus, for example Jūzjānī extols one of the most prominent ghulāms of the Delhi Sultanate, who later mounted the throne himself-Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balaban (1266–1287), as "Khan of the Ölberli and Shāh of the Yemek" (تسىربلا ناخ الاص و), Minhāj al-Dīn Abū ʿUmar ibn Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUthmān Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, ed. Abd al-Haiy Habībī (Kabul: History of Afghanistan Association, 1963), p. 220; Minhaj Siraj Juzjani, Tabakat-i-Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties (Kolkata: Asiatic Society, 2010), p. 1295. For the relation between the Ölberli and Yemek, see also: Golden, "Cumanica II: The Ölberli," p. 23, n. 78. On the other hand, Yuan shi includes the biography of a Mongol servant who, according to the compilers, was descended from Ölberli-Bayaut (Yüerh-pieh-li Pai-ya-wu-t'ai), Bahaeddin Ögel, Sino-Turcica: Çingiz Han ve Çin'deki Hanedanının *Türk Müşavirleri* [Sino-Turcica: The Turkic advisors of Chinggis Khan and his Chinese dynasty] (Istanbul: IQ Kültürsanat Yayıncılık, 2002), p. 282; Paul Pelliot and Louis Hambis, trans., Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan: Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951), p. 104.

⁴⁵ The conflict was caused by the decision of the Ölberli chief (whose name is rendered by the Chinese sources as I-na-ssu) to give asylum to the last remnants of the Merkits—sworn enemies of Chinggis Khan and his competitors for influence over the tribes in the Mongolian

According to one of the medieval Chinese biographies of Toqtaq—a member of the ruling family of Ölberli who made a career in service of the Mongol dynasty Yuan in China—this nomadic grouping inhabited the territory between the rivers Yayïk (Ural) and Itil (Volga).⁴⁶ Their location suggests that Ölberli probably suffered another blow by the Mongol troops, who withdrew after the battle of Kalka River in 1223.⁴⁷

Subsequently, the Ölberli were among those tribes that offered dogged resistance to the invaders in the Volga region, and even managed to hold off their advance for a time. This can be deduced from the evidence of the Persian chronicler Jūzjānī. He describes the fate of several *ghulāms* originating from that grouping who were captured in the course of the Mongol operations against the Cuman-Qïpchaq tribes before the breakthrough in the Volga region in 1236–1237.⁴⁸ During these fights, a certain "Bachmān, who was one of the dishonoured *amīrs* of those

steppes, Roman P. Khrapachevskii, Polovt sy-kuny v Volgo-Ural'skom mezhdurech'e (po dannym kitaïskikh istochnikov) [Plovtsians-Kuns in the area between the Volga and Ural rivers: According to the information in Chinese Sources] (Moscow: Center for the Study of Military and General History, 2013), pp. 46, 72–73; Roman P. Khrapachevskii, trans., Zolotai a Orda v istochnikakh, vol. 3: Kitaĭskie i mongol'skie istochniki; Sobranie svedeniĭ, otnosī ashikhsī a k istorii Zolotoĭ Ordy (ulusu Dzhuchi), iz kitaĭskikh i mongol'skikh istochnikov [Chinese and Mongolian sources: A collection of accounts related to the history of the Golden Horde (the Ulus of Jochi) from Chinese and Mongolian sources] (Moscow: Nauka, 2009), pp. 226–27; Igor de Rachewiltz, trans., The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century, Brill's Inner Asian Library, 7/1 and 7/2 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004), paras. 198–199, pp. 125–128; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī 1:95; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Karīmī, 1:72-73; Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, 1:53; Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, pp. 210–11; Rashīd ad-Dīn, Dzhāmi' at-tavārīkh, ed. Aleksandr A. Romaskevich, Lev A. Khetagurov, and Abdul-Kerim A. Ali-Zade, vol. 1, part 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 1965), pp. 115–16; Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns," pp. 8–10.

- 46 Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns," p. 7.
- Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns," pp. 10–14; Golden, "Cumanica II: The Ölberli,"
 p. 28.
- 48 Jūzjānī, Ţabaqāt-i Nāsirī, 1963, 2:43, 45, 47–48; Minhāj al-Dīn Abū 'Umar ibn Sirāj al-Dīn 'Uthmān Jūzjānī, Ţabaqāt-i Nāsirī: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Including Hindustan; from A.H. 194 (800 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam, trans. Henry G. Raverty (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1970), 2:791, 796–97, 799–801; Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns," p. 16. The existence of conflicts before the Western campaign of the Chinggisids is also attested by the fact that, as early as 1232, a member of Ölberli, whose father had submitted "to Chinggis Khan" with the tribe headed by him at an unspecified earlier moment, took part in the last Mongol operations against the Jurchen dynasty Jin (1115–1234), Ögel, Sino-Turcica: Çingiz Han ve Çin'deki Hanedanının Türk Müşavirleri, p. 282; Aleksandr Sh. Khadyrbaev, Tiurki i irantsy v Kitae i Tsentral'noĭ Azii XIII-XIV vv. [Turks and Iranians in China and Central Asia, thirteenth–fourteenth centuries] (Almaty: Gylym, 1990), p. 45. This piece of evidence is noted in Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns," p. 14, n. 33.

parts—from the community of the Qipchāqs, from the tribe of Ūlberlīk (i.e. Ölberli)"— comes to the fore.⁴⁹ He became so famous that defeating him turned to be one of the strategic objectives of the Mongol's western campaign. *Yan shi* reports that Ögedei personally gave the order to Sübedei to be in the vanguard and "to fight with Bachman."⁵⁰ Even when the Mongols managed to defeat the Qïpchaq defence in the Volga region, this chief did not cease to resist the invaders and engaged in guerrilla warfare somewhere along the lower course, or in the delta of the great river.⁵¹ Eventually, the persistent Bachman was captured by the warriors of the future Great Khan Möngke (1251–1259) and executed on his orders.⁵² Perhaps even before that, the ruling family of Ölberli, along with some of its nomadic subjects, submitted to the same Mongol prince under somewhat unclear circumstances.⁵³ Modern scholarship dates this phase of the Mongol invasion in Eastern Europe to 1236–1237.⁵⁴

Perhaps these events forced the clan of Baybars to migrate westward, and after staying for some time in the East-European steppes they reached the Black Sea coast, whence the grouping moved to Bulgaria of the Asenids. One can only guess what vicissitudes they went through in the years between the defeat of their own tribe, the subsequent final conquest of Dasht-i Qipchāq, and the Mongol campaign against Hungary in 1241–1242. In any event, their appearance in the Second Bulgarian Empire demonstrates that the Mongol invasion pushed into the Balkans, and perhaps into Central Europe too, offshoots of mighty Cuman-Qïpchaq groupings whose traditional habitats were situated far away to the east. Such

^{49 :} لاى لرب لوا موق زا ناقاچ يق تعامج زا دوب اجن آى ارما ناکت هتم زا هک نام بع ب Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, 1:667; Rashid-ad-Din, Sbornik letopiseĭ, ed. Verkhovskiĭ, 2:38.

⁵⁰ See the Russian translation of *Yuan shi* and Allsen's article, referred to in the following note.

⁵¹ Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, 1:667-668, 824–25; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Karīmī, 1:475-476, 582; Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, pp. 58–59, 201; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles*, 1: 326, 402; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, 1960, vol. 2, chaps. 38, 129. See also Minorsky, "Caucasica III: The Alan Capital Magas and the Mongol Campaigns," p. 225; 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Atā Malik Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy*, ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, vol. 3, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1937), pp. 9–11; 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Atā Malik Juvaynī, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*, trans. John Andrew Boyle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), 2:553-554; Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns," pp. 17–20; Golden, "Cumanica II: The Ölberli," pp. 28–29.

⁵² See the previous note.

⁵³ See the vague description of the events in the biography of Toqtaq in: "Yuan shi," in Khrapachevskii, *Polovtsy-kuny v Volgo-Ural'skom mezhdurech'e*, chaps. 46–47; Golden, "Cumanica II: The Ölberli," pp. 10–11.

⁵⁴ Allsen, "Prelude to the Western Campaigns," pp. 17–20; Golden, "Cumanica II: The Ölberli," p. 28.

was also the situation in Transcaucasia, where in 619 AH (1221–1222 AD) another refugee wave of Cuman-Qipchaqs irrupted. Among the fleeing nomads was a chief who stated that he had once been in the service of the Khwārazmshāh and had embraced Islam.⁵⁵ This man had apparently passed all the way from Central Asia to Ādharbāyjān.

At any rate, if Ibn Shaddād's chronology is correct, Bulgaria was still considered safe enough for the relatives of Baybars, even after the rift with the Cuman migrants (c. 1239–1240) who switched to the Latins (and later to the Nikaians), and, what is more important—after the passing of the Mongol army in 1242. This would also indicate that the maritime refugees appeared in the Bulgarian realm in an uncertain situation after the death of Ivan Asen II (June 1241), with whom they may have conducted preliminary negotiations. During the latter's reign, Bulgaria achieved short-lived domination over large parts of the Balkans. However, Ivan Asen II was followed on the throne by his seven-year-old son Kaliman I Asen (1241–1246), who (or rather, whose regents) soon had to face the Mongol invasion in the country. In 1246, Kaliman I died and was succeeded by his half-brother Michael II Asen (1246–1256/57)—another "child ruler." Thus, the turbulent period in which the relatives of Baybars (and Kuten's followers before them) looked for asylum in Bulgaria marked the beginning of a steady decline in state fortunes, which inevitably must have caused internal turmoil.⁵⁶ Be this as it may, it is an interesting question whether migrants of such distant origins contacted directly the Bulgarian court or used intermediaries, as well as whether this destination was their own choice, or if they were following the advice of fellow nomads who lived closer to the Balkans. Unfortunately, these questions will have to remain unanswered.

Some chronological markers in the account of Ibn Shaddād shed additional light upon the context of these events. According to the latter, Baybars and other captives were transported through Aleppo and Sivas (and perhaps resold multiple times) before they eventually reached Cairo, where the future sultan was bought by an Ayyūbid emir.⁵⁷ Baybars remained "in his hands" for an unspecified period

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil Fi'l-Ta'rīkh, Part 3: The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace, trans. Donald S. Richards (Aldershot – Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 237–39. For this refugee wave in Transcaucasia, see below.

⁵⁶ John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), pp. 154–56.

⁵⁷ In fact, the odyssey of Baybars, who arrived in Bulgaria from the Ponto-Caspian steppes and was consequently brought through Asia Minor and Syria as far as Egypt, was not unique for these dramatic times. Many other Cuman-Qïpchaq youths had a similar fate travelling great distances before being sold off on some slave market, only to start on a further journey towards their new homeland. Such was, for example, the case with another slave and future ruler of Ölberli origin—the aforementioned sultan of Delhi Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balaban. He was apparently

of time, until he was confiscated by the Egyptian ruler al-Ṣāliḥ in Shawwāl 644 AH (February–March 1247). Ibn Shaddād's informer Baysarī states that, by the time he was captured, Baybars was about fourteen years old. Slightly prior to this, he reports that the sultan was born c. 625 AH (12 December 1227–29 November 1228 AD), and the migration took place in 640 AH (1 July 1242–20 June 1243). If these markers are correct, then the defeat of the maritime refugees occurred quite soon after their arrival in the realm of "A-n-s Khān."

As regards the stay of Baybars's clan in Bulgaria, it is reported only in the laconic account of Ibn Shaddad. In his version, the Cumans are presented as victims of the "Vlach" ruler who "betrayed them and launched an attack on them, killing some of them and enslaving [others]," after "they felt secure in their [new] place." However, comparison with the behaviour of other Cuman refugees—in the Balkans as well as in other parts of Eurasia—suggests that "A-n-s Khān" perhaps had deeper motives for the aggression against the newcomers that remain hidden behind the 'Cuman perspective' displayed in the Arabic chronicle. In first place, it should be mentioned that the appearance of nomadic refugee waves in medieval sedentary states caused serious problems for local populations on an everyday level, as indicated by events in Thrace,⁵⁸ and Hungary,⁵⁹ as well as by the behaviour of the Khwārazmians in Anatolia.⁶⁰ Yet such conflicts would hardly have triggered the unexpected attack of the 'Vlach' ruler against the migrants. The better documented history of the Cuman refugees in Hungary demonstrates that when the central authorities planned to use the military potential of the newcomers, special efforts were made to regulate their relations with the local population, even if in

taken captive by the Mongols somewhere in the steppes on the border between Asia and Europe, sold to slave traders in Baghdad, and taken all the way to India: Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, 2:48; Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties, 2:800-1. His brother Kashlī Khan had a similar fate, being bought by an envoy of the Sultan of Delhi Shams al-Dīn II-Tutmish (1211–1236) during a mission to Baghdad and Egypt, and subsequently resold to the ruler himself: Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, ed. Ḥabībī, 2:45; Jūzjānī, *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties, 2:796–97.

⁵⁸ Akropolites, *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, ed. Heisenberg, 1:53–54; Akropolites, *The History*, trans. Macrides, p. 199. See also Teodor Skutariot, "Compendium chronicum," in *Grütski izvori za bülgarskata istoriia*, ed. Mihail Voĭnov, vol. 8 (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1971), pp. 272–73.; and the rhyming *Chronographia* of Ephraim in Vasil Giuzelev, ed., *Samiiat Türnovgrad shte raztrübi pobedite: Srednovekovni poeti za Bŭlgariia* [Tŭrnovgrad itself will trumpet the victories: Medieval poets about Bulgaria] (Sofia: Popular Culture, 1981), pp. 84–85.

⁵⁹ Rogerius magister, "Epistola [Carmen miserabile]," p. 557; Anonymus and Master Roger, *Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen*, pp. 147–48.

⁶⁰ Ibn Bībī, Ibn Bībī, ed. Motaḥeddīn, p. 383; İbn Bibi, İbn Bibi, vol. 2: Tercüme, trans. Öztürk, p. 419.

the course of this process the latter suffered significant damage.⁶¹ Such was also the situation with the Khwārazmians in the Saljuq Sultanate of Rūm.⁶²

Most probably, the enigma of the sudden assault is explained precisely by the military potential of the maritime migrants, which must have not been insignificant—despite their supposedly limited numbers. The course of the Byzantine 'Reconquista' around the mid-thirteenth century demonstrates that even relatively small Cuman contingents had significant military potential and could influence events of importance in Balkan history. The latter include, for example, the Battle of Pelagonia won by the Nikaians, on whose side fought some 2000 Cumans.⁶³ Furthermore, Gregoras reports that the detachment which almost by chance recaptured Constantinople from the Latins numbered slightly more than 800 men,⁶⁴ who according to Pachymeres were mostly Cumans.⁶⁵ This is why the Bulgarian

65 "τῷ καίσαρι Ἀλεξίω τὸ Σκυθικὸν παραδοὺς σὺν οὐ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις" (after he [the emperor] gave to the Caesar Alexios the Scythian [i.e. the Cuman contingent] with few others). Pachymérès, Relations historiques, 1:190–91; Georgii Pakhimer, Istoriia o Mikhale i Andronike Paleologakh, Trinadtsat' knig. vol. 1: Tsarstvovanie Mikhaila Paleologa (1255–1282) [The reign of Michael Palaiologos (1255–1282)], trans. V. N. Karpov (Saint Petersburg: Printing House of the Imperial Estates' Department, 1862), p. 126. See Pachymérès, Relations historiques, 1:194–195, 196–197, 198–199, 206–207; Georgii Pakhimer, Istoriia o Mikhale i Andronike Paleologakh, 1:129, 131, 132, 140. Akropolites also reports that the detachment that retook Constantinople was composed of Greeks and Cumans, but does not give any details regarding the relation between them: "οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Στρατηγόπουλος καῖσαρ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πάντες Ρωμαῖοι καὶ Σκύθαι—ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὸν συνεκεκρότητο στράτευμα έντὸς τῆς πόλεως ἐγεγόνεισαν" (It was in this way that the Caesar Strategopoulos and all the Romans and Scyths [i.e. Cumans] with him (for the army under him was composed of such men) came within the city) Akropolites, Georgii Acropolitae opera, ed. Heisenberg, 1:182; Akropolites, The History, trans. Macrides, p. 376. For the capture of the city, see: Bartusis, The Late Byzantine Army, pp. 40–41.

⁶¹ Rogerius magister, "Epistola [Carmen miserabile]," p. 557; Anonymus and Master Roger, *Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen*, pp. 147–48.

⁶² Ibn Bībī, Ibn Bībī, ed. Motaḥeddīn, p. 383; İbn Bibi, İbn Bibi, vol. 2: Tercüme, trans. Öztürk, p. 419.

⁶³ Harold E. Lurier, trans., Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea (New York – London: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 181, 190, 191; Akropolites, Georgii Acropolitae opera, ed. Heisenberg, 1:169; Akropolites, The History, pp. 360, 362, n. 7; Pavlov, "Kumanite vŭv Vizantiĭskata imperíīa (1237 g. – pŭrvata chetvŭrt na XIV v.) [The Cumans in the Byzantine Empire: From 1237 to the first quarter of the fourteenth century]," p. 42; Marc C. Bartusis, The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), pp. 37–38.

^{64 &}quot;πέμπει τοιγαροῦν κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ὁ βασιλεὺς Καίσαρα τὸν Στρατηγόπουλον, δοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ Βιθυνοὺς μὲν μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους," (Therefore the emperor sends urgently against him [the Despot of Epirus Michael II Komnenos Doukas (1230–1266/1268)] the Caesar Strategopoulos, giving him also slightly over eight hundred Bithynians). Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen, vol. 1 (Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1829), p. 83; Nikifor Grigora, *Istoriia romeev* [The history of the Romans], trans. Roman V. Iashunskiĭ, vol. 1 (Saint Petersburg: Svoe Publishing, 2013), p. 66. See also: Nicephorus Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, 1:87; Nikifor Grigora, *Istoriia romeev*, 1:69.

court had all reason to monitor closely the newly arrived nomads—all the more so bearing in mind the recent precedent of the preceding Cuman refugees switching to the Latin and later to the Nikaian site.

In fact, this rapid shift in lovalties was not a specific feature of Cuman refugees in the Balkans. The Cuman-Qipchag migrants in Transcaucasia and the Khwārazmians in the Near East demonstrated similar behaviour. The Qipchags who irrupted into Transcaucasia in 619 AH (1222–1223 AD)—similarly to their fellow nomads, described by Acropolites and Gregoras-switched their loyalties now to the ruler of Darband, now to the Georgians, now to the *ghulām* governor of Ganja who ruled in the name of the Atabeks Ildegizids of Ādharbāyjān (1136–1225). Similar to the first waves in the Balkans, in Transcaucasia the refugees were numerous, since according to Ibn al-Athir they were "a large group of Qipjag."⁶⁶ However, unlike their Balkan relatives described by the Byzantine authors, the Transcaucasian Qipchags could not find a happy ending, and with their sharp manoeuvres eventually turned all local powers against themselves. According to Ibn al-Athir, the ruler of Ganja addressed them with the following indicative words: "You have acted treacherously towards the ruler of Shirwan and taken his castle. You have acted treacherously towards the [Georgian] ruler of Qabala and pillaged his land. Nobody trusts you[!]"⁶⁷ Eventually, the Georgian and the Muslim inhabitants of the region, supported by the Caucasian mountaineers, defeated the refugees, who had managed to become equally dangerous and unpredictable to all sides of the local status guo.⁶⁸

Practically identical, although occurring over a longer period of time, was the paradigm of the Khwārazmian refugees in the Near East, who were mainly Cuman-Qïpchaqs related to the Central-Asian dynasty of the Anushteginid khwārazmshāhs.⁶⁹ Af-

⁶⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athīr, pt 3: The Years 589–629, p. 237.

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, p. 238.

⁶⁸ bn al-Athīr, pp. 237–39. For this refugee wave in Transcaucasia see also: Kirakos Gandzaketsi, Istoriia Armenii [The history of Armenia], trans. Lena A. Khanlarian (Moscow: Nauka, 1976), pp. 139–40.; as well as the accounts in the Chronicle of Sebastatsi and the Chronicle of Mekhitar Ayrivanetsi, in A. G. Galstian, trans., Armianskie istochniki o mongolakh: izvlecheniia iz rukopisei XIII–XIV vv. [Armenian sources for the Mongols: Excerpts from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts] (Moscow: Eastern Literature Publishing, 1962), pp. 23, 89.

⁶⁹ A number of sources highlight the significant number of warriors associated with the Cuman-Qipchaq tribes in the troops of the Khwārazmshāhs: Juvaynī, Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy, 3:2:34-35, 109, 198; Juvaynī, Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror, 1:305, 2:378, 465; an-Nasavi, Sirat as-sultan Dzhalal ad-Din Mankburny, pp. 68, 74–75, 77, 82, 213; Nasawī, Sīrat-i Djalāluddīn, pp. 42, 52, 55–56, 62; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, 1:505-6; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Karīmī, 1:366; Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashidud-din Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, 2:250; Rashid-ad-Din, Sbornik letopiseĭ [Compendium of chronicles], trans. O. I. Smirnova, vol. I, pt 2 (Moscow – Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1952), pp. 209–10; Muḥammad ibn Khāvandshāh Mīrkhvānd, Tārīkh-i rawa at al-şafā, vol. 4 (Tehran: Khayyam Center, 1960), p. 407; Abul'-Gazi, "Rodoslovnoe drevo tī urkov": Sochinenīe Abul'-Gazi, Khivinskago khana" [The genealogy

ter their last ruler Jalā al-Dīn Mingburnu was murdered in 1231, many Khwārazmian nomads, who were a formidable military force, served the Saljuq Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād I (1219–1237), as well as the successors of Saladin in Syria and al-Jazīra, who warred with each other and with the crusaders. Particularly indicative of the military potential of the Khwārazmian nomads was the attempt of the new Saljuq Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (1237–1246) to prevent at any cost their exodus from his realm after the rift that followed the death of his father 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād I. The sultan sent troops to bring back the refugees who were fleeing to Syria, but the latter managed to defeat them and left his dominion.⁷⁰ Claude Cahen is undoubtedly right in pointing out that Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II "had no intention of letting the force they represented pass to others."⁷¹

After the Khwārazmians crossed to Syria c. 1237, a decade of political pirouettes followed. This was characterized by the well-known switching of sides in regional

of the Turks: The work of Abul-Gazi, khan of Khival, trans. Gordii S. Sablukov, Izvi esti a obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i ėtnografii pri Imperatorskom" Kazanskom" Universiteti e 21, no. 1–6 (1906), pp. 34–35. The nomadic refugees that were related to the dynasty of the Anushteginids and sought asylum in the Near East after the defeat of their empire are called Khwārazmians. The kinship between Qipchags and Khwārazmians is especially evident in an episode described by Rashīd al-Dīn. It is part of his narrative concerning the campaign of Hülegü (c. 1259–1265)—the founder of the Mongol Ilkhanate in Iran—against Baghdad, controlled by the last 'Abbasid Caliph al-Musta'sim (1242–1258), in the winter of 1257–1258: "[Commander of] the Bagdad vanguard from that side was a Qipchag named Qara Songgor, whereas [certain] Sultanchug from the race of the Khwārazmians was in the advance guard of the Mongols. He sent a letter to Qara Songgor: I and you are of one stock (jins). After much wandering because of helplessness and necessity I attached myself to the service of His Majesty [Hülegü] and submitted [to him] – and I am treated well. You too have mercy upon your life and show pity to your children – submit so that you can find quarter (amān) ،دوب ىقاجبق فرط نادب دادغب أىالط» ",/from this people for your life, family and property شیب یا همان ،دوب لوغم کزی رد نایمزراوخ لسن زا یمان قوج ناطلس و ،ار وا مان روقگنسارق و زجع رس زا رایسب یوپاکت زا دعب نم و میسنج کی زا وت و نم هک داتسرف روقگنسارق محر دوخ ناج رب زین امش ؛دنراد یم وکین ارم و مدش لیا و متسویپ ترضح یگدنب هب رارطض۱ ,«.دیبای ناما موق نیا زا نام و ناخ و ناج هب ات دیوش لیا و دییاشخبب دوخ دالوا رب و دینک Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Rūshan and Mūsavī, 2:1009-1010; Rashīd al-Dīn, Jāmi' al-tawārīkh, ed. Karīmī, 2:708; Rashīd al-Dīn, Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles, 2:494; Rashid-ad-Din, Sbornik letopisei [Compendium of chronicles], trans. Al'fred K. Arends, vol. 3 (Moscow – Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1946), pp. 40–41. Apparently, in this context ethnic relations were used as a political tool, clearly juxtaposed with "this people"; i.e. the Mongols. Furthermore, in this particular case the extent to which the account of Rashid al-Din follows the real course of events is not of primary importance, since in one way or another it reflects the idea of contemporaries concerning the close relation between Qipchaqs and Khwarazmians.

