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**The Entangled Histories of Lotharingia, Medieval Hungary and the
vallis Agriensis: The Textual Evidence**

MA Thesis in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies

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by

Nicholas Paul Tayler

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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I, the undersigned, **Nicholas Paul Tayler**, candidate for the MA degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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Abstract

This MA thesis focuses on eleventh-century Hungarian-Lotharingian relations, prelate and settler migration to the Kingdom of Hungary, and the Eger Valley, or *vallis Agriensis*, as it was known in the Middle Ages. It describes the factors that led to the entanglement of highly disparate geographical areas on an axis linking northwestern Europe (and Lotharingia) through Hungary to the Holy Land. It argues that while migration along this route was set in motion by several factors, including the Lotharingian region's population excess and economic might, the Lotharingian church and its network played a leading role. Lotharingian prelates had become active throughout the European continent; their excellent education, received at Liège cathedral school, fostered group cohesion and making them resilient spearheads of this movement of outward expansion. Comital violence in Lotharingia and 'pagan' revolts in Hungary brought prelates, including Leodwin, future bishop of Eger, to Hungary in around 1046. Dating the settlers' arrival, however, remains contentious, with details of their possible eleventh-century migration to be found in the fifteenth-century *Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot*. Onomastic evidence demonstrates clearly that migration to the *vallis Agriensis* occurred before the Mongol invasions of 1241. The Eger bishopric's foundation by King Stephen I is reevaluated, suggesting building work began later after the arrival of Leodwin and his settlers in the 1040s. The thesis also explores the *vallis Agriensis*'s villages, administration, and ecclesiastical status, the role the district played over the following centuries, demonstrating that it maintained its separate status throughout the Middle Ages.

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¹ See: <https://medievalstudies.ceu.edu/bak-award>

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List of Abbreviations

DF:	Image Collection of the Central Archives of the Hungarian National Archives
HmL:	Heves-megyei Levéltár/ Heves County Archive
<i>MGH SS:</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores</i>

Chapter 1: Purpose and Background

The longer-term purpose of this project is to complete a PhD dissertation and monograph on the multifarious effects of the eleventh-century entangled histories of Lotharingia, the medieval Hungarian Kingdom and the *vallis Agriensis*, and its consequences up until the second siege of Eger in 1596. This MA thesis limits itself to providing the historical contextualization essential to understanding the factors leading to a relationship between disparate geographical entities, providing a general overview of its characteristics, and compiling compelling textual evidence of Lotharingian and Hungarian provenance to demonstrate the underlying processes.

The MA thesis shows Lotharingia's significance; while fully incorporated into the Holy Roman Empire² and relatively devoid of political autonomy, it was nevertheless a significant player in these mutual interactions. The other geographical entities involved are the medieval Hungarian kingdom, established with King Stephen I's crowning in around the year 1000, and the *vallis Agriensis*, a puzzling ecclesiastical district in the central part of the Kingdom (and northeastern part of the modern nation-state) that centered on the city and bishopric of Eger; an area where Walloons had settled in the Middle Ages who, according to the chronicles, had originated from the Principality of Liège. One of Eger's first bishops, Leodwin, also came from this part of the world.³

1.1 Research Questions

Current historical consensus accepts the eleventh-century arrival of Lotharingian prelates to Hungary; this thesis will, however, not merely restate this view but embark on a

² For the rest of this thesis, I shall refer to this entity simply as the 'Empire' and use the adjective 'Imperial.'

³ Leodwin originated from Andenne, close to Namur, in the diocese of Liège.

meticulous reexamination of the textual evidence, offering fresh insights and considering whether settlers could have arrived at the same time.

The timing of their appearance in Hungary has been subject to intense debate, with an older generation of historians accepting the view, put forward by the Belgian historian and diplomat, Émile de Borchgrave (1837–1919), that settlers arrived concurrently with the prelates, during the mid-eleventh century. He based his opinion on his reading of the fifteenth-century *Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot*, a key historical account that retrospectively narrates the settlers' settlement story. More recently, historians rejected de Borchgrave's for lack of compelling evidence to support his claims. It would, therefore, be reassuring to clarify whether such an early dating is realistic, or not.⁴ This thesis also examines other significant sources from the same period such as the *Chronicle of Adriaan Oudenbosch*, and the *Chronicle of Cornelius Zantfliet*. Could these texts provide us with new insights into the settlement timeframe, and the fifteenth-century context in which they were written?

Another essential question is whether Lotharingian pragmatic literacy, a genre of a practical, legal nature could provide further clues regarding the timeline? Is it possible to find any textual evidence relating to the settlement process and how it was financed? Significant migration to the Hungarian kingdom would presuppose the presence of such documents, as György Székely had indicated in his seminal article on Walloons in medieval Hungary.⁵

It is equally important to examine the Hungarian evidence; this thesis picks up the threads of the linguist, Géza Bárczi's (1894–1975) and the historian, György Székely's (1924–2016) work, reconsidering their conclusions.

Finally, the thesis also reconsiders the textual evidence relating to the *vallis Agriensis*, with the main questions being defining its legal status and explaining why and when it ceased

⁴ Émile de Borchgrave, *Essai historique sur les colonies belges qui s'établirent en Hongrie et en Transylvanie pendant les onzième, douzième et treizième siècles* (Brussels: Hayez, 1871).

⁵ György Székely, "Wallons et italiens en Europe centrale aux XI^e-XVI^e siècles," *Annales Sectio Historica*, 1964, 3–71.

to exist. The work of the former director of the Heves County Archives and local historian, Béla Kovács forms a crucial basis for discussion.

An interdisciplinary approach will be necessary to provide firmer answers to the question of the timeline, painting a more nuanced picture of Walloon settlement in the former Kingdom of Hungary and addressing the overall question of Lotharingian expansion. Such an approach is a necessity due to the fragmentary nature of the available data. It holds the promise of unveiling new insights, but the completion of this effort will remain the task for my future PhD dissertation and monograph.

1.2 History and Historiography

1.2.1 Lotharingian Incorporation and the Rise of Empire

A suitable starting point for this investigation is the Lotharingian ruler, Duke Gislebert's (r. ?–939) defeat in the year 925 and the resulting incorporation of Lotharingia into the East Frankish state, bringing the region back under German control. The resulting expansion of Emperor Henry I's (r. 919–936) kingdom into Lotharingia drew in a developed territory with a substantial population surplus, enormous economic power, outstanding cultural wealth, and a very influential church. Without this region, the East Frankish king had little chance of becoming 'Emperor of the Romans,' as Lotharingia was home to Aachen, the Carolingian coronation city, and a series of bishoprics and archbishoprics with Roman pedigrees, such as Cologne in the Rhineland, Trier, Liège (the former bishopric of Tongeren-Maastricht), Metz, Toul and Verdun (for maps see Appendices 6. & 7.).

This incorporation was hardly predetermined, however much it might seem so in retrospect. It resulted from the momentary weakness of Rudolf, King of France (r.923–936) and Henry I's decisiveness. Otto the Great (r.962–973), in his turn, took advantage of the fact that Aachen had fallen under the power of the Eastern Frankish kings, exploiting the

Carolingian optics of the location, hoping that their legitimacy might wash off on him, a double-bladed sword, however. How could Otto define himself as a patently non-Carolingian ruler in a world where there were Carolingians who had much sounder claims to the Imperial throne? Lotharingia was to remain a cause of disagreement between France and Germany for a millennium.⁶

Seen from the *longue durée*, the former kingdom's status represented a litmus test of the relative strength of the French and German state entities, with the area's affiliation varying through history. When both were weak, states would reestablish themselves in a region that was neither French nor German in identity, including Burgundy or modern-day Belgium and the Netherlands.

Liège was typical of Lotharingia as far as its complex identity was concerned. A cleric from the mid eleventh century describing this 'in-between' nature says of the inhabitants, "Gaul considers us its most distant inhabitants; Germany thinks we are its closest subjects. We are neither of these, but both at the same time."⁷

The writer of this thesis believes that Hungary also became entangled in the mid-eleventh century with this specific part of the German Empire, with Lotharingia. This explains the presence of Walloon prelates, merchants, and settlers, who would play a decisive role in the young kingdom's history. It also created a unique cultural footprint.

⁶ For accounts on Lotharingia's role, see: Simon MacLean, "Who Were the Lotharingians? Defining Political Community after the End of the Carolingian Empire," in *Historiography and Identity IV: Writing History Across Medieval Eurasia*, ed. Walter Pohl and Daniel Mahoney, CELEMA 30 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 247–74; Simon MacLean, "Shadow Kingdom: Lotharingia and the Frankish World, c.850-c.1050: Shadow Kingdom: Lotharingia and the Frankish World," *History Compass* 11, no. 6 (June 2013): 443–57; Jens Schneider, *Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Reich: Lotharingen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2010); for a general account: Michel Parisse, "Lotharingia," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Timothy Reuter, Vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Eduard Hlawitschka, *Lotharingen und das Reich an der Schwelle der deutschen Geschichte* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968).

⁷ "Gallia nos imos et habet Germania primos, amorum neutrum, nos et utrumque sumus," Tjamke Snijders, Jay Diehl, and Steven Vanderputten, "Introduction," in *Medieval Liège at the Crossroads of Europe: Monastic Society and Culture, 1000-1300*, Medieval Church Studies, Volume 37 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), xi.

1.2.2 The Lotharingian Church

The lasting influence of former Carolingian ecclesiastical institutions, despite the collapse of the Carolingian Empire, should not surprise us. The Lotharingian church, whose secular and monastic centers were in a region that once formed the core territory of both the Carolingian Empire, continued to function as a ‘pan-Carolingian institution,’ active in former West, East Francia and Lotharingia, but also extending its influence far beyond the confines of the former Carolingian Empire.

