

**THE *GESTA HUNGARORUM* OF ANONYMUS, THE ANONYMOUS
NOTARY OF KING BÉLA**

A TRANSLATION

by Martyn Rady

Introduction

The *Gesta Hungarorum* of the Anonymous Notary of King Béla is the oldest extant chronicle of the history of the Hungarians. It remains ‘the most famous, the most obscure, the most exasperating and most misleading of all the early Hungarian texts.’¹ Purporting to be an account of the background, circumstances and immediate aftermath of the Hungarian conquest of Pannonia in the late ninth century, it was most probably composed in the early years of the thirteenth century by a chancellery clerk who had formerly been in the service of King Béla III of Hungary (1172-1196). The extant version, which survives in a late thirteenth century copy, is apparently incomplete.² The sole MS, consisting of 24 folios, was first noted in the library of Schloss Ambras, outside Innsbruck, in the seventeenth century, from where it was moved to Vienna in 1665, and much later, in 1928, to Budapest.³ Although details of the MS were included in two printed seventeenth-century catalogues of the imperial library, its text was not published until 1746.⁴ Between then and the end of the nineteenth century, the MS was re-published more than a dozen times.⁵ A scholarly edition, with critical annotation, was first published by Gyula Pauler and László Fejérpataky in 1900,⁶ and a revised edition by Emil Jakubovich and Dezső Pais in the first volume of Imre Szentpétery’s *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* (2 vols,

Budapest, 1937; hereafter, *SRH*).⁷ The Latin text has been translated several times into Hungarian, most notably by Pais,⁸ as well as into Romanian and German.⁹ What follows is the first rendering of the Latin text into English.

There can scarcely be any document from the Middle Ages that carries such heavy political baggage. The description which the author gives of the presence and whereabouts of peoples in Central Europe during the ninth century has been extensively used to buttress historical claims to territories in the twentieth century. Readings of the *Gesta Hungarorum* were thus used after 1918 to justify the cession of Transylvania to Romania as well as, after the Second World War, of Oroszvár to Czechoslovakia.¹⁰ In 1987, the *Gesta* acquired particular notoriety on account of a full-page advertisement in *The Times*, paid for by the Romanian government, affirming the validity of the chronicler's account of a Romanian presence in the Carpathian basin more than a thousand years before.¹¹ Fortunately, modern scholarly readings of the *Gesta Hungarorum* are less beset by political partisanship since, in the post-Schengen world of the EU, only dinosaurs care about who was where first. Nevertheless, former interpretations of phrases, locations, persons and word-strings, preserved in an older literature, may yet serve to confuse the unwary, while in remote academic corners the Jurassic Age is still not quite over.

The author of the *Gesta*, known historically as the Anonymus (always thus), pretends to give a historically-grounded account of early Hungarian history that disregards the songs of minstrels and the yarns of yokels,¹² but does in fact nothing of the sort. Anonymus's account is essentially a 'toponymic romance' that seeks to explain place-names by reference to imagined events and persons. Although he gets the names of the earliest Hungarian rulers right, as well as some of the early tribal chieftains, he has the Hungarians beating Slavonic and Romanian leaders whose

names are not attested to anywhere else, as well as fighting the Cumans (who appeared in Europe only in the late eleventh century) and, more incredibly, the Romans. His description of power-relations north of the Danube in the late ninth century is not supported by any other account. It is at best an attempt to project contemporary conditions backwards.

Clearly, there is a bit of correct history in Anonymus's work, and at least a few of his heroes can be 'cross-checked' against information given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Liudprand of Cremona and the Annals of St Gall.¹³ Anonymus also borrows, extensively in places, from Regino of Prum and his continuator,¹⁴ and he plainly relies in part on diverse written accounts, some of which would later feed into Simon Kézai's late thirteenth-century *Gesta* as well as the 'royal chronicles' of the Angevin and later periods.¹⁵ All three, at least, have shaven Cuman heads being sliced like ripe gourds. Contradictory information given in his sources may also explain the uncertainties of Anonymus's first few chapters and of Álmos and Árpád's ambiguous relation to the line of Attila. Additionally, Anonymus may have had at his disposal a 'List of Donations', enumerating which kindreds and clans had been given land of the ruler.¹⁶ Although we doubt very much that sophisticated 'beneficiary' relations existed in Hungary before 1200, it is noticeable that many chapters conclude with references to land-grants. The extent to which the author relied upon 'oral traditions' cannot, however, be tested.

The identity of Anonymus is, appropriately, uncertain, although valiant attempts have been made to uncloak him. His style is of a French school, probably Paris or Orleans. He has some knowledge of Hungarian that he uses to support his etymologies but he handles terminal vowels and the Hungarian 'dative', -nec/nek ending as if unaware of Hungarian grammar.¹⁷ He is possibly the first European writer

to call the Black Sea as such, which (along with several other indicators) may suggest understanding of a Turkic language.¹⁸ Anonymus's knowledge of Hungary would, likewise, appear patchy. His account of the geography of the regions bordering the Upper Tisza and Middle Danube is detailed, but elsewhere his descriptions are thin.¹⁹ The most that can be said about him is that his name began with a P.²⁰ His friend, N, is probably, however, a literary fiction.

In what follows, we have not attempted to reconcile Anonymus's account with other existing chronicles of early Hungarian history. This has been done already, by C.A. Macartney, in some extensive works of almost impenetrable scholarship that have been recently republished.²¹ Only in a few places, have we indicated the more substantial textual borrowings. For individual words and phrases, the reader is directed to speculations in the *SRH* edition and to the cross-referencing to the Alexandrine romances and other epic literature undertaken by Győry and, more recently, by Silagi and Veszprémy.²² Nor have we sought to 'modernize' the names of most persons and places, since this might be taken as evidence of partisanship with a specific historian or reading. Only where the identities of places and persons are beyond dispute have we translated them out of the Latin. At the expense of consistency, we have retained the indeterminacy of U/V capitalization as well as the terminal 'u' vowel found in Old Hungarian proper names. The Latin text followed here is that provided in the *SRH*, matched against the original as read in facsimile.²³ In places, where the terminology or nomenclature is of linguistic or historical interest, we have given the original Latin in parentheses or footnotes. Our translation preserves the repetitious and breathless quality of the original text.

Here begins the Prologue to the Deeds of the Hungarians

P. the said master and notary of the late most glorious Béla, king of Hungary, of fond memory, to N. his most dear friend, a venerable man and steeped in the knowledge of letters: Greetings, and the answer to his plea. For when we were studying together at school and reading with equal enthusiasm the story of Troy that I had prepared in one volume in my own style, bringing most lovingly together what I had heard from the books of Dares Phrygius²⁴ and other authors as well as from my masters, you asked me that, in the same way as I had written on the history of Troy and on the wars of the Greeks, so to write for you of the genealogy [genealogia] of the kings of Hungary and of their noblemen: how the seven leading persons, who are called the Hetumoger,²⁵ came down from the Scythian land, what that Scythian land was like and how Duke Álmos was born and why Álmos, from whom the kings of Hungary trace their origin, is called the first duke of Hungary, and how many realms and rulers they conquered and why the people coming forth from the Scythian land are called Hungarians in the speech of foreigners but Magyars [Mogerii] in their own. I did indeed promise that I would do so, but hindered by other matters, I might have almost entirely forgotten your request and my promise, had not your love admonished me in a letter to discharge the debt. Mindful therefore of your love, and although hindered by the many and varied affairs of this wearisome world, I am, supported by God's grace, ready to do what you have ordered, according to what has been handed down by various historians, seeing it as best that it be not lost to a future generation in the time to come. I consider it best that I should write to you truthfully and plainly, so that

reading it they may know what took place. And it would be most unworthy and completely unfitting for the so most noble people of Hungary to hear as if in a dream of the beginnings of their kind [primordia sue generationis] and of their bravery and deeds from the false stories of countryfolk and the gabbling song of minstrels.²⁶ May they not more nobly perceive the truth of matters from the sure explanation of texts and the straightforward exposition of historical accounts? Hence happy Hungary, to which many gifts are given, should rejoice all hours in its gift of letters, because it has the beginning of its line of kings and noblemen, for which kings shall be praise and honour to the King Eternal and the holy Mary, His mother, through whose grace the kings of Hungary and noblemen have the kingdom for happy purpose here and ever after. Amen.

1. Of Scythia

Scythia is then a very great land, called Dentumoger,²⁷ over towards the east, the end of which reaches westwards to the Black Sea [Nigrum Pontem]. On the far side, it has a river with great marshes, called the Don [Thanais], where sables can be found in such extraordinary abundance that not only nobles and ignobles dress in them but also with which even ox-herds, swine-herds and shepherds adorn their raiment in that land. Gold and silver abound there and in the rivers of this land precious stones and gems. On its eastern side, neighbouring Scythia, were the peoples 'Gog and Magog',²⁸ whom Alexander the Great walled in.²⁹ Scythia is very marshy in its length and breadth, and indeed the men who dwell there, commonly called Dentumoger, have right up to the present day never been subject to the sway of any emperor. The Scythians are certainly an ancient people and the strength of Scythia lies in the east, as we said above. And the first king of Scythia was Magog, son of Japhet, and this

people were called after him Moger, from whose royal line the most renowned and mighty King Attila descended, who, in the 451st year of Our Lord's birth, coming down from Scythia, entered Pannonia with a mighty force and, putting the Romans to flight, took the realm and made a royal residence for himself beside the Danube above the hot springs,³⁰ and he ordered all the old buildings that he found there to be restored and he built them in a circular and very strong wall that in the Hungarian language is now called Budavár [Buduar] and by the Germans Etzelburg [Ecilburg].³¹ What more! We will keep to the story. A long time after, there descended from the progeny of the same King Magog, Vgek, father of Duke Álmos, from whom the dukes and kings of Hungary trace their origin, as will be said in what follows. The Scythians, as we said, are indeed an ancient people, of whom historians writing of the deeds of the Romans, said as follows:³² That the Scythian people was most wise and gentle; they did not work the soil nor barely knew any sin among them. And they did not have homes built by craft but rather tents made of felt. They ate meat and fish and milk and honey and they had much spice. And their clothes were of the pelts of sables and other wild beasts. They had gold, silver and gems as common as stones, which they found in the rivers of this land. They desired no one else's goods, for they were all rich, having many animals and sufficient victuals. And there were no adulterers, for every man kept only to his wife. But, later, this people, worn out in war, became, as some historians tell, so cruel that they ate in wrath human flesh and drank the blood of humans. And I believe that you may still know a hardy nation by its fruits. The Scythian people were never subjugated by any emperor. For the Scythians made Darius, king of the Persians, flee with the greatest ignominy, and Darius lost there 80,000 men and so fled in great fear to Persia. Next, the Scythians slew Cyrus, king of Persia, with 330,000 men. Next, the Scythians put to base flight

even Alexander the Great himself, the son of King Philip and Queen Olympias, who had conquered many kingdoms in war. And the Scythian race was hardy so as to endure all toil and the Scythians were big in body and bold in war. And they had nothing in the world that they feared to lose for an injury done to them. And when the Scythians had a victory, they wished nothing of booty, as do their posterity today, but sought only praise for it. And except for Darius, Cyrus and Alexander, no people in the world dared enter their land. The aforesaid Scythian people were indeed hardy in combat and, on speedy mounts and with helmeted heads, they were better with bows and arrows than all the other nations of the world, and you will know this to be so from their offspring. And the Scythian land, as much as it is distant from the tropics, is as healthy for the generating of families. And although spacious enough, it was still insufficient to sustain or keep the host of peoples begotten there. On account of this, the seven leading persons, who are called the Hetumoger, not tolerating the pressures of space, thought very greatly of a solution. Then these seven leading persons, having taken counsel together, decided that they should forsake the soil of their birth and take for themselves such lands as they could inhabit, as will be said in what follows.

2. *Why they are called Hungarians*

It now remains to say why the people who set forth from the Scythian land are called Hungarians. The Hungarians are so called from the castle of Ung [Hungu] where the seven leading persons, having subjugated the Slavs, tarried for a time upon entering the land of Pannonia. On account of this, all the nations round about called Álmos, son of Vgek, the duke of Hunguar [Ungvár] and they called his warriors Hungarians.³³ What more! Passing over these matters, we shall return to our task, keep to our story, and, as the Holy Spirit commands, finish the work begun.

3. Of Álmos, the first duke

In the 819th year of Our Lord's birth, Vgek, who, as we said above, being of the family of King Magog became a long time later the most noble duke of Scythia, took to wife in Dentumoger the daughter of Duke Eunedubelian, called Emesu, from whom he sired a son, who was named Álmos. But he is called Álmos from a divine event, because when she was pregnant a divine vision appeared to his mother in a dream in the form of a falcon that, as if coming to her, impregnated her and made known to her that from her womb a torrent would come forth and from her loins glorious kings be generated, but that they would not increase in their land. Because, therefore, a dream is called almu in the Hungarian language and his birth was predicted in a dream, so he was called Álmos. Or he is thus called Álmos, that is holy, because holy kings and dukes were born of his line.³⁴ What more!

4. Of Duke Álmos

And Duke Álmos, after he was born into the world, brought great joy to Duke Ugek and his kinsmen and to almost all the leading men of Scythia because his father Vgek was of the line of King Magog. For Álmos himself was handsome of face, but dark, and he had dark eyes, but big ones; tall and lean in stature, he had indeed large hands and wide fingers, and this Álmos was pious, benevolent, generous, tall, wise, a good soldier, and a giver of cheer to all those who were at that time warriors in the Scythian realm. And when this Álmos came to full age, as if the gift of the Holy Spirit was in him, although he was a pagan, he became yet more powerful and wiser than all the dukes of Scythia and they conducted all the business of the realm at that time with his counsel and help. And Duke Álmos, when he to came to full age of youth, took a wife

in that land, the daughter of a certain most noble duke, from whom he sired a son by the name of Árpád, whom he took with him into Pannonia, as will be said in the following.