- 70 Ibn Bībī, *Ibn Bībī*, ed. Motaḥeddīn, pp. 416–18; İbn Bibi, *İbn Bibi*, vol. 2: *Tercüme*, trans. Öztürk, pp. 451–53.
- 71 Claude Cahen, *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century* (Harlow, England – New York: Longman, 2001), p. 66.

conflicts and the looting of local populations. In a letter from 25 November 1244 the prelates from the Holy Land even report that the refugees "lacking fixed abode, were unable, due to their wicked deeds, to obtain refuge from none of the Saracens."⁷² It was precisely these nomads that finally took Jerusalem from the Christians few mounts earlier – on 15 July 1244 becoming notorious for the atrocities they committed.⁷³ It was precisely these nomads that finally took Jerusalem from the Christians on 15 July 1244; the former becoming notorious for the atrocities they committed and their treacherous behaviour after the agreement with the defenders of the Holy City. In the same year, the Khwārazmians took part in the battle of La Forbie (17–18 October 1244) on the side of the Egyptian Sultan al-Şālih Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, helping him to defeat his Ayyūbid relatives and their Crusader allies, and thus to deliver a crushing blow to the Latin presence in the Holy Land. In this case it also eventually turned out that the unpredictable and aggressive nomads were too dangerous a force for local political factors. Thus, after a rift with al-Sālih and another intervention in the political conflict in Syria, an Ayyūbid coalition finally defeated the Khwārazmians and their allies at the battle of Homs (25 or 26 May 1246). In the months that followed, the remaining Khwārazmian nomads suffered other blows that sealed their disappearance from the Near-Eastern politics.⁷⁴

In close parallel with what happened with Baybars and his relatives in Bulgaria is perhaps the fate of Kuten and his family. The latter fell victim to a crowd of Hungarian and German soldiers enraged by unfounded suspicions of collaboration

^{72 &}quot;Qui cum certum habitaculum non habentes non possent propter eorum nequitias ab aliquibus Sarracenis receptaculum adipisci," Paris, CM 4:338; Malcolm Barber and A. K. Bate, eds., Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries, Crusade Texts in Translation 18 (Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), p. 143.

⁷³ See e.g., the already cited letter of the Catholic clerics of the Holy Land, Paris, CM 4:337–44; Barber and Bate, *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*, pp. 142–46.

^{For these events, see in general Zii a M. Bunii atov, Gosudarstvo khorezmshakhov-Anushte}ginidov, 1097–1231 [The State of the Khwārazmshāhs-Anushteginids, 1097–1231] (Moscow: Nauka, 1986), pp. 187–95; Claude Cahen, "The Turks in Iran and Anatolia before the Mongol Invasions," in A History of the Crusades, vol. 2: The Later Crusades, 1189-1311, ed. Robert Lee Wolff, Harry W. Hazard, and Kenneth Meyer Setton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 673–74; Steven Runciman, "The Crusader States 1243–1291," in A History of the Crusades. vol. 2: The Later Crusades, 1189 – 1311, ed. Kenneth Setton, Robert L. Wolf, and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 561–64. For the stay of the Khwārazmians in the Sultanate of Rūm, see in particular Hasan Geyikoğlu, "Harezmliler'in Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti Himaye ve Hizmetine Alınmaları" [The acceptance of the Khwārazmians under the protection and in the service of the Anatolian Seljuq State], *Türk Kültürü* 32, no. 373 (1994), pp. 275–285; Hasan Geyikoğlu, "Anadolu'da Kalan Harezmliler (Horzumlular)" [The Khwārazmians who stayed in Anatolia], *Türk Kültürü* 35, no. 410 (1997), pp. 371–80.

between the Cumans and the advancing Mongols in 1241.⁷⁵ A further analogy may be found in an episode that took place almost four decades after the return of the Cumans to Hungary c. 1246–1247. In 1282, the Hungarian King Ladislaus the Cuman (1272–1290), similarly to the inhabitants of Transcaucasia and the troops of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, was forced to take up arms against his unruly Cuman subjects in the battle of Lake Hód, where he achieved a decisive victory against them.⁷⁶ According to the medieval chroniclers, some of the defeated nomads were able to flee "to the barbarian peoples,"⁷⁷ i.e. "to the Tatars."⁷⁸ Judging by one of the royal charters, the ruler later apparently tried to bring back these refugees to his realm, for which reason he even entered with his troops onto Mongol territory.⁷⁹

- 77 "indeed, some of them, abandoning their wives, children and all their possessions, fled to the barbarian peoples," (quidam vero ex ipsis relictis uxoribus, pueris et rebus omnibus ad populos barbaros fugierunt): Simon de Kéza, "Gesta Hungarorum," 1:187, para. 75; Simon of Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum: The Deeds of the Hungarians*, pp. 156–57, para. 75.
- 78 "few of these Cumans, who rescued themselves, fled to the Tatars" (pauci de ipsis Comanis, qui evaserant, ad Tartaros fugientes): Domanovszky and Szentpétery, eds. "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV," p. 472; Dercsényi, *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum*, p. 141.
- 79 The charter enumerates the merits of Master Thomas Tholpos to the crown, giving the following interesting information: "and especially at that time, when the perfidious people of the Cumans, daring imprudently, had gathered against us near [the lake] Hód, the same Master Thomas on this battlefield displayed vigorous and laudable services in our presence, receiving [almost] fatal wounds; in addition, when in order to return the Cumans—who had secretly fled from our kingdom—from the borders and limits of the Tatars, which no one of our predecessors ever crossed, we went beyond the mountains after we gathered a multitude of barons and nobbles from our kingdom, the said noble Master Thomas displayed faithful and pleasing services" (et specialiter tunc, cum in Houd perfida gens Cumanorum ausu temerario contra nos conuenerat, idem Magister Thomas in arena ipsius certaminis nobis cernentibus strenuous et laudabiles exhibuit famulatus, lethalia vulnera supportando: praeterea etiam

⁷⁵ Rogerius magister, "Epistola [Carmen miserabile]," pp. 561, 566–67; Anonymus and Master Roger, *Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen*, pp. 158–59, 172–75.

⁷⁶ See the accounts of the battle in Simon de Kéza, "Gesta Hungarorum," in Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum, ed. Sándor Domanovszky and Imre Szentpétery, New edition (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 1:187, para 75; Simon of Kéza, Gesta Hungarorum: The Deeds of the Hungarians, ed. László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 1999), pp. 154–59, para. 75; Sándor Domanovszky and Imre Szentpétery, eds., "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV," in Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum, New edition (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 1:472; Dezső Dercsényi, ed., The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum, trans. Alick West (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), p. 141. See various interpretations of the sources in Pálóczi-Horváth, Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians, pp. 79–81; Nora Berend, At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000 – c. 1300 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 254–55; Aleksandŭr Nikolov, "Chapter 2: Kumanite v Ungariia. Zaselvane i integrational [The Cumans in Hungary: Settlements and integration], in Kumanskoto zaselvane v Ungaríia (XII-XIII v.): paraleli i razlichiia, Manuscript, pp. 79, 100.

There is no doubt that the king was motivated (like Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II) by his unwillingness to allow some part of Cuman military potential to be put at the disposal of his neighbours.

Conclusions

These parallels fairly closely resemble the laconic account of the fate of Baybars's clan. Even the sale of the survivors into slavery after the assault of "A-n-s Khān" was not an isolated incident. Ibn al-Athīr reports that after the Qīpchaqs in Transcaucasia were defeated, "a mamluke from among them could be bought in Darband Shirwān for a paltry price."⁸⁰ In fact, the Cuman-Qīpchaq refugees themselves were engaged in the slave trade in the various regions where they looked for asylum: Thrace,⁸¹ Transcaucasia,⁸² and even Catholic Hungary—nearly four decades after their migration within the kingdom.⁸³ Be that as it may, the analogies outlined

- 80 Ibn al-Athīr, *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athīr, Pt 3: The Years 589–629,* 239. In the course of these events, the Christian dignitaries in Transcaucasia also did not hesitate to capture prisoners among the newly arrived nomads. This is illustrated by the evidence of Kirakos of Ganja that Ivane, the general of the Georgian king Giorgi IV Lasha 1213–1223, after suffering a defeat at the hands of the Qipchaqs "suddenly attacked them, stroke and exterminated the barbarians with a sword, taking back all of their booty, led their children in captivity and brought them in his own country," Gandzaketsi, *Istoriia Armenii*, 140. See also in the *Chronicle of Sebastatsi*, in Galstīan, *Armianskie istochniki o mongolakh: izvlecheniia iz rukopiseĭ XIII–XIV vv.* [Armenian sources for the Mongols: Excerpts from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts], p. 23.
- 81 See references to the sources in n. 57.
- 82 Gandzaket si, Istorii a Armenii, pp. 139–40.
- 83 As demonstrated by the events described *s.a.* 1282 in *The Traska Annals*. At that time, due to a famine, a large number of inhabitants of Poland and Moravia moved to Hungary, where they were sold off as slaves to the local Cumans. Edward Tryjarski, "Some Early Polish Sources and Their Importance for the History of the Altaic World," *Journal of Asian History* 3 (1969), p. 39. See also Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians*, p. 81.

cum pro reducendis Cumanis, qui clandestine de regno nostro aufugerant, de finibus et terminis Tartarorum, quos nemo praedecessorum nostrorum peragrauerat, vltra alpes collecta multitudine Baronum et Nobilium regni nostri accessissemus; dictus Magister Thomas nobilis fidelia exhibuit seruitia, et accepta): Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 5:3 (Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1830), p. 410; István Gyárfás, *A jász-kúnok története* [History of the Jas-Cumans], vol. 2: *Kr. u. 884 – 1301-ig* (Kecskemét: Szilády Károly Fia, 1873), p. 454, no. 84. Most probably the return of the same Cumans who left Hungary after the defeat near the lake Hód is meant here. Perhaps this royal campaign is mentioned in two more charters, but the evidence is too scant to allow firm conclusions, Imre Nagy, Farkas Deák, and Gyula Nagy, eds., *Hazai oklevéltár 1234–1536* (Budapest: Knoll Károly, 1879), pp. 116–17; Dezső Véghely and Arnold Ipolyi, *Hazai okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus patrius*, ed. Arnold Ipolyi, Imre Nagy, and Dezső Véghely, vol. 6 (Budapest: Kocsi Sándor, 1876), 317, no. 230. Nora Berend draws attention to these documents, Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, p. 254, and n. 158.

above indicate that the most feasible interpretation of the vague story of Ibn Shaddād is embedded precisely in such a context—i.e. that Baybars's relatives were a threat to the local military (and therefore political) balance. It appears that the clan of the future sultan fell victim to an attack by those ruling in Turnovo, who aimed at preventing these Cumans' undesirable migration to some of the surrounding powers. One can only guess whether the newly arrived nomads were defeated as a result of a pre-emptive strike, or whether the assault was a response to already established contacts between them and some of the neighbouring states. Actually, it is quite natural for such issues to remain outside of the sketchy narrative of the sultan's biographer. Furthermore, it is unclear to what extent the relevant youths—such as Baybars and Ibn Shaddād's informer Baysarī (who must have been of a similar age)—could have been aware of the political plans of their relatives.

Thus the 'crime' of the clan of Baybars is related precisely to the military potential of the Cumans and their opportunistic behaviour, as repeatedly demonstrated by various tribal groupings, the latter being exacerbated to the extreme by the Mongol invasion. This is why the admittance of large groups of these refugees created hidden risks to rulers, who offered them asylum (or were forced to do so). The Second Bulgarian Empire was no more able to take advantage of its monopolistic access to the contact zone with Dasht-i Qipchāq (as regards the other Balkan states) to involve numerous nomadic contingents into its military ventures on the peninsula. Large groups of Cumans with their families had already migrated to the interior of the Balkans, and the new circumstances did not allow them to choose their partners on the basis of nostalgia and former relations. And, as it turned out, this new reversal was clearly not in the interests of the Bulgarian political elite. The vague story of Ibn Shaddād indicates that the latter became aware of these negative developments early enough and took measures to limit the consequences, which materialized in the 'punishment' of Baybars and his relatives.

And yet, despite the ill-omens of the prophecy of Pandekh that is quoted at the beginning of the present paper, and despite the documented exodus or defeat of each of the three migration waves attested to in the sources, some Cumans managed to survive and remained in Bulgaria for good. The presence of two royal dynasties of Cuman descent—the Terterids (1280–1292; 1300–1323) and the Shishmanids (1323–1396)—as well as that of other dignitaries of similar background attests that the nomads did not leave entirely. However, it cannot be established how many of them remained, or where they settled. Similarly, the question of which particular wave these individuals were part of will remain unsolved. In fact, it is quite probable that in this period other refugee waves entered Bulgaria. A more successful integration is unlikely to have been followed by their exodus, thus remaining unrecorded by foreign chroniclers. It is possible that some of these waves

were large in size. Yet there is no doubt that smaller groups, separate families, and individuals had much a better chance of smoothly integrating into a sedentary state. Thus, it seems that the entire paradigm of the successes and failures of the Cuman-Qïpchaq refugees within the *outside sedentary world* is present in Bulgaria—one can identify integrated members of the highest aristocracy, some of whom eventually managed to mount the throne themselves, as well as large groups of refugees that choose to migrate to other countries, and also those that, after arriving in Bulgaria, had to face the bitter lot of death and slavery. No doubt Baybars and his clan were among the latter, yet this was not the end for all of them. Through twists of fate and their own capabilities, some of the survivors of these wretched refugee groups were able to rise as high as the royal throne, thousands of kilometres away from their native steppes, as demonstrated by the later achievements of Baybars and his fellow tribesman, Il-Tutmish.

Bibliography

- Abu-'l-Fidā' Ismā'īl Ibn-'Alī. *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abu'l-Fidā', Sultan of Hamāh (672-732/1273-1331)*. Translated by Peter Malcolm Holt. Wiesbaden: Frantz Steiner, 1983.
- Abul'-Gazi. "Rodoslovnoe drevo tī urkov": Sochinenīe Abul'-Gazi, Khivinskago khana" [The genealogy of the Turks: The work of Abul-Gazi, khan of Khiva]. Translated by Gordiĭ S. Sablukov. *Izvī estīī a obshchestva arkheologīi, istorīi i ėtnografīi pri Imperatorskom" Kazanskom" Universitetī e* 21, no. 1–6 (1906).
- Akropolites, Georgios. *Georgii Acropolitae opera*. Edited by August Heisenberg. Vol. 1. Leipzig: In aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1903.
- ———. The History. Translated by R. J Macrides. Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Allsen, Thomas T. "Prelude to the Western Campaigns: Mongol Military Operations in the Volga-Ural Region, 1217–1237." Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 3 (1983): 5–24.
- an-Nasavi. *Sirat as-sultan Dzhalal ad-Din Mankburny (Zhisneopisanie sultana Dzhalal ad-Dina Mankburny)* [Biography of Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu]. Edited by Ziia M. Buniiatov. Moscow: Vostochnaya literatura, 1996.
- Anninskiĭ, Sergeĭ A. "Izvestiia vengerskikh missionerov XIII–XIV vv. o tatarakh i Vostochnoĭ Evrope" [Hungarian missionaries' accounts from the thirteenth–fifteenth

centuries about the Tatars and Eastern Europe]. *Istoricheskii arkhiv* 3 (1940): 71–112.

- Anonymus and Master Roger. Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars. Translated by Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak. Central European Medieval Texts 5. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010.
- Barber, Malcolm, and A. K. Bate, eds. *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th-13th Centuries*. Crusade Texts in Translation 18. Farnham; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010.
- Bartusis, Marc C. *The Late Byzantine Army: Arms and Society, 1204–1453*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992.
- Berend, Nora. At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000 – c. 1300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Buniiatov, Ziia M. *Gosudarstvo khorezmshakhov-Anushteginidov, 1097–1231* [The State of the Khwārazmshāhs-Anushteginids, 1097–1231]. Moscow: Nauka, 1986.
- Cahen, Claude. *The Formation of Turkey: The Seljukid Sultanate of Rūm: Eleventh to Fourteenth Century*. Harlow, England New York: Longman, 2001.
- ———. "The Turks in Iran and Anatolia before the Mongol Invasions." In A History of the Crusades, Vol. 2: The Later Crusades, 1189-1311, edited by Robert Lee Wolff, Harry W. Hazard, and Kenneth Meyer Setton, 661–92. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Dercsényi, Dezső, ed. *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle: Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum*. Translated by Alick West. Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969.
- Domanovszky, Sándor, and Imre Szentpétery, eds. "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV." In *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, New edition., 1:217–505. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999.
- Dörrie, Heinrich. "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen: Die Missionsreisen des fr. Iulianus O.P. ins Ural-Gebiet (1234/5) und nach Rußland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tartaren." *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse* 6 (1956): 125–202.
- Fejér, Georgius, ed. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Vol. 5:3. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1830.

- Fine, John V. A. *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Galstian, A. G., trans. Armianskie istochniki o mongolakh: izvlecheniia iz rukopiseĭ XIII–XIV vv. [Armenian sources for the Mongols: Excerpts from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts]. Moscow: Eastern Literature Publishing, 1962.
- Gandzaketsi, Kirakos. *Istoriia Armenii* [The history of Armenia]. Translated by Lena A. Khanlarian. Moscow: Nauka, 1976.
- Georgiĭ Pakhimer. *Istoriia o Mikhale i Andronike Paleologakh, Trinadtsat' knig.* Vol. 1: *Tsarstvovanie Mikhaila Paleologa (1255–1282)* [The reign of Michael Palaiologos (1255–1282)]. Translated by V. N. Karpov. Saint Petersburg: Printing House of the Imperial Estates' Department, 1862.
- Gérard de Frachet. *Fratris Gerardi de Fracheto O.P. Vitae fratrum ordinis praedicatorum: necnon Cronica ordinis ab anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV*. Edited by Benedikt Maria Reichert. Leuven: Typis E. Charpentier & J. Schoonjans, 1896.
- Geyikoğlu, Hasan. "Anadolu'da Kalan Harezmliler (Horzumlular)" [The Khwārazmians who stayed in Anatolia]. *Türk Kültürü* 35, no. 410 (1997): 371–80.
- ———. "Harezmliler'in Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti Himaye ve Hizmetine Alınmaları" [The acceptance of the Khwārazmians under the protection and in the service of the Anatolian Seljuq State]. *Türk Kültürü* 32, no. 373 (1994): 275–85.
- Giuzelev, Vasil, ed. *Samiiat Tŭrnovgrad shte raztrŭbi pobedite: Srednovekovni poeti za Bŭlgariia* [Tŭrnovgrad itself will trumpet the victories: Medieval poets about Bulgaria]. Sofia: Popular Culture, 1981.
- Golden, Peter B. "Cumanica II: The Ölberli: The Fortunes and Misfortunes of an Inner Asian Nomadic Clan." *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 6 (1986): 5–29.

———. "Cumanica IV: The Cumano-Qıpčaq Clans and Tribes." Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 9 (1997 1995): 99–122.

- Golev, Konstantin. "The Bulgarophilia of the Cumans in the Times of the First Assenids of Bulgaria." *Golden Horde Review* 6, no. 3 (2018): 37–56.
- ———. "The Cuman-Qipčaks and Crimea: The Role of the Peninsula in the Relationships between the Nomads and the Outside World." Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi 24 (2018): 23–107.
- Gyárfás, István. *A jász-kúnok története* [History of the Jas-Cumans]. Vol. 2: *Kr. u.* 884 1301-ig. Kecskemét: Szilády Károly Fia, 1873.

- Haytonus. "Flos historiarum terre Orientis." In *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Documents arméniens*, edited by Charles Kohler, 2:255–363. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1906.
- Ibn al-Athīr. *The Chronicle of Ibn Al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil Fi'l-Ta'rīkh*, Part 3: *The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace*. Translated by Donald S. Richards. Aldershot – Burlington: Ashgate, 2008.
- İbn Bibi. *El-Evâmirü'l-Alâ'iyye fi'l-Umûri'l-Alâiyye: Selçuknâme*. Translated by Mürsel Öztürk. Vol. 2: *Tercüme*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014.
- Ibn Bībī. *Tārīkh-i Ibn Bībī*. Edited by Zhāle Motaḥeddīn. Tehran: Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies, 2011.
- Ibn Taghrībirdī. *al-Nujūm al-zāhira fī mulūk Miṣr wa al-Qāhira*. Vol. 7. Cairo: Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, 1967.
- Juvaynī, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik. *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror*. Translated by John Andrew Boyle. 2 vols. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958.
- ———. *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy*. Edited by Muḥammad Qazvīnī. Vol. 3. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series 16. Leiden: Brill, 1937.
- Jūzjānī, Minhāj al-Dīn Abū 'Umar ibn Sirāj al-Dīn 'Uthmān. *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāsirī*. Edited by 'Abd al-Ḥaiy Ḥabībī. 2 vols. Kabul: History of Afghanistan Association, 1963.
- ———. Ţabaqāt-i Nāsirī: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Including Hindustan; from A.H. 194 (800 A.D.) to A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260) and the Irruption of the Infidel Mughals into Islam. Translated by Henry G. Raverty. 2 vols. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1970.
- Juzjani, Minhaj Siraj. *Tabakat-i-Nasiri: A General History of the Muhammadan Dynasties*. Kolkata: Asiatic Society, 2010.
- Khadyrbaev, Aleksandr Sh. *Tiurki i irantsy v Kitae i Tsentral'noĭ Azii XIII-XIV vv.* [Turks and Iranians in China and Central Asia, thirteenth–fourteenth centuries]. Almaty: Gylym, 1990.
- Khazanov, Anatoly M. *Nomads and the Outside World*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Khrapachevskiĭ, Roman P. *Polovt sy-kuny v Volgo-Ural'skom mezhdurech'e (po dannym kitaĭskikh istochnikov)* [Plovtsians-Kuns in the area between the Volga and Ural rivers: According to the information in Chinese Sources]. Moscow: Center for the Study of Military and General History, 2013.

- Khrapachevskiĭ, Roman P., trans. Zolotaia Orda v istochnikakh, vol. 3: Kitaĭskie i mongol'skie istochniki; Sobranie svedeniĭ, otnosiashikhsia k istorii Zolotoĭ Ordy (ulusu Dzhuchi), iz kitaĭskikh i mongol'skikh istochnikov [Chinese and Mongolian sources: A collection of accounts related to the history of the Golden Horde (the Ulus of Jochi) from Chinese and Mongolian sources]. Moscow: Nauka, 2009.
- Konovalova, Irina G. "Arabskie istochniki XII—XIV vv. po istorii Karpato-Dnestrovskikh zemel'" [Twelfth-fourteenth-century Arabic sources for the history of the Capathian-Danubian lands]. In *Drevneĭshie gosudarstva na teritotii SSSR. Materialy i issledovaniia*, 1990, 5–115. Moscow: Nauka, 1991.
- ———. Vostochnaia Evropa v sochineniiakh arabskikh geografov XIII–XIV vv. [Eastern Europe in the works of the Arabic geographers, thirteenth–fourteenth centuries]. Moscow: Eastern Literature, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2009.
- Korobeinikov, Dimitri. "A Broken Mirror: The Kıpçak World in the Thirteenth Century." In *The Other Europe in the Middle Ages: Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, edited by Florin Curta, 379–412. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008.
- Lurier, Harold E., trans. *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*. New York London: Columbia University Press, 1964.
- Matuzova, Vera I., ed. *Angliškie srednevekovye istochniki IX–XIII vv.: Teksty, perevod, kommentari* [English medieval sources, ninth-thirteenth centuries: Texts, translations, commentary]. Moscow: Nauka, 1979.
- Minorsky, Vladimir. "Caucasica III: The Alan Capital Magas and the Mongol Campaigns." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14, no. 2 (1952): 221–52.
- Mīrkhvānd, Muḥammad ibn Khāvandshāh. *Tārīkh-i raw<u>z</u> at al-ṣafā*. Vol. 4. Tehran: Khayyam Center, 1960.
- Nagy, Imre, Farkas Deák, and Gyula Nagy, eds. *Hazai oklevéltár 1234–1536*. Budapest: Knoll Károly, 1879.
- Nasawī, Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Khurandizī Zaydarī. *Sīrat-i Djalāluddīn*. Edited by Mudjtabā Mīnuvī. Tehran: Scientific & Cultural Publications Company, 1986.
- Nasonov, Arsenii N., ed. *Novgorodskaia pervaia letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov* [The First Novgorod Chronicle: Senior and junior redaction]. Moscow Saint Petersburg: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1950.
- Nicephorus Gregoras. *Byzantina Historia*. Edited by Ludwig Schopen. Vol. 1. Bonn: Impensis Ed. Weberi, 1829.