Paradoxically, the incorporation of the former kingdom of Lotharingia into the Empire reinvigorated this august institution, attracting the support of the Holy Roman Emperors and European rulers in need of competent and able prelates and administrators. Their programs of pragmatic ‘reform,’ of a peculiarly Lotharingian nature, appealed to these temporal rulers, promising them ecclesiastical supporters who were mindful of regal needs and prepared to represent them at an international level, signing off deals with other rulers or even the Pope. Not for Lotharingian monastic ‘reform’ leaders was the seclusion of some remote abbey; they were international ‘politicians’ and ‘diplomats’ *extraordinaire* and went to great lengths to justify their continent-wide mobility which conflicted with the Benedictine principle of *stabilitas loci*.⁸

The Ottonian rulers of the Empire invested extensively in supporting the Lotharingian church’s expanding institutions, helping to finance extravagant church-building programs in Lotharingian centers such as Liège. However, the provision of these riches came at a price, with the church and its prelates becoming increasingly militarized and drawn into supporting Imperial expansion, fundamentally contradictory to their patron saint, St. Lambert’s pacifist refusal to draw his sword, preferring to suffer martyrdom instead.⁹

⁸ Steven Vanderputten, *Imagining Religious Leadership in the Middle Ages: Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Politics of Reform* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 50–51.

⁹ J.R. Webb, “Representations of the Warrior-Bishop in Eleventh Century Lotharingia,” *Early Medieval Europe* 24, no. 1 (2016): 103–30.

Extensive mobility and participation in pilgrimages, and later crusades, intensified contacts with the East, leading to a frequent to-and-fro of prelates passing on the land route through Hungary on their way to the sites of the Holy Land. Hungary's position on this axis, joining northwestern Europe with the Holy Land must surely have defined its diplomatic and economic role between East and West, enriching the young kingdom. This entanglement of also led to the rapid spread of saintly cults along the axis, such as that of St. Nicholas, St. James, and St Giles, all dedications are prominent in the Eger Valley, making both Lotharingia and Hungary early adopters.¹⁰

A suitable definition of the Lotharingian Church is indispensable: it was both a center of spiritual power and an elitist ecclesiastical network. As one of the foremost experts on the subject, Steven Vanderputten wrote: "So the Lotharingian abbey of Gorze in the mid-tenth century functioned as a center of learning and spiritual education for both future monastic and episcopal leaders, and its library contained books destined for use by bishops, rather than abbots or their subjects. Highly trained personnel moved quite freely between both worlds, and it seems justified to say that, if we may speak of reformist networks for this period, these were between people, not institutions."¹¹

A discourse of 'reform' defined the church, with views on what this entailed changing over the last few decades. According to the older narrative, after traumatic - but inevitable - 'reforms,' a prolonged period of stability followed, leading to laxness and decline following an

¹⁰ For information of the importance of the cult of St Nicholas in Lotharingia, see: Catherine Guyon, "Saint Nicolas, un saint lotharingien au moyen âge?" In *Une piété lotharingienne. foi publique, foi intériorisée (XII-XVIII siècles)* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2022), 181–98; Catherine Guyon, Yves Krumenacker, and Bruno Maës, eds., *Une piété lotharingienne: foi publique, foi intériorisée (XIIe-XVIIIe Siècles)*, Rencontres, série histoire religieuse, 530. 4 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2022); for St. Giles see: Ernest Rembry, *Saint Gilles sa vie, ses reliques son culte en Belgique et dans le nord de La France*, ed. Edward Gaillard (Bruges: Edward Gaillard, 1881); for the importance of St. James: Jacques Stiennon, "Le voyage des liégeois à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle en 1056," in *Mélanges Félix Rousseau, études sur l'histoire du pays mosan au moyen âge* (Brussels: Renaissance du livre, 1958), 553–81.

¹¹ Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process - Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2013), 608.

inevitable community ‘life cycle.’¹² Among others, Ernst Sackur¹³ and Kasius Hallinger¹⁴ propagated these views. Recent research, however, demonstrates that the bishops and secular leaders initiated reforms from above; this process, therefore, had little in common with monastic emancipation from below.¹⁵

The Richardian reforms reinvigorated monastic institutions both spiritually and materially. Richard of Saint-Vanne (970–1046) and St. Poppo of Stavelot (997–1048) were the movement’s most influential and charismatic leaders. While Poppo of Stavelot was active in the Empire, Richard of Saint-Vanne extended the ‘reforms’ to the abbeys of Lotharingia, Champagne, Flanders, and Normandy.¹⁶ It is striking, however, that Richardian ‘reforms’ left only extremely limited marks on liturgy, suggesting that his strengths lay more in his personal charisma and leadership skills, than in his lasting reforms.¹⁷

1.2.3 The Prince-Bishopric of Liège

Liège, a prominent bishopric from an early date, owed much of its fame to the influential figure of St. Lambert of Maastricht (636–705). As a staunch defender of the institution of marriage, his example resonated far beyond the borders of Liège, gaining a considerable following north of the Alps. Lambert became symbolic of the city; his burial in the cathedral, named after him, attracted droves of pilgrims to his shrine, while the cathedral’s renowned school further enhanced Liège’s prestige as a leading center of education.

¹² Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 599–600.

¹³ Ernst Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965).

¹⁴ Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, Vol. 1/2, *Studia Anselmiana* (Rome: Herder, 1950), 602–4.

¹⁵ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 605.

¹⁶ Vanderputten, *Imagining Religious Leadership*, 6–7; for more on Poppo of Stavelot, see Philippe George, “Un réformateur lotharingien de choc. l’abbé Poppon de Stavelot (978-1048),” *Revue Mabillon revue internationale d’histoire et de littérature religieuse* 10 (1999): 89–111.

¹⁷ Jesse D. Billett, “Discerning ‘Reform’ in Monastic Liturgy (c. 750–1050),” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, ed. Alison I. Beach and Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 427–28; Michel Margue, “Lotharingien als Reformraum (10. bis Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts) in *Lotharingien als Reformraum (10. bis Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts) Einige einleitende Bemerkungen zum Gebrauch räumlicher und religiöser Kategorien* (Berlin: De Gruyter Akademie Forschung, 2017), 12–38.

Establishing the Prince-Bishopric of Liège under the leadership of Notger (r. 972–1008) was a pivotal moment in the bishopric's history. Notger, appointed by the German emperor Otto I in 972, was granted the province of Huy by Otto II (r. 973–983) in 980, leading to the creation of the uniquely powerful Prince-Bishopric of Liège. This entity, a rare amalgamation of ecclesiastical and secular power at such an early date, served as a formidable center of power that could withstand frequent comital rebellions. The emperor had the privilege of selecting the prince-bishops himself, non-hereditary leaders on whom he could depend. This distinctive blend of Imperial support, episcopal secular and spiritual power, and the intellectual/ideological contributions of the Benedictine 'reformers' made the Prince-Bishopric and Lotharingia incredibly influential, far beyond the borders of the Empire.

Notger initiated a radical transformation of the city. He launched a massive building program, earning him the title of 're-founder' of Liège, and as an enthusiastic schoolmaster, he developed the cathedral school. The Mosan city's proximity to the coronation city of Aachen, the *Hofkapelle*,¹⁸ and the archbishoprics of Lotharingia, Cologne and Trier further enhanced its prestige.¹⁹

The Ottonians invested the leading bishops of Lotharingia with extensive secular and military powers, expecting them to defend their dioceses, if necessary, and even support the emperor in expanding the Empire; Imperial grandiosity came at a price. The Benedictines were similarly expected to support the Empire's expansion, founding new communities in inhospitable surroundings and, if necessary, taking on secular roles.

The case of Wolbodo, prince-bishop of Liège (r. 1018–1021), vividly illustrates the intimate links that existed between the prince-bishops and leading Benedictine monks. In 1020,

¹⁸ On the role of the court chapel in training potential prelates, see Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, 2nd ed., *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Deutsches Institut für Erforschung des Mittelalters) 16 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2005).

¹⁹ Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale aux XIe-XIIIe siècles* (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 1981).

he ordered the replacement of the old abbot of Lobbes, one of the most prestigious abbey schools in Lotharingia with the famed Benedictine ‘reformer,’ Richard of Saint-Vanne.²⁰ A year later in 1021, Richard founded the Abbey of St. Lawrence in Liège, moving into the city of the prince-bishops itself. An intimate relationship between monastic and episcopal power was highly characteristic of the Lotharingian church.

1.2.4 Education and the Cathedral School of St. Lambert, Liège

Education played a pivotal role in the success of the Lotharingian church: the abbeys of Gorze, St. Maximin in Trier, Stavelot, and Lobbes were all prestigious educational institutions that contributed to the intellectual and spiritual development of the church. The influence of Gorze Abbey, for instance, continued to grow in the twelfth century as a place for the training of monks and a major center of academic excellence, thereby bolstering the church’s influence and prestige.²¹

Of particular importance for the expansion of the Lotharingian church, however, was the cathedral school of St. Lambert of Liège. Notger invested resources in its development; under his disciple and schoolmaster, Prince-Bishop Wazo (r. 1042–1048), the institution reached its zenith and became an institution of European renown. Leodwin, future bishop of Eger, who was described as *frater noster* in the necrology of St. Lambert’s cathedral, may well have studied at the cathedral school.²²

1.2.5 Lotharingia’s Unique ‘Contribution’ to the Empire

As the preceding paragraphs have illuminated, integrating Lotharingia into the Empire was a pivotal event, yet its historical implications have been overlooked. Historians, instead,

²⁰ W Arndt, “Gesta Abbatum Lobbiensium,” in *MGH SS*, Vol. 21, (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1869), 310.

²¹ Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, 612.