5. Of the election of Duke Álmos

The Hungarian people, most valiant and most powerful in the tasks of war thus originated, as we said above, from the Scythian people that is called in its own language Dentumoger. And their land was so full on account of the host of people born there that it was insufficient to sustain or keep them, as we said above. On account of this, the seven leading persons, who right up to the present day are called the Hetumoger, finding the physical constraints unendurable, having taken counsel among themselves to quit the soil of their birth, did not cease seeking in battle and war to occupy lands that they might live in. Then they chose to seek for themselves the land of Pannonia that they had heard from rumour had been the land of King Attila, from whose line Duke Álmos, father of Árpád, descended. Then these seven leading persons realized from their common and true counsel that they could not complete the journey begun unless they had a duke and ruler among them. Thus by the free will and common consent of the seven leading persons, they chose as their duke and ruler Álmos, son of Vgek, and those who descended from his kin, sons of sons to the last generation, because Duke Álmos was the son of Vgek, and those who descended from his kin were more outstanding by birth and more powerful in battle. These seven leading persons were noblemen by birth and strong in war, firm in their faithfulness. Then they said with equal will to Duke Álmos: From today we choose you as duke and ruler and where your fortune takes you, there will we follow you. Then to Duke Álmos the aforesaid men swore an oath, confirmed in pagan manner

with their own blood spilled in a single vessel. And, although pagans, they nevertheless kept true to the oath that they now made among themselves, until they died.

6. *Of their oath*

The first part of the oath was thus: That, as long as life remained, they and their descendants would always have a duke from the line of Duke Álmos. The second part of the oath was thus: That whatever goods they might acquire by their own efforts, none of them should be denied a share of them. The third part of the oath was thus: That those leading men who by their free will had chosen Álmos as their lord, they and their sons, should never in any way be excluded from the counsel of the duke and the honour of the realm [honore regni]. The fourth part of the oath was thus: That if any of their posterity should be unfaithful to the person of the duke and stir up discord between the duke and his kinsmen, then the blood of the guilty one should be shed, just as their own blood had been shed in the oath that they had made to Duke Álmos. The fifth part of the oath was thus: That if any of the posterity of Duke Álmos and of the other leading men should seek to breach parts of their oath, they should be put under an everlasting curse. The names of the seven men were these: Álmos, father of Árpád; Eleud, father of Zobolsu, from whom the Saac kindred descends; Cundu, father of Curzan; Ound, father of Ete, from whom the Calan and Colsoy kindreds descend; Tosu, father of Lel; Huba, from whom the Zemera kindred descends; and the seventh was Tuhutum, father of Horca, whose sons were Gyyla and Zombor, from whom the Maglout kindred descend, as will be said below.³⁵ What more! We will keep to our story.

7. *On their setting forth*

In the 884th year of Our Lord's birth, as is contained in the yearly chronicles,³⁶ the seven leading persons who are called the Hetumoger set forth from the Scythian land towards the west. Among them, there set forth from the same region Duke Álmos, son of Ugek, of the line of King Magog, a man of good repute, their lord and counsellor, together with his wife and his son, Árpád, and the two sons of his uncle Hulec, namely Zuard and Cadusa, and with a great and innumerable host of associated peoples. Advancing for very many days across empty places, they swam across the river Etyl³⁷ sitting on leather bags [tulbou] in pagan manner and they never came across a path leading to a city or house. Nor did they consume of the toils of men,³⁸ as was their custom, but ate meat and fish until they reached Russia [Rusciam] which is called Suzdal [Susudal]. And their young men hunted almost every day, whence from that day until now the Hungarians are better at hunting than other peoples. And so Duke Álmos and all his own came and entered Russia which is called Suzdal.

8. *Of Ruthenia*

Arriving in the lands of the Russians, they reached the city of Kiev [Kyeu] without any opposition and, as they passed through the city of Kiev, crossing the river Dnieper [Deneper], they sought to conquer the realm of the Ruthenes [Rutenorum]. Then the dukes of the Ruthenes, learning of this, feared greatly because they had heard that Duke Álmos, son of Vgek, was of the line of King Attila, to whom their forefathers had every year paid tribute. Nevertheless, the duke of Kiev [Hyeu] and all the leaders, having gathered and taken counsel among themselves, decided that they should do battle with Duke Álmos and that they preferred to die in war than to forfeit their own realms and be subjected against their will to Duke Álmos. Forthwith, the duke of

Kiev, despatching envoys, asked the seven dukes of the Cumans, his most faithful friends, for help. Then these seven dukes, whose names were these— Ed, Edum, Etu, Bunger, Ousad, father of Ursuur, Boyta, and Ketel, father of Oluptulma— accompanied by no small host of horsemen, came most speedily against Duke Álmos for the sake of the duke of Kiev's friendship. And the duke of Kiev with his army advanced against them and supported by the Cumans began to oppose Duke Álmos with an armed host. But Duke Álmos, whose help was the Holy Spirit, attired with arms, his battle-line ordered, went mounted on his horse here and there encouraging his warriors and, as the attack commenced, he stood before all his men and said: O, Scythians, my fellow warriors and most brave men, be mindful of the start of your wanderings when you said that such land as you could inhabit you would take by arms and war. Do not therefore be troubled by the host of Ruthenes and Cumans, who are as our dogs. For do not dogs, when they hear the words of their masters, start to tremble? Because strength does not rest in the numbers of a people but in resolution of the spirit. Do you not know, as the philosopher says, that a single lion may put to flight many deer?³⁹ But in short I say to you: who can stand against the warriors of Scythia? Did not the Scythians put to flight Darius, king of the Persians, and so in fear and the greatest disgrace he fled to Persia and lost there 80,000 men? And did not the Scythians destroy Cyrus, king of the Persians, with 330,000 men. And did not the Scythians put to base flight even Alexander the Great, son of King Philip and Queen Olympias, who had conquered many kingdoms. So let us fight bravely and courageously those who are as our dogs and let us fear their host as a swarm of flies. Hearing this, the warriors of Duke Álmos were much encouraged and they at once sounded on all sides the trumpets of war, and both lines of foes came together and they began to fight each other fiercely, and many Ruthenes and Cumans were slain.

The aforesaid dukes of the Ruthenes and Cumans, seeing that they were losing the battle, turned in flight and, hastening to save their lives, entered the city of Kiev. Duke Álmos and his warriors pursued the Ruthenes and Cumans up to the city of Kiev and the warriors of Duke Álmos broke the shaven heads of the Cumans as if fresh gourds.⁴⁰ The dukes of the Ruthenes and Cumans, having entered the city, seeing the bravery of the Scythians, stayed there dumbly.

9. *Of the peace between the duke and the Ruthenes*

With victory won, Duke Álmos and his warriors conquered the lands of the Ruthenes and, seizing their goods, began in the second week to invest the city of Kiev. And when they began to place their ladders on the wall, the dukes of the Cumans and Ruthenes, seeing the bravery of the Scythians, feared greatly. And when they realized that they could not resist them, the duke of Kiev and the other dukes of the Ruthenes and of the Cumans who were there, having despatched envoys, asked Duke Álmos and his leading men to make peace with them. When the envoys came to Duke Álmos and asked him that their masters be not expelled from their homes, Duke Álmos, having taken counsel with his men, answered the envoys of the Ruthenes that the dukes and their chief men should give their sons as hostages, and that they should pay every year a tribute of 10,000 marks and, in addition, food, clothes and other necessities. The dukes of the Ruthenes, albeit unwillingly, nevertheless conceded all these things to Duke Álmos, but they told Duke Álmos that, after leaving the land of Galicia,⁴¹ they should descend westward beyond the Havas [Houos] wood into the land of Pannonia, that had previously been the land of King Attila, and they recommended to them the land of Pannonia as being good beyond measure. For they said that there flowed the most noble spring waters, the Danube and Tisza [Tyscia]

and other most noble springs, abounding in good fish, in which land there lived the Slavs [Sclavi], Bulgarians [Bulgarii] and Vlachs [Blachii], and the shepherds of the Romans [pastores Romanorum].⁴² For after the death of King Attila, the Romans said the land of Pannonia was pastureland because their flocks grazed in the land of Pannonia. And rightly is the land of Pannonia said to be the pastureland of the Romans, for now too the Romans graze on the goods of Hungary.⁴³ What more?

10. Of the seven dukes of the Cumans

Duke Álmos and his chief men, taking counsel among themselves, agreed to the request of the dukes of the Ruthenes and made peace with them. Then the dukes of the Ruthenes, namely of Kiev and Suzdal, lest they be expelled from their homes, gave their sons as hostages to Duke Álmos and sent with them 10,000 marks and a thousand horses with saddles and bridles decorated in Ruthene fashion, and a hundred Cuman boys and forty camels for carrying loads, numberless pelts of ermine [ermelinas] and mink [griseas] and many other gifts beyond count. Then the aforementioned dukes of the Cumans, namely Ed, Edumen, Etu, Bunger, father of Borsu, Ousad, father of Vrsuuru, Boyta, from whom the kindred of Brucsa descends, and Ketel, father of Oluptulma, when they saw the kindness with which Duke Álmos treated the Ruthenes, prostrated themselves at his feet and of their own will subjected themselves to Duke Álmos, saying: From today we choose you as our lord and master until the last generation and where your fortune leads you, there will we follow you. What they had said in words to Duke Álmos, they moreover confirmed in pagan manner with a sworn pledge and, in the same way, Duke Álmos and his chief men bound themselves to them with a sworn pledge. Then these seven dukes of the Cumans together with their wives and sons and a great host agreed to come to

Pannonia. Similarly, many Ruthenes, joining Duke Álmos, came with him to Pannonia. Their descendants still live today in various places in Hungary.

11. Of the cities of Lodomer and Galicia

Then Duke Álmos and the other leading persons who are called the Hetumoger, and the dukes of the Cumans with their kinsmen, servants and serving women, set forth from Kiev and, led by the Kievan Ruthenes, came to the city of Lodomer.⁴⁴ The duke of Lodomer and his chief men went forth with divers precious gifts to the borders of the kingdom to meet Duke Álmos and even opened the city of Lodomer to him. And Duke Álmos stayed in that place with all his men for three weeks and in the third week the duke of Lodomer gave to Duke Álmos as hostages his two sons together with all the sons of his chief servants [iobagionum] and, in addition, he presented both to the duke and his leading men 2000 marks of silver and a hundred marks of refined gold, with innumerable furs and cloaks, and 300 horses with saddles and bridles, and twenty-five camels, and a thousand oxen for carrying loads, and other countless gifts. And in the fourth week Duke Álmos came with his men to Galicia and there he chose a place of repose for himself and his men. When the duke of Galicia heard this, he with all his men went barefoot to Duke Álmos and presented divers gifts for his pleasure and, having opened the gate of the city of Galicia, he welcomed him as his lord and he gave as hostage his only son together with the sons of the leading men of the kingdom and, in addition, he gave ten of the very best steeds and 300 horses with saddles and bridles, and 3000 marks of silver and 200 marks of gold and the most noble raiment both for the duke and all his warriors as well. After Duke Álmos had taken repose in Galicia for a month, the duke of Galicia and his other companions, whose sons had been given as hostages, told Duke Álmos and his noblemen to

descend westwards beyond the Alps [Havas] into the land of Pannonia. For they said to them that the land there was very good and that there flowed there the most noble springs, whose names were, as we said above,⁴⁵ the Danube, Tisza, Vág [Wag], Maros [Morisius], Körös [Crisius], Temes [Temus] and others, that it had first been the land of King Attila and that after his death the Roman princes had taken possession of the land of Pannonia, up to the Danube, where they had gathered their shepherds. But the great Kean [Keanus magnus], duke of Bulgaria, grandfather of Duke Salan [Salanus], had taken possession of the land that lies between the Danube and the Tisza, as far as the borders of the Ruthenes and the Poles, and had made the Slavs and Bulgarians live there. Duke Morout, whose grandson was called by the Hungarians Menumorout,⁴⁶ because he had concubines, had taken possession of the land between the Tisza and Igfon wood, that lies towards Transylvania [ad Erdeuelu], from the Maros river up to the Szamos [Zomus], and the peoples that are called Cozar⁴⁷ inhabited that land. A certain duke called Glad coming from the castle of Vidin [Bundyn] had with the help of the Cumans taken possession of the land from the Maros [Mors] river up to the castle of Orsova [Vrscia]. From his line was born Ajtony [Ohtum], who a long time later, at the time of the holy King Stephen, Csanád [Sunad], son of Doboka [Dobuca] and nephew of the king, slew in his castle beside the Maros because he was rebellious to the king in all his doings. To him the aforesaid king gave for his good service the wife and castle of Ajtony, together with all its appurtenances, as it is the practice of good lords to reward faithful men, and this castle is now called Csanád.⁴⁸ What more!

12. How they entered Pannonia

Duke Álmos and his chief men, agreeing to the counsels of the Ruthenes, made a most lasting peace with them. For the dukes of the Ruthenes, lest they be expelled from

their homes, had given, as we said above, their sons as hostages along with countless gifts. Then the duke of Galicia ordered 2000 archers and 3000 countryfolk [rusticorum] to go in advance to prepare for them a way through the Havas wood as far as the border at Ung, and he loaded all their beasts of burden with victuals and other necessities and gave them innumerable flocks for food. Then the seven leading persons, who are called the Hetumoger, and the seven dukes of the Cumans, whose names we said above, together with their kinsmen, servants and serving women set forth with the counsel and help of the Ruthenes to the land of Pannonia. And so, coming through the Havas wood, they descended to the districts of Ung. And when they arrived there, they called the place that they first occupied Munkács [Muncas] because they had arrived after the greatest toil at the land that they had chosen for themselves.⁴⁹ Then they rested there for forty days and they loved the land more than can be said. The inhabitants of the land, the Slavs, hearing of their arrival, feared greatly and of their own accord submitted to Duke Álmos because they had heard that Duke Álmos was descended of the line of King Attila. And although the men were Duke Salan's, they still served Duke Álmos with great honour and dread, offering to their lord, as is fitting, all that was needed to eat. And such fear and dread overtook the inhabitants of the land that they cringed before the duke and his leading men, like servants to their own lords, and they extolled to them the fertility of their land and told how, after the death of King Attila, the great Kean, forbear of Duke Salan and duke of Bulgaria, setting forth with the aid and counsel of the emperor of the Greeks, had occupied that land, how the Slavs and had been led from the land of Bulgaria to the border of the Ruthenes and how Salan, their duke, now held them and theirs and how much power he had over his neighbours.