- Nikifor Grigora. *Istoriia romeev* [The history of the Romans]. Translated by Roman V. Iashunskii. Vol. 1. Saint Petersburg: Svoe Publishing, 2013.
- Nikolov, Aleksandŭr. "Chapter 2: Kumanite v Ungariia. Zaselvane i integratsiia" [The Cumans in Hungary: Settlements and integration]. In *Kumanskoto zaselvane v Ungariia (XII-XIII v.): paraleli i razlichiia*, Manuscript.
- ———. "Khaĭton ot Korikos i negoviiā traktat 'Tsvete na istoriite na Iztochnata zemia' (Istoriiā na tatarite)" [Hayton of Corycos and his treatise "Flower of the Histories of the Eastern Land" (History of the Tatars)]. *Godishnik na Sofiĭskiiā universitet "Sv. Kliment Okhridski". Istoricheski fakultet* 102 (2017): 7–117.
- Nikolov, Alexander. "The Cumanic Settlement in Bulgaria and Hungary in the Thirteenth Century and Its Consequences." M.A. thesis, Central European University, Medieval Studies Department, 1996.
- Ögel, Bahaeddin. Sino-Turcica: Çingiz Han ve Çin'deki Hanedanının Türk Müşavirleri [Sino-Turcica: The Turkic advisors of Chinggis Khan and his Chinese dynasty]. Istanbul: IQ Kültürsanat Yayıncılık, 2002.
- Pachymérès, Georgios. *Relations historiques*. Edited by Albert Failler. Translated by Vitalien Laurent. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984.
- Pálóczi-Horváth, András. *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians: Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary*. Budapest: Corvina, 1989.
- Paris, Matthew. *Matthew Paris's English History, from 1235 to 1273*. Translated by J. A. Giles. Vol. 3. 3 vols. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852.
- ———. Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Edited by Henry Richards Luard. Vol. 4. 7 vols. Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores/Rolls Series 57. London: Longman, 1877.
- ———. Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora: Additamenta. Edited by Henry Richards Luard. Vol. 6. 7 vols. Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores/Rolls Series 57. London: Longman, 1882.
- Pavlov, Plamen. "Kumanite vův Vizantiĭskata imperiia (1237 g. půrvata chetvůrt na XIV v.)" [The Cumans in the Byzantine Empire: From 1237 to the first quarter of the fourteenth century]. *Epokhi* 1, no. 2 (1997): 37–53.
- — . "Po vŭprosa za zaselvanijata na kumani v Bŭlgarija prez XIII v." [On the question of the settlement of Cumans in Bulgaria during the thirteenth century]. In *Vtori Mezhdunaroden kongres po bŭlgaristika. Dokladi*, 6: Bŭlgarskite zemi v drevnostta do sŭzdavaneto na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava. Bŭlgarija prez Srednovekovieto, 629–37. Sofia: Bulgarija Academy of Sciences, 1987.

- — . "Srednovekovna Bŭlgarija i kumanite: voennopoliticheski otnoshenija (1186–1241)" [Medieval Bulgaria and the Cumans: Military-political relations]. *Trudove na Velikotŭrnovskija universitet "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodi*i" 27, no. 3 (1992 1989): 9–61.
- Pelliot, Paul, and Louis Hambis, trans. *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan: Cheng-wou ts'in-tcheng lou*. Vol. 1. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951.
- Rachewiltz, Igor de, trans. The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century. 2 vols. Brill's Inner Asian Library, 7/1 and 7/2. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Rashīd ad-Dīn. *Dzhāmiʿ at-tavārīkh*. Edited by Aleksandr A. Romaskevich, Lev A. Khetagurov, and Abdul-Kerim A. Ali-Zade. Vol. 1, part 1. Moscow: Nauka, 1965.
- Rashīd al-Dīn. *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*. Edited by Bahman Karīmī. 2 vols. Tehran: Iqbal, 1959.
- ———. Jāmi' al-tawārīkh. Edited by Muḥammad Rūshan and Muṣṭafā Mūsavī.
 4 vols. Tehran: Alborz, 1994.
- ———. Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-Tawarikh, A Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols. Parts 1-3. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston. Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures 45. Cambridge, MA: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1998.
- ———. *The Successors of Genghis Khan*. Translated by John Andrew Boyle. New York London: Columbia University Press, 1971.
- Rashid-ad-Din. *Sbornik letopiseĭ* [Compendium of chronicles]. Translated by Al'fred K. Arends. Vol. 3. Moscow Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1946.
- — . Sbornik letopiseĭ [Compendium of chronicles]. Translated by O. I. Smirnova.
 Vol. I, pt 2. Moscow Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1952.
- ———. Sbornik letopiseĭ [Compendium of chronicles]. Translated by Iuriĭ P. Verkhovskiĭ. Vol. 2. Moscow – Leningrad: Academy of Sciences of USSR, 1960.
- Rogerius magister. "Epistola [Carmen miserabile]." In *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by László Juhász and Emericus Szentpétery, New edition., 2:543–88. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999.
- Rubruquis, Guilelmus de. *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253 1255.* Translated by Peter Jackson. Reprint d. Ausg. London, Hakluyt Soc., 1990. Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, Ser. 2,173. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

- Runciman, Steven. "The Crusader States 1243–1291." In *A History of the Crusades. Vol. 2: The Later Crusades, 1189 – 1311,* edited by Kenneth Setton, Robert L. Wolf, and Harry W. Hazard, 557–98. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Simon de Kéza. "Gesta Hungarorum." In *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, edited by Sándor Domanovszky and Imre Szentpétery, New edition., 1:129–94. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999.
- Simon of Kéza. *Gesta Hungarorum: The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Edited by László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer. Budapest New York: Central European University Press, 1999.
- Spinei, Victor. *Moldavia in the 11th-14th Centuries*. Bucharest: Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1986.
- Tăpkova-Zaimova, Vasilka, and Anissava Miltenova. *Historical and Apocalyptic Literature in Byzantium and Medieval Bulgaria*. Sofia: East-West, 2011.
- Tapper, Richard. "Mogān, Ii. History, Population, Economy." In *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Online edition., 2000. https://iranicaonline.org/articles/mogan-parent-i-ii#pt2.
- Teodor Skutariot. "Compendium chronicum." In *Grútski izvori za bŭlgarskata istorija*, edited by Mihail Voĭnov, 8:214–303. Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1971.
- Tizengauzen, Vladimir G., ed. Sbornik" materīalov, otnosiākhshchikhsiā k" istorīi Zolotoĭ ordy, vol. 1: Izvlechenīiā iz" sochinenīi arabskikh" [Collected materials for the history of the Golden Horde, vol. 1: Excerpts from Arabic Sources]. Translated by Vladimir G. Tizengauzen. Saint Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1884.
- Tryjarski, Edward. "Some Early Polish Sources and Their Importance for the History of the Altaic World." *Journal of Asian History* 3 (1969): 34–44.
- Vásáry, István. *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans,* 1185–1365. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Véghely, Dezső, and Arnold Ipolyi. *Hazai okmánytár: Codex diplomaticus patrius*. Edited by Arnold Ipolyi, Imre Nagy, and Dezső Véghely. Vol. 6. 8 vols. Budapest: Kocsi Sándor, 1876.
- Villehardouin, Geoffroi de, and Jean Joinville. *Memoirs of the Crusades*. Translated by Frank Marzials. London New York: J. M. Dent and E. P. Dutton, 1955.
- Wattenbach, Wilhelm, ed. "Continuatio Sancrucensis Secunda: 1234–1266." In *Chronica et annales aevi Salici*, 637–46. MGH SS 9. Hannover: Hahn, 1851.
- Wyngaert, Anastasius van den, ed. *Sinica franciscana, vol. 1: Itinera et relationes Fratrum minorum saeculi XIII et XIV.* Quaracchi: Collegium s. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1929.

The Aftermath of the Mongol Invasions

"Now the plundering Mongols' arrows You swarmed over us" A Historiographical Outline of the Modern Hungarian Historical Literature on the Mongol Invasion²

Silent Pathos and disinterest

In 2015, the Greek scholar Panos Sophoulis published an extensive paper on the campaign of the Mongols in Europe. The study focused on the work of a thirteenth/ fourteenth-century Muslim geographer, according to which the Mongols who were pursuing Béla IV, king of Hungary, to the Adriatic Sea were defeated by local forces.³ The relevant part of this work, published as early as the nineteenth century, has been available to professionals in Hungarian translation since the 1920s. It must be added though, that this part of the gigantic corpus translated by Mihály Kmoskó remained in the form of a manuscript until 2007.⁴ However, those Arabists who knew or could have known this work did not attach great importance to contemporary data recorded primarily from the perspective of early Hungarian history, so they overlooked them—as they did in the case of Al-Qazwini's work as well.⁵

- 3 Panos Sophoulis, "The Mongol Invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242," *Fragmenta Helleno-slavica* 2 (2015), pp. 262–69.
- 4 Mihály Kmoskó and István Zimonyi, Mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről: Földrajzi irodalom I/3 [Muslim writers on the peoples of the steppe: Geographical literature vol. I/3], Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 13 (Budapest: Balassi, 2007), p. 146.
- 5 Kmoskó and Zimonyi, Mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről, p. 96.

¹ This study was written as part of project No. NKFIH K-128 880 entitled A tatárjárás Magyarországon és a mongol hódítás eurázsiai összefüggései [The Mongol Invasion in Hungary and the Mongol conquest in its Eurasian context].

² This study was written as part of project No. NKFIH K-128 880 entitled A tatárjárás Magyarországon és a mongol hódítás eurázsiai összefüggései [The Mongol Invasion in Hungary and the Mongol conquest in its Eurasian context].

As the case above demonstrates, the modern historical literature about the Mongol invasion in Hungary shows some very interesting and surprising tendencies over a period of almost a century and a half. The event occupies a prominent place in the Hungarian national historical consciousness—it was even included in the Hymn by Ferenc Kölcsey, which became the national anthem of Hungary. With this background, the lack of interest among professional historians is surprising. This is reflected by the fact that the event is not even mentioned in the volume *A múlt arcai: Történelem, emlékezet, politika* [Faces of the past: History, remembrance, politics] written by Ignác Romsics, published in 2010.⁶ In this volume, the author explored the historiography of Hungarian historical events/characters that can be reassessed/used both as historical problems and as issues related to public life. The question rightly arises: what is the reason for this disinterest?

One reason, surprisingly for historiography, may have been the lack of a 'problem' to be investigated. The Hungarian narrative sources of this short-lived event became known very early on. For a long time, apart from some sporadic charters, no new sources were discovered that would have been a challenge for the profession. As the charters offered very little information about this series of events, the narrative sources became very important early on. Compared to the significance attributed later to the Mongol invasion, the Hungarian chronicle tradition also gave account of the event very briefly: "the Tartars invaded the kingdom of Hungary with five hundred thousand armed men. King Béla gave battle against them on the Sajó river, but he was defeated, and the entire army of the kingdom of Hungary was there almost wholly destroyed. Béla himself [...] fled towards the sea pursued even there by the Tartars. The Tartars remained in Hungary for three years."⁷

At the same time, the description of the 'second coming of the Tartars' was almost of the same length in the chronicle, although its importance is considerably less that of the first attack.⁸ The chronicle tradition did not draw a very plastic

⁶ Ignác Romsics, A múlt arcai: Történelem, emlékezet, politika [Faces of the past: History, remembrance, politics] (Budapest: Osiris, 2010).

⁷ Norbert Kersken, ed., Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e codice picto saec. XIV: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex, trans. János M. Bak and László Veszprémy, Central European medieval texts 9 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018), pp. 325–27. In Hungarian translation, see Ibolya Bellus, trans., Képes Krónika [The Illuminated Chronicle] (Budapest: Helikon, 1986), p. 222.

^{8 &}quot;Then in the year of our Lord 1282 Oldamir, leader of the Cumans assembled an army of Cumans near the lake which is called Hód with the intention to invade and make subject the kingdom of the Hungarians [...]. A few of the Cumans who escaped sought refuge with the Tartars, and it was at their instigation that in the year of our Lord 1285 entered Hungary for the second time and spread a terrible devastation of fire throughout the whole country as far as Pest." Kersken, *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum*, 333. In Hungarian, see Bellus, *Képes Krónika*, pp. 228–31. For the most recent thorough summary of the event, see Szőcs, "Egy második

picture of the 'first' attack, and included even the relevant parts of the Western chronicles. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of two successive 'Tartar' attacks was misleading rather than informative. In 1488, however, *Master Roger's Sorrowful Lament* appeared in print as an annex to the Chronicle of János Thúróczy, which instantly changed everything.⁹

Prebend Roger, an educated cleric who came to Hungary in the retinue of the papal legate, was not only able to record his personal experiences very expressively, but also offered extremely clever and sharp insight into the internal situation of the kingdom and the policy of King Béla IV before 1241.¹⁰ With this, he—apparently—'completed' the work of the historians of posterity. For a long time, therefore, there was nothing left for historians to do but reconstruct the content of this work, setting in stone for centuries the dark image of the complete destruction of the country caused by internal failings.

The era of autocracy after the War of Independence (1849–1866)

Given that the consequences of the defeat of the 1848–1849 War of Independence also had an impact on Hungarian university education, and that higher education was subordinated to the new unifying imperial policy, including the making of historiography for the whole empire, it may come as no surprise that the new impulses in relation to the subject did not emerge in the university sphere.¹¹

In 1856, Zsigmond Rosty—a man of many talents: a lawyer, farmer, and inventor—published a piece of work entitled *A tatárjárás történelme negyedik* Béla *király idejében* [The history of the Mongol invasion during the reign of King Béla IV] in Pest.¹² The lesser-known work *A tatárjárás Magyarországon 1241–1242* [The Mon-

[&]quot;tatárjárás"? A tatár–magyar kapcsolatok a XIII. század második felében" [A second 'Mongol invasion'? Tartar–Hungarian relations in the second half of the thirteenth century], *Belvedere Meridionale* 23, no. 3–4 (2010), pp. 16–49.

⁹ Rogerius magister, "Rogerius mester Siralmas Éneke" [The Sorrowful Lament of Master Roger], in *Tatárjárás*, ed. Balázs Nagy (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), pp. 129–57.

¹⁰ Tibor Almási, "Megjegyzések Rogerius magyarországi méltóságviseléséhez" [Notes on the dignities of Roger in Hungary], Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: Sectio Historica 86 (1988), pp. 9–14.

¹¹ Bálint Varga, "Birodalmi és nemzeti történetírói közösségek a 19. századi Habsburg Monarchiában" [Imperial and national communities of historians in the nineteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy], in Nemzet és tudomány Magyarországon a 19. században, ed. Ádám Bollók and Adrienn Szilágyi, vol. 5, Magyar történelmi emlékek: Értekezések, tanulmányok a nacionalizmus kultúrtörténetéből (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2017), pp. 105–8.

¹² Zsigmond Rosty, A tatárjárás történelme negyedik Béla király idejében [The history of the

gol invasion in Hungary 1241–1242] written by László Szalay, a lawyer and politician who had emigrated to Switzerland, was published at the same time.¹³ Seven years after the suppression of the War of Independence, both authors aspired more with their work than to dive into history for its own sake. Rosty's aim was to help "gain inspiration from the Mongol invasion that the consequences of any terrible affliction of the country can be made void [...] if her sons are full of masculine will, wit, and patriotism, that is, if they do not give up on themselves."¹⁴ Szalay's work, in addition to offering a detailed discussion of the historical background of the formidable enemy, the Mongols, as a 'foreign issue', was openly written with the purpose of urging common social action: "they did not know what their leader knows here, namely that the people and the prince have fallen out with each other in Hungary, and that hatred, carelessness, and arrogance jolt the nation left and right, even though a vortex has already opened up before it, from which it can only escape only by agreement and heroic determination."¹⁵ However, because both works focused on the events that took place in Hungary, they inevitably ran counter to the Austrian position, which emphasized the role of Frederick the Quarrelsome in 'halting' the Mongol invasion in Europe. After 1849, it was hardly incidental that, when relating the story, the 'perfidious' Babenberg Duke of Austria was also sharply criticized for his hostile action.

Professionalizing historiography in the age of Dualism (1867–1918)

The massive modernizing tendencies of the new dualistic state system after 1867 contributed to raising research to a new level, and the institutionalization of new Hungarian historiography involved 'discovering' this key event of national history. In 1878, the barely ten-year-old Hungarian Historical Society started regular battlefield exploration 'expeditions' at the supposed site, which mainly inspected the assumptions of Major István Kápolnai Pauer at the site along the Sajó river.¹⁶

Mongol Invasion during the reign King Béla IV] (Pest: Müller Emil, 1856).

¹³ László Szalay, *A tatárjárás Magyarországon 1241–1242* [The Mongol invasion in Hungary 1241–1242] (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1856).

¹⁴ Rosty, *A tatárjárás történelme negyedik Béla király idejében*, p. 145. All translations are mine, unless otherwise stated.

¹⁵ Szalay, A tatárjárás Magyarországon 1241–1242, p. 57. He also described the preceding events in the usual way: Hungary was a state in deep crisis, see pp. 40–52. For the part on the Mongol Empire and the Mongol invasion of Europe, see pp. 13-40.

¹⁶ Lajos Thallóczy, "A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Hadtörténelmi Bizottságának jelentése [Report of the Military History Committee of the Hungarian Historical Society]," in A Magyar Történelmi Társulat 1878-ik évi aug. 27–szept. 1-jei vidéki kirándulása Abaúj vármegyébe s Kassa városába [Field trip of the Hungarian Historical Society to Abaúj County and the city

At this time, based on the achievements of a flourishing international Orientalism, the opportunity came to expand the source base with documents created on the opponent's side¹⁷—in the form of reflection on the work of the eminent Austrian scholar, Strakosch-Grassmann, who was already using Oriental sources although the benefits of this were not used by Hungarian scholarship for a long time.¹⁸ The first military history monographs on the Battle of Muhi written by Gyula Pauler and Ödön Olchváry came out almost simultaneously. These pieces of work contain many important findings that are still relevant today.¹⁹

In this period, the processing of the topic gained new 'topicality': the strongly anti-Austrian/anti-German approach of independence was connected to the confrontation of Hungarian traditions with the problems of state, technology, and social modernization. István Kápolnai Pauer,²⁰ who was perhaps one of the most prestigious military historians of the time, had already begun to compile a major monograph of Hungarian military history, leading from prehistoric times through the conquest of the Carpathian Basin and the foreign campaigns of the Hungarians that represented the climax of this, to medieval 'decline'.²¹ It already contained all the important elements of the typical 'anti-Western' approach of the Hungarian army was that:

[King] Stephen [...] assembled his military environment from foreign fortune seekers and introduced foreign military customs in Hungary. [...] The military art brought [introduced] by the foreigners, which placed a [sic] great emphasis on the masses of heavy cavalry, did not correspond to the conditions of the Hungarian nation. It

19 Gyula Pauler, "A sajómezei csata (1241. ápr. 11.)» [The Battle of Sajómező (11 April 1242)], Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 6 (1893), pp. 1–14; Ödön Olchváry, "A muhi csata" [The Battle of Muhi], Századok 36 (1902), pp. 309–25, 419–27, 505–27.

of Košice between 27 August and 1 September 1878], ed. Sándor Szilágyi and Arnold Ipolyi, Századok, Supplement 12 (Budapest: MTA, 1878), pp. 85–89.

¹⁷ János Jankó, "A magyarországi tatárjárás leírása a kínai évkönyvekben" [The description of the Mongol Invasion in Chinese annals], *Századok* 24 (1890), pp. 44–48; Antal Áldásy, "Ázsiai kútfők az 1241–1242. mongol beütésről" [Asian sources of the Mongol invasion of 1241– 1242], *Századok* 27 (1893), pp. 722–24.

¹⁸ Gustav Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242* (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1893).

²⁰ Tibor Ács, *Haza, hadügy, hadtudomány* [Motherland, military affairs, military science] (Budapest: Honvédelmi Minisztérium, 2001), pp. 195–200.

²¹ István Kápolnai Pauer, "A hadművészet kifejlődése a magyar nemzetnél" [The development of the military art in the Hungarian nation]: Pts 1-5, Ludovika Akadémia Közlönye 6 (1879): pp. 257–73, 357–63, 506–12, 618–27, 757–65; István Kápolnai Pauer, "A hadművészet kifejlődése a magyar nemzetnél" [The development of the military art in the Hungarian nation]: Pt 6, Ludovika Akadémia Közlönye 7 (1880), pp. 89–93.

required tall phlegmatic people and heavy horse breeds. The small-breed Hungarian horses coming from Central Asia were not strong enough to carry the weight of the horse armor and the rider wearing metal armor from head to toe [...]. Although it is probable—as subsequent data also attest—that the commoners, comprising the vast majority of national warriors, retained the ancient armament for a long time, while the royal, noble, and ecclesiastical brigades forming the dominant part of the Hungarian army were selected according to the new military aspects. The new lords of mostly foreign origin did not know the advantageous qualities of the still numerous light cavalrymen and how to use them regularly and consistently, what is more, they looked down on them [...].²²

Kápolnai was probably the first to question certain parts of medieval Hungarian narrative sources about the Szeklers, which were not based on anything other than speculation but still reiterated for a long time.²³ He also reiterated the theory—going back to antiquity—that weapons and tactics are as closely associated with individual nations as their physical features or clothing.²⁴ Kápolnai concluded that the decline of the Hungarian army had already begun when, having settled in the Carpathian Basin, "not only many Bulgarians and Cumans—related to the Hungarians in their origins and probably employing similar military tactics—joined the community of the Hungarians, but also many warriors of Slavic and German origins, which made it difficult to be engaged in [...] uniform warfare."²⁵ The fact that Hungarian ethnicity and the characteristic 'Hungarian military tactics' receded into the background within the army of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary became one of the most important problems of the following era.

In a lecture in 1879, Arnold Ipolyi expressed very similar views to those of Kápolnai, though using somewhat milder wording. He also justified the importance of cultivating military history: "the only thing by which we gained an advantage was Hungarian warfare."²⁶ But for him, too, only a light cavalry armament and fighting

²² István Kápolnai Pauer, "A hadművészet kifejlődése a magyar nemzetnél" [The development of the military art in the Hungarian nation]: Pt 5, Ludovika Akadémia Közlönye 6 (1879), pp. 761–62.

^{23 &}quot;This prejudice on the part of the lords gradually spread in the middle class as well. This is the reason why the Pecheneg and Szekler archers, who followed the old fighting style for the longest time, have the attributes 'vile' and 'useless' in the Illuminated Chronicle, even when they achieved results with their style of fight[ing]." Kápolnai Pauer, "A hadművészet kifejlődése," 1879, p. 763.

²⁴ On this most recently, see Csanád Bálint, "Az ethnosz a kora középkorban (A kutatás lehetőségei és korlátai)" [The ethnos in the early Middle Ages: The potential and challenges of research], *Századok* 140 (2006), pp. 321–25.

²⁵ Kápolnai Pauer, "A hadművészet kifejlődése," 1879, p. 761.

²⁶ Arnold Ipolyi, "A magyar hadtörténelem tanulmányozása" [The study of Hungarian military

style were compatible with the Hungarian 'genius'. In addition to the defeats in the Árpádian period—including at the Battle of Muhi in 1241—the failure at Nicopolis in 1396 he also explained as due to the spread of Western customs, which could only be halted by King Matthias, the last great king of the nation, with his Hussars.²⁷

With work he published in the 1890s, Oszkár Bárczay supported these views, adopting a sharper tone than anyone else. In writings of almost Biblical style, he condemned the ancient Hungarians for:

imitating the customs and weaponry of foreigners who were prospering and marauding under the auspices of the king, and [while] the Hungarians close to the court welcomed them and became unfaithful to the military style with which their new homeland had been occupied [...]. The price [for] this was paid when the Tartars invaded our country. This, on the other hand, resulted in a return to the old armament and warfare and was not left without a reward [...]. The Battle of Muhi and the short campaign in the Moravian Valley give us justice [give justice to those] who say that not everything coming from abroad should have been adopted and not every domestic custom should have been abandoned. Staying open to foreign influences can only support development in this way.²⁸

This way of thinking was also reflected by the publication edited by János Szendrei for the military history session of the Hungarian Millennial Exhibition in 1896. In connection with the Battle of Mohács, it also emphasized that even despite being vastly outnumbered by the Ottomans, the Hungarians "would have had a chance of victory [...] if the majority of the troops and the military camp had not surrounded themselves with wagons [which was traditionally considered a Western influence at that time] [...] and if the army had not been predominantly composed of soldiers wearing heavy armor. At Mohács, just as centuries before at Muhi, the Hungarians were defeated by their neglected ancient weaponry, the light cavalry."²⁹

history], in *Ipolyi Arnold elnöki megnyitó előadása a magyar Történelmi Társulatnak Marosvásárhelyen 1879. augusztus 23-án tartott vidéki nagygyűlésén* [Opening speech by Arnold Ipolyi, chairman at the rural general assembly of the Hungarian Historical Society held in Târgu Mureş on 23 August 1879] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1887), pp. 109–10.

²⁷ Ipolyi, "A magyar hadtörténelem tanulmányozása," pp. 141–61.

²⁸ Oszkár Bárczay, "Két hadiesemény a XIII. századból" [Two thirteenth-century military events], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 6 (1893), pp. 486–89.