²² For the specific mention of Leodwin, see: Alain Marchandisse, *L’obituaire de la cathédrale Saint-Lambert de Liège (XIe-XVe siècles)*, Académie Royale de Belgique. Commission Royale d’Histoire. Publications Gr. in-8 (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1991), 158.

have focused on identifying the region's defining characteristics, neglecting its effects on the Empire itself, and the cultural contribution it exerted across the entire continent.

The chief center of Imperial power moved decidedly westwards with the recovery of the ancient Carolingian city, Aachen. The Empire gained a wealthy region with an extensive skills base and the beginnings of a far-flung trade network. Its most glittering prize, however, may well have been the intellectual and spiritual powerhouse of the region, the Lotharingian church, its 'reform movement' and the justly famous cathedral school of Liège.

The Benedictines represented a means by which the Empire could project 'soft power' and achieve greater ideological homogeneity over large swathes of Europe. While focusing on the nexus between emperor and church, one should not underestimate Benedictine agency, with Richard of Saint-Vanne weaving an astonishing network across Europe. The Prince-Bishops of Liège, through the power of their cathedral school, also maintained close relationships with ruling dynasties and prelates throughout Europe.

The integration of Lotharingia had another profound effect on the Empire, making it significantly more multiethnic. The settlers and prelates came predominantly (but not exclusively) from French-speaking Lotharingia, and this is one of the characteristic features of their linguistic footprint, leaving a scattering of French anthroponyms and toponyms in Hungary.²³

²³ The links between the French-speaking world of Lotharingia and Hungary are explained by: Hektor Ammann, "Die französische Südostwanderung im Rahmen der mittelalterlichen französischen Wanderungen," *Südostforschungen*, 1955, 407–28; Nicholas Paul Tayler, "Magyarország, Lotaringia és az Eger-völgyi vallonok nemzetközi összefüggései" [The International Interrelationships of Hungary, Lotharingia and the Walloons of the Eger Valley] (MA, Eger, Eszterházy Károly Catholic University, 2022), 52–60.

Chapter 2: Lotharingian Sources

2.1 Early Hungarian-Lotharingian Relations

This chapter overviews the narrative and pragmatic sources essential to understanding the migration of individuals and groups from Walloon-speaking Lotharingia to the Kingdom of Hungary and the Eger Valley in the Middle Ages. The enormous destruction wrought by the Mongol invasions explains the unfortunate lack of texts relevant to our purposes in Hungary, and counterintuitively, it is Lotharingian chronicles that tell us much of what we know about early events in the Hungarian kingdom. Nation-state-centered historiographies still hinder efforts to understand processes that operated on a continent-wide scale, and both areas, Lotharingia, the ‘land in between,’ and Hungary, out-of-mind for most West European historians, deserve greater scholarly attention, particularly as concerns their mutual interactions.²⁴

When conceptualizing the migration of *hospites* or settlers in the eleventh century, István Petrovics’s opinion is extremely relevant; this might well merely have involved the sporadic arrival of knights, clerics, and peasants (villeins), rather than large-scale organized settlement and privileges.²⁵ It appears this settlement process must have occurred in several

²⁴ This chapter contextualizes these Lotharingian texts, providing a more nuanced account than was possible in my earlier publications and international relations (IR) thesis, see Nicholas Paul Tayler, “Lotharingia and Liège’s Impact on Árpád-Era Hungary and the Eger Valley,” in *Zwischen Ostsee und Adria - Europa im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Politische, wirtschaftliche, religiöse und wissenschaftliche Beziehungen*, ed. Attila Bárány, Roman Czaja, and László Pószán (Debrecen: Debrecen University, 2023), 119–44; Nicholas Paul Tayler, “Lotharingia és Liège hatása az Árpád-kori Magyarországra, különös tekintettel az Egri-völgyre [The Influence of Lotharingia and Liège on Arpadian Hungary with Particular Reference to the Eger Valley],” *Acta Debreceniensis* XXX, no. Series historica LXXIV. (Debrecen University, 2022): 6–19; Nicholas Paul Tayler, “Magyarország, Lotaringia és az Eger-völgyi vallonok nemzetközi összefüggései [The International Interrelationships of Hungary, Lotharingia and the Walloons of the Eger Valley],” (MA, Eger, Eszterházy Károly Catholic University, 2022).

²⁵ István Petrovics, “Foreign Ethnic Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary,” in *Segregation-Integration-Assimilation. Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe.*, ed. Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy, and Katalin Szende, Historical Urban Studies Series (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 67–88; for information on later formalized privileges, see: Adrienne Körmenydy, *Melioratio terrae: vergleichende Untersuchungen über die Siedlungsbewegung im östlichen Mitteleuropa im 13.-14. Jahrhundert*, Prace Komisji Historycznej, t. 48 (Poznań: Wydawn. Poznańskiego Tow. Przyjaciół Nauk, 1995).

waves: pioneers in the eleventh century, followed by a more steady and organized flow in the twelfth and a final replacement of lost population after the bloody Mongol invasions during the reign of Béla IV in the thirteenth. This thesis focuses particularly on the initial eleventh-century stages of settlement.

King Stephen I (r. 1000 or 1001 – 1038) concentrated on centralizing and stabilizing his realm in the first twenty years of his reign, however, in 1018, the king participated in Basil II, ‘the Bulgar Slayer’s’ (r. 976–1025) campaign against Tzar Samuel of the Bulgars (r. 976–1025).²⁶ According to the eleventh-century *Fundatio ecclesiae S. Albani Namucensis*, Basil II enlisted the faithful Christian King Stephen’s help in capturing the city of *Cesaria*.²⁷ While the Byzantine forces were plundering the city, he, as a true Catholic, went into the church of St George, removing relics that he was to revere for the rest of his life.²⁸

This reorientation towards his kingdom’s external affairs and his defeat of the Bulgars had crucial geopolitical consequences for the young Hungarian kingdom. The country recovered its joint frontier with the Byzantine Empire, creating a safe land route for pilgrims, linking northwestern Europe with Constantinople and Jerusalem, funneling the ‘great and the good’ through the young Christian kingdom. Rodulphus Glaber (985–1047) expressed his

²⁶ For the latest general treatment on the pilgrimage route, see: Judit Csákó, “1147 - Freising Ottó átutazik Magyarországon [Otto of Freising Travels Across Hungary],” in *Magyarország globális története - A kezdetektől 1868-ig* [The Global History of Hungary - From the Beginnings until 1868], ed. Ferenc Laczó, András Vadas, and Bálint Varga (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 2023), 79–85. For scholarly presentations on the topic, see László Veszprémy, “Zarándokok és zarándoklatok a középkori Magyarországon [Pilgrims and Pilgrimages in Medieval Hungary],” in *Európa és Magyarország Szent László korában* [Europe and Hungary in the Age of St. Ladislav] (Debrecen: MTA-DE Lendület “Magyarország a középkori Európában” kutatócsoport, 2017), 57–70; György Györffy, *István király és műve* [King Stephen and His Work] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1983), 288–308; Enikő Csukovits, *Hungary and the Hungarians. Western Europe’s View in the Middle Ages* (Rome: Viella, 2018); István Szamota, *Régi utazások Magyarországon és a Balkánfélszigeten. 1054-1717* [Old Journeys in Hungary and on the Balkan Peninsula 1054-1717]. (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, 1891).

²⁷ According to Györffy, this was Tzar Samuel’s stronghold of Ohrid. Györffy, *István király és műve*, 288.

²⁸ “Stephanus rex pannoniurum, ex pagano Chisticola factus, verae fidei imitator erat Deoque devotus. Orta vero bellorum tempestate quae a barbaris infertur imperatori Constantinopolitanae urbis, rex Constantinopolis eundem Stephanum ad bellandum barbariem sibi adscivit, cuius amminiculo Cesariem sibi infestam vi debellavit. Cumque constantinopolitani predas raperent et urbis divitiis denudarent, vir vere catholicus Stephanus a rapina deflexit mentem. Qui ingressus templum sancti Georgii, reliquias, quas invenerat, asportavit, coluit et cum reverentia, utpote christianus, in vita sua servavit.” O Holder-Egger, ed., “Fundatio ecclesiae S. Albani Namucensis,” in *MGH SS*, Vol. 15/2, (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1988), 964; See also Györffy, *István király és műve*, 288.

gratitude to the king in his *Historiarum Libri Quinque* for providing safe passage to the pilgrims.²⁹

One of the first pilgrims to pass along the route was the renowned Lotharingian reformer, Richard of St Vanne (970–1046). He was abbot of multiple monasteries, mainly located in Flanders and Lotharingia, and maintained relationships with the German emperor Henry II (r. 1014–1024), the French king, Robert II, the Pious (r. 972–1021), Richard II, Duke of Normandy (r. 996–1026), and Baldwin IV, Count of Flanders (r. 988–1035). Richard of St Vanne even tried to broker a peace treaty between the German emperor and the King of France in 1023.³⁰ His close relationship with the Prince-Bishopric of Liège is particularly relevant to this investigation, potentially explaining early relations between the Prince-Bishops of Liège and the kings of Hungary.

According to the Benedictine monk Ademar of Chabannes (988–1034) in *Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, Richard met King Stephen on a pilgrimage in 1026–27.³¹ He accompanied William Taillefer of Angouleme (952–1028) through Bavaria and Hungary to the Holy Land, along with Richard, abbot of St. Cybard and Amalfredus, Richard of Cybard's intended successor. Further fellow-travelers included Azenarius of Massay, and Gervinus of St. Riquier. Richard, abbot of St. Cybard travelled through Hungary once again in 1033.³²

Another source, the late eleventh-century *Chronicon Hugonis - Monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis abbatis Flaviniacensis* mentions that Richard of Saint-Vanne passed through Hungary with 700 pilgrims, mainly from Normandy, a pilgrimage financed by Richard II, Duke

²⁹ John France and Neithard Bulst, eds., *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque, The Five Books of the Histories, Rodulfus Glaber* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), Book III, chapter I, 96–97.