13. *Of the castle of Ung*

Then, hearing these things, Duke Álmos and his leading men were especially gladdened and they rode to the castle of Ung in order to capture it. And as they encamped around the wall, the count of the castle, Loborc by name, who in their language was called duca, hastened in flight to castle Zemlum,⁵⁰ and the warriors of the duke, pursuing and capturing him next to some river, hanged him by a noose there and on that day they called the river by his name, Loborc. Then Duke Álmos and his men, entering Ung castle, made great sacrifices to the immortal gods [diis immortalibus] and feasted for four days. And on the fourth day, having had counsel and taken an oath from all his men, Duke Álmos while yet still living appointed his son, Árpád, as duke and leader, and he was called Árpád, duke of Hungaria, and from Ung [Hungu] all his warriors were called Hungarians in the language of foreign nations [linguam alienigenarum], and that name persists throughout the whole world up to now.⁵¹

14. *Of Duke Árpád*

In the 903rd year of Our Lord's birth, Duke Árpád, having despatched his armies, took for himself the whole land that is between the Tisza and the Bodrog, as far as Ugocsa [Vgosam], together with all its inhabitants, and he besieged the castle of Borsoa and on the third day of fighting took it; he destroyed its walls, and he ordered the warriors of Duke Salan whom he found there to be taken in fetters to the castle of Ung. And while staying there for some days, the duke and his men, seeing the fertility of the land and the abundance of all beasts and the fullness of the fishes of the Tisza and Bodrog rivers, loved the land more than can be said. When Duke Salan eventually heard from those of his men who had taken to flight of all that had happened, he did

not dare raise his hand but, having sent his envoys, began to threaten in Bulgarian fashion, as is their custom, and he greeted Duke Árpád of Hungary mockingly, and he jokingly called his men Hungarians, and he began to wonder in many ways who they were and whence they who dared to do such things had come, and he instructed them to make good their misdeeds and not to cross in any way the Bodrog river, lest he, with the help of the Greeks and Bulgarians, repaying in kind to them their own ill deed, should let scarcely any of them return home to tell that they had escaped. The envoys of Duke Salan, coming to the castle of Zemlin and having crossed the Bodrog [Budrug] river, reached Duke Árpád on the second day, and on the third day they greeted Duke Árpád with the words of their lord and relayed to Duke Árpád his message. Duke Árpád having heard the embassy of the haughty duke, replied not haughtily, but humbly, saying: Although my forbear, the most powerful King Attila, had the land which lies between the Danube and the Tisza as far as the border of the Bulgarians, which he, your master, has, I nevertheless, not because I fear that I may be unable to withstand the Greeks and Bulgarians, but rather for the friendship of Salan, your duke, ask as my right one little place for my flocks, namely the land up to the River Louiou,⁵² and in addition I ask your lord to send me of his grace two small bottles filled with the water of the Danube and one bag of herbs of the sands of Olpar so that I may test whether the herbs of the sands of Olpar are sweeter than the herbs of the Scythian, that is Dentumoger, and whether the waters of the Danube are better than the waters of the Don [Thanaydis]. And having given this message to them, he enriched them with divers gifts and having won their goodwill he ordered them home. Then Duke Árpád, having taken counsel, likewise sent his envoys to Duke Salan and sent to him twelve white horses and twelve camels and twelve Cuman boys and, for the duchess, twelve most nimble Ruthene girls and twelve ermine pelts and twelve

sables and twelve golden cloaks. And in that embassy were sent out of the more noble persons Oundu, father of Ethe; secondly Ketel, father of Oluptulma; and, thirdly, they sent the most energetic warrior, Tursol by name, for reconnaissance, to inspect the quality of the land and, returning speedily, to report to his lord, Duke Árpád.

15. Of the castle of Komárom

The envoys of Duke Árpád, Oundu, father of Ethe, Ketel, father of Oluptulma, and Turzol, the Cuman warrior, whose line perished with him, coming to the River Bodrog, swam across at that place where a little river, running by Saturholmu, flows into the Bodrog. And thus having crossed the Bodrog river, when they rejoicing crossed the aforesaid little river, then by the swell of the waters and with his horse blundering, Ketel sank into the water, and with his companions' help narrowly escaped death.⁵³ Then that river was jokingly called by Ketel's companions Ketelpotaca.⁵⁴ And afterwards Duke Árpád gave by his grace to Ketel the whole land with its inhabitants from Satorholmu to the Tulsuoá river, and he gave not just this but more besides because, after Duke Árpád had conquered the whole land of Pannonia, he gave to Ketel for his most faithful service a great land beside the Danube where the Vág river flows. There Oluptulma, Ketel's son, built a castle that is called Komárom [Camarum]. For servicing that castle, he gave two parts both for the people he had brought with him and for those obtained by the duke.⁵⁵ A long time later, Ketel and his son, Tulma, were buried there in pagan manner, but his descendants had that land, which is now called Ketelpotaca, to the times of King Andrew, son of Ladislas the Bald.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, King Andrew exchanged that land with the descendants of Ketel for two reasons: first, because it was suitable to kings for hunting; secondly, because his wife liked to dwell in those parts because they were closer to her native soil, as she

was the daughter of the duke of the Ruthenes and feared the arrival of the emperor of the Germans, lest he should enter Hungary to avenge the blood of King Peter, as will be told in what follows.⁵⁷

16. *Of Mount Turzol*

Then Ound, Ketel and Turzol, crossing the wood beside the Bodrog river, riding as if in a race, flying on the fleetest horses, climbed the summit of a high mountain. Turzol, the most energetic warrior, being in front, reached the top of the mountain first of all and, from that time till now, they call that mountain Mount Turzol. Then these three lords, viewing as far as may the human eye the land on all sides from the summit of the mountain, loved it more than can be said and in that place they made a great sacrifice [magnum aldamas] in pagan manner, killing the plumpest horse. Turzol, having taken leave of his companions, as he was a courageous man and faithful in arms, returned with his warriors to Duke Árpád to report to him the fruits of that land. And he did so. Ound and Ketel, riding a most speedy course, having gone forth from Mount Turzol, found on the third day Duke Salan in the castle of Opar [*sic*] beside the Tisza, whom they greeted on behalf of Árpád and, on the second day, after entering his court, they presented the gifts that they had brought with them and relayed to him the message of Duke Árpád. Duke Salan, having seen the gifts and heard what they and his own men had to say, was especially happy and he graciously welcomed the envoys and enriched them with divers gifts and, moreover, agreed to Árpád's requests. On the tenth day, Ound and Ketel, having taken leave of Duke Salan, prepared to go home, and through them Duke Salan mockingly sent to Duke Árpád along with divers gifts two bottles filled with the water of the Danube and a bag of the best herbs from the sands of Olpar and, moreover, he granted the land up to the Sajó

[Souyoy] river together with its inhabitants. Then Ound and Ketel together with the envoys of Duke Salan, going quickly to Duke Árpád, presented the gifts that had been sent and said that the land along with its inhabitants had been granted to Duke Árpád. On account of this, the greatest joy arose in the court of Duke Árpád and they celebrated with a great feast for three days. And then, with peace confirmed, he sent home the peace-bearing envoys of Duke Salan, enriched with divers gifts.

17. Of Szerencs [Zerencze]

Duke Árpád and his noblemen, setting out with great joy from Ung castle pitched camp beyond Mount Turzol on the plain beside the Tucota river as far as Mount Szerencs [ad montem Zerenche] and, seeing from the mountains the quality of the place, they called that place ‘lovely’ which is said in their language zerelmes, because they loved that place greatly, and from that day until now the place is called Szerencse from zerelmu. There Duke Árpád and all his leading men, together with his whole household, putting toil aside and building huts [factis tuguriis], chose for themselves a place of repose and they stayed there for not a few days while they conquered all the neighbouring places, namely as far as the Sajó river and the Castle of Salt [Castrum Salis].⁵⁸ And there beside the Tucota and within the woods Árpád gave many lands at various places along with their inhabitants to Edunec and Edumernece.⁵⁹ Their descendants have, with the aid of divine grace, been worthy to keep the lands till now. The aforesaid Turzol obtained through the grace of Duke Árpád a great land at the bottom of the mountain, where the Bodrog [Brudrug] flows into the Tisza, and in that place he built an earthen fort, which is now presently called Hymusuduor.

18. Of Borsod

And while these things were taking root, then by common counsel and on the advice of all the inhabitants, Borsu, son of Bunger, was sent with a strong force to the land of the Poles to view the borders of the kingdom [confinia regni] and to reinforce them with obstacles as far as Mount Turtur,⁶⁰ and he built in a suitable place a castle to defend the kingdom. Having taken leave, Borsu went forth and having by good luck gathered a throng of countryfolk he built a castle beside the Buldua river that is called by that people Borsod, because it was small.⁶¹ Bors, having taken the sons of the inhabitants as hostages and putting boundary markers along the mountains of Turtur, returned to Duke Árpád and there was great joy in the court of the duke at the return of Borsu. The duke then as a reward [pro beneficio suo] appointed Bors count in that castle and gave him complete responsibility for that district.

19. *Of the Duke of Bihar*⁶²

After spending several days, Duke Árpád, having taken the advice of his noblemen, sent envoys to the castle of Bihar, to Duke Menumorout, asking him, by right of his forbear, King Attila, to give him the land from the Szamos [Zomus] river to the border of Nyr, up to the Meszes Gate [ad portam Mezesynam], and he sent him gifts, just as he had previously sent to Salan, duke of Titel [duci Tytulensy].⁶³ And in that embassy were sent two of the most energetic warriors: Vsubuu, father of Zoloucu, and Velec, from whose progeny Turda, the bishop, is descended. For these were the most noble by birth, like the others that set forth from the Scythian land and who followed Duke Álmos with a great host of peoples.

20. *How they were sent against Bihar [Byhor]*

The envoys of Duke Árpád, Vsubuu and Veluc, crossed the Tisza river at the harbour of Lucj [in portu Lucy] and setting forth from there, coming to the castle of Bihar, they greeted Duke Menumorout and presented to him the gifts that their duke had sent. Then, relaying to him the message of Duke Árpád, they asked for the land which we have named earlier. Duke Menumorout received them kindly and, enriched with divers gifts, he ordered them homewards. Nevertheless, he so replied, saying: Say to Árpád, duke of Hungary, your lord, that we owe him as a friend to a friend in all the matters that he needs because a guest is a human being [homo] and lacking in much. But the land that he seeks of our grace we will in no way surrender while we live. We are indignant that Duke Salan has given him a very great land either out of affection, as is said, or out of fear, as is denied. Neither from affection nor from fear will we grant him land, even as little as he may hold in his fist, even though he says it is his right. And his words do not disquiet our thoughts when he tells us that he is descended from the line of King Attila, who is called the scourge of God, who seized this land with violent grasp from my forbear, for by the grace of my lord the emperor of Constantinople [Constantinopolitani] no one can snatch it from my hands. And having said this, he gave them leave to withdraw. Then Vsubuu and Veluc, the envoys of Duke Árpád, hastened speedily to their lord and, upon arrival, reported to their lord, Duke Árpád, the message of Menumorout. Upon hearing this, Duke Árpád and his nobles were moved by anger and they immediately ordered an army to be sent against him. Then they decided that Tosu, father of Lelu, and Zobolsu, son of Eleud, from whom the Saak kindred descends, and Tuhutum, father of Horka, grandfather of Geula and Zumbor, from whom the Moglout kindred descends, should go. Taking leave of Duke Árpád, they set forth with no small army and swam unopposed across the Tisza at the harbour of Ladeus [in portu Ladeo]. On the second day, they began to

ride along the Tisza towards the Szamos river and they pitched camp at that place where is now Zobolsu, and at that place almost all the inhabitants of the land subordinated themselves of their own will and, throwing themselves at their feet, gave their sons as hostages lest they should suffer any harm. For almost all the peoples feared them and only a few managed by flight to escape them and, coming to Menumorout, they announced what they had done. Having heard this, so great a fear overwhelmed Menumorout that he did not dare raise his hand, because all the inhabitants feared them more than can be said, because they had heard that Duke Álmos, father of Árpád, was descended of the line of King Attila, on account of which none believed they could survive except by the grace of Árpád, son of Duke Álmos, and his noblemen, on account of which very many of their own accord submitted to them. Well did God fulfil in Duke Álmos and his son, Árpád, the prophecy that Moses uttered to the sons of Israel, saying: Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours.⁶⁴ For the places whereon Duke Álmos and his son, Árpád, together with their noblemen trod that day, their descendants had and have to the present.

21. *Of Zobolsu*

Then Zobolsu, a most wise man, looking upon a certain place beside the Tisza, when he saw the lie of the place, realized it to be very well placed for a castle. With the common counsel of his companions and having assembled the men of the country [congregatione facta civium], he built a great rampart and a most strong castle of earth, which is now called Zobolsu castle. Then of the inhabitants of the land Zobolsu and his companions appointed to that castle many serving men who are now called castle-folk [servientes, qui nunc civiles vocantur],⁶⁵ and having left warriors there

under a most noble warrior, Eculsu by name, they prepared to go further. Then Zobolsu and his companions divided the whole army into two parts, one part to go along the Szamos river and the other through the districts of Nir. Zobolsu and Thosu, father of Lelu, went forth with half the army along the banks of the Tisza, conquering peoples, and they came to that place, towards the Szamos, that is now called Saruuar.⁶⁶ And in the same place, in the marshes, Thosu, father of Lelu, having gathered a host of people, built a great rampart and he constructed a mightily fortified castle of earth, which was at first named Thosu castle, now called Saruuar, and having taken the sons of those living there as hostages, they left the castle full of warriors. Then Thosu, at the bidding of the people subjugated to his lord, Duke Árpád, had built a market between Nir and the Tisza, to which he assigned his name, so that it is called even now Thosu market. After Zobolsu and Thosu went forth from there, they reached Szatmár [Zotmar] castle and besieging the castle over three days of fighting they won victory. And on the fourth day, entering the castle, they sent those warriors of Menumorout that they could catch there to the most foul depths of the dungeon, bound in iron shackles, and they took the sons of those dwelling there as hostages and left the castle full of warriors, and they began to go to the Meszes Gates.