²⁹ János Szendrei, Magyar hadtörténelmi emlékek az ezredéves országos kiállításon [The relics of Hungarian military history on the millennial national exhibition] (Budapest: Kereskedelemügyi M. Kir. Minister, 1896), p. 86. On this question, see János B. Szabó, "'Ez volna tehát a tér, [...], melyben nemzetünk otthon volt, mellyel midőn rombolt, alkotott': A 19. század magyar hadtörténetírásának viszonya a 9–10. század hadtörténetéhez" [The relation of nineteenth-century historiography to the military history of the ninth and tenth centuries], in Nemzet és tudo-

Outsiders and professionals (1919-1945)

The doctoral dissertation of Ilona Pálfy entitled *A tatárok és a 13. századi Európa* [The Tartars and thirteenth-century Europe] was published in 1928.³⁰ She had already qualified as a historian by this time, which profession was not typical among women. Doctoral dissertations had to appear in print according to contemporary customs. As a result, the international context of the Mongol Invasion gained stronger recognition in domestic research. This new, broader approach was already embodied in the great monograph by Bálint Hóman, Pálfy's university professor. In *Magyar Történet* [Hungarian history], he gave a gentle critique of the historical approach based on Roger's account, going back to the Middle Ages—but it also locates the errors themselves in an international context:

In the assessment of the thirteenth-century Tartar campaign in Hungary, our literature follows the same path as the historical sources of the Germans view the tenth-century Hungarian campaigns. It is usually only the horrific devastation and war cruelty of the Tartars inflicted [during] the attack [that the historians of Hungary] focus on, and thus we miss an objective analysis of the organization and world domination aspirations of the thirteenth-century Tartars. That is why I felt the need for an exceptionally detailed description of the formation of this power, the conquests of Genghis Khan, as well as the character and lifestyle of his people.³¹

Little more than six years later, Ladomér Zichy, a landowner and politician, completed his high-impact work, *A tatárjárás Magyarországon* [The Mongol invasion in Hungary].³² Based on analogues and his own sober calculations, he was perhaps the first to try to modify the centuries-old assumptions. As his zealous critics put it, it was he who—due to his excessive source criticism and underestimation of the Tartar forces—described the Mongol invasion in Hungary as an episode that was painful but did not have a permanent and lasting effect on the fate of the kingdom.

mány Magyarországon a 19. században, ed. Ádám Bollók and Adrienn Szilágyi, vol. 5, Magyar történelmi emlékek: Értekezések, tanulmányok a nacionalizmus kultúrtörténetéből (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2017), pp. 125–40.

³⁰ Ilona Pálfy, A tatárok és a XIII századi Európa [The Tartars and thirteenth-century Europe], vol. 2, A Bécsi Collegium Hungaricum füzetei: Hefte des Collegium Hungaricum in Wien (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928).

³¹ Bálint Hóman, "A rendiség kialakulásának kora" [The era of the development of the Estates], in Magyar történet [Hungarian history], ed. Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű, vol. 1 (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928), pp. 522–55.

³² Ladomér Zichy, A tatárjárás Magyarországon [The Mongol invasion in Hungary] (Pécs: Dunántúl, 1934).

He demonstrated that King Béla continued his policy of 'conquest' in relation to the Russian principalities, and tried to prove that the Mongol invasion could not have been a major national catastrophe after all. His novel ideas were, however, faced with silent rejection on the part of professional historians.³³ As usual, the 'riposte' came from external historical science, on the 700th anniversary of the event in 1941. In his *A tatárjárás történeti kútfőinek kritikája* [The critique of the historical sources of the Mongol invasion], József Félegyházy, a Catholic priest, gave a conservative, rather simplified, source-centric critique of Zichy's 'disturbing' revisionism.³⁴

However, further research would be needed to understand how this relative silence may have been related to how the 700th anniversary of the Battle of Liegnitz was commemorated in the Third Reich. According to contemporary propaganda, the battle was predominantly fought by the Germans in Lower Silesia against the 'Tartars' from the East.

New power - new ideology - Russian propaganda

The Communist takeover of power, which intensified after the Second World War and was complete by 1949, also had an impact on historical science, and the Mongol invasion of Hungary was also 'involved' in the new war of ideologies.³⁵ Investigations of the role of the Western European powers and papacy in relation to the Mongols, already observed by Ilona Pálfy in 1928, raised the new 'anti-Western' stance to a different level. Emma Léderer, a qualified medievalist,³⁶ published

³³ In Századok, Csaba Csapody briefly presented the work as follows: "The author examines what has been known about the Mongol invasion so far and tries to modify the picture in virtually every aspect. He questions the credibility of the data and sources, often without good reason. He seeks to dim the bright colours and presents the destruction by the Tartars as an insignificant episode that had no lasting impact on the life of the nation. He makes many interesting findings, especially concerning daily life, which cannot be ignored by the subsequent processing, but his reasoning is not always convincing." Csaba Csapody, "Gr. Zichy Ladomér: A Tatárjárás Magyarországon. (Ismertetés)" [The Mongol invasion in Hungary. (Review)], Századok 69 (1935), p. 486.

³⁴ József Félegyházy, *A tatárjárás történeti kútfőinek kritikája* [The critical analysis of the historical sources of the Mongol invasion] (Vác: Kapisztrán, 1941).

³⁵ The same happened in the case of the Battle of Mohács, see János B. Szabó, "A mohácsi csata a modern kori történetírásban (historiográfiai vázlat)" [The battle of Mohács in modern history (A historiographical outline)], in *Több mint egy csata: Mohács; Az 1526. évi ütközet a magyar tudományos és kulturális emlékezetben* [More than just a battle: Mohács; The Battle of Mohács in academic and cultural memory], ed. Pál Fodor, Szabolcs Varga, and Zoltán Oszkár Szőts (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2019), pp. 351–54.

^{36 &}quot;Emma Léderer, as her earlier studies demonstrate, was a historian of excellent qualifications.

a study entitled A tatárjárás Magyarországon és nemzetközi összefüggései [The Mongol invasion in Hungary in its international context] in the renowned historical journal *Századok* in 1952.³⁷ This study included a new and obligatory element: the prominent role of Slavic peoples in saving Hungary.

According to her, although no open agreement was forged between Louis IX, king of France, and the Tartars, "there must have been a secret alliance, and it must have always existed between the Western powers, the most Christian king, and the Mongols [...] The Tartars sought to win over the leaders (landowners, priesthood) everywhere so that they could exercise their power. The account given by Roger also comprises hints at this, such as data about Hungarian lords turning into Tartars and collaborating priests, one whom—in our opinion—was Roger himself."³⁸ In addition to the French and the pope, the Austrians and the Hungarian lords who destroyed their own country were also harshly criticized. The 'heroic deeds' attributed to Frederick, duke of Austria, were not suitable for warding off the menace of the Tartars from Western Europe, so we can hardly say that the Tartar attack was halted in Austria. However, the Hungarian lords were no better either. The Turkish chronicle suggests that they slaughtered 'women and children'. The charters of King Béla IV dated after the Mongol invasion attest to such activities by several lords. The role of Fulko is generally known. It is said that he 'slew villagers' living near the Castle of Fülek. Count (comes) Miklós was later hanged by King Béla for similar deeds. Nevertheless, it was not only parts of the country somewhat spared by the Tartars that were raided by such noble robbers. In his 1249 letter of donation to Judge Royal Pál, King Béla highlights that he has restrained the "robbers and evildoers dwelling in the Transylvanian parts." At the same time, of course, "there is also sporadic evidence of defense on the part of the population. The most representative example of this is the case of the Slavic castle folk defending the Castle of Trencsén (now: Trenčín in Slovakia), who are mentioned by name in a document issued by King Béla in 1243." In addition to local Slavs, the role the Russians had in the survival of Hungary was also attributed greater significance: "In Hungarian and foreign historiography, the agreement between Béla IV and Daniil

Whether what she published in 1952 was written out of conviction or compulsion can, unfortunately, not be decided anymore." András Borosy, "Történetírók a tatárjárásról" [Historians on the Mongol invasion], *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 104 (1991), p.12 n. 18.

³⁷ Emma Léderer, "A tatárjárás Magyarországon és nemzetközi összefüggései" [The Mongol invasion in Hungary and its international context], *Századok* 86 (1952), pp. 327–63. The popular version, Emma Léderer, *A tatárok betörése Magyarországra és pápai szövetségeseik*, [The invasion of Hungary by the Tartars and their papal allies], A Magyar Dolgozók Pártja Központi Előadói Irodájának előadásai [Papers by the Central Speakers' Office of the Hungarian Workers' Party] (Budapest: Szikra, 1952).

³⁸ Léderer, "A tatárjárás Magyarországon," p. 335.

is generally interpreted as one of the feudal-dynastic alliances customary at this time. Moreover, in Hungarian historiography, particularly in the era of the counter-revolution, attempts were made to portray the entire alliance as insignificant." According to Léderer,

it is quite evident from the foreign policy of King Béla: he saw that *the Hungarians could be protected against a Tartar attack only by the heroic struggle of the Russians*, and he saw that *he had to remain in close contact with the Russian prince whose person was a guarantee against the Tartars*. Daniil, whose country was directly bordering Hungary, came under attacks directed against Hungary. Daniil withstood the Tartars, at least to some extent, and it is quite natural that Béla saw and could see hope in his alliance with him to repel [of repelling] the Tartar attack".³⁹

The views of Léderer, who became one of the leading historians of the new system, were not greatly softened later. As the author of the new monograph, volume 1 of *Magyarország* története [The history of Hungary] published in 1961, she wrote in a similar manner. It is true, however, that she did not refer to the role of Prebend Roger as a 'Tartar leader' in it.⁴⁰

The effects of consolidation during the Kádár Era

From the 1960s onwards, scientific considerations came to the fore, first in the field of source editions and later in interpretations.⁴¹ The *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, an internationally renowned Orientalist journal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, was launched in 1950. In higher education—by holding on to the excellent teachers of the previous era—the former quality of teaching was preserved in Orientalist courses.

All this traditionally represented a major intellectual asset for the research of Hungarian prehistory, but it also fostered insight into the history of the medieval steppes. On the other hand, in the new Soviet-type specialized system of education,

³⁹ Léderer, "A tatárjárás Magyarországon," pp. 337, 351–55. (My italics.)

⁴⁰ György Székely, Emma Léderer, and Lajos Elekes, *Magyarország története* [The history of Hungary], vol. 1 (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1961), pp. 124–32.

⁴¹ The article by the young Ödön Schütz appeared in the journal *Századok* as a kind of "bridge" between the two eras – comprising significant new results after Léderer's praise. Ödön Schütz, "A mongol hódítás néhány problémájához» [On some problematic questions of the Mongol invasion], *Századok* 93 (1959), pp. 209–32.

Oriental and medieval studies were taught completely separately—which was later harshly criticized by György Györffy, one of the last representatives of the old "Budapest school."⁴² It is no coincidence that he was the Hungarian scholar who became one of the first medievalists to consider the Oriental sources of the Mongol invasion.

Due to these special circumstances, more emphasis has been placed on the translation and wide dissemination of Oriental sources. In 1962, Lajos Ligeti, an eminent scientific coryphaeus of the system, published an excellent Hungarian translation of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the most important Mongol source of the foundation of the Mongol Empire.⁴³ Hungarian readers were soon able to read the collection of texts entitled *Napkelet felfedezése* [The discovery of the Orient] by György Györffy, edited by one of the renowned experts of the old world, which also contained the account of Julian. The volume was published in an extended form in 1986.⁴⁴ In 1981, *A tatárjárás emlékezete* [The remembrance of the Mongol invasion], the first collection of sources focusing on the Mongol invasion, was published.⁴⁵ In addition to the European Latin sources, it also included the Hungarian translation of all the relevant Oriental sources known at that time. Moreover, in 1988, György Székely, a former colleague of Emma Léderer's, dedicated a separate study to the 'second Mongol invasion' in the 1988 issue of *Századok*.⁴⁶

During this period, it was already possible for Iván Bertényi, a young scholar affiliated with Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, to express the kind of revisionist views at a conference of historians in the Soviet Union that Ladomér Zichy had once done. By emphasizing the intensity of Hungarian foreign policy and military activity after the Mongol invasion, he at the same time subtly questioned the significance of the heroic Russian people and their princes in the persistent struggle

^{42 &}quot;In the past, the successful study of this issue required mastering of Oriental studies covering several disciplines. The University of Budapest offered such education that was recognised all over the world. The versatile subjects on ethnicity, linguistics, history, and philology taught there could only be acquired successfully by scholars of exceptional skills similar to Jenő Szűcs. These studies also make possible the exploration of the Hungarian Conquest period. After 1949/50, historical research, including medieval studies, depended on the political transformation in Hungary. It took decades for higher education to recover from its consequences". György Györffy, "Válasz [Kristó Gyulának]" [Rejoinder (to Gyula Kristó)], *Magyar Tudomány* 38 (1993), p. 731.

⁴³ Lajos Ligeti and Géza Képes, trans., A Mongolok titkos története: Mongkol-un niucsa tobcsaan (Budapest: Gondolat, 1962).

⁴⁴ György Györffy, *Julianus barát és a napkelet fölfedezése* [Friar Julianus and the discovery of the Orient], Nemzeti Könyvtár (Budapest: Gondolat, 1965).

⁴⁵ Tamás Katona, ed., *A tatárjárás emlékezete* [The remembrance of the Tartar invasion] (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1981).

⁴⁶ György Székely, "Egy elfeledett rettegés: A második tatárjárás a magyar történeti hagyományokban és az egyetemes összefüggésekben" [Forgotten terror: The Second Mongol Invasion in Hungarian historical tradition and international perspectives], Századok 122 (1988), pp. 52–85.

against the Tartars in Hungary in the period following the Mongol invasion.⁴⁷ His observations would have attracted the attention of his Hungarian colleagues, but the special 'scientific quarantine' that the study of the foreign policy and position of power of the medieval Hungarian state in the context of Europe was subjected to after 1945 had an impact for a long time. Although this work was published in Hungarian in 1991, it did not have major resonance even then.⁴⁸

In parallel with this process, in the form of the elongated agony of writing the medieval volume of the Academy's 'ten-volume" series, a new 'modern socialist' synthesis of state history was created. Although in the first double volume published in 1984 Gyula Kristó was able to publish a thorough summary of the international antecedents and course of the Mongol invasion, its continuation was made impossible by the subsequent change of regime, and the publishing of the second volume of the series failed.⁴⁹

A 'change of system' after the change of system – an outlook

The year 1991 saw the 750th anniversary of the Mongol invasion, but, exceptionally, no political force seemed to want anything to do with it. As a kind of "military issue, the topic was addressed by the publishing house of the Ministry of Defense in the commemorative volumes written for the public and in the commemorative issue of the journal *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*.⁵⁰ However, in terms of military

⁴⁷ Iván Bertényi, "Mezhdunarodnoe polozhenie Vengrii posle tatarskogo nashestvii a" [The international position of Hungary after the Tartar invasion], in *Vostochnai a Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e : Sb. state*ĭ, ed. L. V. Cherepnin (Moskva: Nauka, 1978), pp. 315–20; Iván Bertényi, "K voprosu o mezhdunarodnom polozhenii Vengrii posle tatarskogo nashestvii a" [On the question of the international position of Hungary after the Tartar invasion], *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae: Sectio Historica* 19 (1978), pp. 241–49.

⁴⁸ Iván Bertényi, "Magyarország nemzetközi helyzete a tatárjárás után" [The International position of Hungary after the Mongol invasion], in Unger Mátyás emlékkönyv: Emlékkönyv Unger Mátyás negyedszázados egyetemi történésztanári működése emlékére, és születésének 70. évfordulója alkalmából, ed. Péter E. Kovács, János Kalmár, and László V. Molnár (Budapest: Művelődési és Közoktatási Minisztérium, 1991), pp. 15–22.

⁴⁹ Gyula Kristó, "A tatárjárás (1241–1242)" [The Mongol invasion (1241–1242)], in Magyarország története 1/2: Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig [The history of Hungary 1/2: The preceding events and Hungarian history to 1242], ed. György Székely and Antal Bartha (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), pp. 1417–40; Gyula Kristó, Az Árpád-kor háborúi [The wars of the Árpád period] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 1986).

⁵⁰ Booklets issued by the Zrínyi Press for children. István Ágoston, Muhi csata, 1241 [The Battle of Muhi, 1241] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 1991); Csaba Csorba, A Tatárjárás [The Mongol invasion] (Budapest: Zrínyi, 1991). Also see, Hadtörténelmi Közlemények: A tatárjárás és a muhi csata 750. évfordulójára [Commemorative issue on the 750th anniversary of the Battle of Muhi] 104, no. 4 (1991).

history, only the year 1994 brought about a real shift from statements earlier repeated over and over again. It was in this year that an article written with a broadmined, analogical approach by László Veszprémy was published in the journal *Iskolakultúra*. The journal itself was not among the top-ranking scientific journals and the quality of the study would have deserved a better forum.⁵¹ In 1997, the practical observations made by Lajos Négyesi on the basis of military experience also marked the beginning of a new era in this special field. In an article, Négyesi emphasized that methods of battlefield investigation should be taken into account in the future.⁵² And at the same time, in the case of traditional archaeological research, that the time had come to achieve a breakthrough in the research of the tangible traces of the Mongol invasion.⁵³

In the meantime, a major change also took place in the history of science. The chapters written by Jenő Szűcs, the eminent medievalist who passed away too early, for the 'ten-volume' history of Hungary came to life (again) in Pál Engel's edition.⁵⁴ This is how—for the first time, according to our historiographical study—the Mongol invasion was able to become the subject of military historical research (an unpopular field of history)—a consequence that deserves attention by itself, without the need to address the 'burden' of its causes. Gábor Gyáni referred to the significance of the work as follows: "the Mongol invasion is the challenge that helps Hungary move forward as if governed by the laws of growth of feudalism, meeting the requirements of a more complete [...] society; thus the country is getting closer and closer to the Western-style development of the time [...] in the decades follow-ing the Mongol invasion, the more defined outlines of the nobility and citizenship [and] the new constitutive elements of the social structure [...] emerged that also became decisive factors in [...] political power."⁵⁵

Another important new feature characteristic of the post-1989 period was the freer flow of information—in both directions across the borders of the country.

⁵¹ László Veszprémy, "Újabb szempontok a tatárjárás történetéhez" [New perspectives on the history of the Mongol invasion], *Iskolakultúra* 4, no. 15–16 (1994), pp. 28–35. I also aimed to extend this approach later in my own work. See János B. Szabó, *A tatárjárás: A mongol hódítás és Magyarország* [The Mongol invasion: The Mongol occupation and Hungary] (Budapest: Corvina, 2007).

⁵² Lajos Négyesi, "A muhi csata: 1241. április 11" [The Battle of Muhi: 11 April 1241], Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 110 (1997), pp. 296–310.

⁵³ Ágnes Ritoók and Éva Garam, A Tatárjárás: Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2007. május 25 - szeptember 30; Katalógus [The Mongol invasion: Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum; Catalogue] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007).

⁵⁴ Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The last kings of the Árpád Dynasty] (Budapest: História and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993).

⁵⁵ Gábor Gyáni, "Szűcs Jenő, a magányos történetíró" [Jenő Szűcs, the lonely historian], *Forrás* 40, no. 6 (2008), p. 14.

Accordingly, a new corpus of texts was compiled as part of the series *Nemzet és em-lékezet* [Nation and remembrance] by the Osiris Publishing House, comprising written sources on the Mongol invasion, international historical literature, as well as documents of public and cultural memory. Furthermore, the English translation of Roger's work was published similarly to other medieval Hungarian narrative sources.⁵⁶ It is unquestionable recognition of the achievements of Hungarian Oriental studies in this field that the book written by István Vásáry on the history-shaping significance of the Eastern European steppe peoples in the medieval Balkans—including the significant role of the Tartars of the Golden Horde—was published in Cambridge in 2005.⁵⁷

Summary

The modern historical literature about the Mongol invasion in Hungary reflects some very surprising tendencies. Compared to the importance of the event in Hungarian national historical consciousness, the lack of interest on the part of professional historians is particularly striking. One important reason for this may be that the contemporary Prebend Roger apparently "completed" the work of later historians with his account of the event. For a long time, therefore, historians of subsequent ages had little choice but to reproduce the content of this work.

As the narration of the Mongol invasion only appeared to a limited extent in public discourse, it was not used very often as a symbolic parable or as historical justification of the contemporary situation. Its potential was used perhaps to the greatest extent by the Communist regime established after 1945. Eventually, a shift was brought about by the strengthening of Hungarian Oriental research—which can still be observed today—and the events of the Mongol invasion were placed in an international context again.

⁵⁶ Rogerius magister, "Rogerius mester Siralmas Éneke [The Sorrowful Lament of Master Roger]"; Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta: Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars," in Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, trans. Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010).

⁵⁷ István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Bibliography

- Ács, Tibor. *Haza, hadügy, hadtudomány* [Motherland, military affairs, military science]. Budapest: Honvédelmi Minisztérium, 2001.
- Ágoston, István. *Muhi csata, 1241* [The Battle of Muhi, 1241]. Budapest: Zrínyi, 1991.
- Áldásy, Antal. "Ázsiai kútfők az 1241–1242. mongol beütésről" [Asian sources of the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242]. *Századok* 27 (1893): 722–24.
- Almási, Tibor. "Megjegyzések Rogerius magyarországi méltóságviseléséhez" [Notes on the dignities of Roger in Hungary], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: Sectio Historica* 86 (1988): 9–14.
- B. Szabó, János. "A mohácsi csata a modern kori történetírásban (historiográfiai vázlat" [The battle of Mohács in modern history (A historiographical outline)]. In Több mint egy csata: Mohács; Az 1526. évi ütközet a magyar tudományos és kulturális emlékezetben [More than just a battle: Mohács; The Battle of Mohács in academic and cultural memory], edited by Pál Fodor, Szabolcs Varga, and Zoltán Oszkár Szőts, 337–79. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2019.
- ———. A tatárjárás: A mongol hódítás és Magyarország [The Mongol invasion: The Mongol occupation and Hungary]. Budapest: Corvina, 2007.
- ———. "'Ez volna tehát a tér, […], melyben nemzetünk otthon volt, mellyel midőn rombolt, alkotott': A 19. század magyar hadtörténetírásának viszonya a 9–10. század hadtörténetéhez" [The relation of nineteenth-century historiography to the military history of the ninth and tenth centuries]. In *Nemzet és tudomány Magyarországon a 19. században*, edited by Ádám Bollók and Adrienn Szilágyi, 5:125–40. Magyar történelmi emlékek: Értekezések, tanulmányok a nacionalizmus kultúrtörténetéből. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2017.
- Bálint, Csanád. "Az ethnosz a kora középkorban" (A kutatás lehetőségei és korlátai)
 [The ethnos in the early Middle Ages: The potential and challenges of research].
 Századok 140 (2006): 277–347.
- Bárczay, Oszkár. "Két hadiesemény a XIII. századból" [Two thirteenth-century military events]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 6 (1893): 667–79.
- Bellus, Ibolya, trans. *Képes Krónika* [The Illuminated Chronicle]. Budapest: Helikon, 1986.

- Bertényi, Iván. "K voprosu o mezhdunarodnom polozhenii Vengrii posle tatarskogo nashestvíi a" [On the question of the international position of Hungary after the Tartar invasion]. Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae: Sectio Historica 19 (1978): 241–49.
- ———. "Magyarország nemzetközi helyzete a tatárjárás után" [The International position of Hungary after the Mongol invasion]. In Unger Mátyás emlékkönyv: Emlékkönyv Unger Mátyás negyedszázados egyetemi történésztanári működése emlékére, és születésének 70. évfordulója alkalmából, edited by Péter E. Kovács, János Kalmár, and László V. Molnár, 15–22. Budapest: Művelődési és Közoktatási Minisztérium, 1991.
- ———. "Mezhdunarodnoe polozhenie Vengrii posle tatarskogo nashestvii a" [The international position of Hungary after the Tartar invasion]. In *Vostochnai a Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e : Sb. stateĭ*, edited by L. V. Cherepnin, 315–20. Moskva: Nauka, 1978.
- Borosy, András. "Történetírók a tatárjárásról" [Historians on the Mongol invasion]. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 104 (1991): 3–20.
- Csapody, Csaba. "Gr. Zichy Ladomér: A Tatárjárás Magyarországon. (Ismertetés)" [The Mongol invasion in Hungary. (Review)]. *Századok* 69 (1935): 486.
- Csorba, Csaba. A Tatárjárás [The Mongol invasion]. Budapest: Zrínyi, 1991.
- Félegyházy, József. *A tatárjárás történeti kútfőinek kritikája* [The critical analysis of the historical sources of the Mongol invasion]. Vác: Kapisztrán, 1941.
- Gyáni, Gábor. "Szűcs Jenő, a magányos történetíró" [Jenő Szűcs, the lonely historian]. *Forrás* 40, no. 6 (2008): 3–18.
- Györffy, György. *Julianus barát és a napkelet fölfedezése* [Friar Julianus and the discovery of the Orient]. Nemzeti Könyvtár. Budapest: Gondolat, 1965.
- — . "Válasz [Kristó Gyulának]" [Rejoinder (to Gyula Kristó)]. Magyar Tudomány
 38 (1993): 726–31.
- Hadtörténelmi Közlemények: A tatárjárás és a muhi csata 750. évfordulójára [Commemorative issue on the 750th anniversary of the Battle of Muhi] 104, no. 4 (1991).
- Hóman, Bálint. "A rendiség kialakulásának kora" [The era of the development of the Estates]. In Magyar történet [Hungarian history], edited by Bálint Hóman and Gyula Szekfű, 1:522–55. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928.
- Ipolyi, Arnold. "A magyar hadtörténelem tanulmányozása" [The study of Hungarian military history]. In *Ipolyi Arnold elnöki megnyitó előadása a magyar*

Történelmi Társulatnak Marosvásárhelyen 1879. augusztus 23-án tartott vidéki nagygyűlésén [Opening speech by Arnold Ipolyi, chairman at the rural general assembly of the Hungarian Historical Society held in Târgu Mureş on 23 August 1879], 101–225. Budapest: Athenaeum, 1887.