³⁰ For an excellent overview of Richard of St-Vannes's life, see: Vanderputten, *Imagining Religious Leadership*; also: Hubert Dauphin, *Le Bienheureux Richard, Abbé de Saint-Vanne de Verdun † 1046* (Leuven: Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 1946), 24.

³¹ Adémar De Chabannes, "Ademari Cabannensis chronicon," in *Corpus Christianorum*, ed. P. Bourgain, Richard Landes, and Georges Pon, 129 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 184.

³² See also: Veszprémy, "Zarándokok és zarándoklatok," 62.

of Normandy (r. 996–1026).³³ According to the *Vita B. Ricardi abbatis*, Richard of Saint-Vanne passed through Hungary once again in 1035.³⁴ These meetings between Richard and King Stephen I may have also facilitated relations with the Prince-Bishops of Liège.

Despite all the evidence demonstrating the importance of the pilgrimage land route running through Hungary, it is strange that it barely features in Hungarian historiography. It is gratifying, therefore, to see that László Veszprémy, and a few other historians have begun to restress the importance of these events. Veszprémy's list of pilgrims, beyond those mentioned in this thesis are compelling.³⁵

The year 1046 was a significant turning point in the life of Lotharingia and Hungary. In Hungary, the 'pagan' rebellions broke out. According to the historian Péter Tóth, the insurgents murdered approximately 70% of the country's churchmen, including Gerard of Csanád, later canonized as St. Gerard (r. 1030–1046) and their replacement was an urgent necessity. The country's new king, Andrew I (r. 1046–1060), chose numerous Walloon-speaking Lotharingian prelates to replace their predecessors, including Nicholas, Bishop of Győr (r. before 1051–1055?), George, Archbishop of Kalocsa (r. 1050?), perhaps Franco, Bishop of Veszprém (r. 1071–1081), Leodwin, Bishop of Bihar/Eger (r. 1050?) and Willermus, Abbot of Szekszárd (r. 1074–?).³⁶

³³ Georg Pertz, ed., "Chronicon Hugonis - Monachi Virdunensis et divionensis abbatis Flaviniacensis," in *MGH SS*, vol. 8, (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1858), 393.

³⁴ Jean Mabillon, ed., "Vita B. Richardi Abbatis," *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* 6 (Paris: Billaine, 1701), 528.

³⁵ László Veszprémy, "Zarándokok És zarándoklatok a középkori Magyarországon [Pilgrims and Pilgrimages in Medieval Hungary]." In *Európa és Magyarország Szent László korában* [Europe and Hungary in the Age of St. Ladislas] (Debrecen: MTA-DE Lendület "Magyarország a középkori Európában" kutatócsoport, 2017), 57–70.

³⁶ For more information on Walloon prelates: Péter Tóth, "Vallon főpapok a magyar egyház újjászervezésében a pogánylázadás után. [Walloon Prelates in the Reorganization of the Hungarian Church after the Pagan Revolt]," ed. Géza Érszegi, *Tanulmányok a 950 éves tihanyi alapítólevél tiszteletére*, 2007, 31–36; Gergely Kiss, "11-13. századi főpapok francia kapcsolatai [The French Relations of 11th - 13th Century Prelates]," *Francia-magyar kapcsolatok a középkorban* [Franco-Hungarian Relations in the Middle Ages], 2013, 341–50; Adrien Quéret-Podesta, "Les plus anciens contacts entre les souverains hongrois et les établissements monastiques français." In *"M'en Anei Ongria" Relations franco-hongroises au moyen âge*, Vol. II (Debrecen University, 2017), 73–80.

Comital rebellions in Lotharingia reinforced this process; Godfrey III, ‘the Bearded’ of Lower Lotharingia, Dirk IV of Frisia, and Baldwin V attacked the city of Verdun in 1047 and accidentally burned down the cathedral. According to the twelfth century *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium et abbatum Sancti Vitoni*, twenty-four canons fled the city for Hungary due to a resulting famine.³⁷ This disaster in Lotharingia gave the Hungarian king a suitable pool of well-trained candidates for his new bishoprics. It was also during Andrew I’s reign that pilgrimages resumed using the land route through Hungary.³⁸

In the context of comital violence in Lotharingia and the post-rebellion scenario in Hungary, Leodwin, Bishop of Bihar/Eger, and his compatriots appeared in the Hungarian Kingdom. As concerns Leodwin, we have two sources to rely on: the first, the previously mentioned *Fundatio ecclesiae S. Albani Namucensis* and the Necrology of the Cathedral of St Lambert in Liège. In the first text, he appeared as Bishop of Bihar,³⁹ and in the second as Bishop of Eger.⁴⁰

According to the *Fundatio ecclesiae S. Albani Namucensis*, Leodwin returned home to Andenne or Liège around 1050 to participate in the foundation of St Aubain collegiate church in Namur, celebrating mass within the partially rebuilt and extended walls of the old church, donating precious relics of St George and St Nicholas, ‘Bishop of Smyrna’ to the foundation.⁴¹ Leodwin was described as being of Lotharingian blood, *genere Lothariensis*, and his warm

³⁷ “Tantum ipsa civitas, tantum ipsa ecclesia tunc rerum pertulit dispendia, ut multi cives, multi clerici locum istum fugerit, alias dispersi. Fama est viginti quatuor canonicos de ipsa concremata ecclesia tunc Hungariam prae inopia profectos, quos constat nunquam fuisse reversos.” from Laurentius Leodiensis, “Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium et abbatum Sancti Vitoni (1047-1144),” in *MGH SS*, vol. 10, ed. Georg Pertz (Hanover: Hansche Buchhandlung, 1892), 492.

³⁸ Géza Bárczi, “Francia zarándokok I. Endre idején [French Pilgrims During the Era of Andrew I],” *Magyar Nyelv*, 32 (1936): 260–61.

³⁹ Holder-Egger, “Fundatio,” 592–93.

⁴⁰ Alain Marchandisse, “Le destin d’un manuscrit: l’obituaire de la cathédrale Saint-Lambert de Liège,” in *Colloque du centre d’études historiques*, ed. Marie Caroline Florani and André Joris (Le temps des Saliens en Lotharingie (1024-1125), (Malmédy: Malmédy Art et Histoire asbl, 1993), 158.

⁴¹ According to an inventory of the church fittings and relics in 1218, there was no indication of the presence of these relics. See *Inventarium SS. Reliquiarum et suppellectilis ecclesiae*, 1218 Thanks to Hélène Cambier at the Heritage Section of the Diocese of Namur, and Étienne Renard at the University of Namur for this valuable information. There would also appear to be some confusion about the identity of St. Nicholas. Surely, he was the famous bishop of Myra.

reception by his friend, Albert II, Count of Namur, suggests he was a recognized member of the local noble élite.⁴²

But who might Leodwin have been? The Hungarian Benedictine historian, Lajos Csóka, associated him with Leduin, Abbot of St Vaast (r. 1022–1046?), Richard of Saint-Vanne’s renowned deputy. Csóka argued that the chronology of events makes this identification plausible: the name is unusual and limited to a relatively small area around Lens in modern-day northeastern France, and he, too, was of noble birth.⁴³ Steven Vanderputten also wrote about Leduin and collated the following information: he became Abbot of St Vaast in around 1022–1023, the eleventh–twelfth century *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium* claims he converted as an adult,⁴⁴ a fact also confirmed in the twelfth century *Vita Popponis abbatis Stabulensis*.⁴⁵ In the *Chronicon Hugonis - Monachi Virdunensis et Divionensis abbatis Flaviniacensis*, Hugo of Flavigny described Leduin as noble.⁴⁶ According to Guimann’s Cartulary, we learn several additional details concerning Leduin. He had taken off the girdle of military service and donated an estate in Billy-Berclau, just north of Lens, to the Abbey of St Vaast in Arras.⁴⁷ The *Necrologium Vedastinum* also describes Leduin as being of noble birth, originating from the region of Berclau, becoming abbot of St Vaast and Marchiennes simultaneously. He resigned from his post as abbot of St Bavo in Ghent in 1036. He is thought

⁴² “Lieduinus episcopus Bihariensis, genere Lothariensis, causa suos visendi Pannoniam egressus, Leodio vel Andenne morabatur. Dei vero providentia causa visitationis nobilissimum comitem expetivit, qui ab eo honorifice susceptus est et habitus cum amicis. Qui videns locum hunc iam dirutum, sed aliquantulum erectis parietibus reaedificatum, hic missam celebrans, multum dedit reliquiarum. Dedit de corpore Georgi martiris, similiter de corpore proprio Nicholai confessoris, Smyrneorum episcopi, et aliorum quorum nomina”. Holder-Egger, “Fundatio,” 593–594.

⁴³ J. Lajos Csóka, *Szent Benedek fiainak világtörténete I.* [The World History of the Sons of St Benedict], Vol. I (Budapest: Ecclesia Könyvkiadó, 1970), 282.

⁴⁴ “ex laico monachus et abbas monachorum post” and “a saeculo conversum.” L. C. Bethmann, “Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium” (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1846), 470, 488.

⁴⁵ “Liduinus quoque, qui se laicum eo loci sub monachili proposito mutaverat.” W Wattenbach, ed., “Vita Popponis abbatis stabulensis,” in *MGH, SS* vol. 11, (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1853), 300.

⁴⁶ “Nobilibus ortus natalibus” Pertz, “Chronicon Hugonis - Monachi Virdunensis et divionensis abbatis Flaviniacensis,” 379.