22. *Of Nyr*

Tuhutum and his son, Horca, riding through the districts of Nyr, conquered a great number of people, from the woods of Nyr up to Umusouer. And thus ascending, they arrived at Zyloc, with none raising a hand against them, because Duke Menumorout and his men did not dare to fight them but began to defend the Körös river. Then Tuhutum and his son, Horca, going forth from Ziloc came to the districts of Meszes, where Zobolsu and Thosu were, and, when they espied each other, they rejoiced with

great joy and, having made a feast, each one extolled himself for his victory. Next morning, Zobolsu, Thosu and Tuhutum, taking counsel, decided that the border of the realm of Duke Árpád should be at the Meszes Gate. Then the dwellers of the land built at their command stone gateways and a great barricade of trees along the boundary of the realm. Then these three aforementioned men sent through faithful messengers word of all their deeds to Duke Árpád and his leading men. When this was reported to Duke Árpád and his chief servants [suis yobagyonibus] they rejoiced with exceeding great joy and made sacrifice [aldumas] in pagan manner and to those who had brought the joyful news they gave divers gifts. Thus gladdened, Duke Árpád and his leading men solemnly feasted for a whole week and almost every day they were intoxicated on account of such glad news. And having heard this, Duke Árpád and his men set forth from Szerencs [Zeremsu] and they encamped beside the Sajó river, from the Tisza to the Honrat river.

23. *Of the victory of Thosu, Zobolsu and Tuhutum*

Thosu, Zobolsu and Tuhutum, when they saw that God had given them a great victory and that almost all the nations of that land were subjugated to their lord, were then greatly exalted over the inhabitants of that land, and when they had found a place where no one was, they stayed there for some days while they reinforced the boundaries of the kingdom with the strongest impediments.

24. *Of the land of Transylvania [Ultrasilvana]⁶⁷*

And while they tarried there some while, Tuhutum, father of Horca, as he was a shrewd man, when he learned from the inhabitants of the goodness of the land of Transylvania, where Gelou, a certain Vlach [quidam Blacus], held sway, strove

through the grace of Duke Árpád, his lord, to acquire the land of Transylvania for himself and his posterity. This was later so done, for the posterity of Tuhutum up to the time of the holy King Stephen held the land of Transylvania and would have held it longer, had the younger Gyla with his two sons, Biuia and Bucna, wished to be Christians and not always opposed the holy king, as will be said in the following.⁶⁸

25. *Of the skilfulness of Tuhutum*

The aforesaid Tuhutum, a most skilful man, sent a certain shrewd man, father of Opaforcos Ogmand, to spy out for him the quality and fertility of the land of Transylvania and what its inhabitants were like, so that he might, if he could, go to war with them, for Tuhutum wished thereby to acquire a name and land for himself. As our minstrels [ioculatores] say: They take all the places for themselves and get a good name.⁶⁹ What more? When the father of Ogmand, Tuhutum's scout, circling like a wolf, viewed, as much as the human gaze may, the goodness and fertility of the land and its inhabitants, he loved it more than can be said and returned most swiftly to his lord. When he arrived, he spoke much to his lord of the goodness of that land: that that land was washed by the best rivers, whose names and merits he listed, that in their sands they gathered gold and that the gold of that land was the best, and that they mined there salt and salt crystals [sal et saligenia], and that the inhabitants of that land were the basest of the whole world, because they were Vlachs [Blasii] and Slavs, because they had nothing else for arms than bows and arrows and because their duke, Geleou [sic], was inconstant and did not have around him good warriors who dared stand against the courage of the Hungarians, because they had suffered many injuries from the Cumans and Pechenegs [Picenatis].⁷⁰

26. *How they went against Gelu [sic]*

Then Tuhutum, having heard of the goodness of that land, sent his envoys to Duke Árpád to ask his permission to go beyond the woods [ultra silvas] to fight Duke Gelou. Duke Árpád, having taken counsel, commended Tuhutum's wish and he gave him permission to go beyond the woods to fight Duke Gelou. When Tuhutum heard this from an envoy, he readied himself with his warriors and, having left his companions there, went forth eastwards beyond the woods against Gelou, duke of the Vlachs. Gelou, duke of Transylvania, hearing of his arrival, gathered his army and rode speedily towards him in order to stop him at the Meszes Gates, but Tuhutum, crossing the wood in one day, arrived at the Almás [Almas] river. Then both armies came upon each other, with the river lying between them. Duke Gelou planned to stop them there with his archers.

27. *Of the death of Gelu*

Next morning, before daybreak, Tuhutum divided his army in two and he sent one part a little way upstream so that, having crossed the river, they might attack while Gelou's warriors were still unawares. This was done. And because they had an easy crossing, both forces arrived on the field at the same time and they fought fiercely, but the warriors of Duke Gelou were defeated and many of them slain and more captured. When Gelou, their duke, saw this, he fled for his life along with a few men. As he was in flight, hastening to his castle beside the Szamos river, Tuhutum's warriors, boldly pursuing Duke Gelou, slew him beside the Kapus river [fluvium Copus]. Then the inhabitants of the land, seeing the death of their lord, giving the right hand of their own free will chose to themselves as lord Tuhutum, father of Horca, and in that place which is called Esculeu, they confirmed their pledge with an oath and from that day

the place is called Esculeu, because they swore there.⁷¹ Tuhutum possessed that land peacefully and happily from that day, but his posterity possessed it only up to the times of the holy King Stephen. Tuhutum begat Horca, Horca begat Geula and Zubor, Geula begat two two daughters, of whom one was called Caroldu and the other Saroltu and Sarolt was the mother of the holy King Stephen. Zumbor begat the younger Geula, father of Bua and Bucna, during whose time the holy King Stephen subjugated to himself the land of Transylvania and led Geula in fetters to Hungary and held him imprisoned for all the days of his life because he was false in faith and refused to be a Christian and did many things against the holy King Stephen, even though he was of the line of his mother.

28. *Of Duke Menumorout*

Tosu and Zobolsu, with victory won, returned to Duke Árpád, subduing the whole people from the Szamos river to the Körös, and none dared raise a hand against them. And Menumourut, their duke, preferred to make ready his escape to Greece than to proceed against them. And thereafter, having set forth, they descended by a certain river called Humusouer to the mire of Zerep. And then having set forth they reached Szeghalom [Zeguholmu], and they wanted to cross the Körös there, in order to fight against Menumorout, but Menumorout's warriors came and denied them the crossing. Then, having set forth, riding for a day, they camped beside the small mountains [parvos montes], and riding from there along the Turu river they arrived at the Tisza, and crossing the Tisza river at the harbour of Dorogma [Drugma], they obtained there by the grace of Duke Árpád a great land for a certain Cuman warrior, Huhot by name, which his descendants still have.

29. *Of their return*

As they crossed the Tisza river, they sent in advance their messengers to Duke Árpád to announce the glad news, who, when they came to Duke Árpád, were to announce the glad news to him that Zobolsu and Tosu [sic] had returned with their army safe and sound and had crossed the harbour of Dorogma with all their armies. When Duke Árpád heard that Thosu and Zobolsu had returned with all their armies safe and sound and had crossed the Tisza river, he made a great feast and gave divers gifts to those who had brought the glad news. Then when Thosu and Zobolsu sought to enter the duke's court, the duke sent in advance all his warriors to meet them and he thus received them with great joy and, as it is the custom of good lords to prize their faithful men, he had them eat almost every day at his table and gave them many gifts.⁷² They likewise gave to Duke Árpád divers gifts and the sons of the inhabitants handed to them as hostages.

30. *Of Duke Salan*

After some days had passed, having taken counsel, Árpád and his noblemen sent envoys to Duke Salan to announce to him, as if it were good news, the victory of Thosu and Bulsuu [*recte* Zobolsu] and to ask from him the land up to the Zogea river. This was done. Etu and Voyta were sent who, when they had found Duke Salan on the sands of Olpar, announced the glad news and claimed from him the land up to the Zogea river. Duke Salan, having heard this, was overtaken by the greatest fear and, moved by fear, conceded to Duke Árpád the land claimed of him up to the Zogea river and he gave divers gifts to the envoys. On the seventh day, Etu and Vojta, having taken leave, returned to their lord, and Duke Árpád received them honourably and,

having heard their report, great rejoicing was made in the duke's court and the duke gave to his faithful men places and large properties.

31. *Of their departure from Szerencs*

Next the duke and his leading men [principes] went forth from Szerencse [Zeremsu] and they crossed the Sajó river at that place where the spring of Honrad flows, and they camped beside the Heuyou between the Tisza and Emőd [Emeud] and stayed there for a month. There the duke gave to Bunger [Bunger nec], father of Borsu, a great land from the Tapolca river [fluvio Topulucea] to the Sajó river, which is now called Miskolc [Miscoucy], and gave him a castle, which is called Győr [Geuru]⁷³, and his son, Borsu, made that castle together with his own castle, which is called Borsod, one county [unum comitatum].

32. *Of the castle of Vrsuur and the River Eger*

Afterwards, Duke Árpád and his noblemen, setting forth from there, came to the Naragy river and they camped beside the brooks at that place which is now called Casu, where he gave a great land to Ousadu [Ousadunec], father of Ursuur, and his son Ursuur built a castle at the head of the river, which is now called Ursuur castle. Thence Duke Árpád and his men, having gone forth, reached the Eger river and, having built huts [paratis tuguriis], stayed there some days and the mountain upon which they made a leafy shade for the duke, they called Zenuholmu and their encampments were from the Ystoros river to the castle of Purozlou.⁷⁴ Next, having set forth, they arrived at the Zogea river and they camped along the banks of the river from the Tisza to the wood of Matra, and they conquered all the inhabitants of the land from the Körös [a Grisio] to the Zogea river and to the wood of Zepus. Then

Duke Árpád gave a great land in the wood of Matra to Edu and Edumen [Edunec et Edumenec], where afterwards, Pota, their nephew, built a castle, of whose line came a long time later King Samuel, who on account of his piety was called Oba.⁷⁵

33. *Of the castles of Nógrád and Nyitra*⁷⁶

At that time, Duke Árpád, when he saw himself thus exalted and protected by his warriors, having taken counsel of them, sent many warriors off on campaign to conquer the people of the castle of Gömör [Gumur] and Nógrád [Nougrad] and, should fortune favour them, then to ascend to the border of the Bohemians [Boemorum] as far as the castle of Nyitra [Nitra]. To the warriors going on campaign, he assigned as chief men and leaders the two sons of his uncle Hulec, Zuard and Cadusa, and Huba, one of the leading persons.⁷⁷ Then these three lords, having taken leave of Duke Árpád, set forth from that place which is called Pásztó [Paztuh], riding along the Hangony [Hongvñ] river and they crossed the river beside the Sajó river. And they went forth from there through the districts of Gömör castle and they reached the mountain of Bolhád [Bulhadu] and arriving thence at the districts of Nógrád they reached the Caliga river. Proceeding from there, they went along the bank of the Danube and, crossing the Verőce [Wereucca] river, they camped beside the Ipoly [Ypul] river. And because divine grace was in them, all feared them and they feared them most greatly because they had heard that Duke Árpád, son of Duke Álmos, was descended of the line of King Attila. Then all the Slavs, the inhabitants of the land, who were formerly of Duke Salan, for fear of them subordinated themselves to them of their own free will, with no one raising a hand. And so with great fear and trembling, they served them as if they were their lords of old. Then Zuardu, Cadusa and Huba, from whom the nimble Zemera descend, when they saw the many people

subjugated to them without war, made a great feast and to the higher ranking inhabitants of the land, who had given their sons as hostages, they gave divers gifts and they brought them with flattering words beneath the rule [sub dominium] of Duke Árpád without war, and they took them with them on campaign. Taking their sons as hostages, they sent them with divers gifts to Duke Árpád, on account of which the duke and his noblemen were especially happy, and they gave many gifts to the messengers who brought the glad news.

34. *Of the Garam river and the castle of Bors*⁷⁸

In the mean time, Zuard and Cadusa, sons of Hulec, and Huba and their entire army crossed the Ipoly river beside the Danube and the next day, having crossed the Garam [Gron] river, pitched camp on the plain beside an earthen castle which is called Uarod. And having captured that castle, they stayed there for three days, awaiting the arrival of Borsu, son of Bumger [sic], whom Duke Árpád had sent with a great army to support them. On the fourth day, when Borsu had come to them with a strong force, all the inhabitants of the land feared them and none dared raise a hand against them. Then these four lords, having taken counsel among themselves, at the bidding of those of the inhabitants that were more faithful to them, decided that the third part of the army should go with the inhabitants of the land to the wood of Zoulon, to make on the border of the realm strong fortifications both of stone and wood lest at any time the Bohemians or Poles [Boemy vel Polony] should enter their realm [in regnum eorum] to rob and plunder. Then, by common counsel, Borsu, son of Buger [sic], was sent out to that end with his warriors. As they rode along the Garam river, a stag in flight sped up the tops of the mountains before them, which Borsu, pursuing most speedily, killed on the peak of the mountains with shots of his arrows. And then Borsu, as he looked

round about upon those mountains, thought to build a castle there and having at once gathered a host of castle-folk [civium],⁷⁹ he built a very strong castle on the top of one of the higher mountains, to which he gave his own name, so that it is called Borsu castle. And thence he proceeded with his armies to the wood of Zouolun and he ordered a very great fortification to be made of stone, which is now called Borssed Zouolvn castle.

35. *Of the city of Nyitra [Nitria]*

After Borsu's departure, Zuard, Cadusa and Huba, having set forth with all their armies from the castle that is called Warod, encamped beyond the Tursoc wood beside the Zsitva [Sytua] river. The next day, they sent scouts, men whom they knew to be courageous, to cross the Nyitra river to see whether they could get across to the city of Nyitra without a battle. When they had arrived by the swiftest course at the Turmas brook, where it flows into the brook of Nyitra [Nytre], they saw the inhabitants of that province, Slavs and Bohemians, standing in their way supported by the duke of the Bohemians, because after the death of King Attila, the duke of the Bohemians had taken for himself the land which lies between the Vág [Wag] and the Garam, from the Danube to the Morava [Moroua] river and made it one duchy [ducatum], and at that time Zubur was made duke of Nyitra by the grace of the duke of the Bohemians.