- Jankó, János. "A magyarországi tatárjárás leírása a kínai évkönyvekben" [The description of the Mongol invasion in Chinese annals]. *Századok* 24 (1890): 44–48.
- Kápolnai Pauer, István. "A hadművészet kifejlődése a magyar nemzetnél" [The development of the military art in the Hungarian nation]: Pt 5. *Ludovika Akadémia Közlönye* 6 (1879): 757–65.
- ———. "A hadművészet kifejlődése a magyar nemzetnél" [The development of the military art in the Hungarian nation]: Pt 6. *Ludovika Akadémia Közlönye* 7 (1880): 89–93.
- — . "A hadművészet kifejlődése a magyar nemzetnél" [The development of the military art in the Hungarian nation]: Pts 1-5. *Ludovika Akadémia Közlönye* 6 (1879): 257–73, 357–63, 506–12, 618–27, 757–65.
- Katona, Tamás, ed. *A tatárjárás emlékezete* [The remembrance of the Tartar invasion]. Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1981.
- Kersken, Norbert, ed. Chronica de gestis Hungarorum e codice picto saec. XIV: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex. Translated by János M. Bak and László Veszprémy. Central European medieval texts 9. Budapest: CEU Press, 2018.
- Kmoskó, Mihály, and István Zimonyi. Mohamedán írók a steppe népeiről: Földrajzi irodalom I/3 [Muslim writers on the peoples of the steppe: Geographical literature vol. I/3]. Magyar Őstörténeti Könyvtár 13. Budapest: Balassi, 2007.
- Kristó, Gyula. "A tatárjárás (1241–1242)" [The Mongol invasion (1241–1242)]. In Magyarország története 1/2: Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig [The history of Hungary 1/2: The preceding events and Hungarian history to 1242], edited by György Székely and Antal Bartha, 1417–40. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984.
- ———. *Az Árpád-kor háborúi* [The wars of the Árpád period]. Budapest: Zrínyi, 1986.
- Léderer, Emma. "A tatárjárás Magyarországon és nemzetközi összefüggései" [The Mongol invasion in Hungary and its international context]. *Századok* 86 (1952): 327–63.

- ———. A tatárok betörése Magyarországra és pápai szövetségeseik [The invasion of Hungary by the Tartars and their papal allies]. A Magyar Dolgozók Pártja Központi Előadói Irodájának előadásai [Papers by the Central Speakers' Office of the Hungarian Workers' Party]. Budapest: Szikra, 1952.
- Négyesi, Lajos. "A muhi csata: 1241. április 11" [The Battle of Muhi: 11 April 1241]. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények 110 (1997): 296–310.
- Olchváry, Ödön. "A muhi csata" [The Battle of Muhi]. *Századok* 36 (1902): 309–25, 419–27, 505–27.
- Pálfy, Ilona. *A tatárok és a XIII századi Európa* [The Tartars and thirteenth-century Europe]. Vol. 2. A Bécsi Collegium Hungaricum füzetei: Hefte des Collegium Hungaricum in Wien. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928.
- Pauler, Gyula. "A sajómezei csata (1241. ápr. 11.)" [The Battle of Sajómező (11 April 1242)]. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 6 (1893): 1–14.
- Ritoók, Ágnes, and Éva Garam. A Tatárjárás: Kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban, 2007. május 25 - szeptember 30; Katalógus [The Mongol invasion: Exhibition in the Hungarian National Museum; Catalogue]. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2007.
- Rogerius magister. "Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta: Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars." In Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, translated by Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak. Central European Medieval Texts 5. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010.
- ———. "Rogerius mester Siralmas Éneke" [The Sorrowful Lament of Master Roger]. In *Tatárjárás*, edited by Balázs Nagy, 129–57. Budapest: Osiris, 2003.
- Romsics, Ignác. *A múlt arcai: Történelem, emlékezet, politika* [Faces of the past: History, remembrance, politics]. Budapest: Osiris, 2010.
- Rosty, Zsigmond. *A tatárjárás történelme negyedik Béla király idejében* [The history of the Mongol invasion during the reign King Béla IV]. Pest: Müller Emil, 1856.
- Schütz, Ödön. "A mongol hódítás néhány problémájához" [On some problematic questions of the Mongol invasion]. *Századok* 93 (1959): 209–32.

- Sophoulis, Panos. "The Mongol Invasion of Croatia and Serbia in 1242." *Fragmenta Hellenoslavica* 2 (2015): 251–77.
- Strakosch-Grassmann, Gustav. Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa in den Jahren 1241 und 1242. Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1893.
- Szalay, László. *A tatárjárás Magyarországon 1241–1242* [The Mongol invasion in Hungary 1241–1242]. Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1856.
- Székely, György. "Egy elfeledett rettegés: A második tatárjárás a magyar történeti hagyományokban és az egyetemes összefüggésekben" [Forgotten terror: The second Mongol invasion in Hungarian historical tradition and international perspectives]. Századok 122 (1988): 52–85.
- Székely, György, Emma Léderer, and Lajos Elekes. *Magyarország története* [The history of Hungary]. Vol. 1. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1961.
- Szendrei, János. Magyar hadtörténelmi emlékek az ezredéves országos kiállításon [The relics of Hungarian military history on the millennial national exhibition]. Budapest: Kereskedelemügyi M. Kir. Minister, 1896.
- Szőcs, Tibor. "Egy második "tatárjárás"? A tatár–magyar kapcsolatok a XIII. század második felében" [A second 'Mongol invasion'? Tartar–Hungarian relations in the second half of the thirteenth century]. *Belvedere Meridionale* 23, no. 3–4 (2010): 16–49.
- Szűcs, Jenő. Az utolsó Árpádok [The last kings of the Árpád Dynasty]. Budapest: História and MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1993.
- Thallóczy, Lajos. "A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Hadtörténelmi Bizottságának jelentése" [Report of the Military History Committee of the Hungarian Historical Society]. In A Magyar Történelmi Társulat 1878-ik évi aug. 27–szept. 1-jei vidéki kirándulása Abaúj vármegyébe s Kassa városába [Field trip of the Hungarian Historical Society to Abaúj County and the city of Košice between 27 August and 1 September 1878], edited by Sándor Szilágyi and Arnold Ipolyi, 85–89. Századok, Supplement 12. Budapest: MTA, 1878.
- Varga, Bálint. "Birodalmi és nemzeti történetírói közösségek a 19. századi Habsburg Monarchiában" [Imperial and national communities of historians in the nineteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy]. In Nemzet és tudomány Magyarországon a 19. században, edited by Ádám Bollók and Adrienn Szilágyi, 5:102– 24. Magyar történelmi emlékek: Értekezések, tanulmányok a nacionalizmus kultúrtörténetéből. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2017.

- Vásáry, István. *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans,* 1185–1365. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Veszprémy, László. "Újabb szempontok a tatárjárás történetéhez" [New perspectives on the history of the Mongol invasion]. *Iskolakultúra* 4, no. 15–16 (1994): 28–35.
- Zichy, Ladomér. *A tatárjárás Magyarországon* [The Mongol invasion in Hungary]. Pécs: Dunántúl, 1934.

Ágnes Birtalan

Hungarian Folk Narratives (Hung. *monda*, *népmonda*) about the Mongol Campaign (1241–1242)

Il bulya irgen-dür kürbesü büsiretügüi ayutuyai. (on Güyük Khan's seal)¹

Introduction

The aim of the present study is to examine the Hungarian 'Tatar invasion' narrative cycle (Hung. *tatárjárás-mondakör*) within the genre of 'historical folk legends' (Hung. *történeti mondák, népmondák*), and to interpret it in the context of thirteenth-century historical memory.² The paper explores the following themes: *i*) genre problems of the corpus and the possibilities of thematic typology; *ii*) a possible identification and dating of narratives about the Mongol campaign

¹ The motto refers to the intimidation policy of the Mongol war tactic, discussed in the present paper: "If [the khan's command] reaches peaceful or rebellious people, honour it, fear it."

² Even if the typically accepted English equivalent for the Hungarian monda, népmonda (nép meaning 'folk') is 'legend', here I use the term monda or 'narrative' to make a strict distinction between the genre designations from the Hungarian genre legenda, essentially folklorized versions of the Christian saints' vitae. Nevertheless, the two generic terms might overlap Ilona Nagy, "Eredetmagyarázó monda" [Aetiological folk legends], in Magyar Néprajz, vol. 5: Népköltészet, ed. Lajos Vargyas (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), pp. 110–12; Dénes Lengyel, "Történeti mondák" [Historical folk legends], in Magyar Néprajz, vol. 5: Népköltészet, ed. Lajos Vargyas (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), pp. 148–66; Ildikó Landgraf, 'Beszéli a világ, hogy mi magyarok ...': Magyar történeti mondák ['It is rumored all over the world, that we Hungarians ...': Hungarian historical legends] (Budapest: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság – Európai Folklór Központ, 1998); Zoltán Magyar, "A történeti monda és más epikus műfajok" [Hungarian historical legends and other epic genres], in A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa, vol. 11: A magyar történeti mondák rendszere és tagolódása, ed. Zoltán Magyar (Budapest: Kairosz, 2018), pp. 139–45; Zoltán Magyar, "Legendák" [Legends], in A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa, vol. 11: A magyar történeti mondák rendszere és tagolódása, ed. Zoltán Magyar (Budapest: Kairosz, 2018), pp. 204–6. cf. below in more detail.

(1241–1242) with the help of written sources and their differentiation from the tradition of the later (Crimean) Tatar incursions; *iii*) parallels between contemporary written sources (esp. Master Rogerius's *Carmen miserabile*) and later oral tradition; *iv*) contacts between the Hungarian corpus of narratives and the methods of intimidation employed by the Mongol (and later Crimean Tatar) war tacticians; *v*) outlining a possible 'follow-up' project involving international text corpuses.³

Historical context of the corpus of mondas

The historical background to the studied corpus comprises the Mongol campaign against Hungary (1241–1242),⁴ the so-called 'second Mongol campaign' (1285)

³ Herewith I wish to render thanks to Christopher P. Atwood and József Laszlovszky, who provided valuable suggestions for further readings after the presentation of my paper, and also raised new aspects of investigation.

⁴ Being a Mongolist, I use the designation 'Mongol campaign/attack' when I speak about the campaign of 1241–1242. I use the terms tatár or tatárjárás ('Tatar'/ 'Tatar invasion') to refer to thirteenth-century sources, the oral tradition, and the terminology of scholarship in this field. An overview and analysis of the historical events and sources, cf. Gyula Kristó, "A tatárjárás (1241– 1242)" [The Mongol Invasion (1241–1242)], in Magyarország története 1/2: Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-iq [The history of Hungary 1/2: The preceding events and Hungarian history to 1242], ed. György Székely and Antal Bartha (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), pp. 1417–40. On the use of Mongol and Tatar in a European context, cf. the most frequent phonetic variants in the European sources: Moal, Mongal, Mugal, Mongol, and there are some other forms in written sources. Igor de Rachewiltz gives a detailed summary of the sources and research results, lists the name variants and touches on the presumed origin of the distorted form of the term Mongol: "the Mongols were known by several names which, curiously enough, were mostly inaccurate for different reasons." Igor de Rachewiltz, "The Name of the Mongols in Asia and Europe. A Reappraisal," Études Mongoles et Sibériennes 27 (1996), p. 199. For the revision of the problem, see Stephen Pow, "'Nationes Que Se Tartaros Apellant'; An Exploration of the Historical Problem of the Usage of the Ethnomyms Tatar and Mongol in Medieval Sources," Golden Horde Review 7, no. 3 (2019), pp. 545-67. Identification with the Tatars occurring in Chinese sources from the seventh century on (see e.g., Rachewiltz, "The Name of the Mongols."), and appearing as the enemy of the Borjigid (the tribe of Chinggis) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in The Secret History of the Mongols offers several possibilities for interpretation, but that is beyond the subject of this paper (on the research background, cf. Igor de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundations of Chingis Khan's Empire," Papers in Far Eastern History 7 (1973), pp. 21–36.). What needs stressing is the fact that this designation came from outside, and it was not the self-appellation of the peoples that came to be known as Mongols. 'Mongol' is actually a collective name which united the groups with identical concept of origin and identical tongue under the 'pan-Mongolm', 'all-Mongol' (Mong. gamuy mongyol) empire founded in 1206. Naturally, the empire incorporated different ethnic groups as well, and the firm foundation of the imperial idea was the collective term of 'felt-walled' (Mong. esegei tuyuryatan); i.e. 'people pursuing a nomadic, pastoral way of life'.

still in connection with the Great Mongol Empire,⁵ and the later raids (fourteenth-eighteenth centuries) by Tatar (mainly Crimean Tatar) ethnics. The campaigns involving Tatar armies were not connected to the Great Mongol Empire but to the Islamised successor states such as the 'Golden Horde' (e.g. the campaign of 1345), and to the repeated manoeuvres of the Crimean Khanate.⁶ It bears importantly on our theme that the appearance of Tatar troops—this time the ethnonym is accurate—was a real threat. Regular military operations affecting the heartland of the country took place during the Ottoman era and domination of Hungary (1526–1686) when the Crimean Khanate deployed auxiliary troops within the armies of the Ottoman Empire.⁷

The majority of the plots in the *tatárjárás*-corpus are rooted in this later onslaught by the Tatars (see below). Although the auxiliary Tatar troops were not always on the side of the enemy—until the early eighteenth century, they were occasionally occur in alliance with the Hungarians—their assignment in the Ottoman army made the word Tatar a synonym of an enemy of extraordinary cruelty, with primarily only negative features.⁸ Their military tactics included intimidation and the requisitioning of food when the army wintered out in the country, which obviously caused much suffering to the native population.⁹ The last large-scale Tatar campaign took place in 1717, involving the Crimean Tatar troops called in to divide the forces of the Habsburgs and their Hungarian allies fighting against the Porte, and to support the remnants of the Kuruc freedom fighters of Prince Ferenc Rákóczi (r. 1704–1711). Instead of help, the troops began pillaging counties in Transylvania and Eastern Hungary but eventually they were defeated and had to flee,

⁵ A detailed account of events and sources, cf. György Székely, "Egy elfeledett rettegés: A második tatárjárás a magyar történeti hagyományokban és az egyetemes összefüggésekben" [Forgotten terror: The Second Mongol Invasion in Hungarian historical tradition and international perspectives], Századok 122 (1988), pp. 52–85.

⁶ István Vásáry reinterpreted the sources and role of the campaign in Turkological and historical perspectives in István Vásáry, "Nagy Lajos tatár hadjáratai" [The Tatar campaigns of King Louis the Great], *Studia Caroliensia* 3–4 (2006), pp. 17–30.

⁷ On the military organization of the Crimean Khanate and its role in the war manoeuvres of the Ottoman Empire in the Fifteen Years' War, as well as their role in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, see Mária Ivanics, A Krími Kánság a tizenötéves háborúban [The Crimean Khanate in the Fifteen Years' War], Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár 22 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994).

⁸ On the typifying of enemy images and the related stereotypes in the Hungarian tradition: János B. Szabó, "Vázlat egy ellenségkép történetéről, pt. I: A tatárok emlékezete Erdélyben 1241–1621" [To the history of an enemy image: A draft, pt 1: The memory of the Tatars in Transylvania, 1241–1621], *Aetas* 10, no. 1 (1995), pp. 14–16.

⁹ Ivanics, A Krími Kánság a tizenötéves háborúban, pp. 182–97.

leaving most of the loot behind.¹⁰ After that, no extensive Tatar military operation threatened the Hungarians.¹¹

The above potted history reveals that the *mondas* concerning the 'Tatars' evolved over several centuries and it is not always unambiguous which plots or motifs might derive from the time of the Mongol campaign of the thirteenth century. Apparently, the use of the designation 'Tatar' for Mongols in Hungarian folklore as well as in the majority of Hungarian and contemporary European written sources is exclusive. Consistent with this, the term 'Mongol' is missing from the knowledge of more recent, well-read informants, well-versed in the school curriculum of history.¹² The name Tatar struck such deep roots in the Hungarian tradition that no later factual information (recent, more accurate findings of historiography, fiction, or higher-level education) has changed it, even in stories that are based clearly on readings and hence on written documents (see below).¹³ The ethnonym Tatar is thus the denomination that has also been attached to the memory of events of the Mongol campaign for centuries.¹⁴

The method of examination

Using a comparative philological method, I compare the events described in the folklore texts with the historical sources, primarily with Master Rogerius's *Carmen Miserabile*.¹⁵ In theory, the latter is an objective description by an eyewitness, but the rhetorical style called for by the first-hand impressions of the events may have distorted objectivity at some points. The emergence of the enemy image was undoubtedly fed by commonly shared information such as the stereotype of nomadic warriors arriving from the east as the 'scourge of God', which persisted for centuries. As Johannes Gießauf and many others claim, the image of the Mongols

15 A similar effort is observable among folklore researchers, Landgraf, Beszéli a világ, pp. 29, 31.

¹⁰ The cultural (memory) historical summary of the event was published by György Dupka on the 300th anniversary in 2017. His article affords an insight into the still-living tradition in former east Hungarian counties (today in Ukraine). György Dupka, "Emlékképek az utolsó tatárjárásról Ugocsában és Máramarosban" [Memories about the last Tatar campaign in Ugocsa and Máramaros], Együtt: A Magyar Írószövetség Kárpátaljai Írócsoportjának folyóirata 15, no. 5 (2017), pp. 86–94.

¹¹ Minor Tatar raids occurred along the eastern border zone up to the mid-eighteenth century.

¹² See the collections by Zsigmond Szendrey, Zoltán Magyar, Zsolt Barta, and Sarolta Tatár. The term 'Mongol' does not appear the index of motifs of Magyar's catalogue of historical legends: Zoltán Magyar, ed., *A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa*, vol. 10: *Motívumindex és bibliográfia* [The catalogue of the Hungarian historical legends, vol. 10: Index of motifs and bibliography], 12 vols. (Budapest: Kairosz, 2018).

¹³ On the influence of public education, see Landgraf's overview: Landgraf, *Beszéli a világ*, p. 42.

¹⁴ Mention must be made of contamination with the set of narratives dating from the Ottoman era (*cf.* Hun. *török mondakör*), but this topic is not explicated here.

as it spread in Europe and Asia incorporated the stereotypical image of the eastern nomadic foe, an important element of which was purposeful intimidation used by the Mongol war command deliberately, *cf*. the analysis below.¹⁶ The appearance of the Mongols in Europe and the image that evolved about them are the themes of several outstanding studies, the results of which are incorporated as important aspects into the compilation of the studied corpus of narratives.¹⁷

The genre of *történeti monda* "historical legends" and the text corpuses

The definition of the genre of *monda* or 'legend', its typology and the compilation of a motif catalogue in support of comparative research are frequently revisited in

Cf. Ilona Pálfy, A tatárok és a XIII századi Európa [The Tatars and thirteenth-century Europe], 17 vol. 2, A Bécsi Collegium Hungaricum füzetei: Hefte des Collegium Hungaricum in Wien (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928); Denis Sinor, "The Mongols in the West," Journal of Asian History 33 (1999), pp. 1–44; Peter Jackson, The Mongols and the West: 1221– 1410, 2nd ed. (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2018); Gian Andri Bezzola, Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270): Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen (Bern – Munich: Francke, 1974); Axel Klopprogge, Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert: Ein Versuch zur Ideengeschichte des Mittelalters (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993); Roman Hautala, "Early Latin Reports about the Mongols (1221): Reason for Distortion of Reality," Golden Horde Review 1, no. 2015 (n.d.), pp. 50-67; Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, "Sitting on the Fence: Matthew Paris's 'Mongol Letters' at the Intersection of History and Literature," in IV Ciclo di Studi Medievali. Atti del Convegno, 4–5 giugno 2018, Firenze (Arcore (MB): Edizioni EBS, 2018), pp. 273–79; Attila Bárány, "A Tatárjárás híre Nyugat-Európában" [News and Reports of the Mongol Invasion of 1241 in Western Europe], Hadtörténeti Közlemények 113, no. 3 (2020), pp. 486–527. and the wealth of source corpuses and studies cited in their works.

¹⁶ For some similar metaphors and tropes in East and West, see Tatsuo Terada, "Der Mongolen-'Sturm' in Ost und West," Nenpo: Jahresbericht des Germanischen Seminars der Hokkaido Universität 33 (2006), pp. 80–82. On the threats detailed in the letters of the khans, e.g. in Friar Julian's account, see Hansgerd Göckenjan and James Ross Sweeney, eds., Der Mongolensturm: Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250, Ungarns Geschichtsschreiber 3 (Graz – Vienna – Cologne: Styria, 1985), pp. 107–8; Johannes Gießauf, "A Programme of Terror and Cruelty: Aspects of Mongol Strategy in the Light of Western Sources," Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged, 2007, pp. 85–96. The successful and rapid circulation of information and its excellent organization were typical of the Inner Asian predecessors of the Great Mongol Empire, too. In The Secret History of the Mongols Ögödei great khan makes a special and emphatic mention of his role of reorganizing the postal service, which largely contributed to the successful management of the imperial and military administration (Igor de Rachewiltz, trans., The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century, Brill's Inner Asian Library, 7/1 and 7/2 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004), pp. 217–18. On some important features of the spreading of tactical information: Márton Vér, "Információtörténeti markerek a Mongol Birodalom történetében" [Information historical markers in the history of the Mongol Empire], Aetas 27, no. 4 (n.d.), pp. 144–54.

Hungarian and international scholarship. The Hungarian word *monda* is not an emic folk designation of the genre but derives from the terminology of nineteenth-century collectors and researchers.¹⁸ Its equivalents in international literature are, for example, German *Sage*, English 'legend', and Russian *predanie*. In the system of Hungarian literary and folklore genres, a synonym of *monda* is *rege*; the term *legenda* is mainly related to the lives of Christian saints.¹⁹ The genre of *monda* includes several different subject-matters that are outside the scope of this paper.²⁰ Here, I summarise the main features of *történeti monda* (historical legend) that are necessary for interpreting the pieces about the Mongol campaign.²¹ According to Dénes Lengyel, "[a] historical legend of folklore is a single-core prosaic narrative with the purpose to inform and admonish [*sic*], which presents a local event of history sometimes faithfully to reality, sometimes with miraculous itinerant motifs characterizing the hero or the situation, as best suits the requirements of the community."²² For the definition of the genre, an important starting point is its epic character, the narration.²³ The definition of the space and time limits belong to the traditional

¹⁸ Loránd Benkő, A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára [The historical-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language], vol. 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), pp. 888, 948; Gyula Ortutay, ed., Magyar néprajzi lexikon [Lexicon of Hungarian ethnography] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02115/html/1-1.html.

¹⁹ On the synonymy of genre names or the attachment of some to groups of different contents and structure, cf. the chapters of the comprehensive volume of Lajos Vargyas, ed., Magyar Néprajz, vol. 5: Népköltészet [Hungarian Ethnography, vol 5: Folklore] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988); Lengyel, "Történeti mondák"; Imola Küllős, "Igaz történet, élettörténet, önéletrajz" [True stories, life stories, personal narratives], in Magyar Néprajz, vol. 5: Népköltészet, ed. Lajos Vargyas (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), pp. 251–266; Ilona Nagy, "Hiedelemonda" [Legends of beliefs], in Magyar Néprajz, vol. 5: Népköltészet, ed. Lajos Vargyas (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), pp. 138–147; Anna Bihari, "A hiedelemmondák rendszerezésének elvei: A mondai típus fogalma" [Principles of the typology of legends on beliefs: The concept of legend types], in Magyar Néprajz, vol 5: Népköltészet, ed. Lajos Vargyas (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), pp. 133–137; Nagy, "Eredetmagyarázó monda." The latter contains a detailed description of the genre of legends, too. Also see, Magyar, "A történeti monda és más epikus műfajok."