⁴⁷ “Deposito militie baltheo” and “ut in fondo Allodii sui, nomine Berclau, cujus ipse commissam ecclesiam heredem fecerat” Guimann, *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-Vaast d’Arras*, ed. Van Drival (Arras: A. Courtin, 1875), 115; Steven Vanderputten and Brigitte Meijns, “Realities of Reformist Leadership in Early Eleventh-Century Flanders: The Case of Leduin, Abbot of Saint-Vaast,” *Traditio* 65 (2010): 48.

- *creditur* - to have died on the 2nd of January.⁴⁸ The vagueness of this statement suggests that the authors did not know exactly what happened to him; could he have disappeared or died abroad, particularly taking into account the turbulence of the years 1046–47? Could it be that Csóka correctly associated Leduin, Abbot of St Vaast in Arras, with the later bishop of Bihar/Eger, Leodwin?

2.2 The Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot

From the previous section, it will be clear that the appearance of Walloon-speaking Lotharingian clergymen in Hungary is well-established; Leodwin, one of Eger's first bishops, also came from that part of the world. What was the case with the settlers, and when did they arrive? The *Chronicle of Jean de Stavelot*, central to our understanding of Walloon migration to Hungary, particularly the Eger Valley, received a mixed reception among historians due to its fifteenth-century provenance.⁴⁹

The relevant passage in the chronicle starts with a passage in Old French that sets the scene and explains how the Eger Valley pilgrims arrived in Aachen in 1447 while the cathedral treasures were on display. The author remarked on the fact that they spoke perfect Liégeois dialect, *parloient parfaitement romans liégeois*, and claimed that their ancestors had arrived in Hungary from the Principality of Liège during a severe famine. Having completed their devotions, they travelled on to Liège.⁵⁰ Based on the text, the pilgrims would appear to have decided in advance that they would continue to the city.

⁴⁸ “Leduinus nobilis stirpe, ex tractu Berclav. jam religiosus fit abbas Sti Vedasti, tum simul abbas Marchenus. Dein S. Bavonis Gandensis, hunc locum abdicat seu resignat 1036. Creditur obit 2 januarii.” Van Drival, *Necrologium Vedastinum* (Arras: A. Courtin, 1878), 10.

⁴⁹ See particularly: Émile de Borchgrave, *Essai historique sur les colonies belges qui s'établirent en Hongrie et en Transylvanie pendant les onzième, douzième et treizième siècles* [Historical Essay on the Belgian Settlements Established in Transylvania and Hungary in the 11th, 12th and 13th Centuries] (Bruxelles: Hayez, 1871), 16–26; and Géza Bárczi, “A középkori vallón-magyar érintkezésekhez [Medieval Walloon-Hungarian Relations],” *Századok* 71, no. 9–10 (1937): 399–416.

⁵⁰ Jean de Stavelot, “Chronique de Jean de Stavelot,” ed. Adolphe Borgnet (Brussels: M. Hayez for Belgian Royal Academy of Sciences, 1861), 595.

Upon their arrival, they were kindly received by the city's dignitaries and treated to lavish (and expensive) banquets. The pilgrims asked that the town authorities scrutinize the municipal records to ascertain the truth of their ancestors' departure from the principality of Liège during a grave famine. They requested that John of Heinsberg, Prince-Bishop of Liège (r. 1419–1456), the cathedral chapter and the aldermen of the city provide them with a sealed letter confirming their *liégeois* origins. The city functionaries conceded their wish, and four members organized and sealed the letter. The chronicle then switched into Latin, and a charter (the letter), was then inserted, verbatim, into the text,⁵¹ including all the formal structural elements one might expect following the classical methodology of diplomatics.⁵² For a full version of this important text, refer to Appendix 1.

In the *protocollum*, we first find an *inscriptio*, which, while listing an extensive range of addressees, makes it clear that it is intended for Lawrence II of Hédervár, Palatine of Hungary, and his nephew Ladislas (László) of Hédervár, formerly Commendator at Pannonhalma Abbey and consecrated Bishop of Eger in 1447. He was incorrectly called Anselm, the reason for which has not been possible to clarify. The following section is the *intitulatio*, which mentions an extensive list of the Prince-Bishop's dignitaries, followed by a general *invocatio*.

In the *contextus* section, the *narratio* sets the scene, explaining how a group of Walloon settlers (Mathias Andre Biro, Paulus Dolo, Nycholaus Tamarasco, Symon Henrat, Marcus Balaven, Martinus Ponche, and many others) appear in the city of Liège, claiming that they had heard from their ancestors that they had originated from the Principality. The king of the time (King Andrew I of Hungary)⁵³ had offered them places to live and land, and the

⁵¹ Thanks to Szende Katalin for pointing this fact out to me.

⁵² Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien I-II*. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1958); Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, and Benoît Michel Tock, *Diplomatique médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1993); Heinrich Fichtenau, *Arenga. Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformeln* (Graz: Böhlau, 1953).

⁵³ My addition.

community had prospered and grown. They requested that the Prince-Bishop provide them with written testimony describing the manner and form of their departure for Hungary based on the Prince-Bishop's chronicles, archives, and relevant books.

The section then follows with the requested *testamentum*, which provides the following details: based on the chronicles and books deemed authoritative, it is clearly and expressly stated that a severe famine prevailed in the year 1029 during the tenure of Réginard (r. 1025–1037), the twenty-first Prince-Bishop of Liège, and the reign of Conrad, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1028–1037). Many people were dying out in the streets and squares of Germany and Hungary.

To alleviate the situation, Réginard provided one thousand two hundred people with their daily necessities, housing three hundred in Liège, three hundred in Huy, Dinant, Fosses and Tuin, all his towns, attracting numerous people from Hungary, Frisia, Hainault and the parts of Germany closer to Liège. The bishop kindly received them and granted them rights and privileges in line with his own subjects. He assigned them land and a district within the city's walls, a large one for the Hungarians (the Vicus Hungarorum) and the inhabitants of Hainaut, the Frisians similarly and for all the others.

After that, according to the chronicle, in the year 1052, during the tenure of Wazo, twenty-third Prince-Bishop of Liège, when Gregory VI was Pope and Henry III, Holy Roman Emperor, another famine affected the Principality and the surrounding area to such an extent that many Liégeois, along with their wives and children, and a certain number of Hungarians residing in Liège left the country for the reason mentioned above and settled in Hungary.

In gratitude for the expenses and troubles Reginard had incurred while looking after the Hungarians in 1029, the king of Hungary reciprocated and offered sufficient land and places to live to the Liégeois close to the center of his kingdom, urging them to settle there permanently.

He also implored that they should not lose their ‘Gaulish’ language. The Prince-Bishop also attested that the Eger Valley Walloons still spoke the language of the Principality.

In the *dispositio*, Jean de Heinsberg beseeches the Palatine and the Bishop of Eger that they treat their compatriots (the Eger Valley Walloon petitioners) with greater spiritual favor and consideration since the Liégeois authorities recognize them as their compatriots. In return, the Prince-Bishops offered the Hungarian authorities his benevolent and ready heart. We then find the usual *corroboratio*. The document ends with the *eschatollum* with the issuing, sealing, and signing, the sixth day of July 1447 in Liège. The charter was written in formal Latin, typical of official communications during the era. The syntax is complex, with lengthy sentences and formal phrases, as to be expected in such a document.

The charter presented a retrospective view of early eleventh-century migration processes seen from the perspective of the fifteenth century. The settlers’ purpose was, by emphasizing the antiquity of their community, to ensure continued preferential treatment at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities in Eger. Issuing the document would have entailed considerable costs for the petitioners and, therefore, had to accrue significant financial advantages. It would seem that their collective rights were coming under increasing episcopal pressure, and this is how they could furnish themselves with essential evidence and enlist the influential support of the prestigious prince-bishops of Liège in the process (also see Chapter 3.).

Although it is immediately apparent that a charter had been inserted into the chronicle, scholars failed to take this into account. The genre of the text has important consequences; regardless of any exaggerations or inaccuracies it might contain; this document must have represented a conscientious attempt by John of Heinsberg (r. 1419–1455) to provide a trustworthy picture of the Walloons’ settlement in Hungary. As the bishop of Eger and the cathedral chapter were overlords of the valley, any re-enforcement of settlers’ rights would

inevitably have occurred to their detriment. The Prince-Bishop of Liège would have been acutely aware of the potential negative diplomatic ramifications if he gave credence to unsubstantiated claims. The chronicle makes sure to emphasize that the authorities in Liège took great care to scrutinize the city's records, however, they must also have relied on the pilgrims' accounts.

There would have been emotional factors that impacted negatively on the charter's impartiality; one can imagine the atmosphere when the Liégeois dignitaries and their long-lost Eger Valley kindred met! This might have led to the inclusion of exaggerated narrative elements such as King Andrew I's request that the settlers retain their 'Gaulish' language and claims they spoke perfect Liégeois Walloon. The proffering of mutual privileges was an anachronistic element that, while it would have made sense in the contemporary fifteenth century setting, would not have been offered in a less formally structured eleventh-century environment. The mention of the lavish and expensive banquets also added local color to the narrative and helps emphasize the Prince-Bishop's boundless generosity.

One of the surprising characteristics of the charter is the extremely specific nature of the dates it mentions; the chronicle included 1029, when the Hungarians arrived, and 1052, when Walloon settlers set off for Hungary. Before turning to the possible sources of this vital information, an inconsistency needs to be pointed out. As far as the chronicle's chronology was concerned, de Borchgrave correctly points out that there is a discrepancy between the date of 1052 and the reigns of Wazo, Prince-Bishop of Liège (r. 1042–1048), Emperor Henry III (r. 1046–1056) and Pope Gregory VI (r. 1045–1046). 1046 is the only year that when all three figures ruled, and the Belgian historian de Borchgrave corrected the Walloons' year of departure for this reason.⁵⁴ I accept this argument and will, therefore focus on the dates 1029

⁵⁴ De Borchgrave, *Essai historique sur les colonies belges qui s'établirent en Hongrie et en Transylvanie pendant les onzième, douzième et treizième siècles*, 22; for an alternative view, see: Bárczi, "A középkori vallon-magyar érintkezésekhez," 402.

and 1046, instead of 1052. It should be stressed here, however, that the initial inflow of settlers to Hungary is likely to have been limited in number.