36. *Of the scouts sent by the dukes*

When those scouts who had been sent by Zuard and Cadusa, saw that the Slavs and Bohemians were unable to withstand them, they released their arrows three times on them and they killed some of them with shots of their arrows. When the Slavs and

Bohemians whom Zubur had assigned to the defence saw how those who were called the Hetumoger used such arms, they feared greatly, because such weaponry [armatura] had never been seen by them, and they immediately told Zubur, their lord, and the other leaders of the province.⁸⁰

37. *Of the battle of the dukes of Árpád*

Then Zubur, having heard this, went supported by the Bohemians to fight them with an armed host. And when both armies arrived at the Nyitra river, Zuardu, Cadusa and Huba wished to cross the river, but Zubur, duke of Nyitra, and his warriors fought them for a very long time and were in no way willing to concede the crossing. And as they fought lengthily together, the Hungarians killed many of the Bohemians and Slavs with arrow shots, but for three days the Hungarians were in no way able to make a crossing on account of the swell of the waters. At last, on the fourth day, the Bohemians and all the Nyitra Slavs [Nytrienses Sclavi], seeing the courage of the Hungarians and finding the shots of the arrows unendurable, fell to flight and to save their lives most speedily shut themselves up in great fear in the city of Nyitra. Zuard, Cadusa and Huba and the other warriors chased them to the city and some they killed, some they wounded, and others they captured. Zubur, their duke, who while in flight sought to fight them, was struck by Cadusa's lance and, having been captured, was put in custody; the others, shut up in the city, waited dumbstruck. The next day, Zuard, Cadusa and Huba with an armed host of armies began bravely to storm the city of Nyitra in many ways. And God gave them a great victory and they entered the city fighting and the blood of many foes was shed there by them. Then they, moved by wrath, taking Zubur, the duke of that province, whom they had captured two days before, onto a high mountain, hanged him from a noose, whence that mountain is still

called Mount Zubur. And on account of that deed, all the men of that country feared them and all the noblemen gave their sons to them as hostages and all the nations of that land, as far as the Vág river, subordinated themselves to them. And because the grace of God went before them, not only did they conquer them but also took all their castles, the names of which are up until now: Stumtey, Colgoucy, Trusun, Blundus and Bana;⁸¹ and having assigned guards to the castles they went up to the Morava [Maroa] river, and they fixed and reinforced with obstacles the bounds of the realm of the Hungarians as far as Borona and Saruuar and, with victory won, they returned to Duke Árpád, and they took with them all the faithless men of that land bound with iron fetters. And when Zuard, Cadusa and Huba came safe and sound with all their captives to Duke Árpád, great rejoicing was made in the court of the duke. Duke Árpád, upon the counsel and bidding of his nobles, having taken an oath from the faithless men, gave lands in divers places to the aforesaid faithless men who had been taken from the districts of Nyitra, lest at any time they be made yet more faithless and, returning to their homes, do harm to those faithful to him who were living on the border of Nyitra. And at the same celebration, Duke Árpád made Huba count of Nyitra and of other castles, and he gave to him his own land beside the Sytuua river as far as Tursoc wood.

38. *Of the army of the Greeks and Bulgarians*

In the mean time, Duke Salan, when he learnt of the might and deeds of the Hungarians, feared lest at any time they, moved by wrath, should expel him from his realm. Then, having taken counsel of his men, he sent his envoys to the emperor of the Greeks and the duke of the Bulgarians to give him help in fighting Árpád, duke of the Hungarians. The emperor of the Greeks and the duke of the Bulgarians sent a

great army to Duke Salan. And when they reached Duke Salan, at that place which is called Tetel, great rejoicing was had in the court of the duke. The next day, Duke Salan and his nobles, having taken counsel, sent envoys to Duke Árpád, saying that he should leave their land and start homewards to his native soil. When they reached Duke Árpád and relayed to him the message of Duke Salan, Duke Árpád and his nobles angrily replied to Duke Salan through his envoys: The land which lies between the Danube and Tisza, and the water of the Danube that flows from Ratisbon [Ratispona] to Greece, we bought with our money when we were new here and we sent as the price for it twelve white horses etcetera, as above. He, praising the goodness of his land, sent one bag of herbs of the sands of Olpar and two bottles of the waters of the Danube, on account of which we order your lord, Duke Salan, to leave our land and go by the swiftest course to the land of the Bulgarians, whence his forbear came after the death of our ancestor, King Attila. Should he do otherwise, let him know that we will fight him at the earliest opportunity. The envoys, hearing this, having taken leave, hurried downcast to Duke Salan. Duke Árpád and his noblemen, having set forth with the whole army from the Zogea river encamped beside the Tetuetlen mountain up to the Tisza, then coming along the banks of the Tisza they reached the sand of Olpar.

39. Of the departure of Duke Salan against Duke Árpád

Duke Salan set forth from Tetel supported by the Greeks and Bulgarians and, on the advice of his men, began with a raging mind to ride against Duke Árpád. And both armies spent the night next to one another, but neither dared rest that whole night but they spent the night holding their saddled horses with their hands. Next morning, before daybreak, both sides prepared for battle. Duke Árpád, whose helper was the

Lord of All, dressed for war and with his battle-line ordered, besought God tearfully, and said to comfort his warriors: O Scythians, who by the arrogance of the Bulgarians are called Hungarians [Hungarii] after the castle of Ung [Hungu], do not for fear of the Greeks forget your swords and lose your good name. Let us then fight strongly and valiantly against the Greeks and Bulgarians who are as our women and let us thus fear the host of the Greeks as a host of women. Having heard this, his warriors were much comforted, and at once Lelu, son of Tosu, sounded a trumpet and Bulsuu, son of Bogar [sic], with standard raised, began at the front of the army to close with the Greeks.⁸² The armies of the two foes joined in battle and they began to fight each other fiercely and, when the whole army of Duke Árpád entered the fighting against the Greeks, very many Greeks and Bulgarians were slain. The aforesaid Duke Salan, when he saw his men weakening in battle, took to flight and hastened for safety to Nándorfehérvár [Albam Bulgarie].⁸³ The Greeks and Bulgarians, struck by fear of the Hungarians, forgot which way they had come and, turning to flight, sought to save their lives by swimming across the Tisza, thinking it a little river, but such fear and fright overcame them that for fear of the Hungarians nearly all were killed in the Tisza river, so that barely any remained to give the bad news to the emperor. And that place where the Greeks were killed is to this day now called the harbour of the Greeks [portus Grecorum].

40 *Of the victory of Duke Árpád*

With victory won, Duke Árpád and his warriors went forth from there to the pool that is called Curtuelou, and they stayed there beside the wood of Gemelsen for 34 days and in that place the duke and his noblemen ordered all the legal customs of the realm and all its laws,⁸⁴ how they should serve the duke and his leading men and how they

should judge any crime done. There the duke gave to his noblemen who had come with him divers places with all their inhabitants, and the place where all these matters were ordered the Hungarians called according to their language Scerii, because here was ordered the whole business of the realm.⁸⁵ And the duke gave that place to Oundu [Oundunec], father of Ete, from the Tisza to the pool of Botua and from Curtuelto to the sand of Olpar. Some time later, Ethe, son of Oundu, having gathered a host of Slavs, had built between Olpar castle and Beuldu harbour a very strong earthen castle that the Slavs in their language called Csongrád [Surungrad], which means the black castle.

41. *Of the departure of Árpád*

Afterwards, Duke Árpád and his noblemen, having set forth from there, reached Titul [*sic*], subjugating the people. Then, having set forth, they reached the harbour of Slankamen [Zoloncaman] and they put the whole people living between the Tisza and the Danube under their yoke. Setting forth from there they reached the districts of Bodrog [Budrug] and they encamped beside the Vajas [Uoyos] river and in those districts the duke gave a great land with all its inhabitants to Tosu [Tosunec], father of Lelu, together with his uncle, Culpun, father of Botond. Then Duke Árpád and his leading men, having taken counsel, decided that they should send over the Danube to Nándorfehérvár an army after Duke Salan, and as the army's chief men and leaders were appointed Lelu, son of Tosu, Bulsuu, son of Bogat, and Botond, son of Culpun. They, having taken leave of Duke Árpád, rode unopposed across the Danube at that place where the Zoua river flows into the Danube, and, setting forth from there, they began to ride against the city of Nándorfehérvár. Then the duke of the Bulgarians, a blood relation [consanguineus] of Duke Salan, went with a great army to fight against

them with the Greeks in support. The next day, both armies were arranged on the plain beside the bank of the Danube. Lelu, having raised a standard as his sign and Bulsuu, son Bogat, sounding the trumpets of war, began immediately to fight. The forces of the two foes engaged one another and they began to fight fiercely and very many Greeks and Bulgarians were slain and some of them captured. Seeing his men thus weakening in battle, the duke of Bulgaria fleeing for his life entered the city of Nándorfehérvár. Then, with victory won, Lelu, Bolsuu and Botond encamped a little lower beside the Danube, and all the captured Bulgarians and Greeks were led before them, whom they sent bound with iron to Duke Árpád in Hungary.

42. *Of the messengers of the duke of Bulgaria*

The next day, the duke of Bulgaria sent his messengers with divers gifts to Lelu, Bulsu and Bontond [sic], and begging them incline to peace, gave out that he would no longer adhere to the side of his uncle, Duke Salan, but having been defeated would faithfully serve Árpád, duke of Hungary, and pay a yearly tribute. They, inclining to peace and taking in pledge the duke's own son, left with many good things of Bulgaria and released the duke unharmed. Then, having set forth, they went to the Gate of Wazil,⁸⁶ and setting forth from there they subjugated the land of Rác [Racy]⁸⁷ and having captured its duke held him for a long time bound with iron. Setting forth from there, they arrived at the sea and they subjugated by force and persuasion [potenter et pacifice]⁸⁸ all the nations of that land to the rule [dominatui] of Árpád, duke of the Hungarians, and they took the city of Spalato [Spaletensem] and conquered all Croatia [Crouatiam] and, setting forth from there, they took the sons of the nobles as hostages and returned to Hungary to Duke Árpád. Of their wars and brave deeds, if you do not wish to read the present pages of writing, then you may

believe the gabbling rhymes of minstrels and the spurious tales of countryfolk who have not forgotten the brave deeds and wars of the Hungarians even to this day. Some say that they reached Constantinople and that Botond cut the Golden Gate of Constantinople with his axe. But as I have found this in no book written by historians, and have heard it only in the spurious tales of countryfolk, I do not propose so to write in the present work.

43. *Of the castles of Zagreb, Pozsega and Valkó*⁸⁹

Bulsuu, Lelu and Botond, setting forth from here, descended through the wood that is called Peturgoz and encamped beside the river of Kulpa [Culpe], and having crossed that river they arrived at the Zoua river and, having crossed the Zoua, they took Zagreb [Zabrag] castle and, riding from there, they took Pozsega [Posaga] and Valkó [Vlcou], and setting out from there, crossing the Danube at the harbour of the Greek [in portu Greci]⁹⁰ they arrived at the court of Duke Árpád. When Lelu, Bulsu and Botond and the other warriors had returned to Duke Árpád safe and sound with a great victory in the second year, great joy was made throughout the duke's whole court and they had a great feast and the Hungarians banqueted magnificently together with various nations. And the neighbouring nations, hearing of their deeds, flocked to Duke Árpád and, as truly faithful subjects, they served him with great diligence and very many guests [hospites] were made members of his household [domestici].

44. *Of the island of the Danube*

After this, Duke Árpád set forth from those parts where now Bodrog [Budrug] castle is, and he descended along the Danube to the great island.⁹¹ And they encamped beside the island and Duke Árpád and his noblemen entering the island, having seen

the fertility and richness of the place and the protection given by the waters of the Danube, loved that place more than can be said, and they decided that the island should be ducal [ducalis] and each of the noble persons⁹² should have there a court and village. Forthwith, Duke Árpád ordered the assembled craftsmen to make fine ducal homes and he ordered all his horses, exhausted by long days, brought there to graze and he appointed as master of his grooms a certain Cuman, a most skilled man called Sepel and, as Sepel, master of the grooms, remained there, that island is called to the present day by the name of Csepel [Sepel]. Duke Árpád and his noblemen stayed there with their servants and serving women peacefully and powerfully [pacifice et potenter] from the month of April to the month of October and, leaving their wives there, they decided by common counsel, to leave the island in order to go beyond the Danube and subjugate the land of Pannonia and make war against the Carinthians [Carinthios] and prepare to go to the march of Lombardy [in marciam Lambardie] and, before doing that, to send an army against Duke Glad, who had rule [dominium] from the Maros river to Haram [Horom] castle, of whose line a long time later was descended Ajtony [Ohtum], whom Csanád [Sunad] killed. To this end, Zuardu, Cadusa and Boyta were sent who, having taken leave, rode out and crossed the Tisza at Kanizsa [Kenesna] and made a descent along the Seztüreg river. And no enemy appeared before them who dared raise his hand against them, because fear of them took hold of all the men of that land. Setting out from there, they reached the districts of Beguey and stayed there two weeks while they conquered all the inhabitants of that land from the Maros to the Temes river and they received their sons as hostages. Then, moving the army on, they came to the Temes river and encamped beside the Ford of Sands [Vadum Arenarum], and when they sought to cross the Temes's flow, there came to oppose them Glad, of whose line Ajtony [Othum]

descended, the duke of that country, with a great army of horsemen and foot soldiers, supported by Cumans, Bulgarians and Vlachs. The next day, because, with the Temes river lying between them, neither army was at all able to cross over to the other, Zuardu enjoined his brother, Cadusa, to go lower down with half his army and try to cross in any way in order to fight the enemy. Forthwith Cadusa, obeying his brother's commands, riding with half the army, went very swiftly lower down and, as if God's grace was before them, he had an easy crossing. And when one part of the army of the Hungarians was with Cadusa on the far side and the other half with Zuard on this side, the Hungarians sounded their trumpets of war and, crossing the river, began to fight fiercely. And because God with His grace went before the Hungarians, he gave them a great victory and their enemies fell before them as hay before reapers [sicut manipuli post messoros]. And in that battle two dukes of the Cumans and three princes [kenezys] of the Bulgarians were slain, and Glad, their duke, escaped in flight but all his army, melting like wax before flame, was destroyed at the point of the sword. Then Zuard, Cadusa and Boyta, having won victory, setting forth from there, came to the borders of the Bulgarians and encamped beside the Ponoucea river. Duke Glad, having fled, as we said above, for fear of the Hungarians, entered Keve [Keuee] castle and, on the third day, Zuardu, Cadusa and Boyta, from whom the Brucea kindred descends, having arranged their army began to fight against Keve castle. When Glad, their duke, saw this, he sent to seek peace with them and of his own will delivered up the castle with divers gifts. Going from there, they took Orsova [Ursoua] castle and for a whole month lived there. And they sent Boyta with a third of the army and the sons of the inhabitants placed as hostages back to Duke Árpád and sent, moreover, their envoys to him so that he might give them leave to go to Greece [in Greciam] that they might conquer the whole of Macedonia [Macedoniam] from the Danube to the Black Sea

[Nigrum Mare]. For the mind of the Hungarians at that time chose nothing other than to seize lands, conquer nations and practise the work of war. For at that time the Hungarians rejoiced like the horseleech [sanguisuga]⁹³ at the shedding of human blood and, had they not done so, they would not have left so many good lands to their descendants. What more? Boyta and their envoys reached Duke Árpád and they announced to him what had happened. The duke congratulated their work and gave Zuard and Cadusa free leave to go to Greece and occupy land for themselves, and he gave Boyta for his most faithful service a great land beside the Tisza by the name of Torhus. Then the envoys of Zuard and his brother, Cadusa, having received leave, returned joyfully to their lords.