²⁰ There is overlap between some types, and a text may be subsumed into several groups: such are the myths explaining the origin of natural formations including aetiological motifs (see below).

²¹ Although the themes are varied, the studied corpus of texts is limited owing to the relative delimitation of the events and heroic types. Consequently, it does not display all characteristics of legends and historical narratives. On the following, see Vilmos Voigt, "A mondák műfaji osztályozásának kérdéséhez: Sagenmotiv – Sagentyp – Sagenstoff – Sagentheme – Sagencomplex" [Questions of cataloguing folk legends], *Ethnographia* 76 (1965), pp. 200–220; Lengyel, "Történeti mondák"; Landgraf, *Beszéli a világ*; Magyar, *A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa*, vol. 10.

²² Lengyel, "Történeti mondák," p. 153. Also cited by Landgraf, *Beszéli a világ*, p. 23. My translation.

²³ Voigt, "A mondák műfaji osztályozásának kérdéséhez"; Landgraf, *Beszéli a világ*; Magyar, *A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa*, vol. 10.

interpretation of *mondas*; as regards space, locality is an important factor, meaning that many plots are attached to the narrator's close environment specified by natural or man-made formations, edifices, or by members of the community (origin of families, names), as shown in cited passages of *mondas* below.²⁴ As for their temporality, in the studied corpus even the earliest records date from the early eighteenth century, well after both the Mongol campaign and the Tatar incursions. In this way, the narrator is at a temporal distance from the plot, but local legitimation is provided by referring to his relatives (forebears) or some prominent person in the community to whose lifetime the story can be traced.²⁵ Since it is a folklore genre, most *mondas* use an elevated tone, using an arsenal of poetic devices typical of folk poetry aesthetics.²⁶ In the studied corpus I give precedence to information and the preservation of memory over aesthetic entertainment, since most stories are mementoes of incomprehensibly cruel deeds of merciless enemies.²⁷ For the community, the sufferings of their predecessors or their heroic resistance are examples of descendants and future generations, and strengthen local identity.²⁸

Suggested typology of *mondas*' motifs linked to the Mongol (and later Tatar) invasions

Below I have compiled the typological groups of motifs from *mondas*—without aiming at completion—which have greatest relevance to the central theme of the present study. On the basis of several excellent and thorough thematic and motif typologies (*cf.* their review above) and the connection to historical sources, I propose the following grouping:

- I. Characterisation of the Tatars, their cruelty and tactics²⁹
 - I.1. Morphology of the enemy: dog-headed, hideous looking, speaking non-human language.
 - I.2. The fate of the captives, seizing lots of people, first of all women.

- 25 Landgraf sums up the opinions of several researchers (Linda Dégh, Ilona Dobos, László Kósa) about the handling of time in myths: Landgraf, *Beszéli a világ*, pp. 38–39.
- 26 Landgraf, Beszéli a világ, p. 30; Voigt, "A mondák műfaji osztályozásának kérdéséhez," p. 205.
- 27 On information, the mechanisms of memory, and the transmission of oral tradition, *cf*. Landgraf, *Beszéli a világ*, pp. 30, 32–38.
- 28 Landgraf, Beszéli a világ, p. 42.
- 29 Using the term 'Tatar' here follows the Hungarian terminology of oral narratives.

²⁴ On locality, see Voigt, "A mondák műfaji osztályozásának kérdéséhez:"; Landgraf, *Beszéli a világ*, pp. 16, 40–41; Magyar, *A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa*, vol. 10. Besides locality, certain itinerant motifs may appear in larger areas independent of ethnicity and political borders. What makes a place famous? *Cf.* the second group of János Honti's typology, cited by Landgraf, *Beszéli a világ*, p. 20.

I.2.a. A peculiar motif: the women are driven by a chain threaded through their breasts.

- I.3. Treating the captives with incredible cruelty, subjecting them to horrible physical and mental torture.
- I.4. Anthropophagy (they eat human flesh, predominantly women's and children's); notably, the Grimms' tale Hansel and Gretel is also incorporated into the later tradition.
- I.5. Using a special trick: "Kati, Panni (variants: Pisti, Sári, Mári, Pendzsi, etc.), come forth! The Tatars are gone!"—calling out familiar names to lure out the Hungarians hiding in the marshland or woods (variant: donning Hungarian costume to deceive the sentry).
- I.6. Knowledge of written sources or school curricula must be behind stories in which the Tatars use the stolen seal of King Béla IV to issue false decrees to lure forth those in hiding and either drive them away as captives or force them to produce food.
- II. Hiding and heroic resistance: the inhabitants of a settlement confront the enemy and either escape or are killed
 - II.1. Hiding in the marshes; thus they escape from being massacred.
 - II.2. Misleading the enemy: e.g., they make soldiers of gourds (placing heads made of pumpkins on poles) to give the impression of a vast army.³⁰
 - II.3. Wounding the legs of enemy horses by putting pottery vessels in the mud or bog.
 - II.4. Baking a giant loaf of bread: the defenders bake a huge milk-bread or loaf using all the flour they have and hang it on the church or castle wall to make it look like they are not short of food, which makes the attackers withdraw instead of a long siege.
 - II.5. An exceptional hero, or more frequently, heroine, leads the local resistance or performs a heroic deed such as killing the plunderers one by one (variant: killing whoever leaves the house last); or he/she organizes the escape or the defence of the local people.

³⁰ Master Rogerius records that the Mongols "made puppets and many monstrous figures which they sat on the riderless horses as if they were warriors" to make their army look larger. Chapter 24 in Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta: Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars," in Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, trans. Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010), p. 179.

- II.5.a. The pregnant heroine (maybe a Hun. táltos "shaman or sorcerer") gives birth to a baby/twins after the fighting. Remark: in the stories that qualify for I.5, the heroes are often named, e.g. Bákainé.
- III. Names of natural or man-made relief forms or landmarks are associated with campaigns or other events that took place in the vicinity; or with the tactics of the locals or the enemy

This is related to the motifs of groups I and II—e.g. via the memory of successful resistance or extreme cruelty such as at Testhalom (Mound of bodies), Őrhalom (Sentry heights), Őrfa (Sentry tree), Tatárvágat (Tatar cut), Tatárlik (Tatar hole).

- IV. Post-invasion events (NOT thirteenth-century motifs)
 - IV.1. A wounded Tatar settles in the village; his descendants are still alive "today" (at the time of the narration), some families remember their origin.
 - IV.2. A person driven away as a captive returns, and their mother recognizes them.
 - IV.3. The spirit (ghost) of a killed Tatar is still guarding his buried loot and harms those passing by. The hiding place is most often the marsh, a solitary tree, a definite part of a forest.
- V. Motifs tied to King Béla IV
 - V.1. Place names linked to the escape route of Béla.
 - V.2. Béla returns to his people.
 - V.3. King Béla's treasure.
 - V.4. Mythic return of Béla (who did not die but was in hiding) to help his people overcome the perilous events.

General European concepts of the Mongols and the Hungarian text corpus

The general ideas that evolved about Mongols in Europe drew on diverse sources. The appearance on the borders of sedentary civilisations of nomads temporarily changed the *limes* between the 'civilised and barbarian'. This resulted in tropes and stereotypes known since Herodotus's account (485–425 BC) about the Scythians, which came to characterize similarly perceived groups for a long time.³¹ Prior to the

³¹ Book 4 of *The Histories* deals in detail with the nomads appearing on the Eastern European plain, also giving a summary of the Scythians. Parallel Greek and English text: Herodotus, "The History of Herodotus," trans. G. C. Macaulay, Sacred Texts, London: Macmillan 1890, https://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/hh. On the sources of the Scythian chapter, see János Harmatta, "Forrástanulmányok Herodotos Skythika-jához: Quellenstudien zur Skythika von Herodot," *Magyar–görög Tanulmányok* 14 (1941), pp. 1–70.

Mongols, the Magyars, Pechenegs, and Cumans arrived at the eastern boundaries of Christian Europe, so the trope of nomads was kept alive continuously by the successive arrival of groups pursuing a similar way of life.

Denis Sinor sums up the most frequent tropes of Latin historiography (based on Greek traditions) as follows: "The dominant trait of the barbarian character is insolence (*adrogantia*). As we have seen in Agathias ... it goes hand in hand with greed. But in the judgement of Caesar, the companions of *adrogantia* in barbarian psyche are *aracundia*, *temeritas*, *crudelitas* and *perfidia*."³² Sinor looks closely at plundering for spoils and the 'hunger for gold' in Greek, Chinese, Roman, and Byzantine sources. Using the example of 'greed' he makes a point of stressing that the appearance of tropes in historical records must be interpreted with caution. This tradition—or more precisely, certain elements of it—survived the peoples about whom they were recorded and who were associated with the Mongols or the successor states of the Great Mongol Empire such as the Tatar states, fostering the legacy of the disintegrated Ulus of Jochi (the later Golden Horde).³³

The most conspicuous difference between eyewitness account of the Mongols and the narratives built on tropes that evolved in the safer, more distant areas is *demythification*.³⁴ For example, the most important single source for Hungarian *mondas* is the contemporary Master Rogerius's *Carmen miserabile*, wherein the demythified image defined by a captive of the Mongols who had to march with them for months must be well-nigh true to life.³⁵ The chronicle of another contemporary, Thomas Spalato, enlivens the sequence of events with descriptions of some customs of the enemy and also contains motifs that can be found in the oral

³² Denis Sinor, "The Greed of the Northern Barbarian," in Aspects of Altaic Civilization II. Proceedings of the XVIII PIAC, Bloomington, June 29 – July 5. 1975, ed. Larry V. Clark and Paul Alexander Draghi, vol. 134, Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Publications, 1978), pp. 171–82.

³³ The descendants of the eldest son of Chinggis khan, Jochi (Mong. Joči) ruled over the western province (Mong. *ulus*). I designated the period until the death of Batu Khan (ruled 1227– 1255), prior to Islamisation, as the period of the prevalence of Mongol traditions. It is important to note that contemporaries appear to have conceived of the situation after Chinggis's Central Asian campaign (1219–1223) as the materialisation of the myth of Prester John, who had defeated the Muslims and came to the aid of western Christianity, and his successor King David. The revival of this trope was also promoted by news of post-Nestorian rulers of the Qarakitan or Kara Khitai (1124–1218) and some inchoate Mongol states (Naiman, Kereit and Önggüt) in thirteenth-century Inner Asia. Roman Hautala re-interpreted the connection between the Mongols and the Prester John legend in Hautala, "Early Latin Reports about the Mongols (1221)."

³⁴ See also Gieβauf, "A Programme of Terror and Cruelty."

³⁵ The Latin original and English translation with annotation: Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen."

tradition.³⁶ By contrast, Matthew Paris deviates from the information provided by eye-witnesses in close contact with Mongols at the time of the Mongol invasion or later (envoys, merchants). In the following, I contrast the historical source data and motifs of the oral tradition as they relate to the texts of *mondas*. The aim is to give a general picture of the plots known in areas inhabited by Hungarians, most of them found in geographically distant areas, too.³⁷ The sample *mondas* and *dites*, collected in different regions and put down in writing at diverse points in time, are compared to details of the written tradition, perpetuating real events or alluding to mythic motifs.³⁸

The historical context of the *mondas* and the sample texts

*I.1. Morphology of the enemy image (Magyar IV. C.111–120, pp. 167–176).*³⁹ Grouping the source data around the *cruelty* theme confirms that the appearance and behaviour of the enemy are depicted in hyperbole even in demythified accounts of eyewitnesses. In the folk tradition, the anthropo-zoomorphic depiction

³⁶ Thomas of Spalato, Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of Salona and Split, ed. Olga Perić et al. (Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2006); James Ross Sweeney, "Thomas of Spalato and the Mongols: A Thirteenth-Century Dalmatian View of Mongol Customs," Florilegium 4 (1982), pp. 156–83; Thomas of Spalato, "Geschichte der Bischöfe von Salona und Spalato vom hj. Dominus bis auf Rogerius (1266) (cap. 36–39)," in Der Mongolensturm: Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250, ed. Hansgerd Göckenjan and James Ross Sweeney, Ungarns Geschichtsschreiber 3 (Graz – Vienna – Cologne: Styria, 1985), pp. 225–70.

³⁷ I do not discuss themes and motifs specific to certain regions or settlements, as it is beyond the scope of this paper and their analysis is the task of folklore studies.

³⁸ Dite is a folklore term, here used in the sense of a brief or abbreviated form of a monda (in Hung. közlés, cf. Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon, http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02115/html/3-918. html). The English translation of the Hungarian mondas is a part of joint project with Dr Dūdači Sarina, a colleague from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Beijing). Several Hungarian colleagues and students participated in the translation; see in the footnotes. Dūdači Sarina (in Chinese transcription: Du da qi Sa ri na) published two articles concerning the topic, cf.: Du da qi Sa ri na. "Xiong ya li min jian liu chuan de Dada chuan shuo he xin zhu ti tan xi" [The Core Theme of Tatar Legends Transmitted among the Hungarians] Qian nan min zu shi fan xue yuan xue bao [Journal of Qiannan Normal University for Nationalities] 10 (2022): 30–39. Du da qi Sa ri na. "Dada chuan shuo zhong de ka men bei ge mu ti yan jiu" [A Study of the Motifs of Carmen Miserable in Tatar legends] Nei meng gu she hui ke xue [Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia] 4 (2023): 49–55.

³⁹ The equivalents of the motifs in Zoltán Magyar's Hungarian *monda*-corpus series are cited for the sample texts. Roman numerals indicate the volume of the series, followed by the motif number; the pages refer to the list of sources. Zoltán Magyar, ed., *A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa [The catalogue of the Hungarian historical legends]*, 12 vols. (Budapest: Kairosz, 2018).

of the Mongols (dog-headed, behaving like a dog) might allude to the thirteenth century, but also to later raids (a legacy of the thirteenth century, I presume,).⁴⁰ Their behaviour generates fear and abhorrence, the Mongols (and later Tatars) are characterised by acts that widely deviate from, or are opposed to, the moral norms of the narrator's ethnic group (here, Hungarians). Ideas connected to the dog-headed Tatars were widespread in thirteenth-century Europe and were part of a systematic *cannidae* mythology.⁴¹ The Mongols—as Plano Carpini reported at that time—believed in these hybrid beings and could locate them geographically, and even reported encountering dog-headed people.⁴²

Thirteenth-century European and later Hungarian written accounts, and their repercussions in the oral tradition display a fairly unified picture of the dog-headed Mongols/Tatars. The motifs of *cannidae* and *cynocephali* are frequent in Hungarian *mondas* and *dites* as well as folk tales. In a part of the *dites* the informants try to explain why the relatives, well-known persons who had presumably met with Tatar generations earlier in the past, reported on dog-headed Tatars (later than the thirteenth-century tradition)—or they leave it without explanation, as something well-known or as an accepted fact.

⁴⁰ Ilona Dobos, Paraszti szájhagyomány, városi szóbeliség [Rural oral tradition and urban orality] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986), pp. 46–53; Dorottya Uhrin, "Monstrous Humans in the Mongol Empire: Franciscan Accounts of the Mongol Tribes," in Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU, vol. 23 (Budapest: CEU, Department of Medieval Studies, 2017), pp. 123–131.

⁴¹ The canidae bestiary of the nomadic peoples is varied: the mythic traditions of the fox (lower realm inhabited by spirits and deities), the wolf (upper realm also inhabited by spirits and deities) and the dog (middle, human realm), which are separate yet with certain points of contact, are important elements of the mythic tradition and shamanism of Inner Asian nomads. Ágnes Birtalan, "A Survey of the Fox in Mongolian Folklore and Folk Belief," in *Der Fuchs in Kultur, Religion und Folklore Zentral- und Ostasiens*, ed. Hartmut Walravens, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), pp. 35–58; Ágnes Birtalan, "Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion," in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. Egidius Schmalzriedt and Hans W. Haussig, vol. 34 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, n.d.), pp. 992, 1055–56, 1066–67. The dog may occur as a zoomorphic ancestor or a helping spirit, and mainly plays a positive role even if the spirit world has an ambivalent nature in general. Ideas about anthropo-zoomorphic and metamorphic creatures constitute part of the ethnogenetic myths. Ágnes Birtalan, "An Oirat Ethnogenetic Myth in Written and Oral Traditions: A Case of Oirat Legitimacy," *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 55 (2002), pp. 69–88.

⁴² Chapter 11 in John of Plano Carpini, "The Long and Wonderfull Voyage of Friar John de Piano Carpini, Anno 1246," in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1903), p. 147; Uhrin, "Monstrous Humans in the Mongol Empire," pp. 123–24.

Barking Tatars⁴³ "The Tatars were not people, but semi-dogs, and they did not speak but barked." Recording of (further =Rec.) Mrs Sándor Palkó, born (further =b.) 1886, Calvinist, Kórógy, Szerém County.⁴⁴

Place name "Kutyanyak" "Regarding this Kutyanyak [Dog-neck], I have heard that during the Tatar invasion, dog-headed Tatars were beheaded there, at a site called Dog-neck in these days. Have you heard about the dog-headed Tatars? It is said that their heads looked like dog heads. That is the origin of the name of Dog-neck. We [...] heard it from our grandfathers." Rec. Mrs Pál Kósa, b. 1920, Catholic, Sövény-háza, Csongrád County, 1987.⁴⁵

Tatars are wild men "The dog-headed Tatars were wild men! They made a living from the extortion of other countries." Rec. Miklós Farkas, b. 1946, Catholic, Marosdécse, 2007.⁴⁶

Tatar cruelty "They [elderly people in the village] used to talk about the Tatars, claiming that they were bad folks. They did not do anything good! They caught women and girls, and also robbed; this is what old people said. They killed the folks. The whole village was in fright when hearing 'the dog-headed Tatars are coming!'" Rec. Erzsébet Kóródi, b. 1925, Unitarian, Magyarózd, 2003. Interviewer adds that Dog-headed Tatars were mentioned also in Lőrincréve, Magyarlapád, Marosnagylak, 2002–2003⁴⁷

The next example explains the mythical 'otherness' of the Tatars differently; they are taken for giants whom people could still overcome—through self-sacrifice.

The Faluhely [abandoned village] of Désfalva XVI. "The Tatárösvény [Tatar Path] descends from the ridge separating Désfalva from Csávás, and the Tatárláb [Tatar Leg] is right next to it. Under these, there are two bottomless lakes, about five hundred meters from each other. There used to be a village where they are now. The village

⁴³ The titles refer to the main motif of the plot; they are given by the collector or the editor of the publications.

⁴⁴ Sándor Bosnyák, *1100 történeti monda* (Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézet, 2001), p. 81. All texts quoted from this volume is translated by Krisztina Teleki.

⁴⁵ Bosnyák, 1100 történeti monda, p. 81.

⁴⁶ Bosnyák, 1100 történeti monda, p. 73.

⁴⁷ No. 75 in Zoltán Magyar, Népmondák Erdély szívében: Alsó-Fehér megye mondahagyománya [Folk legends in the heart of Transylvania: Legends of Alsó-Fehér County], Magyar Népköltészet Tára 8 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008), p. 163. All texts quoted from this volume are translated by Krisztina Teleki.

also had a church. The people had heard that the Tatars were near. They fled to the church. A mute girl was sitting at her fireplace. She noticed the Tatars coming down the hillside. She ran to the church, and said: 'Let us pray, people, because the dog-headed, men-eating Tatars are coming!' The men were startled at the mute girl speaking. First of all the priest. They asked the Good Lord to rather sink the village than to let it fall into the hands of the Tatars. The Lord answered their prayer. The village sank. Everything disappeared from the face of the Earth. The bottomless lakes appeared where the village used to be. Where the Tatars descended, that place is called Tatárösvény to this day. The Tatars were so huge that one of them sat down on the ridge and washed his feet in the creek. The outline of his leg can still be seen today, even his kneecap. That place is still called Tatárláb. With time, the edges of the lake were overgrown with horsetail and reed. The farm of old Sándor Vasgál was nearby.

One day his sow disappeared. They started looking for her on the edge of the lake and found her in a large pit. When they took her out, they realised that the pit was in fact a large bell. It was the bell of the sunken church. They lifted it out. The bell was so big it took six men to carry. It was taken to Vásárhely."

Rec. János Molnár, retd. factory worker, b. 1940, Unitarian Hungarian. Collected by Rudolf Károly Adorjáni, in Désfalva, 1995.⁴⁸

I.2–3. The fate of captives

Eyewitnesses like Rogerius and the informants of Thomas of Spalato often mention the captives—the people gathered to be dragged along with the Mongol troops and used for various purposes. Rogerius reports they were used in castle sieges by a well-known Mongol tactic—sent in front to hold up the arrows and spears of the defenders, or to build a wall of wattling next to the castle wall. Rogerius, who shared the fate of captives moved along with the Mongol army for several months, recalled the helplessness of the captured and the humiliation of women, but his fate proves that with luck and resourcefulness one could escape from the captors.

"They sent first the Hungarian prisoners ahead and when they were all slain, the Russians, the Ishmaelites, and Cumans went into battle. The Tatars, standing behind them all at the back, laughed at their plight and ruin and killed those who retreated from the battle and subjected as many as they could to their devouring swords, so

⁴⁸ Landgraf, *Beszéli a világ*, pp. 254–55. All texts quoted from this volume are translated by CsabaÉlő.

that after fighting for a week, day and night, and filling up the moat, they captured the village. Then they made the soldiers and ladies, of whom there were many, stand in a field on one side and the peasants on the other. Having robbed them of their money, clothing and other goods, they cruelly executed them with axes and swords, leaving only some of the ladies and girls alive, whom they took for their entertainment. Only those survived who quickly fell to the ground among the dead and could hide, besmirched by the blood of others. Oh pain, oh the cruelty and immense rage of this savage people! For whoever contemplates with sane mind the destruction of such a great nation cannot help but call this rightly a field of blood."⁴⁹

Thomas of Spalato reported about the Mongol warrior women's terrific cruelty towards captives, especially women and children, not mentioned by Rogerius.

"They called the boy captives to them and played a game with them. They first told them to sit down in rows; then they called over their own children and giving them each a stave of green wood they ordered them to beat in the heads of the poor captives. They themselves sat and looked on with cruel eyes, laughing to each other and praising those who struck the surest blow or who could crush the brain with a single stroke and leave the body lifeless. What need I say more?"⁵⁰

Oral tradition preserved the fate of the captives in diverse ways (see above the suggested typology and Magyar IV. C.91–110.5, pp. 126–177). A particularly frequent instance is the driving off of women tied to a rope led through their breasts (but there is no mention of their subsequent fate).

Tatars kidnap women "The Tatars, they... how they chased the young girls or something, that they tied the string on their teats, and so they were chased by those Tatars, those dog-headed Tatars." Rec. in Kolon⁵¹

"Well, they said something about the Tatars coming, and then something, there was a pretty girl here in the village, they put her on a horse, and they ran off with her, and they took, as they said so, Ilona Balkó away, the Tatars. Or Turks? Tatars or

⁴⁹ Chapter 37 in Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 213.

⁵⁰ Thomas of Spalato, *Historia Salonitanorum*, p. 273.

⁵¹ No. 77 in Zoltán Magyar, "Zoborvidéki, kalotaszegi és gyimesi népmondák" [Folk legends from Zoborvidék, Kalotaszeg, and Gyimes], in *Tatárjárás*, ed. Balázs Nagy, Nemzet és Emlékezet (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), p. 291. All texts quoted from this volume are translated by Réka Horváth.

Turks. I don't know for sure (anymore). That they stole that girl, so they stole her. So they said that they came hither. That the dog-headed Tatars kidnapped Ilona Balkó, of course." Rec. in Kolon⁵²

I.4. Anthropophagy

Anthropophagy repeatedly recurs in quondam sources. In Matthew Paris's *Chron-ica Maiora* a much-quoted illustration shows a man on a stake being roasted over the fire by the Mongols, and elsewhere he writes, "[t]he men are inhuman and of nature beasts rather to be called monsters then men, thirsting after and drinking blood, and tearing and devouring the flesh of dogs and human being."⁵³ Although Rogerius mentions human bodies burning "like pigs" (e.g. at the siege of Eszter-gom), he reports about no anthropophagy.⁵⁴ This element was significant in the Mongol army's intimidation program, and it must have been shocking for the Christian world, despite their familiarity with diverse cruelties of wartime.

Folk tradition preserved anthropophagy associated with the Mongols in various ways: partly as fact, and partly in the form of sayings to scare children, rooted in fear deeply imprinted in the minds of Hungarians.⁵⁵ An interesting latter-day version of the motif of anthropophagy is the tale of *Hansel and Gretel*, known from the Grimm brothers, in which the children dodge the evil figure of the tale, the 'Tatars' grandma'.⁵⁶

Cannibal Tatars "They [elderly people in the village] used to say to children: 'Don't be malicious, otherwise the dog-headed Tatars will come, and eat you or take you!'" Rec. Ferenc Fenci Horváth, b. 1924, Calvinist, Magyarózd 2003.⁵⁷

"The Turkish and Tatar people marauded here. As far as I heard the Tatars caught people and ate human meat. Tatars used to catch children [in order to eat them]!" Rec. Ferenc Bartha, b. 1921, Calvinist, Magyarsülye, 2003.⁵⁸

⁵² No. 78 in Magyar, "Zoborvidéki, kalotaszegi és gyimesi népmondák," p. 291.