As far as the 1029 date is concerned, it is conceivable that a Hungarian delegation visited the Prince-Bishop of Liège after Richard of Saint-Vanne's reception by King Stephen I in Hungary in 1026–27. As temporal and ecclesiastic lords, the Prince-Bishops were logical partners for the Hungarian monarchs, and the relationship between the Benedictine reformers and the Prince-Bishops was close, as we know. The second date, approximately 1046, was an incredibly significant period when the comital rebellions occurred in Lotharingia, and as a result, prelates came to Hungary. The movement of the prelates, the lengthy famine, and the armed conflicts of the years 1046–47 all plausibly support the view that prelates and settlers may have left the Principality simultaneously.

A further crucial question is where the information contained in the chronicle could have originated from? The petitioners might have proffered these details, yet the only element frequently repeated was that 'they left the Principality of Liège during a famine, as their ancestors had told them.' Another version is that the information did indeed originate from ancient chronicles, books, or archival information at John de Heinsberg's disposal, just as Stavelot's chronicle suggested.

The most relevant contemporary source, to corroborate the contents of the ancient chronicles, produced by Bishop Wazo's biographer, Anselm, was the *Herigeri et Anselmi. Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*. In the second section, Anselm writes extensively about the bishop's reign (r.1042–1048). He informs us of the famine of 1042, which lasted for six years.⁵⁵ He speaks of the disaster of 1047 when Godfrey III, the Bearded (997–1069), attacked the city and burnt down Verdun's cathedral. Anselm also wrote

⁵⁵ "Statim primo episcopatus sui anno omni peste crudelior fames incubuit, quae sex fere continuis annis Galliae et Germaniae populum noscitur oppressisse, cuius feda ubivis fas est adhuc cernere vestigia." Rudolf Köppke and Georg Pertz, eds., "Herigeri et Anselmi. Gest episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium.," in *MGH SS*, Vol. 7, (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1846), 221.

that ‘the fame and the glory of Bishop Wazo had spread to the very corners of the world, and so the Hungarians and the Hiberi experienced his glory,’⁵⁶ confirming that Wazo had become well-known in Hungary but hardly providing us with any detail. The Hungarian historical linguist, Bárczi suggested that the charter was based on Anselm of Liège’s *Ex Anselm gestarum episcoporum Leodiensium rec II*, another version of the biography. It seems highly unlikely as it is a text devoid of details, just mentioning people coming from the East.⁵⁷

Bárczi treated the suggestion, made in the Old French part of the text, that the pilgrims spoke perfect Liégeois dialect - *parloient parfaitement romans Liègeois* - with disdain. He based his opinion on the significant phonetic changes that typified the switch from Old to Middle Walloon (he was a renowned historical linguist). He claimed, that if the settlers had spoken eleventh-century Walloon, their archaic speech would have been unintelligible to their fifteenth-century compatriots in Liège.⁵⁸ Since Wallon underwent substantial sound changes in the intervening period, this view makes sense.

Much depends, however, on how we contextualize the migration process; if we assume that original migration was sporadic, as suggested by Petrovics, followed by several later migratory waves, the Walloon spoken in the Eger Valley might well have reflected these later phonetic changes. Whatever the case may be, Stavelot’s claim that the settlers spoke ‘perfect Liégeois Walloon’ seems hyperbolic; their separation from their homeland would, over a few generations, have made the settlers’ speech both stilted and affected by Hungarian.

The names of the pilgrims have also been the subject of considerable skepticism. It would be reassuring to know that they may have had their origins in modern-day France, and

⁵⁶ “Quae autem regio tam abstrusa in terris, quam pervolitante fama Wazonis Lethgiae nomen non penetraverit? parum est quod trifida te celsam tanto patre novit Gallia. Te alpina gerens corpora, nequaquam ignorat Germania. Experimentum acceperunt gloriae tuae Pannonii et nichilominus Heberi.” Köppke and Pertz, 297–98.

⁵⁷ “Eius diebus ab orientali plaga emergens turba non modica, incendiorum atque guerrarum infortunato a suis finibus propulsa, Leodium usque devenit: qui parvulos suos miserabiliter circumferentes ab ignotis gentibus stirpem mendicare cogebantur.” Georg Waitz, ed., “Ex Anselm Gestarum Epsicoporum Leodiensium Rec. Altera,” in *MGH SS*, Vol. 14, 111.

⁵⁸ Bárczi, “A középkori vallón-magyar érintkezésekhez,” 410.

to test that hypothesis, I compared the anthroponyms with a modern French surname database, which visualizes their modern geographical distribution without assuming this necessarily reflects on the settlers' areas of origin or their ethnicity.⁵⁹ Mathias Andree Biro may have been the Eger Valley Walloon community's judge (this is the meaning of *bíró* in Hungarian) and may not have been an anthroponym but a social function. He is mentioned twice in the text, and his first position in the list of petitioners indicates his social prestige and, quite possibly, his occupation. The second name, Paulus Dolo, also appears twice in the text. *Dolo* is an unusual name, but as with the fifth name *Balaven*, it occurs as a surname in modern-day in Brittany. The name *Tamasco* draws no results and, according to Bárczi, had been misread and should be Camarasce, a version of the Latin camerarius. The following name reads Symon *Henrat*, a surname that occurs in northeastern France in the region of Rheims. *Balaven*, as explained above, is an unusual name which also occurs in Brittany. Finally, the name *Ponche* also occurs in northeastern France (see Appendix 2. for distribution maps).

2.3 Alternative Narrative Sources

Concentrating solely on the *Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot* risks providing a unidimensional picture of events. This section contains an overview of other late narrative sources that mention Lotharingian migration to Hungary, the after-effects of the Eger Valley Walloon's pilgrimage to Liège in 1447, and cases of individuals migrating to Hungary.

Another chronicle that mentions the pilgrimage is the fifteenth century *Chronicon of Cornelius Menghers van Zantfliet*, written by a Benedictine monk from the Abbey of St James in Liège, which gives a different account (see Appendix 3). In his description, the Eger pilgrims arrived the same year in 1447 after visiting Aachen, seeing the famous relics, and then proceeding to Liège. They had heard from their forefathers that they had left the Principality

⁵⁹ For this I used the search function of geneanet.org

of Liège during a famine. They had settled and set up home in the Eger Valley, preserving their mother tongue. It was true that their language resembled that of Liège in every respect. They explained also how this was possible; while their men went about their business, using Hungarian, the women brought up their children at home, speaking Walloon and passing their language on to the following generation. The pilgrims, wishing to return home, received a commendatory letter signed and sealed by the burgomasters of Liège, requesting that the Hungarian authorities (the Bishop of Eger) treat them fraternally and humanely. The writer calculates that the settlers left their homes 130 years earlier for Hungary.⁶⁰

Géza Bárczi was extremely critical of Jean de Stavelot's work and sided with Cornelius Zantfliet's version of events, claiming that Stavelot was more the chronicler and Zantfliet more the historian.⁶¹ Zantfliet might have been describing a later wave of migration that occurred approximately 130 years before he wrote his chronicle, not in contradiction with a much earlier initial wave of migration.

Adriaan Oudenbosch in the contemporary *Rerum Leodiensium sub Johanne Heinsbergio et Ludovico Borbonio episcopis opus Adrian de Veteri Busco monachi sancti Laurentii* provides an account similar to the Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot. Since Jean of Oudenbosch completed Jean of Stavelot's chronicle, this similarity is hardly surprising. He mentions the pilgrims' arrival in Aachen, speaking the language of Liège and claiming to have heard from their ancestors that they had left Liège for Hungary during a great famine. The king of Hungary (Andrew I) gave them places to live, just as Bishop Reginard had done when he provided the Hungarians with a quarter in Liège that came to be known as the vicus Hungarorum. When members of the crowd in Aachen heard this, they suggested going to Liège,

⁶⁰ Edmundi Martene and Ursini Durand, eds., "Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum ...," in *Chonicon Cornelii Zantfliet*, Vol. 5 (Paris: Montalant, 1729), 67–504.

⁶¹ Bárczi, "A középkori vallon-magyar érintkezésekhez," 405.

where the bishop graciously received them. Here, we also find the mutual and anachronistic offering of privileges.⁶²

A comparison of the three chronicles leads to the conclusion that only the Chronicle of Jean de Stavelot includes the charter issued to the Eger Valley Walloons; the others simply mention that a ‘commendatory letter’ (Zantfliet) or a ‘letter of testimony’ (Adriaan Oudenbosch) was issued. This legal document deserves a commensurate degree of attention; it is wrong to claim that the details in *the Chronicle of John of Stavelot* were mere figment of his imagination.

⁶² Hadrianus de Veteri Busco, “Rerum Leodiensium sub Johanne Heinsbergio et Ludovico Borbonio episcopis opus Adrian de Veteri Busco monachi sancti Laurentii,” VS IV. (Paris, 1729), 1216–17.

Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot	Chronicle of Adriaan Oudenbosch	Chronicle of Cornelius Zantfliet
Pilgrimage in 1447	Pilgrimage in 1447	Pilgrimage in 1447
Pilgrims arrived in Aachen	Pilgrims arrived in Aachen	Pilgrims arrived in Aachen
Pilgrims spoke perfect Liègeois	Pilgrims spoke perfect Liègeois	Pilgrims spoke perfect Liègeois
Pilgrims received by city dignitaries	Pilgrims received by city dignitaries	-
Pilgrims request a charter/letter be issued by the Prince-Bishop (the chronicle includes the charter/letter)	Pilgrims request that a letter of testimony be issued by the Prince-Bishop	Pilgrims request that a commendatory letter be issued by the burgomasters of the city
Charter addressed to Laurence, Palatine of Hungary, (correct) and Anselm Bishop of Eger (name incorrect)	Letter of testimony addressed to Laurence, King of Hungary (incorrect) and Anselm, Bishop of Eger (name incorrect)	Unspecified
Signed by four dignitaries	unspecified	Signed by the burgomasters
Hungarians settled in the Vicus Hungarorum in 1029	Vicus Hungarorum	-
Names of pilgrims specified	-	-
Return of Walloons to Hungary in 1052 during reign of Wazo	Return of Walloons to Hungary in 1052 during reign of Wazo	Return of Walloons to Hungary 130 years previously
Reciprocation of rights	Reciprocation of rights	-
The Walloons should not lose their mother tongue	The Walloons should not lose their mother tongue	Story of how they preserved their ancestral language: men used Hungarian while conducting their business, but the women instructed their children Hungarian at home

Figure 1: Comparison of the Chronicles

Another later work, the *Magnum Chronicon Belgicum*, informs us that during the reign of Prince-Bishop Wazo, there was a grave famine in the Principality, and many Liégeois left for Hungary and settled there.⁶³ This long Latin chronicle focuses on the history of the Low Countries. It is an excerpt from *Florarium temporum* by Nicolaas Clopper, a regular canon in Mariënhege written in 1472.⁶⁴

A further pilgrimage from the Eger Valley to Liège occurred in 1493. Two chronicles mention this event, Jean de Looz's *Johannis de Los abbatibus S. Laurentii prope Leodium Chronicon rerum gestarum ab a. MCCCCLV ad. a. MDXIV* mentions twenty Hungarians of Walloon origin visiting Liège,⁶⁵ and an anonymous chronicle written during the tenure of Jean de Horne, which mentions forty *Hungari Galli* and goes on to explain that their ancestors stated that they had left Liège in the time of Wazo during a famine and spoke of fifteen pilgrims.⁶⁶

2.4 Pragmatic Literacy and Migration from Lotharingia

György Székely, in his excellent article on the *Latini* of Székesfehérvár, points to pragmatic texts indicating individuals leaving Lotharingia for Hungary and the financial transactions that financed their journeys to their new homeland.⁶⁷ He stressed that the documents' pragmatic, legal and financial nature increased their reliability. From these sources,

⁶³ "Wazo vel Guatzo ordinatur Leodiensis XXIII episcopus anno Domini 1042, et episcopatus sui anno sexto migravit ad Dominum." and "Circa hoc tempus fuit magna famas in patria Leodiensi, propter quam multi Leodienses descenderunt in Vngariam et ibi alerentur" see, Johannes Pistorius, ed., "Chronicon Magnum Belgicum" (Frankfurt, 1607), 109–10.

⁶⁴ Robert Stein, "Magnum Chronicon Belgicum," in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy and Cristian Bratu, accessed March 5, 2024.

⁶⁵ Joannes de Los and Theodoricus Pauli, *Johannis de Los, abbatibus S. Laurentii ... Chronicon rerum gestarum ab anno MCCCCLV ad annum MDXIV: accedunt Henrici de Merica et Theodorici Pauli Historiae de cladibus leodiensium ... cum collectione documentorum ad res Ludovici Borbonii et Johannis Hornaei temporibus gestas* (Hayez, 1844), 110; Bárczi, "A középkori vallon-magyar érintkezésekhez," 404.

⁶⁶ "In Divisione Apostolorum, venerunt Leodium quidam Hungari Galli numero circiter XL, dicentes praavos suos originem suam ex Leodio traxisse, sed tempore famis, sub Wasone episcopo in Hungariam migrasse." Sylvain Balau and Emile Fäiron, eds., *Chroniques liégeoises, éditées par le chanoine Sylv. Balau* (Brussels, Kiessling, Imbreghts, 1913), 468.

⁶⁷ Székely György, "A székesfehérvári latinok és a vallonok a középkori Magyarországon [The Latini and Walloons of Székesfehérvár in Medieval Hungary]," ed. Kralovánszky Alán, *Székesfehérvár évszázadai - István Király Múzeum közleményei*, 2. középkor (1972): 48–49.

it becomes clear that Lotharingian settlers were already moving to Hungary at the beginning of the twelfth century.

In 1103, a freeman, Anselmus, decided to move to Hungary and received 12 ½ marks at the altar of Stavelot Abbey, returning the church he and his sons owned in Bra to Abbot Folmar, giving up his benefice in his and his successors' names and returning the property to the abbey.⁶⁸ Anselmus must have followed people who had already moved to Hungary; no individual family would have taken such a momentous decision. Neither the father nor his sons returned, all dying in Hungary.⁶⁹ In 1148, a certain Hezelo sold nine *jugera* of land and a farmhouse to the monastery in Klosterrath (now Herzogenrath) and left for Hungary. He finished his life in the country.⁷⁰ In the twelfth century, a certain Robard from Huy emigrated to Hungary and later died in that distant country. Robard left thirty *Liégeois solidi* to the Church of Our Lady in Huy. His death was entered into the church's register but without any mention of the year.⁷¹ In another case, the aldermen of Maastricht witnessed in 1263 that a vassal had sold his property to the Dominican prior and his two sons, who lived in Hungary and gave their retrospective permission for this transaction. From these sources, particularly the first, the date of 1046, mentioned in the Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot, seems plausible.

⁶⁸ "In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis. Notum sit omnibus tam posteris tam presentibus, quod ego Anselmus liber et liberis genitus, in Hungariam ire disponens, Stabulaus veni, acceptisque ex altarii XII marcis et dimidio, beneficium, quod ab abbate habebam, id est ecclesiam de Braz, in manum domni abbatis Folmari ego et filii mei reposuimus, et nullus heredum meorum ad predictum beneficium possit amplius accedere, sed fratres de quorum prebenda eadem ecclesia tempore patris mei ablata fuerat, in perpetuam prebendam deberent possidere. Actum est Stabulaus anno dominice incarnationis M C III indicatione xi," Joseph Halkin and Gérard Roland, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy* (Brussels: Kiessling, P. Imbreghts, successeur, 1909), 271.

⁶⁹ Joseph Halkin and Gérard Roland, *Recueil des chartes*, 289–90.

⁷⁰ "Ibi quoque vendidit aecclesiae 9 iugera cum curte una quidam Hezelo, profectus in Ungariam, ubi finit et vitam." Georg Pertz, ed., "Annales Rodenses." In *MGM, SS*, Vol. 16, (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1859), 720.

⁷¹ "V II. k I. decembris, Com. Robardi, qui fuit defunctus in remotis partibus in hungaria, qui legauit nobis XXX solidos Leodienses de quibus fuit reedificata domus retro scholas pro quo habemus in missa XXX denarios." see, Székely, "A székesfehérvári latinok és a vallonok," 49.

Chapter 3: Hungarian Sources

3.1 The *Latini*

As highlighted in the introduction, the term used to identify speakers of Romance languages was *Latini*, or its Hungarian equivalent, *olasz/olaszi*. The modern meaning of the Hungarian term is ‘Italian.’ However, its German cognate *welsch* provides a more nuanced understanding: a broad term encompassing speakers of Romance languages, with a hint of their possible Celtic origin. This original meaning gains prominence when we consider the words *Gaul*, *Wales*, or *Cornwall*; in the British Isles the concept retained its original meaning, the result of the limited romanization of Brythonic Celts. The earliest Hungarian historians to recognize that the *Latini* were often, but not always, Walloons were János Karácsonyi and Mihály Auner.⁷²

The first *Latini* individuals to arrive were men with huge mercantile acumen and an ability to conduct trade transactions spanning immense distances, who left a massive impact of the medieval Hungarian kingdom. Assuming these first *Latini* individuals arrived due to the comital violence or famine in Lotharingia and the promise of new opportunities in the East, some may even have appeared alongside the Lotharingian prelates.

The earliest reference to a *Latinus* trading settlement, *Franca Villa* (Nagyolaszi, today Mandelos, Serbia), dates to the first crusade in 1096, and provides further evidence, that this might be the case. *Latinus* merchant communities flourished in such crucial ecclesiastical centers as the royal provostry of Székesfehérvár, archbishopric of Esztergom and bishoprics of Oradea/Nagyvárad, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár and Zagreb. Even Eger had a merchant district

⁷² János Karácsonyi, “Furmint [Furmint (Hungarian Grape Variety)],” ed. Kálmán Szily, *Magyar Nyelv*, 1906, 273–74; Mihály Auner, “Latinus,” *Századok*, 1919, 28–41; Bálint Surányi, Géza Bárczi, and Dezső Pais, “Adalékok a “Gallicusok” nemzeti hovatartozásának kérdéséhez [Additional Information Concerning the Ethnic Identity of Gallici],” *Magyar Nyelv* 35, (1957): 450–54.

called *Olaszutca* (vicus Latinorum). The *Latini* merchants' arrival not only introduced new trade practices and skills to the Hungarian kingdom but also contributed to its cultural and social landscape.⁷³ Understanding the migration of *Latini* merchants to medieval Hungary necessitates a thorough examination of the trade routes that traversed the continent. Previous discussions on this subject have primarily focused on the routes between Lotharingia (the Low Countries) and the Mediterranean. However, a potential trade route tracing the pilgrimage (and later crusade) route from the British Isles, through Lotharingia and Hungary, to the Holy Land has been neglected; indeed, Hungarian historians doubted its very existence (to gain an impression of its routes, see the map below).