45. *Of the countrymen [civibus] of the Bulgarians and Macedonians*

Some days later, Zuard and Cadusa with their whole army, emblazoned standards aloft, crossed the water of the Danube and captured Barancs [Borons] castle, after which they went to the castle of Scereducy.⁹⁴ Hearing this, the countrymen of the Bulgarians and Macedonians feared greatly before them. Then all the inhabitants of that land sent their envoys with many gifts to surrender the land to them and hand over their sons as hostages. Zuard and Cadusa, inclining to peace and taking their gifts and hostages, left them in peace, as if they were their own people, and riding beyond the Wacil Gate [ultra portam Wacil], they took the castle of King Philip, then they conquered the whole land up to the city of Cleopatra [ad Cleopatram civitatem],⁹⁵ and they had in their power the whole land from the city of Durazzo [Durasu] to the land of Rác [ad terram Rachy]. And Zuardu took to himself a wife in that land and the people, who are now called Sobamogera, remained after Duke Zuard's death in

Greece and they were thus called soba by the Greeks, that is stupid people, because with their lord dead they did not take the way home.⁹⁶

46. *Of the harbour of Moger*

Some days later, Duke Árpád and all his leading men, going forth from the island by common counsel, with equal consent and freely willing, encamped beyond Soroksár [Surcusar] as far as the Rákos [Racus] river. And when they saw that they were everywhere safe and that no one was able to stop them, they crossed the Danube and the harbour where they made the crossing they called the Moger harbour because the seven leading persons, who are called the Hetumoger, sailed across the Danube there. Having crossed the Danube, they encamped beside the Danube as far as Felhéviz [Aguas Calidas Superiores]. And hearing this, all the Romans [Romani] living throughout the land of Pannonia, saved themselves by fleeing. Next day, Duke Árpád and all his leading men with all the warriors of Hungary entered the city of King Attila and they saw all the royal palaces, some ruined to the foundations, others not, and they admired beyond measure the stone buildings and were happier than can be told that they had deservedly taken without fighting the city of King Attila, of whose line Duke Árpád descended, and they banqueted every day with great joy in the palace of King Attila, sitting alongside one another, and they had before them all the melodies and sweet sounds of zithers and pipes along with all the songs of minstrels. Dishes and drinks were borne to the duke and his noblemen in golden vessels, to the serving men [servientibus]⁹⁷ and countryfolk in silver vessels, because all the good things of the other neighbouring realms God had put in their hands, and they lived lavishly and magnificently with all the guests [hospites] that came to them. And to the guests staying with them, Duke Árpád gave great lands and properties and, when they

heard this, many guests thronged to him and gladly stayed with him. Then, on account of their happiness, Duke Árpád and his men stayed in the city of King Attila for twenty days and in the presence of the duke all the warriors of Hungary daily made a very great tournament [turnamentum], mounted on destriers [dextrarios] with shields and lances, and the other young men played in pagan manner with bows and arrows, on account of which Duke Árpád was made most happy and he gave to all his warriors divers gifts both of gold and silver along with other properties, and in that place he gave to Cundu [Cundunec], father of Curzan, land from the city of King Attila up to the Hundred Tumuli [ad Centum Montes]⁹⁸ and to Gyoyg,⁹⁹ and to his son he gave a castle to defend his people. Then Curzan ordered that castle to be called by his own name, and even today that name has not been forgotten.¹⁰⁰

47. *Of the land of Pannonia*

On the twenty-first day, Duke Árpád, having taken counsel, set out from Etzelburg to conquer the land of Pannonia as far as the Drava [Droua] river, and on the first day he encamped beside the Danube towards the Hundred Tumuli. Then it was arranged that the duke should send one part of his army along the Danube to Baranya [Borona] castle, for which he appointed as the chief men and leaders two of the principal persons,¹⁰¹ namely Ete, father of Eudu, and Boyta, from whom the Brugsa kindred is descended, to whom for their most faithful service Duke Árpád gave no small gifts, and to Eudu [Eudunec], son of Ete, he gave land beside the Danube along with innumerable people. And there Eudu, having conquered the people of that district, built a castle that is commonly called Zecuseu, because it was for them a seat and station.¹⁰² And to Boyta he gave in the same way a great land towards Saru with innumerable people, which is still called Boyta.

48. *Of Veszprém [Bezprem] city*

In the second part of the army was sent Vsubu, father of Zolocu and Eusee, who sallied against Veszprém city and conquered all the inhabitants of the land up to the Iron Castle [Castrum Ferreum].¹⁰³ Then Usubu, the chief man and leader of that army, with leave of the duke, set forth with standard aloft and encamped beside Pacoztu mountain. Riding from there, they encamped on the field of Peytu and stayed there for three days, and on the fourth reached Veszprém castle. Then Usubu and Eusee, having ordered their army against the Roman warriors who guarded Veszprém castle, began to fight fiercely. And they fought for a week. On the fourth day of the second week, when both armies were quite exhausted by the labour of war, Usubuu and Eusuu slew some warriors of the Romans at the point of the sword and killed others with arrow shots. The rest of the Romans, seeing the courage of the Hungarians, having quit the castle fled and, to save their lives, hurried to the land of the Germans [Theotonicorum], with Usubuu and Eusee pursuing them as far as the border of the Germans. One day, when the Hungarians and Romans were on the border, the Romans secretly swam across the river which is on the border between Pannonia and the Germans, on account of which it is called Loponsu by the Hungarians, because for fear of the Hungarians the Romans secretly swam across.¹⁰⁴

49. *Of the Iron Castle*

Returning from there, Usubuu, father of Zolouncu, and Eusee, son of Urcun, took the Iron Castle and received the sons of the inhabitants as hostages. Riding from there along the Bolotun river,¹⁰⁵ they reached Tihany [Thyon] and having conquered the peoples entered Veszprém castle on the fourteenth day. Then Usubuu and Eusee,

having taken counsel, sent to Duke Árpád their messengers with divers gifts and the sons of the inhabitants that had been placed as hostages, to tell what kind of victory God had given them and how the Romans, having left Veszprém castle, had secretly swum before them in flight across the Loponsu river. Their messengers found Duke Árpád walking about like Harpalyce [arpalice] in Turobag wood,¹⁰⁶ and greeted him with divers gifts on behalf of Usubuu and Eusee and they presented to the duke the sons of the inhabitants placed as hostages. Having heard this, Duke Árpád was especially happy and returning again to Etzelburg made a great feast and gave great gifts to the messengers who had reported the glad news.

50. *Of the destruction of Pannonia*

Then Duke Árpád and his noblemen leaving Etzelburg with a third of his army encamped beside the field of the Spring of Salt [Putei Salsi]¹⁰⁷ and riding from there they arrived at Bodoctu mountain. On the eastern side, Duke Árpád gave to Eleudu [Eleudunec], father of Zobolsu, a great wood that is now called Uertus on account of the shields of the Germans that were left there.¹⁰⁸ At the bottom of that wood, beside the pool of Ferteu, Sac,¹⁰⁹ nephew of Zobolsu, built a long time later a castle. What more? Thus proceeding, Duke Árpád and his warriors encamped beside St Martin's mountain, and they and their beasts drank of the spring of Sabaria, and having seen the beauty of the land of Pannonia they became exceedingly happy. And from there they went forth to Raba and Rabucea, and laid waste the peoples and realms of the Slavs and Pannonians [Pannoniorum] and occupied their territories. And with frequent assaults they stormed the boundaries of the Carinthians of the Mura [Carinthinorum Moroanensium], of whom they killed many thousands at the point of the sword, captured their defences and took their territories and, with God's help, their posterity

keeps it to this present day by force and persuasion [potenter et pacifice]. Then Usubuu and Eusee, father of Urcun, and their army returned safe and sound with a great victory to Duke Árpád. For God, Whose mercy went before them, gave over to Duke Árpád and his warriors their enemies and, by His hands, they reaped the fruits of other peoples' toils.¹¹⁰ When they were settled and conquered almost all the neighbouring realms, they returned to the wood beside the Danube to hunt and, having sent their warriors home, the duke and his noblemen stayed there in that wood for ten days, and going from there, they descended to the city of King Attila and to Csepel island, where the duchess and the other womenfolk of the noblemen were.

And that year, Duke Árpád sired a son, by the name of Zulta, and great joy was made among the Hungarians, and for very many days the duke and his noblemen held great banquets, and their young men frolicked before the duke and his noblemen like the lambs of ewes before rams. Several days later, Duke Árpád and his noblemen sent by common counsel an army against Menumorout, duke of Bihar, of which army Usubuu and Velec were appointed the chief men and leaders. They, having set forth from the island, riding through the sand and flow of the Tisza, crossed at the harbour of Beuldu, and, riding on, they encamped beside the Kórógy [Couroug] river, and all the Szekels [Siculi], who were previously the peoples of King Attila, having heard of Usubuu's fame, came to make peace and of their own will gave their sons as hostages along with divers gifts and they undertook to fight in the vanguard of Usubuu's army, and they forthwith sent the sons of the Szekels to Duke Árpád, and, together with the Szekels before them, began to ride against Menumorout. And they crossed the Körös river at Stag Mountain [Cervino Monte]¹¹¹ and, riding from there, encamped beside the Tekereu river.

51. *Of Duke Menumorout*

When Menumorout heard that Usubuu and Velec, most noble warriors of Duke Árpád, had come against them with a strong force, with Szekels in the vanguard, he feared more than was fitting and dared not go against them because he had heard that Duke Árpád and his warriors were stronger in war and that the Romans had been put to flight from Pannonia by them, that the borders of the Carinthians of the Mura had been laid waste and many thousands of men slain at the point of the sword, the realm of the Pannonians occupied, and their enemies put to flight before them. Then Duke Menumorout, having left a host of warriors in Bihar castle, fleeing before them, betook himself and his wife and daughter to the groves of Ygfon. Vsubuu and Veluc and their entire army happily began to ride against Bihar castle and encamped beside the Iouzas river. On the third day, having arranged their armies, they set out to make war on the castle, and, in turn, warriors gathered from divers nations began to fight against Usubuu and his warriors. The Szekels [Sycli] and the Hungarians killed many men with arrow shots. Vsubuu and Velec killed 125 warriors with crossbows [per balistas]. And they fought among themselves for twelve days and, of Vsubuu's warriors, twenty Hungarians and fifteen Sekels [Sjcli] were killed. On the thirteenth day, when the Hungarians and Szekels [Sycli] had filled in the castle's moats, and sought to put ladders to the wall, the warriors of Duke Menumorout, seeing the boldness of the Hungarians, began to petition the two chief men of the army for terms and, having thrown the castle open, they came before Usubuu and Velec, beseeching them barefoot. Putting a guard over them, Vsubuu and Velec entered Bihar castle and found there the many goods of the warriors. When Menumorout heard this from messengers that had taken to flight, he became very greatly afraid and sent his messengers with divers gifts to Vsubuu and Velec and asked them to incline to peace

and to send their envoys to Duke Árpád to announce to him that Menumorout, who had before haughtily with a Bulgarian heart sent word through his messengers to Duke Árpád refusing to give him a fistful of land, was now defeated and overthrown and did not hesitate to give, through the same messengers, his realm and his daughter to Zulta, son of Árpád. Then Vsubuu and Veluc praised his decision and sent messengers along with his envoys to ask their lord, Duke Árpád, for peace. The day after the envoys had entered Csepel island and greeted Duke Árpád, they delivered Menumorout's message. Duke Árpád, having taken counsel of his noblemen, approved and praised Menumorout's announcement and, as he had already heard that Menumorout's daughter was the same age as his son Zultus [sic], did not refuse Menumorout's petition and he accepted Menumorout's daughter as Zulta's wife, along with the realm promised to him, and, having sent envoys to Usubu and Ueluc [sic], he instructed that, once the wedding had been performed, they should accept the daughter of Menumorout as wife to his son, Zulta, take with them the sons of the inhabitants placed as hostages, and give Bihar castle to Duke Menumorout.