⁵³ Matthew Paris, *Matthew Paris's English History, from 1235 to 1273,* trans. J. A. Giles, vol. 1 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), pp. 312–13.

⁵⁴ Chapter 39 in Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 219.

⁵⁵ A later account of the nomadic armies' anthrophony is Dániel Krmann's (1663–1740) report. During his journey (1708–1709) to the Swedish King Charles XII, the Hungarian superintendent of the Lutheran Church heard from an officer of the Swedish army about the Kalmyks' (the westernmost Mongols) war deeds during the Great Northern war (1700–1721); among others that they cooked and ate captive babies in Poland. Dániel Krmann, Küldetésem története 1708–1709: Itinerarium [History of my mission], trans. Zsuzsanna Szabó, (Bibliotheca Saeculorum (Bratislava - Budapest: Tatran and Európa Könyvkiadó, 1984), p. 137.

⁵⁶ Cf. tale type ATHU 327A in the international motif typology (Aarne-Thompson-Uther).

⁵⁷ No. 76 in Magyar, Népmondák Erdély szívében, p. 164.

⁵⁸ No. 77 in Magyar, Népmondák Erdély szívében, p. 164.

The Tatar Grandmother "Hei, the dog-headed Tatars, hei, what my grandma told me about the Tatars?! The dog-headed Tatars were such people: there was a beautiful girl, and they were marauding here. Pengő ['Coin', the name of the beautiful girl] went to the church with her brother. The Tatars caught both of them, and ate them. My grandmother told me that the Tatars lived [by] eating human meat. So they took both Pengő and Jancsi [name of the brother of the girl], and fed them [...] good meals, nutmeat, delicious bread, various meats, and good wine. When they [the girl and the boy] became fat, an old Tatar wanted to use the chance; the other Tatars went to the church, and when they arrived home they saw that both the girl, Erzsi [Elisabeth, perhaps the same as Pengő], and the boy were roasted! The old lady made a fire in the stove, and put the girl inside, and also baked the boy to prepare nice meals from them for her three sons. When Pengő was coming out [perhaps from the room], she [the old lady] said [this was a trick]:

- Come and sit on this ladle! Let's see how you would sit on it! [The old lady wanted to put her into the stove.]

The girl replied: [this is a trick again]

- Sorry, I don't know how to sit on it. Please show it to us, then, both Jancsi and me will sit on it, and you can do with us whatever you want.

So, the lady sat on the ladle, and Pengő shoved her into the stove. When the three Tatar men arrived at home, they saw that their mother had been baked! The girl and the boy just fled and wandered, hid in the reed[s], as these men were looking for them everywhere. Finally, the girl and the boy returned home [to their parents' house], and announced to everyone in the village, 'Do not go out at night, because the dog-headed Tatars will catch and eat you!' The health of the girl and the boy failed, and they died young, because they were frightened so much at that time, this is what my grandma told me." [The story is almost similar to the fairy tale Hansel and Gretel.] Rec. Klára Csíki b. 1930, Calvinist, Csombord 2002.⁵⁹

I.5. Special tricks, tricky stratagem

Several researchers have scrutinized the stories in which foes lure their adversaries out of the inaccessible, impenetrable, safe hide-outs only familiar to locals (marshes, forests, caves; see below) by calling out common names. Nearly all the names mentioned frequently in the text corpus are female ones, but rarely male

⁵⁹ This tale's plot is inconsistent at some points. No. 78 in Magyar, *Népmondák Erdély szívében*, p. 164.

nicknames often used by villagers (Magyar IV. C.65, pp. 87–90). Calling people in hiding also occurs in early written sources; for example, in Rogerius:

"Therefore, I left the highway as if following the call of nature, We lay thus for two full days, as in graves, not raising our heads and heard the terrible voices of those who, following the footprints of erring beasts, passed close by in the forest and often shouted after the prisoners who were in hiding."⁶⁰

The story preserved in the oral tradition suggests that the attackers (the Tatars) know the local customs very well, had—apparently—perfect command of the Hungarian language, knew about common names and were also familiar with the clothes worn in the given area. Although the thirteenth-century Mongols must have had thorough knowledge of the country from the reports of spies and experienced a lot of the local customs directly after occupying the greater part of the country,⁶¹ this story type probably evolved during and after the Ottoman occupation. The repeated onslaughts by Crimean Tatars in the Hungarian frontier zone and the heartland of the country and their lengthy stay could have acquainted them with more information about the local populace, so the story is almost certainly associated with them and not the early Mongol raids. The text below exemplifies how the Hungarian tactic of hiding, as already documented in the thirteenth century, lived on, and how the tactic of the often-present adversary (the Crimean Tatars) was adapted to it.

Pendzsi, Sári, Come Here! "At the time of [the] Tatars, the Képtiszta [lit. Clear picture] was much more full with reeds than it is today. The people tied sheaves from the reed, and made huts, so that they could hide there from the Tatars. The only way to get to the marshland was through a path, but there were stakes and scythes tied to the stakes, so that the Tatars could not get to the moor, because the scythes cut all the horses to pieces. For a few days, no Tatar was seen around the lake. They [the Hungarians] already thought the dog-heads were gone. But they didn't dare to go out, only when some people from the Dosztahalom shouted: "Sári-Mári Come Out! The dog-headed Tatars are gone!" But they had barely reached the field [and] the Tatars rushed at them. Because they were shouting there, dressed in Hungarian robes, and they slaughtered them all."⁶²

⁶⁰ Chapter 40 in Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 221.

⁶¹ Gergely Csiky, "A Nagy Mongol Birodalom hadserege a XIII. században" [The army of the Great Mongol Empire in the thirteenth century], *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (n.d.), pp. 539, 543.

⁶² No. 18 in Zsigmond Szendrey, "Történelmi népmondák" [Historical legends], *Ethnographia* 31 (1920), p. 51.

"They (the Tatars) were here! My grandmother told me that they [grandmother's contemporaries or people living afore] went out to the hillside, and had hideaways. Also secret doors existed. They [the enemy] was so cruel! It was called [the] Tatar invasion. They [the Tatars] knew the Hungarian language a bit. They said, 'Come out, Kati, Pendzsi, Sári [Hungarian girls' names], the dog-headed Tatars have already left!' And some of them [the girls] came out [from the hideaways] as they thought that a Hungarian person [had] said that. They [the Tatars] learned the Hungarian language so well [that they] could call out people from their hideaways with this trick. And what else did they do with them? I heard that they entrenched them to the ground, and sawed them at the waist. They sawed people in two pieces! And with cruelty they cut off the breasts of women and salted them. This is what they did. This is what our ancestors used to talk about. Fortunately, we did not live at that time, but our ancestors did." Rec. Magdolna Mihály, b. 1935, Calvinist, Magyarbükkös, 2003.⁶³

"Neither the men who escaped to the deep forest, nor women who hid in cellars came out even for emergency or fire. Then, the Tatars rode along the village, shouting: 'Turn on the light, Pendzsi, Sári, Kati! The dog-headed ones [have] packed off!' The women felt relieved and came out for the familiar words. The Tatars rounded them up and started to drive them towards Lapád. The men in the forest heard what had happened and came out [of] their own will to save the women. So, the Tatars ran away on their fast horses." Rec. György Beke, Magyarbece, 1978.⁶⁴

I.6. The royal seal

*Monda*s such as the one about the stealing of the royal seal mentioned in the typology suggest either knowledge of Rogerius's text or schooling, or both. In Rogerius's words,

"[t]hen [after the Battle of Muhi] the lord and the higher-ranking men of the Tatars assembled to share and divide the booty. At the subsequent distribution of it, they found the king's seal with the chancellor, whose head had been severed from his body by a horrible sword."⁶⁵

The Mongols are said to have used it to issue fake orders about the possibility of the locals' safe return and resumption of work because the threat of the Mongol assault was over. The orders were attested by King Béla's seal." (Magyar IV. C.64.1, p. 86)

⁶³ No. 99 in Magyar, Népmondák Erdély szívében, pp. 168–69.

⁶⁴ No. 104 in Magyar, Népmondák Erdély szívében, pp. 170.

⁶⁵ Chapter 31 in Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 191.

II.1. Hiding in marches and forests as a form of escape and survival

Rogerius's account is accurate and suggestive about his own escape and hiding: the swamps and thick woods protected the refugees and outlaws. Making good use of the natural endowments, escapees like Rogerius or groups of villagers could persevere. Rogerius writes about an island without further specification, and he describes this hideout accurately:

"So we turned off to an island, which was being well fortified by the people from Adea, Voivodeni, Iermata, and other surrounding villages. Since I dared not go on, I stayed with them upon the request of the headman and all the people of that place. For no one could enter the said island save by one very narrow and small way with three gates and towers within one mile and all-around strong obstacles for a mile. When I realized that this place was so well fortified, I liked it and stayed there. The custom on the island was that anyone could come in but no one was allowed to leave."⁶⁶

The hiding motif may be related to the thirteenth-century events, but most stories about specific villages or areas probably preserve the memory of later Tatar raids, although their roots may reach back to the Ottoman occupation or even perhaps to the Mongol invasion. Finding refuge on an island (Magyar IV. C.7, pp. 62–64), in the woods, (Magyar IV. C.5, pp. 56–59), in a swamp (Magyar IV. C.6, pp. 59–62), or in caves is found in many *mondas*. A typical mode of protecting a shelter on an island was hiding sharpened scythes in the water (Magyar IV. C.7, p. 64), which wounded horses or even killed enemy soldiers:

Scythe island "The inhabitants of the village escaped from the Turks and Tatars to an island, and submerged sharp poles and scythes around the island, under the water surface, which cut to death the horses of the attacking enemy, and the attacking enemy also died." Rec. in Karcag 144. 14:58; Szerep 86.584; Nagyrozvágy 91. 63:212; Paptamási 91. 11: 140; Vésztő 91. 9: 313, 31. 319.⁶⁷

"The Tatars were here. The folks were at Zenge. At the well of the sheep pasture, opposite [...] the forest [...] was a sentinel, and they were shouting there, 'Hide, run, escape, and go to the forest because the dog-headed Tatars are coming!' They watched [saw] from there that the dog-headed Tatars were approaching. This is what old people said." Rec. Márton Szántó, b. 1921, Calvinist, Szászújfalu 2002.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Chapter 34 in Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," pp. 201, 203.

⁶⁷ No. 34 in Magyar, *Népmondák Erdély szívében*, p. 52.

⁶⁸ No. 82 in Magyar, Népmondák Erdély szívében, p. 165.

II.2–3. Misleading the enemy: sham soldiers and active resistance

Motifs of hiding and active resistance can be found in plots that narrate how the local inhabitants hiding in the swamp or the woods deluded the enemy. Using 'sham soldiers' was a well-known tactic of the Mongols, too. As Rogerius writes,⁶⁹

"The Tatars, foreseeing that, feigned retreat and halted. Because they had many horses but not enough men, they devised and arranged this: they made puppets and many monstrous figures which they sat on the riderless horses as if they were warriors; then they lined up the horses at the foot of a hillock with some servants."⁷⁰

Shards hidden in the mud to wound the legs of the soldiers' precious horses are also known from other sources, which may be a vestige of a real tactic of resistance.

II.4. Bread

The motif of *tatárkalács* (Magyar IV. C.131.3.1, pp. 210–211)—an immense loaf of bread or milk loaf on display to show that defenders have plenty of food, spurring the enemy's subsequent retreat—is widespread in Hungarian-populated areas. This motif belongs to the plots of successful resistance and was most probably generated later than the thirteenth century when the populace was forced to concentrate on fleeing and survival. It is more likely that this was borne out of Tatar raids that did not affect the entire country but only separate areas where the population could overcome the atrocities more rapidly. After the actual Mongol invasion, the relative protection of inhabitants in castles and churches must have been a living tradition. Both Rogerius's account and the archaeological finds suggest that fortified places could also fall prey to the enemy, but the ones that survived the attacks were able to become legendary places in the oral tradition.⁷¹

Tatárkalács "The besieged defenders in exigency used a trick in order to quickly get rid of the enemy which also reached exigency: they [the defenders] displayed so much food to the enemy that they [the enemy] gave up the attack considering it hopeless." Rec. in Znióváralja 144. 6:126., 144. 32:131.; Máréfalva 91. 57:254, 83. 1:69; Homoródalmás 25. 1. id. 61. 118, 134. 2:74, 83. 1:91: Szeged 49. 2:218).⁷²

⁶⁹ Csiky, "A Nagy Mongol Birodalom hadserege a XIII. században" [The army of the Great Mongol Empire in the thirteenth century], p. 541.

⁷⁰ Chapter 24 in Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 179.

⁷¹ József Laszlovszky et al., "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42: Shortand Long-Term Perspectives," *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2018), pp. 419–50.

⁷² No. 37 in Szendrey, "Történelmi népmondák," p. 52.

Military ruses of Hungarians "Well, so the Tatars were unable to take [the castle of Gímes] during the Tatar invasion. When it came to the point where they really had it under control, there was a huge loaf of bread that had been baked, of oats or whatever, but by the defenders of the castle, and it [was] put up on some pole or even rolled out towards the Tatars. Then they retreated, believing it impenetrable, because if they [the defenders] could afford such a large [loaf of] bread, they [the Tatars] would not be able to starve the defenders to death." Rec. in Kolon.⁷³

II.5. Exceptional heroes, defiance: named heroes or heroines

The defiance of the Tatars was often led by a named hero or heroine (Magyar IV. C.128.2, p. 190; e.g. Bákainé, the sorcerer). Sarolta Tatár's more recent Transylvanian collection proves the survival of several *mondas* documented sometime earlier.⁷⁴ The motifs of the shamaness and the pregnant woman intensify the dramatic concept of the role and the plot. These stories are probably not linked to the period of the Mongol invasion, but there is a *monda* variant in which the motif of successful resistance and the etymology of the place name are traced to Batu Khan's onslaught.

Botahalma (Krasznabéltek, Szatmár county) "Being informed about the forthcoming Tatars, the people of the village climbed up to the hill called Pénzesdomb [Hill with Money]. They surrounded the hill with ditches and vehicles making almost a fort from the hill! They boiled water, cooked black pitch, and were waiting for the Tatar army. They were coming like ants! They circled the hill, and suddenly a dark cloud arrived above the heads of Hungarians: countless arrows. They [the Tatars] strained and struggled but could not defeat the Hungarians. Finally, they [the Tatars] tied pole-axes to long poles, and pulled the carts to the ditch. Others brought logs from the forest, placed them on the carts, and tried to construct a bridge. 'Bad things will happen' [thought the Hungarians], so the Hungarians collected their [sic] remains of their forces, and shot at the Tatars. An arrow reached the heart of captain Bota. When the Tatars saw that Bota had died, they scattered in all directions [like] rabbits. Later, the Hungarians departed [from the top of the hill], buried the Tatar captain, and put ground above him, a whole hill. That is the origin of the name of the heap: Botahalma [Bota's Heap]."⁷⁵

⁷³ No. 77 in Magyar, "Zoborvidéki, kalotaszegi és gyimesi népmondák" [Folk legends from Zoborvidék, Kalotaszeg, and Gyimes], p. 291.

⁷⁴ Sarolta Tatár, "A Transylvanian Folk Legend about the Tatars," Manuscript, accessed October 1, 2020, https://www.academia.edu/8345838.

⁷⁵ No. 19 in Szendrey, "Történelmi népmondák," pp. 51–52.

Heroines "The Tatars attacked the Gyergyó valley, but the women and boys defeated them with a trick: They dressed poles or sheaves in clothes and lured the Tatars into the marshes, where their horses could not walk. A local woman was particularly heroic. She is called by various informants Klára/Kalári Puskás, Teréz Puskás or Erzsébet Mezei, and she is believed to have come from the village of Ditró or Szárhegy. She led the people and killed several enemies, although she was pregnant. At the end of the day or the next day, she gave birth to twins (or triplets). The dead were buried in the Tatar Mound." (informant no. 1–10, 15)⁷⁶

"There lived a woman named Mrs. Bákai, called the Black Woman in the village of Szárhegy. Mrs. Bákai warned the inhabitants of the village that a great danger [was] coming, but she also told them that she would not be alive to see it. She promised them that she would return even from the dead to prophesy the outcome of the battle. On one feast day, when the villagers were praying by the chapel on Szármányhegy Mountain, they saw a black horse, which jumped from the Délhegy Mountain (south of Szárhegy, 1695 m.) to the chapel on Szármányhegy Mountain (north of Szárhegy, 967 m.) Its hoof left a mark on the white stone. Mrs. Bákai rode [was riding] the horse, and she prophesied that the people would win and also told the people what kind of strategy they should use. Then the village dressed poles and other objects in men's clothes and lured the attackers into the marshes. Employing the advice of Mrs. Bákai, they overcame the enemy, and buried the dead under the Tatar Mound." (Informants no. 2, 3, 6–9, 12, 15)⁷⁷

"The mother of my mother mentioned about the Tatars, that there is a fort, a big fort at Enyed, Nagyenyed, which you [informant] have visited, where the Calvinist Church is situated. According to the mother of my mother, women climbed to the fort, melted pitch, and poured it [on]to the Tatars in order to annihilate them, to avoid the forfeit of the fort. Miserly women did that, as men had left for the war. I know it as my mother used to tell me this story." Rec. Julianna Kádár, b. 1918, Calvinist, Csőmhord, 2002.⁷⁸

Typological groups III. and V.I can be discussed together, as many of the motifs tied to Béla IV are closely connected to the toponymia. Names of natural or man-made relief formations and landmarks are associated either with campaigns, historical

⁷⁶ Tatár, "A Transylvanian Folk Legend about the Tatars."

⁷⁷ Tatár, "A Transylvanian Folk Legend about the Tatars."

⁷⁸ No. 116 in Magyar, Népmondák Erdély szívében, p. 174.

events in the vicinity, or with the tactics of the local populace or the enemy. Hiding in the mountains and scouting are described by Rogerius:

"Ten miles from there, next to the forest, was a village [...] called Frata in the vernacular, and here, four miles within the forest, a marvellously high mountain. On the peak of it was a rock, a looming crag, where a great number of men and women had taken refuge. [...] We stayed there for a month and dared not leave, but kept sending out scouts from among the more nimble folk to find out whether a group of Tatars still remained in Hungary or whether they were about to return, skilled in the art of cunning, to capture the surviving runaways."⁷⁹

Caves and hideouts in rocks as forms of refuge provided by the geological environment often occur in mondas and finding shelter in them was a natural reaction of a settlement's residents. Well-organized village communities put out sentries—as seen above—on the edges of swamps or forests to keep an eye on enemy manoeuvres. This keeping guard or hiding in natural or man-made shelters (underground tunnels, widened caves), as well as sentry posts (trees, mounds) preserve this function in their names, e.g. Őrfa [Sentry tree], Őrhalom [Sentry mound], or allude to events that took place there in times of yore-e.g. Tatárlik [Tatar hole], Botahalma [Bota's mound], cf. also Vérhalom [Blood mound]. These toponyms are often linked with Tatars or Turks, and several are tied to the thirteenth century by mention of King Béla IV and Batu khan (var. Bóta) by name. Their names also project stories of events that took place during later Tatar incursions into the distant past. Folk remembrance thus preserved knowledge of the Mongol invasion and the memory of Béla IV, and since the ethnonym Tatar was known since the thirteenth century, it was easily associated with later events. The inclusion of King Béla legitimated the origin of a place or family name, lending it a history of several centuries.⁸⁰ The example below, a monda recorded by Zsigmond Szendrey, attaches a row of place names to the events of the battle along the Sajó (Muhi), which were inspired by the Mongols of Batu Khan and the fight and flight of King Béla, as documented in the contemporary sources.

⁷⁹ Chapter 40 in Rogerius magister, "Epistola in miserabile carmen," p. 225.

⁸⁰ Further thorough research of surviving and accessible gazetteers and registers of names, such as Lajos Mizser's, may help find answers concerning the real background to real and mythic time. Lajos Mizser, "A tatárjárások emlékei Pesty Frigyes Helynévtárában" [The memory of the Tatar campaigns in Frigyes Pesty's *Toponymic Corpus*], in *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi levéltári évkönyv*, vol. 12 (Nyíregyháza, 1997), pp. 77–84.

Battle at Muhi (Szederkény, Borsod county) "The Hungarian army settled in the plateau of Szederkény, and the royal tent [King Béla IV] stood at Bélahalma ['Béla's Heap'], from where he could watch the whole plateau. The Tatars set up their camp near Mezőcsát: Batu Khan at Batuz ridge, and the captains Monsaj and Tilaj [pronounced Monsay and Tilay] at the Monsaj and Tilaj lands. When they [the Hungarian army] were defeated, the king and his captains ran away towards Tiszapalkonya, and held a council at Bélahalom ['Béla's Heap']. Some people suggested escaping to Transylvania through the River Tisza. However, they were informed that the Tatars had just occupied that area! Having no other choice, they decided to go via the Bükk mountain. A gipsy guy, one of the king's soldiers[,] offered to lead the group through the forest without seeing any Tatars. During their journey on the hillside, which is called Bélahalma even in these days situated on the border of Nemesbükk, an arrow hit the leg of the gipsy guy. The arrow was too slow, but anyway, the gipsy man shrieked! The king heard his shout, rode along and asked him, 'Does it hurt, my attendant?' He replied, 'It hurts, it hurts, my Majesty, but it won't hurt as we have to get out from this forest'. The king said, 'Well, so that it should not to hurt even until then, you are a nobleman from today! Your name [will] be Fáy [it hurts], and you will owe [own] the endless area that you will see when we get out of this forest'. Slowly, they reached the brink of the forest on the road, which is still called Béla's route in the Bükk mountain. When they were approaching Járdánháza, they settled on a meadow, which is called today Királyszállása ['the king's shelter']. The road was open and free from there! However, the people who were caught by the Tatars [around Muhi] did not stay alive. They herded them [to] the border of Nemesbükk, and beheaded all these captives in a row at Bárdospart ['bank of the halberd']. They threw the corpses in a hole, and buried them. This is the hill called Testhalom now [Body Heap]." Rec. in 1910s.81

Tatárülés [Tatar Seat] "There is a large mound called Tatar Seat even [...] these days. Once the Tatars put up their tents there." Rec. Mrs János Balázs, b. 1935, Catholic, Bag, Pest-Pilis-Solt-Nagykun County, 1992.⁸²

Aranyoskút [Golden Well] "Golden Well [Hun. Aranyoskút] is situated about one kilometre far from Hungarian Well [Hun. Magyarkút]. If we go straight on along the forest road, there is a brook in the distance of about 300 m from the so-called gendarme stop upon which the conservationists built a sort of shack from logs cut in two. This brook has the following legend: when our king, Béla IV and his

⁸¹ No. 14 in Szendrey, "Történelmi népmondák," pp. 49–50.

⁸² Bosnyák, 1100 történeti monda, p. 78.

attendants were escaping from the Tatars, his horse foundered; in order to move quicker, he buried his gold. The source sprang upon that treasure, and its name has been known Golden Well ever since among the people of Verőce." Rec. László Kovács, b. 1923, Catholic, Verőce, Nógrád County, 1999.⁸³

The caves of King Béla "King Béla was a very smart man. When he built Bélavár ['Béla's Castle'], he even considered that many enemies would attack and besiege the castle; Tatars, Turks, and all kinds, so it would need to be protected easily. So the king had a moat dug, similar to those around lowlands castles, and had it filled with water. The castle could only be accessed through bridges. It had two bridges, one towards llimár.

Then one of his warriors, whom the king liked more than anybody else, stood in front of him.

'Your majesty! Excuse me, but a moat is not enough for defence, you should also build tunnels, so that we can flee if the battle is lost'.

'I know, son'. the king replied. 'I thought of that too. We will not build just one tunnel, but three. One of them will lead to the church of Fenes, to the cemetery, so that those stuck there can escape to us. The second one will open under the Pontoskű, because we shall build a castle there. And we shall not forget about our brothers at Belényes; their tunnel will also lead to the cemetery, because their church too is located there'. Churches were located in graveyards back then. You know that a church is the house of God, which always offers shelter for God-fearing people. Thus the three tunnels were built; you could still make out their directions and outlines today." Rec. István Szilágyi, Belényessonkolyos, 1957.⁸⁴

Tatar holes "They said, the dog-headed Tatars, as our people called them, the elderly people. The Tatars? They killed the people. There was great peril. The grain had to be buried, but where. I still know, even I remember, where there's this Stone picture, on the road going out to the croft, ... that was making this sound. One day they dug a hole like a well, and then they put thatch, thatch of rye around it, put the grain in it, and covered it. Because they [the Tatars] would have taken it. [It] was such a world." Rec. in Barslédec.⁸⁵

⁸³ Bosnyák, 1100 történeti monda, p. 80.