52. *Of Usubuu and Veluc*

Usubuu and Veluc and the whole army, following the orders of their lord, received the daughter of Menumorout and the wedding was performed; and they took with them the sons of the inhabitants placed as hostages and left Menumorout himself in Bihar castle. Then Usubuu and Ueluc returned with great honour and joy to Duke Árpád, and the duke and his chief servants [yobagyones] went forth to meet them and they led the daughter of Menumorout to the duke's home with honour, as befitted the bride of so great a duke. Duke Árpád and all his leading men made great feasts to celebrate the wedding and almost every day they ate as at a wedding with divers warriors of the

realms around, and their young men frolicked before the duke and his noblemen. Duke Árpád, having taken an oath of the leading men and warriors of Hungary, had his son, Duke Zulta, elevated to office with great honour. Then the duke gave for his most faithful service to Usubu [Usubunec], father of Zoloucu, the castle of Veszprém together with all its appurtenances and to Veluc [Veluquio] he gave the county of Zarand and he likewise gave to the other noblemen honours and places. The second year after all this, Menumorout died without a son and left his whole kingdom in peace to Zolta, his son-in-law. After this, in the 907th year of Our Lord's birth, Árpád left this world and was buried with honour at the head of a small river that flows through a stone culvert to the city of King Attila where, after the conversion of the Hungarians, was built the church that is called Alba, to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹¹²

53. *Of the succession of Duke Zulta*

And his son Zulta succeeded him, who was similar to his father in character but dissimilar in appearance.¹¹³ Duke Zulta was a little lisping and pale, with soft, blond hair, of middling stature, a warlike duke, brave in spirit, but merciful to his subjects, sweet of speech, but covetous of power, whom all the leading men and warriors of Hungary loved marvellously. Some time later, when Zulta was thirteen, all the leading men of the realm by their common counsel and of their equal wish appointed rectors of the kingdom beneath the duke to mend through the guidance of the law of custom [moderamine iuris consuetudinis] the quarrels and disputes of those who were in disagreement.¹¹⁴ They appointed others as leaders of the army to lay waste various realms, whose names were these: Lelu, son of Tosu, Bulsuu, a bloodthirsty man, the son of Bogat, and Bonton [*recte* Botond], the son of Culpun. These were warlike men,

brave in spirit, whose concern was none other than to conquer peoples for their lord and lay waste the realms of others. With leave of Duke Zulta, they destroyed a Carinthian army and came by Friuli [Forum Iulii] to the march of Lombardy where they brutally sacked the city of Padua with slaughter, fire, the sword and great plundering. Thence, ¹¹⁵ entering Lombardy, they did many bad things. When the inhabitants of the land, massed in a single army, sought to stand against their violence and monstrous fury, an innumerable host of the Lombards were felled by arrow shots and many bishops and counts were butchered. Then, having heard this, Liutward [Lutuardus], bishop of the church of Vercelli [Uercelensis], a man of the greatest renown, most dear friend and most faithful privy counsellor of Charles the Lesser, the former emperor, ¹¹⁶ taking with him his riches and matchless treasures which were more plentiful than may be reckoned, endeavouring in every way to escape their bloody savagery, came unwittingly upon the Hungarians and, being speedily captured by them, was killed, and they seized the treasure that he brought that was beyond human reckoning. At the same time, Stephen, the brother of Count Waldo, while sitting at night on the privy [in secessu] above the wall of the castle to empty his bowels, was severely wounded by the arrow shot of a Hungarian through the chamber's hatchway and died that night of the wound.

54. *Of the laying waste of Lorraine [Lotorigie], Alamannia and France*

Then they laid waste Lorraine and Germany, and they also put to flight the Eastern Franks [Francos quoque orientales] on the border of Franconia and Bavaria, slaying many thousands of them, and, taking all their goods, they returned to Duke Zulta in Hungary.

55. *Of the deaths of Lelu and Bulsuu*

Five years later, during the reign of Emperor Conrad,¹¹⁷ Lelu, Bulsu and Botond, the renowned and most glorious warriors of Duke Zulta of Hungary, having been dispatched by their lord, stormed the districts of Germany and took many of their goods. But, at last, by the despicable tricks of the Bavarians and Germans, Lelu and Bulsuu were captured and killed, hanged from a gallows beside the Inn [Hin] river.¹¹⁸ Botond and the other warriors of the Hungarians, what was left of them, seeing themselves hemmed in by the guile of the foes, bravely and manfully stood ground. And they were not separated one from the other, but especially undertook to help each other in need, and like wounded lions they rushed into battle with roars against their foes and laid them low with the mightiest slaughter. And although they were defeated, they nevertheless beat the victors in courage and valour and laid them low with the mightiest slaughter. Happy thus the rewards of the Hungarians! Now all the safer on account of the dangers they had passed, and the more warlike on account of the constant mustering, excelling in men and might, they destroyed all Bavaria, Alamannia, Saxony and the realm of Lorraine by fire and the sword, and beheaded their dukes, Erchanger and Bertold.¹¹⁹ Setting forth from there, they stormed France and Gaul [Franciam et Galliam], and, as they returned victorious from there, were slain in a great heap by the wiles of the Saxons. Those of them that escaped went homeward. But Duke Zulta and his chief men were not a little dismayed by the death of Lelu and Bulsu and their other warriors, and they became enemies of the Germans [Theutonicorum]. Then Duke Zulta and his warriors, in recompense for the injury done to them by their foes, began to rage against them and did not dumbly refrain from giving them their due. But, with God's help, Duke Zolta, sired in the 931st year of Our Lord's birth a son, who was called Tocsun, who was handsome with big eyes

and with soft, black hair, and he had a mane like a lion, as you may read in the following.

56. *Of the foes of King Otto*

That year, the foes of King Otto of the Germans plotted his death in a loathsome crime. When they failed to do him any harm, they asked the Hungarians for help because they knew that the Hungarians were insuperable in the usual hardships of war and that God had by the scourge of His wrath [furoris sui flagella] given many realms over to them. Then the enemies of Otto, king of the Germans, sent their messengers to Duke Zulta, a warlike man, and having given him much gold, asked him whether they might attack the aforesaid King Otto with Hungarian support. Duke Zulta, led by wrath, as much for their goodwill and reward as in mourning for the death of Lelu and Bulsuu, sent a great army against Otto, king of the Germans. He appointed as its chief men and leaders Botund [Botundium], son of Culpun, Zobolsu, son of Eleud, and Urcund [Ircundium], son of Euse. Having departed from Duke Zulta, they put once more to the sword Bavaria, Alamannia, Saxony and Thuringia and, proceeding from there, crossed the Rhine during Lent and destroyed the realm of Lorraine [Latariensem] with bows and arrows. Savagely casting down all Gaul [Galliam], they remorselessly entered the churches of God and plundered them. Thence they forced their way by iron and the sword along the cliffs of Cenis [abrupta Senonensium] through the Alimin peoples [per populos Aliminos]. Having subdued these most warlike peoples, who were very well protected by natural locations, they crossed the mountains of Cenis [montes Senonum] and took the city of Susa [Segusa].¹²⁰ Then going forth, they stormed the most wealthy city of Turin [Taurinam]. After they had looked upon the flat countryside of Lombardy, they despoiled in swift moves almost

all Italy, which abounds and overflows with all goods. Then Botond, son of Culpun, and Urcun, son of Euse, having vanquished all the aforesaid peoples, returned to their own realms, delighting in happy victory. Then Otto [Hoto], king of the Germans, placed traps along the Rhine and, attacking them with all the strength of his realm, killed many of them. Botond, Vrcun and the rest of their forces, preferring to die in battle than to lose a victory due them, pressed firmly against the foes and they slew in that battle a great duke, a most renowned man, and, severely wounding others, put them to flight, plundered them and returned from there to their own realms with a great victory. And after Botond and Vrcun had returned joyously to the land of Pannonia, Botond, worn out by the long travail of war, began strangely to weaken, passed from the world and was buried by the Uereucea river. But this should be noted by all those who wish to know, that the warriors of the Hungarians waged these and other wars up to the times of Duke Tucsun.

57. *Of the ordering of the realm*¹²¹

After the return of his warriors, Duke Zulta established the borders of the realm of Hungary on the side of the Greeks, as far as the Gate of Wacil [portam Wacil]¹²² and the land of Rác; to the west as far as the sea where the city of Spalato [Spaletina] is, and on the side of the Germans as far as the bridge of Guncil [ad pontem Guncil], and in the same place he gave to the Ruthenes, who had come to Pannonia with his grandfather, Duke Álmos, a castle to build, and on the same border, beyond the mire of Moson, he gathered not a few Pechenegs [Bissenos] to live there for the defence of his realm, lest at any time in the future the Germans, enraged by a harm done to them, should lay waste the Hungarians' borders. On the side of the Bohemians, he set the border as far as the Morava river on condition that their duke should pay an annual

tribute to the duke of Hungary, and in the same way he put on the side of the Poles the border at Turtur mountain, just as Borsu, son of Bunger, had done previously. And as Duke Zulta and his warriors were putting down roots throughout Hungary, Duke Zulta brought to his son, Tocsun,¹²³ a wife from the land of the Cumans and, while still alive, took oaths of his noblemen and made his son duke and ruler over the whole realm of Hungary. And Duke Zulta, in the third year of his son's reign, departed in the way of all flesh from the body's prison. Duke Tosun with all the leading men of Hungary maintained by force and persuasion [potenter et pacifice] all the laws of Hungary for all the days of his life, and having heard of his piety many guests of various nations flocked to him. And from the land of Bular, there came some most noble lords with a great host of Ishmaelites [Hismahelitarum], whose names were Billa and Bocsu, to whom the duke granted lands in various parts of Hungary, and he gave in perpetuity, moreover, the castle that is called Pest.¹²⁴ Bylla and his brother, Bocsu, from whom the line of Ethej [Ethey] descends, having taken counsel of the people they had brought with them, gave two parts to the service of the aforesaid castle and they left the third part to their descendants. At the same time, there came from the same region a most noble warrior, Heten by name, to whom the duke gave no small lands and other properties. Duke Thocsun bore a son, Géza [Geysam] by name, the fifth duke of Hungary. And at that time, there came from the land of the Pechenegs [Byssenorum] a warrior of ducal stock [de ducali progenie], whose name was Thonuzoba, father of Vrcund, from whom the Thomoy kindred descends, to whom Duke Thocsun gave to dwell in a land in the districts of Kemej [Kemey] as far as the Tisza where is now the harbour of Obad. This Thonuzoba lived to the times of the holy King Stephen, the grandson of Duke Tocsun. And when the holy King Stephen preached the words of life and baptized the Hungarians, Thonuzoba, vain in

belief, refused to be a Christian, and he was buried alive with his wife at the harbour of Obad lest by baptism he and his wife should live with Christ in eternity, but Vrcun, his son, having been made a Christian, lives with Christ for ever.

This translation is dedicated to the memory of László Péter (1929-2008), for whose diversion it was begun. I am most grateful for the help and advice given to me in its

preparation by János Bak, Simon MacLean, László Veszprémy and the anonymous readers of the *Slavonic and East European Review*.

¹ C.A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians: A Critical and Analytical Guide*, Cambridge, 1953, p. 59.

² The MS ends with a rhyming couplet which suggests that at least a break was intended there, but a discussion of events promised in ch. 15 is not followed up in the extant text.

³ It is now in the National Széchényi Library, MSS, *Cod. Lat. medii aevi*, 403.

⁴ Petrus Lambecius, *Diarium Sacri Itineris Cellensis*, Vienna, 1666, p. 267; Daniel de Nessel, *Sciagraphia sive Prima Delineatio et brevis notitia magni corporis historici, hactenus inediti*, Vienna, 1692, p. 29; J.G. Schwandtner, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Veteres, ac Genuini*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1746, pp. 1-38.

⁵ These are listed in (eds) Gyula Pauler and Sándor Szilágyi, *A Magyar Honfoglalás Kútfői*, Budapest, 1900, p. 385-6. The list omits a Romanian edition, published in the journal *Transilvania* in 1899.

⁶ Included in Pauler and Szilágyi, *A Magyar Honfoglalás Kútfői*, pp. 392-463

⁷ An internet version of the Latin text is also now available
<http://la.wikisource.org/wiki/Gesta_Hungarorum> [accessed 19 January, 2009].

⁸ Dezső Pais, *Magyar Anonymus Béla király jegyzőjének könyve a magyarok cselekedeteiről*, Budapest, 1926.

⁹ See thus (ed.) Paul Lazar Tonciulescu, *Cronica Notarului Anonymus Faptele Ungurilor*, Bucharest, 1996, which also gives details of previous Romanian translations; (eds) Gabriel Silagi and László Veszprémy, *Die 'Gesta Hungarorum' des*

Anonymen Notars. Die älteste Darstellung der ungarischen Geschichte, Stuttgart, 1998.

¹⁰ Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, p. 70.

¹¹ *The Times*, 7 April, 1987; reproduced in (ed.) László Peter, *Historians and the History of Transylvania*, Boulder and New York, 1992, pp. 197-201.

¹² See below, Prologue and ch. 42.

¹³ See below, chs 55, 57. Constantine Porphyrogenitus's mid-tenth century account, *De Administrando imperio*, thus records 'Almoutzis' and his son, 'Arpad', as Hungarian leaders (ch 38, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, Budapest, 1949, pp. 171-3); Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2nd edition, 2 vols, Berlin, 1958, 2, pp. 63, 71-2, 107, 298.

¹⁴ See below, chs 53-5. Regino's account is known to have circulated extensively in Central Europe. For Regino's text, we have used *Reginonis Abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione*, ed. F. Kurze, Hanover (MGH SRG in usum scholarum), 1890. Possibly also, Anonymus borrows from an account of the Third Crusade. See C.A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, pp. 82-3.

¹⁵ *SRH*, 1, pp. 129-194, 217-505; Kézai's chronicle is now available with an English translation as (eds and trans.) László Veszprémy and Frank Schaer, *Simonis de Kéza, 'Gesta Hungarorum'. Simon of Kéza, 'The Deeds of the Hungarians'*, Budapest and New York, 1999.

¹⁶ Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian Historians*, p. 72-3.

¹⁷ See below, chs 17, 31, 32, 40, 41, 46, 47, 50, 52.

¹⁸ Péter Váczy, 'Anonymus és kora', in (eds) János Horvath and György Székely, *Középkori kútfőinek kritikus kérdései*, Budapest, 1974, pp. 13-37 (pp. 30-1); Georges I. Bratianu, *La mer Noire* (Societas Academica Dacoromana. Acta Historica, 9),

Monaco, 1969, p. 45; János Horváth, 'P. mester és műve', *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 70, 1966, pp. 1-53, 261-82 (pp. 21-6). Note also Anonymus's understanding of the Turkic word, Oba, in ch. 32.

¹⁹ György Györffy, *Anonymus. Rejtély avagy történeti forrás?*, Budapest, 1988, pp. 42-3.

²⁰ It was once conjectured that the opening words of the chronicle, 'P. dictus magister', should be read as 'Praedictus magister', the author's name having been given before on a folio that is now lost. The *dictus* construction is, however, an entirely familiar form of *intitulatio* in Western Europe, where Anonymus was educated, and may also be found in Hungary; thus from the *intitulatio* of a charter of 1226 'ego Vros dictus abbas Sancti Martini' (*A Pannonhalmi Sz. Benedek-Rend története*, (ed.) László Erdélyi, 1, Budapest, 1902, p. 680).

²¹ C.A. Macartney, *Studies in the Earliest Hungarian Historical Sources*, 7 vols in 8 parts, Budapest and Oxford, 1938-51; republished in C.A. Macartney, *Studies on Early Hungarian and Pontic History*, eds Lóránt Czigány and László Péter, Aldershot and Brookfield, VT, 1999, pp. 65-560.

²² János Győry, *Gesta Regum – Gesta Nobilium. Tanulmány Anonymus krónikájáról*, Budapest, 1948; Silagi and Veszprémy, *Die 'Gesta Hungarorum' des Anonymen Notars*, pp. 134-79.

²³ A full-tone facsimile is provided in *Anonymus Gesta Hungarorum*, ed. Tamás Katona, 2nd edition, Budapest, 1977.

²⁴ The pseudo-Dares Phrygius's account of the fall of Troy was composed c. 600 AD and much read in the centuries following. Anonymus's Prologue, along with the descriptions of Álmos in ch. 4 and of Zulta in ch. 53, contain several short borrowings

from a version of its text. See thus *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Troiae Historia*, ed. F. Meister, Leipzig, 1873, esp. chs 12-13, pp. 14-7.

²⁵ Literally, ‘the seven Hungarians’. Throughout the text, the seven leaders are, with only one exception, referred to exclusively as *persone*.

²⁶ ‘ex falsis fabulis rusticorum vel a garrulo cantu ioculatorum’.

²⁷ Kézai and later chronicles have Dentia and Mogoria as two of the three parts of Scythia.

²⁸ Given in inverted commas in the original. See Revelation, 20, 7.

²⁹ See here Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander’s Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations*, Cambridge, MA (Medieval Academy of America), 1932.

³⁰ Aquae Calidae Superiores or Budafelhéviz, near Óbuda.

³¹ Óbuda or Etzelburg. Anonymus probably also refers here to the old Roman amphitheatre.

³² The account of Scythia given here ultimately derives from Justinus’s *Epitoma historiarum philippicarum*, 2.1 (ed. Otto Seel, Leipzig, 1935, pp. 18-9), mediated through Regino, ad 889 (ed. Kurze, pp 131-2).

³³ See below, ch. 13.

³⁴ The author alludes here to the Latin adjective, *almus*, which also conveyed the meaning of *sanctus* or *pius*.

³⁵ The names of the seven Hetumoger chieftains are customarily rendered in Hungarian as Álmos, Előd, Kend, Ond, Tas, Huba and Tétény. The kindreds referred to here are most probably the Csák, Kalán, Kolsoy, Szemere and Maglód.

³⁶ The reference here is to the annals of Regino of Prum, *recte* 889 AD (ed. Kurze, p. 131).

³⁷ Deriving from the Turkic *ättil* or *itil*, meaning ‘river’. Most probably the Volga is meant here, although the term may also be applied to the Danube.

³⁸ ‘labores hominum’ – see below ch. 50: that is, they did not practise agriculture.

³⁹ No such quotation may be attributed to Aristotle.

⁴⁰ ‘tanquam crudas cucurbitas’.

⁴¹ Halychyna or Galicja, named after the city of Halych. The region currently straddles Poland and Ukraine.

⁴² On the ‘shepherds of the Romans’, see Dennis Deletant, ‘Ethnos and Mythos in the History of Transylvania: the case of the chronicler Anonymus’, in László Péter (ed.), *Historians and the History of Transylvania*, Boulder and New York, 1992, pp. 67-85 (pp. 75-9).

⁴³ The meaning of this sarcastic aside is obscure.

⁴⁴ Vladimir or Volodymyr, nowadays in north-west Ukraine.

⁴⁵ See above, ch 9.

⁴⁶ The prefix ‘Menu’ is thus explained by the author as deriving from the Hungarian *mén*, ‘a stallion’.

⁴⁷ It is unlikely that *Cozar* conceals the name of the Khazars. Rather, the author having just made a joke with the word for stallion, now seeks further to amuse by calling some people after the Hungarian word for a goatherd (*kozár*).

⁴⁸ On the duties of lordship, see also ch. 29. The story of Csanád’s defeat of Ajtony is also given in the Legend of St Gellert. See *SRH*, 2, pp. 489-92.

⁴⁹ *Munka* means ‘toil’ or ‘work’ in Hungarian.

⁵⁰ Possibly Zemplén, situated to the west of Ung and Munkács.

⁵¹ See above, ch. 2.

⁵² Almost certainly a misspelling for Souiou, i.e. the Sajó.

⁵³ We do not reproduce here Anonymus's punning of *leti* (rejoicing) and *leto* (death).

⁵⁴ Literally, 'Ketel's Brook'.

⁵⁵ 'Ad servitium cuius castris, tam de populo secum ducto, quam etiam a duce adquisito duas partes condonavit.' The meaning of this sentence is controversial. See Silagi and Veszprémy, *Die 'Gesta Hungarorum' des Anonymen Notars*, p. 157. See also below, ch. 57.

⁵⁶ Andrew I, 1046-60.

⁵⁷ The extant text includes no further reference to these events.

⁵⁸ Probably Sívár in Sáros county, now Solivar in Slovakia.

⁵⁹ Note the use here of the Hungarian 'dative' suffix, -*nec/-nek*.

⁶⁰ Most probably, the Tatra mountains.

⁶¹ The -*d* suffix then constituted a diminutive in Hungarian.

⁶² 'De duce Bycoriensy'.

⁶³ Probably Titel, on the confluence of the Danube and Tisza.

⁶⁴ Deuteronomy 11, 24.

⁶⁵ The text here refers to the institution of *castrenses* and *udvornici* assigned to provision the principal forts of the kingdom. During the thirteenth century, many of these asserted their status as *servientes regis* and joined the ranks of the nobility.

⁶⁶ Sárvár, probably west of Szatmár-Németi; not to be confused with the Sárvár mentioned in ch. 37, nor Sárvár in Vas county.

⁶⁷ Cf above, ch. 11, where 'Erdeuelu' is used to denote Transylvania.

⁶⁸ See below, ch 27.

⁶⁹ The provenance of this quotation has not been established.

⁷⁰ This chapter is curious in its terminology: *Blasii* instead of *Blachi*, and *Picenati* in place of *Bissenii*. For one interpretation of this, see C.A. Macartney, 'The Attila Saga,

the Hun Chronicle, and T', *Studies on the Early Hungarian Historical Sources*, 3/2, Budapest, 1940, pp. 212-3 (*Studies on Early Hungarian and Pontic History*, pp. 329-30).

⁷¹ Esculeu is probably today's Esküllő, to the north-west of Koloszvár. *Eskü* is the Hungarian for 'oath'.

⁷² On the duties of lordship, see also ch. 11.

⁷³ Diósgyőr in Borsod county.

⁷⁴ The Ystoros is probably the Ostoros, a tributary of the Eger.

⁷⁵ Samuel Aba, 1041-44. Oba may conceal the Turkic word for father.

⁷⁶ 'De castro Nougrad et Nitra'.

⁷⁷ That is, one of the Hetumoger. See back, ch. 6.

⁷⁸ 'De fluvio Gron et castro Borsu'.

⁷⁹ For *cives*, *civiles*, see back, ch 21.

⁸⁰ Anonymus alludes here either to the compound bows used by the early Hungarians and other steppe-peoples or, more probably, to the contemporary use of crossbows, for which see ch. 51.

⁸¹ Variousy identified as Semppte, Galgóc, Trencsén, Bolondóc and Bán.

⁸² For Bulsuu, see also Constantine Porphyrogenitus's mid-tenth century account, *De administrando imperio*, ch. 40 (ed. Gyula Moravcsik, 1949, p. 179): 'The karchas Boulzous is the son of the karchas Kalis, and Kalis is a proper name, but karchas is a dignity, like gylas, which is superior to karchas'.

⁸³ Belgrade in Serbia. We use here the historic Hungarian name for Belgrade as it retains the association with the Bulgarians. Belgrade was in the possession of the Byzantine empire between 1185 and 1214,

⁸⁴ 'ordinaverunt omnes consuetudinarias leges regni et omnia iura eius'

⁸⁵ Traditionally identified with Szer/Pusztaszer in Csongrad county. ‘Szer’ retains the meaning of ‘acquire’ or ‘obtain’, as in the construction *szert teszi valamire*.

⁸⁶ The ‘portam Vazil’ is most probably the Claustra Sancti Basilii, more commonly known as the Soukeis Pass or Trajan’s Gate, which lies between modern-day Sofia and Plovdiv.

⁸⁷ That is Rascia, which is now southern Serbia.

⁸⁸ The phrase ‘potenter et pacifice’ is unusual and otherwise unknown in Hungarian charters and chronicles. It may be found in Albert of Aix’s account of the First Crusade, composed circa 1100, *Historia Hierosolymitanae Expeditionis*, ix, 13, as well as in several Spanish charters. I am grateful to László Veszprémy for alerting me to this.

⁸⁹ ‘De castris Zabrag, Posaga, et Vlcou’

⁹⁰ See back, ch. 39.

⁹¹ ‘descendit iuxta Danubium’; in fact, Árpád must have marched northwards, up the Danube. The ‘great island’ is Csepel Island, in the Danube, immediately south of Budapest.

⁹² ‘uniusquisque nobilium personarum’, i.e. the Hetumoger.

⁹³ Proverbs 30, 15.

⁹⁴ Borons may be identified as Barancs, Braničevo, on the Danube, east of Belgrade. Scereduc/Scereducy is probably Serdica, modern-day Sofia.

⁹⁵ While the castle of King Philip is probably Philippopolis, modern-day Plovdiv, the identity of Cleopatra is uncertain. It is possibly a scribal error for Neopatras, modern-day Ypati.

⁹⁶ This would appear to be a rendering of the Csaba legend, given also in Kézai, ch. 20-22 (pp. 69-73). See also an analogous account in Constantine Porphyrogenitus’s

De administrando imperio, ch. 38, which records the separation of a body of Hungarians called the ‘Sabartoi asphaloi.’

⁹⁷ For *servientes*, see back, ch 21.

⁹⁸ Identified as Százhalombatta in Pest county where there is a graveyard with some 120 Celtic tumuli. The six-hectare site is now an archaeological park.

⁹⁹ Possibly Diós, in Fejér county.

¹⁰⁰ Reference to a ‘loci antiqui castris Kurchan vocati’ is found in a charter of 1332. See *SRH*, 1, p. 95. It would appear to be in the proximity of Óbuda.

¹⁰¹ That is, of the Hetumoger.

¹⁰² Probably Szekcső. Anonymus plays here with the word *szék*, ‘seat’.

¹⁰³ Almost certainly Vasvár.

¹⁰⁴ Anonymus plays here with the Hungarian *lappang*, ‘to do secretly’.

¹⁰⁵ Most probably, Lake Balaton.

¹⁰⁶ Clearly a word-play is intended between Árpád and Harpalyce, otherwise the reference is obscure. In Virgil’s *Aeneid* (1. 382), Harpalyce is a huntress akin to Diana. Possibly then the reference is to Árpád as a hunter.

¹⁰⁷ Probably Sós-kút in Fejér county.

¹⁰⁸ Here Anonymus constructs a place-name from the Hungarian ‘vért’ meaning a shield or harness. The story of German soldiers discarding their arms is also reported in the main Hungarian chronicles of the fourteenth century with reference to a battle fought in 1051. See *SRH*, I, pp. 350-1.

¹⁰⁹ See back, ch 6. The reference is most probably to the Csák kindred.

¹¹⁰ ‘labores populorum’, see back, ch 7.

¹¹¹ Possibly Szarvashalom, in Békés county.

¹¹² Alba may be identified with Fehéregyháza, near Óbuda.

¹¹³ ‘similis patri moribus, dissimilis natura.’ We follow here the interpretation given by Silagi and Veszprémy, *Die ‘Gesta Hungarorum’ des Anonymen Notars*, p. 123.

¹¹⁴ This description of the role of the rector is repeated by Simon de Kéza (ch. 7; *SRH*, 1, p. 147), suggesting a common source.

¹¹⁵ From here until the end of ch. 54, the text follows almost entirely verbatim Regino of Prum and the continuator of his chronicle (ad 901, 907-10; ed. Kurze, pp. 148-9, 154).

¹¹⁶ Charles III, ‘the Fat’, King of Italy from 879 and Emperor from 881; he was deposed in 887 and died in 888.

¹¹⁷ Conrad I, King of Germany, 911-918.

¹¹⁸ Cf the Annals of St Gall which record the hanging of a Hungarian king, ‘nomine Pulszi’ following the battle of the Lechfeld in 955, and the death that year in a separate battle of a second king, ‘nomine Lele’ (‘*Annales Sangallenses Maiores*’, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH SS*, 1, 1826, p. 79).

¹¹⁹ Cf the Continuator of Regino, ad 909-17 (ed. Kurze, p. 155). The Swabian brothers, Erchanger and Berthold, were in fact executed by Conrad I in 917.

¹²⁰ We regard Cenis as more plausible a translation of *Senonses* than Sens, which makes no sense. The ‘populos Aliminos’ have not been convincingly identified, but the name may conceal the Latin *ad* and *limen*, thus implying their remoteness. See Silagi and Veszprémy, *Die ‘Gesta Hungarorum’ des Anonymen Notars*, p. 179.

¹²¹ De constitutione regni.

¹²² See above, ch. 45.

¹²³ Constantine Porphyrogenitus’s *De administrando imperii* (ch. 40; ed. Gy. Moravcsik, p. 179) and Liutprand of Cremona’s *Antapodosis* (5. 33; ed. J. Becker, *Die*

Werke Liutprands von Cremona, 3rd edition, Hanover and Leipzig, 1915, p. 151) give him as ‘Taxis’.

¹²⁴ On the early history of Hungary’s Muslims, see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and ‘Pagans’ in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000—c.1300*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 64-8.