⁸⁴ Landgraf, Beszéli a világ, p. 37.

⁸⁵ No. 75 in Magyar, "Zoborvidéki, kalotaszegi és gyimesi népmondák."

The main motifs subsumed in the fourth thematic type, such as the prisoner of war returning home, or the settled Tatar whose descendants are alive in or around the settlement at the time of narration, date from later times and originate in the raids of Crimean Tatars. The reality in which these *mondas* evolved comprised historical events of the more recent past. The community is normally positive toward strangers, but some stories include a particularly strong or savage person/persons regarded as a descendant of the Tatars. An intriguing subgroup contains stories linked by the motif of the 'treasure-guarding Tatar (ghost)'. These are most likely also associated with the Crimean Tatars, since a warrior deployed in frequent action around the border is more likely to have hidden his loot to come back for it during a later raid.⁸⁶ Archaeologists have unearthed more and more hoards buried in the thirteenth century,⁸⁷ helping to trace the movement of the Mongol troops, and finding correlations between written data and the extent of the devastations.⁸⁸ These treasures, however, are connected to the fleeing Hungarian population, not to the withdrawing Mongol troops who—as research today presumes—did not plan to return within a short time. Nonetheless, the treasure-hiding motif is dated back to King Béla IV as well (cf. Magyar VIII. D.3.15, p. 146).

To illustrate this, I cite two short *mondas* of the fourth thematic type, though they do not relate to thirteenth-century events. The story of the 'treasure-guarding Tatar (ghost)' is a legend tied not only to history but also to beliefs, as it is connected to a fictitious creature—the *lidérc* (hobgoblin, *ignis fatuus*), associated with mysterious lights hovering in the marshlands.⁸⁹ The protagonist of one *monda* is Béla IV, who hid his royal jewels during fleeing or after returning, which is also reminiscent of the internationally known motif of the 'returning ruler' (*cf.* Magyar II.A F.136.2, p. 283).⁹⁰

The treasures of Béla IV "The castle of Fenes, the one just up the valley here, [was] there before the Turks came. We call it Bélavára ['Béla's Castle']. It's Bélavára, because during the Tatar invasion, you know, before the Turks, King Béla stayed here for a while. They say he hid his treasures in the dungeons of the castle. When my father was a lad, they used to look for the treasures a lot, they, and many others

⁸⁶ Zsolt Barta, "A kincsőrző tatár alakja a Bodrogközben" [The figure of the treasure-keeper Tatar in Bodrogköz], in Kőember állott a pusztán: Tanulmánykötet Mándoky Kongur István emlékére [Once a stone man stood in the steppe. Studies in honour of István Mándoky Kongur], ed. Ágnes Birtalan and Dávid Somfai Kara (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 23–30.

⁸⁷ Laszlovszky et al., "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion."

⁸⁸ Laszlovszky et al., "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion."

⁸⁹ A transcendental being in the Hungarian belief system, cf. Ortutay, Magyar néprajzi lexikon.

⁹⁰ Similar mondas can be found about other Hungarian kings, most often about Saint Ladislaus (Szent László 1046–1095), a mythic royal figure who took command of his people when war was looming large. For St. Ladislaus legends, cf. Magyar II.A D 211–220, pp. 185–188.

too. They mentioned a golden plough and a golden coffin, that would be hidden in the dungeons to this day, but nobody has seen them, or found them." Rec. N. N., old man, Várasfenes $1989.^{91}$

Heart of stone "Bela: we believe King Béla was waiting for his death in his castle built on the top of this mountain. But he didn't really die, just to keep his hidden treasure, because he was very angry with the nobles who were ungrateful to him. He will come out again when the time is such that both the king and the lords want the good of the people. Once he was going to come out under King Matthias, where there was a great rift on the side of the mountain, but then he left [remained] behind, because only King Matthias was on the side of the people, and the lords were not."⁹²

Reminiscence about cruelty is closely connected with the name of the Tatars—*cf*. below an example (from the many similar *dites*) about families of Crimean Tatar origin, or villagers who are not named (often in a deprecatory context, speaking of quarrelsome or unruly persons).

The remnants of the Tatars "I know that the people who live in Lapád were said to be bad people, as they were the offspring of the Tatars. I do not know if it is true or not." Rec. Klára Újvári, b. 1931, Calvinist, Magyarlapád 2002.⁹³

Open questions, uncertain answers

The main aim of the present study was to examine motifs tied to the Mongol invasion as they appeared in contemporaneous thirteenth-century European historical sources and in the oral tradition (*mondas*, *dites*) and to collate the texts and flag the motifs that are found in written sources and were presumably known generally. Based on studies of typologies of *mondas* and their text corpuses, I construed my own typology in which I subsumed the motifs contained in written sources on the one hand, and the Tatar-related motifs linked presumably to the Mongol campaign (1241–1242) and to the Tatar incursions between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century. Although motifs such as driving off and massacring captives, flight and hiding, as well as modes of resistance—documented already in the thirteenth century,

⁹¹ Landgraf, Beszéli a világ, p. 39.

⁹² Barta Zsolt, "A magyarországi tatárjárás legendáriuma" [Legends of the Mongol campaign in Hungary], *Honismeret* 31, no. 3 (n.d.), p. 94.

⁹³ No. 121 in Magyar, Népmondák Erdély szívében, p. 176.

primarily by Rogerius—have survived in the collective memory, their continuity is hard to prove because the *mondas* did not begin to be recorded until fairly late, in the eighteenth century. The mention of King Béla IV, mostly in connection with the origin of place- or family names, alludes to the early appearance of the named settlement or family. The truth of these may be checked in the future with the help of surviving onomastica, and such an investigation of the material opens up other potential avenues for research, too.

Inspired by Gießauf's above-mentioned hypothesis—that spreading rumours about cruelty was an effective military tactic—I have explored the written and oral traditions mentioned above in the context of the well-organized machinery of the Mongols' war propaganda.⁹⁴ During the attacks, particularly when a new ethnic group or country was to be included in the range of conquered territories, the former built massively on intimidation. The main aim of this cruelty—as in Sinor's study on the stereotypical nomadic *crudelitas*—was to crush all types of resistance and thereby to cause the population to succumb. The unrestrained frenzy of the Mongol fighters and the way they treated the Hungarian population might be interpreted as revenge for the ruler's insubordination. These Hungarian events powerfully influenced public opinion in the western half of Europe, and, as the written records reveal, the tactic of intimidation worked.⁹⁵ The European historical memory preserves the extreme *crudelitas* of nomadic people with which they treated the defeated. A growing number of archaeological excavations confirm the reports of written sources about Hungary (such as Rogerius's, royal and aristocratic correspondence), and also indicate how the devastation was distributed within the country.⁹⁶ Plotting the mythic memories of the oral tradition on the map is expected to reveal a similar distribution.97

Finally, the presented material may be a model for similar investigations into the written and oral tradition of areas that suffered incursions or lengthy domination by the Mongols—for example, in Russian sources connected to thirteenth-century

⁹⁴ Gieβauf, "A Programme of Terror and Cruelty: Aspects of Mongol Strategy in the Light of Western Sources."

⁹⁵ *Cf.* Güyük Khan's (r. 1246–1248) seal, cited in the motto: intimidation as the ideology of the empire, declared on the imperial decrees.

⁹⁶ Attila Gyucha and Zoltán Rózsa, "'Egyesek darabokra vágva, egyesek egészben': A tatárjárás nyomainak azonosítási kísérlete egy dél-alföldi településen" ['Some torn in pieces, some as a whole': The identification of the Mongol invasion at a village in the southern Great Hungarian Plain], in *Carmen miserabile: A Tatárjárás régészeti emlékei Magyarországon -- Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére*, ed. Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely (Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014), pp. 57–68.

⁹⁷ A good basis is the scrutiny of place names and the *tatárjárás mondas* and *dites* connected to them, *cf.* Pesty's collection and Mizser's analysis: Mizser, "A tatárjárások emlékei Pesty Frigyes Helynévtárában."

Mongols in which, similarly to the Hungarian text corpus, the memories of Tatars and thirteenth-century Mongols are commingled.⁹⁸ In the light of the Hungarian examples included above, many commonalities can be detected: V. K. Sokolova cites plots committed to writing in the mid-nineteenth century which show great resemblance to the Hungarian *mondas*.⁹⁹ Reference to the burial mounds (*kurgans*) in which either the Mongols or the Russians killed in action were interred can also be found in the Russian stock of *predanija* (pl.), and the motif of buried treasure also appears.¹⁰⁰ A Russian analogy of the Hungarian heroines leading the resistance is a woman soldier (*bogatyrša*) who leads the enemy into the swamp, sacrificing herself.¹⁰¹

Bibliography

- B. Szabó, János. "Vázlat egy ellenségkép történetéről, pt. I: A tatárok emlékezete Erdélyben 1241–1621" [To the history of an enemy image: A draft, pt 1: The memory of the Tatars in Transylvania, 1241–1621]. Aetas 10, no. 1 (1995): 5–23.
- Bárány, Attila. "A Tatárjárás híre Nyugat-Európában" [News and Reports of the Mongol Invasion of 1241 in Western Europe]. *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 113, no. 3 (2020): 486–527.
- Barta, Zsolt. "A kincsőrző tatár alakja a Bodrogközben" [The figure of the treasure-keeper Tatar in Bodrogköz]. In Kőember állott a pusztán: Tanulmánykötet Mándoky Kongur István emlékére [Once a stone man stood in the steppe. Studies in honour of István Mándoky Kongur], edited by Ágnes Birtalan and Dávid Somfai Kara, 23–30. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2008.

⁹⁸ V. K. Sokolova, *Russkie Istoričeskie Predanija* [Russian Historical Legends] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1970).

^{99 &}quot;In the provinces of Tambov and Voronezh, which were the first to fall victim to the Tatars [The Russian informant calls the Mongols 'Tatars', just as the Hungarian story-tellers do], the peasants tell you that the cruel warrior Batei (Batu) swept across the land in olden times and destroyed all Orthodox settlements on his way. He took pity on nobody, be they old, frail or helpless babies: he burnt down all human abodes, all forests and grasslands in the length and width of a hundred *verstas* throughout great Russia." The memory of the Mongols (and certainly of the Tatars in their wake for several centuries) became imprinted in the minds of the Russian people more deeply, hence Batu even appears in cosmogonic myths. One of the aetiological myths has it that the Milky Way evolved from the grey hairs of Mother Heaven, which grew white seeing the cruel atrocities committed by Batu in the land of the Russians. Sokolova, *Russkie Istoričeskie Predanija*, p. 35. My translation.

¹⁰⁰ Sokolova, *Russkie Istoričeskie Predanija*, p. 36.

¹⁰¹ Sokolova, *Russkie Istoričeskie Predanija*, p. 39.

- ———. "A magyarországi tatárjárás legendáriuma" [Legends of the Mongol campaign in Hungary]. *Honismeret* 31, no. 3 (n.d.): 88–94.
- Benkő, Loránd. A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára [The historical-etymological dictionary of the Hungarian language]. Vol. 2. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984.
- Bezzola, Gian Andri. Die Mongolen in abendländischer Sicht (1220–1270): Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Völkerbegegnungen. Bern – Munich: Francke, 1974.
- Bihari, Anna. "A hiedelemmondák rendszerezésének elvei. A mondai típus fogalma"
 [Principles of the typology of legends on beliefs: The concept of legend types].
 In Magyar Néprajz, vol 5: Népköltészet, edited by Lajos Vargyas, 133–137. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
- Birtalan, Ágnes. "A Survey of the Fox in Mongolian Folklore and Folk Belief." In *Der Fuchs in Kultur, Religion und Folklore Zentral- und Ostasiens*, edited by Hartmut Walravens, 1:35–58. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001.
- ———. "An Oirat Ethnogenetic Myth in Written and Oral Traditions: A Case of Oirat Legitimacy." Acta Orientalia Hung. 55 (2002): 69–88.
- ———. "Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion." In Wörterbuch der Mythologie, edited by Egidius Schmalzriedt and Hans W. Haussig, 34:2001. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, n.d.
- Bosnyák, Sándor. *1100 történeti monda*. [1100 historical legends] Budapest: MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézet, 2001.
- Csiky, Gergely. "A Nagy Mongol Birodalom hadserege a XIII. században" [The army of the Great Mongol Empire in the thirteenth century]. *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 133, no. 3 (n.d.): 528–57.
- Dobos, Ilona. *Paraszti szájhagyomány, városi szóbeliség* [Rural oral tradition and urban orality]. Budapest: Gondolat, 1986.
- Du da qi Sa ri na. "Xiong ya li min jian liu chuan de Dada chuan shuo he xin zhu ti tan xi" [The Core Theme of Tatar Legends Transmitted among the Hungarians] *Qian nan min zu shi fan xue yuan xue bao* [Journal of Qiannan Normal University for Nationalities] 10 (2022): 30–39.
- Du da qi Sa ri na. "Dada chuan shuo zhong de ka men bei ge mu ti yan jiu" [A Study of the Motifs of Carmen Miserable in Tatar legends] *Nei meng gu she hui ke xue* [Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia] 4 (2023): 49–55.
- Dupka, György. "Emlékképek az utolsó tatárjárásról Ugocsában és Máramarosban" [Memories about the last Tatar campaign in Ugocsa and Máramaros]. *Együtt:*

A Magyar Írószövetség Kárpátaljai Írócsoportjának folyóirata 15, no. 5 (2017): 86–94.

- Gieβauf, Johannes. "A Programme of Terror and Cruelty: Aspects of Mongol Strategy in the Light of Western Sources." *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History, University of Szeged*, 2007, 85–96.
- Göckenjan, Hansgerd, and James Ross Sweeney, eds. *Der Mongolensturm: Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250*. Ungarns Geschichtsschreiber 3. Graz Vienna Cologne: Styria, 1985.
- Gyucha, Attila, and Zoltàn Rózsa. "'Egyesek darabokra vágva, egyesek egészben': A tatárjárás nyomainak azonosítási kísérlete egy dél-alföldi településen" ['Some torn in pieces, some as a whole': The identification of the Mongol invasion at a village in the southern Great Hungarian Plain]. In *Carmen miserabile: A Tatárjárás régészeti emlékei Magyarországon -- Tanulmányok Pálóczi Horváth András 70. születésnapja tiszteletére*, edited by Szabolcs Rosta and György V. Székely, 57–68. Kecskemét: Kecskeméti Katona József Múzeum, 2014.
- Harmatta, János. "Forrástanulmányok Herodotos Skythika-jához: Quellenstudien zur Skythika von Herodot." *Magyar–görög Tanulmányok* 14 (1941): 1–70.
- Hautala, Roman. "Early Latin Reports about the Mongols (1221): Reason for Distortion of Reality." *Golden Horde Review* 1, no. 2015 (n.d.): 50–67.
- Herodotus. "The History of Herodotus." Translated by G. C. Macaulay. Sacred Texts, London: Macmillan 1890. https://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/hh.
- Ivanics, Mária. *A Krími Kánság a tizenötéves háborúban* [The Crimean Khanate in the Fifteen Years' War]. Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár 22. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.
- Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West: 1221–1410*. 2nd ed. Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2018.
- John of Plano Carpini. "The Long and Wonderfull Voyage of Friar John de Piano Carpini, Anno 1246." In *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation*, edited by Richard Hakluyt, 1:55–179. London: Hakluyt Society, 1903.
- Klopprogge, Axel. Ursprung und Ausprägung des abendländischen Mongolenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert: Ein Versuch zur Ideengeschichte des Mittelalters. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.
- Kristó, Gyula. "A tatárjárás (1241–1242)" [The Mongol Invasion (1241–1242)]. In Magyarország története 1/2: Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig [The

history of Hungary 1/2: The preceding events and Hungarian history to 1242], edited by György Székely and Antal Bartha, 1417–40. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984.

- Krmann, Dániel. Küldetésem története 1708–1709: Itinerarium [History of my mission]. Translated by Zsuzsanna Szabó. (Bibliotheca Saeculorum. Bratislava Budapest: Tatran and Európa Könyvkiadó, 1984.
- Küllős, Imola. "Igaz történet, élettörténet, önéletrajz" [True stories, life stories, personal narratives]. In *Magyar Néprajz*, vol. 5: *Népköltészet*, edited by Lajos Vargyas, 251–266. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
- Landgraf, Ildikó. 'Beszéli a világ, hogy mi magyarok ...': Magyar történeti mondák ['It is rumored all over the world, that we Hungarians ...': Hungarian historical legends]. Budapest: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság – Európai Folklór Központ, 1998.
- Laszlovszky, József, Stephen Pow, Beatrix F. Romhányi, László Ferenczi, and Zsolt Pinke. "Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42: Short- and Long-Term Perspectives." *Hungarian Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2018): 419–50.
- Lengyel, Dénes. "Történeti mondák" [Historical folk legends]. In *Magyar Néprajz*, vol. 5: *Népköltészet*, edited by Lajos Vargyas, 148–166. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
- Magyar, Zoltán, ed. *A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa* [The catalogue of the Hungarian historical legends]. 12 vols. Budapest: Kairosz, 2018.
- ———, ed. A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa, vol. 10: Motívumindex és bibliográfia [The catalogue of the Hungarian historical legends, vol. 10: Index of motifs and bibliography]. 12 vols. Budapest: Kairosz, 2018.
- ———. "A történeti monda és más epikus műfajok" [Hungarian historical legends and other epic genres]. In A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa, vol. 11: A magyar történeti mondák rendszere és tagolódása, edited by Zoltán Magyar, 139–145. Budapest: Kairosz, 2018.
- — . "Legendák" [Legends]. In A magyar történeti mondák katalógusa, vol. 11: A magyar történeti mondák rendszere és tagolódása, edited by Zoltán Magyar, 204–206. Budapest: Kairosz, 2018.
- ———. Népmondák Erdély szívében: Alsó-Fehér megye mondahagyománya [Folk legends in the heart of Transylvania: Legends of Alsó-Fehér County]. Magyar Népköltészet Tára 8. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2008.

- ———. "Zoborvidéki, kalotaszegi és gyimesi népmondák" [Folk legends from Zoborvidék, Kalotaszeg, and Gyimes]. In *Tatárjárás*, edited by Balázs Nagy, 291–295. Nemzet és Emlékezet. Budapest: Osiris, 2003.
- Mizser, Lajos. "A tatárjárások emlékei Pesty Frigyes Helynévtárában" [The memory of the Tatar campaigns in Frigyes Pesty's *Toponymic Corpus*]. In *Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi levéltári évkönyv*, 12:77–84. Nyíregyháza, 1997.
- Nagy, Ilona. "Eredetmagyarázó monda" [Aetiological folk legends]. In *Magyar Néprajz*, vol. 5: *Népköltészet*, edited by Lajos Vargyas, 102–132. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.

———. "Hiedelemonda [Legends of beliefs]." In *Magyar Néprajz*, vol. 5: *Nép-költészet*, edited by Lajos Vargyas, 138–147. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.

- Ortutay, Gyula, ed. *Magyar néprajzi lexikon* [Lexicon of Hungarian ethnography]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980. http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02115/html/1-1. html.
- Pálfy, Ilona. *A tatárok és a XIII századi Európa* [The Tatars and thirteenth-century Europe]. Vol. 2. A Bécsi Collegium Hungaricum füzetei: Hefte des Collegium Hungaricum in Wien. Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1928.
- Papp Reed, Zsuzsanna. "Sitting on the Fence: Matthew Paris's 'Mongol Letters' at the Intersection of History and Literature." In *IV Ciclo di Studi Medievali. Atti del Convegno, 4–5 giugno 2018, Firenze*, 273–79. Arcore (MB): Edizioni EBS, 2018.
- Paris, Matthew. *Matthew Paris's English History, from 1235 to 1273*. Translated by J. A. Giles. Vol. 1. 3 vols. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852.
- Pow, Stephen. "'Nationes Que Se Tartaros Apellant'; An Exploration of the Historical Problem of the Usage of the Ethnomyms Tatar and Mongol in Medieval Sources." *Golden Horde Review* 7, no. 3 (2019): 545–67.
- Rachewiltz, Igor de. "Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundations of Chingis Khan's Empire." *Papers in Far Eastern History* 7 (1973): 21–36.
- ———. "The Name of the Mongols in Asia and Europe. A Reappraisal." *Études Mongoles et Sibériennes* 27 (1996): 199–210.
- Rachewiltz, Igor de, trans. The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century. 2 vols. Brill's Inner Asian Library, 7/1 and 7/2. Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Rogerius magister. "Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta: Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars." In *Anonymi Bele regis notarii, Gesta*

Hungarorum; Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians; Magistri Rogerii, Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungarie per tartaros facta; Master Roger's, Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars, translated by Martin Rady, László Veszprémy, and János Bak. Central European Medieval Texts 5. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2010.

- Sinor, Denis. "The Greed of the Northern Barbarian." In Aspects of Altaic Civilization II. Proceedings of the XVIII PIAC, Bloomington, June 29 – July 5. 1975, edited by Larry V. Clark and Paul Alexander Draghi, 134: 171–82. Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Publications, 1978.
- -----. "The Mongols in the West." *Journal of Asian History* 33 (1999): 1–44.
- Sokolova, V. K. *Russkie Istoričeskie Predanija* [Russian Historical Legends]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1970.
- Sweeney, James Ross. "Thomas of Spalato and the Mongols: A Thirteenth-Century Dalmatian View of Mongol Customs." *Florilegium* 4 (1982): 156–83.
- Székely, György. "Egy elfeledett rettegés: A második tatárjárás a magyar történeti hagyományokban és az egyetemes összefüggésekben" [Forgotten terror: The Second Mongol Invasion in Hungarian historical tradition and international perspectives]. Századok 122 (1988): 52–85.
- Szendrey, Zsigmond. "Történelmi népmondák" [Historical legends]. *Ethnographia* 31 (1920): 45–59.
- Tatár, Sarolta. "A Transylvanian Folk Legend about the Tatars." Manuscript. Accessed October 1, 2020. https://www.academia.edu/8345838.
- Terada, Tatsuo. "Der Mongolen-'Sturm' in Ost und West." *Nenpo: Jahresbericht des Germanischen Seminars der Hokkaido Universität* 33 (2006): 69–87.
- Thomas of Spalato. "Geschichte der Bischöfe von Salona und Spalato vom hj. Dominus bis auf Rogerius (1266) (cap. 36–39)." In *Der Mongolensturm: Berichte von Augenzeugen und Zeitgenossen 1235–1250*, edited by Hansgerd Göckenjan and James Ross Sweeney, 225–270. Ungarns Geschichtsschreiber 3. Graz Vienna Cologne: Styria, 1985.
- ———. Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum / Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of Salona and Split. Edited by Olga Perić, Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, and James Ross Sweeney. Budapest – New York: Central European University Press, 2006.

- Uhrin, Dorottya. "Monstrous Humans in the Mongol Empire: Franciscan Accounts of the Mongol Tribes." In *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 23:123–131. Budapest: CEU, Department of Medieval Studies, 2017.
- Vargyas, Lajos, ed. *Magyar Néprajz*, vol. 5: *Népköltészet* [Hungarian Ethnography, vol 5: Folklore]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
- Vásáry, István. "Nagy Lajos tatár hadjáratai" [The Tatar campaigns of King Louis the Great]. *Studia Caroliensia* 3–4 (2006): 17–30.
- Vér, Márton. "Információtörténeti markerek a Mongol Birodalom történetében" [Information historical markers in the history of the Mongol Empire]. *Aetas* 27, no. 4 (n.d.): 144–54.
- Voigt, Vilmos. "A mondák műfaji osztályozásának kérdéséhez: Sagenmotiv Sagentyp – Sagenstoff – Sagentheme – Sagencomplex [Questions of cataloguing folk legends]." *Ethnographia* 76 (1965): 200–220.

Recent years have seen significant scholarly attention directed towards the Mongol invasions. Historical writing in European countries has typically examined the history of the Mongol conquest within a national contexts. This volume, however, seeks to broaden the scope by exploring the Mongol attacks across various regions of Central Europe simultaneously. Comprising papers on the Great Western Expedition of the Mongols and its depiction in diverse sources, this volume not only focuses on regional aspects but also delves into archaeological and art historical dimensions.

Drawing on the latest research, the papers offer a comprehensive overview of the short and long-term consequences of the Mongol military campaigns. Beyond reconstructing the events and aftermath of the campaigns of 1236-1242, it also addresses subsequent waves of invasions extending into the 1290s. The impact of the Mongol invasions on the historical memory of the region's countries persists into modern times, a topic explored in this volume alongside the reflection of these events in popular memory, folk narratives and modern historiography. Based on a conference held at ELTE in 2020, this volume has been enriched with additional papers reflecting the latest research in the field.





FACULTY OF



ELTE | EÖTVÖS UNIVERSITY PRESS De autborized University Press of ELTE