György Székely argued, for example, that cloth, which was one of the kingdom's most significant import goods reached the country via Italy, a seemingly circuitous route. Zsigmond Pál Pach doubted the existence of such a route.⁷⁴ Hektor Ammann indicated that the earliest proof of mercantile relations between the Meuse Valley and Metz in a southeastern direction was the well-known customs tariff of Koblenz dating from 1104. It demonstrated a wide range of business relations spreading from the Romance-speaking West of the Empire via to Regensburg; the Lotharingian merchants travelled upstream from Metz and Toul, from the Meuse Valley, from Dinant, Namur, Huy and Liège, the Regensburg merchants in the opposite

⁷³ For information on the two most prominent merchant communities, Esztergom and Székesfehérvár, see: György Györffy, "A székesfehérvári latinok betelepülésének kérdése [The Issue of the Settlement of the Latini of Székesfehérvár]," *Székesfehérvár évszázadai - István Király Múzeum közleményei* 2. középkor, no. A. sorozat 14 (1972): 40; Székely György, "A székesfehérvári latinok," 45–72; Erik Fügedi, "Székesfehérvár középkori alaprajza és a polgárság kezdetei Magyarországon [The Origins of Székesfehérvár's Medieval Outline and Burghers]," *Településtudományi Közlemények*, 20 (1967): 31–45; Zsoldos Attila, "Fehérvár Árpád-kori polgárságáról [(Székes)fehérvár's Arpadian Inhabitants]," *Történelmi szemle*, no. 03 (2008): 435–51; László Zolnay, *A középkori Esztergom* [Medieval Esztergom] (Budapest: Gondolat kiadó, 1983); Zolnay László, "Az esztergomi latinusokról [About the Esztergom Latini]," *Annales Strigoniensis/Esztergom évlapjai*, no. 1 (1960): 155–67.

⁷⁴ György Székely, "Posztófajták a német és nyugati szláv területekről a középkori Magyarországon [Cloth Varieties from German and Western Slavic Territories in Medieval Hungary]," *Századok*, 109 (1975): 765–92; Zsigmond Pál Pach, "Egy évszázados történetvitáról: áthaladt-e a levantei kereskedelem útja a középkori Magyarországon? [A Century-old Historical Controversy: Did the Levantine Trade Route Pass Through Medieval Hungary?]," *Századok*, 106 (1972): 849–88.

direction.⁷⁵ He claimed that by 1100, the trade routes from the Romance-speaking West had already reached the Kyivan Rus.⁷⁶

In a much more recent treatment on the interrelationship between the development of towns and trade routes, Katalin Szende describes how trading centers such as Esztergom, Székesfehérvár and Óbuda developed, reflecting on the seminal importance of trade route and parallel pilgrimage route topography. It is this powerful combination of ecclesiastical and merchant mobility that impacted the early Hungarian kingdom and led to intense Western interest in the kingdom.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Ammann, “Die französische Südostwanderung,” 409.

⁷⁶ Ammann, 410.

⁷⁷ Katalin Szende, “Towns along the Way Changing Patterns of Long-Distance Trade and the Urban Network of Medieval Hungary,” in *Towns and Communication*, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, vol. II. Communication between Towns. Proceedings of the Meetings of the International Commission for the History of Towns (ICTH) (Lecce: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011), 161–225; for an overview of trade relations with modern Hungary, see: Nagy Balázs, “Magyarország külkereskedelme a középkorban [Hungarian Foreign Trade in the Middle Ages],” in *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon. Gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet* [Economy and Economic Activities in Medieval Hungary, Material Culture and Archaeology], ed. Kubinyi András, Laszlovszky József, and Szabó Péter (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2008), 235–76.

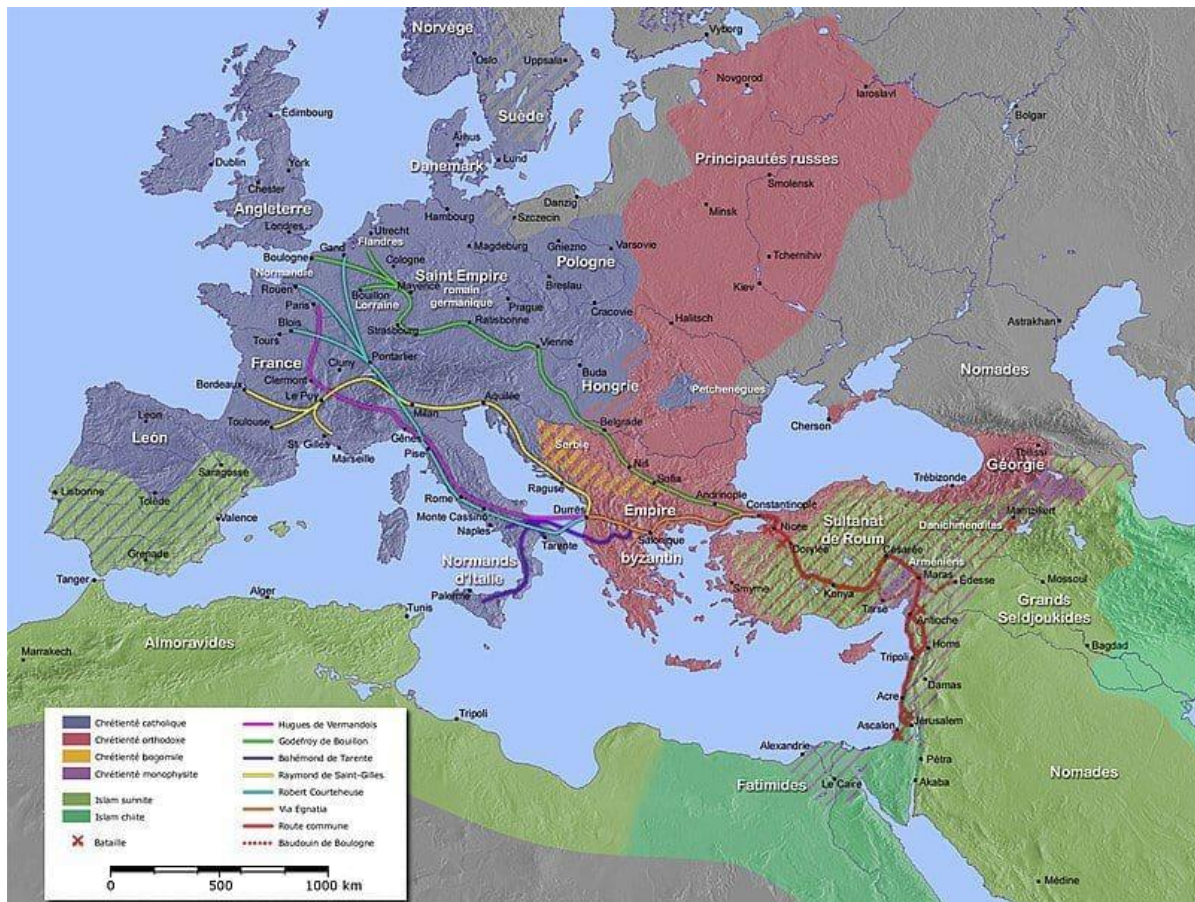


Figure 2: Map of the First Crusade⁷⁸

Hektor Ammann was the first historian to point out the significance of the earliest text written in the Dutch vernacular. The twelfth-century poet Henric van Veldeke, in his *Legend of St Servatius*, while extolling Maastricht's beneficial geographical location from a trading point of view, stressing the importance of its position between England and Hungary. That the two countries were mentioned in one single breath is incredibly significant, demonstrating beyond doubt that the northwestern-southeastern pilgrimage axis had also developed into a vital trading route for cloth from the Low Countries and luxury goods from the Holy Lands and Constantinople.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Wikimedia commons accessed 15.05.2024.

⁷⁹ Hendrik Van Veldeke, in *Sint Servaas Legende in dutschen dichtede dit Heynriek die van veldecke was geboren naar het leidsche handschrift uitgegeven* [The Legend of Saint Servatius Put into Dutch Verse by Henry, Born in Veldecke, According to the Leiden Manuscript], ed. G. A. Van Es (Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Leuven: Standaard Boekhandel, 1950), 48, lines 965-983.; See also: Ammann, "Die französische Südostwanderung" 410, and for a recent general treatment of the topic of migration to Hungary Nora Berend, "Tales of Migration in Medieval Hungary," *Annales. histoire, sciences sociales*, January 25, 2024, 1–28.

3.2 Early Laws and Narrative Sources

Early legal texts from Hungary provide us with essential information concerning the *Latini* and the challenges that they represented to Arpadian rulership. While their exploitation of the East-West trade of the trade axis was of seminal importance, their rapid enrichment was becoming a grave issue. The law concerned was King Ladislas' thirty-first statute in the so-called Law Book of Szabolcs (10th May 1092), *De carnis dimissione*, which instructs *Latini* to adhere to Hungarian Lenten customs, or return home, for fear of otherwise losing their wealth. In this law, one senses that the sudden enrichment of these merchants had been a source of considerable regal irritation. Due to the vagueness of the term *Latini* it is not sure at this early date whether they were Walloons or Italians.⁸⁰

Laws concerning ecclesiastical matters are also of crucial significance, demonstrating the extreme precociousness of the Hungarian church in adopting the 'reform' customs we know from Lotharingia. There are two such laws worth considering in this respect: the first is the thirty-eighth statute in the same law book as the previous example, *De sanctorum veneracione festivitatum*, which prescribes which saintly feasts should be celebrated, emphasizing universal and national saints.⁸¹ These ecclesiastical 'reform' customs were very typical of Lotharingia; Leodwin, Bishop of Eger, returned home, for example, with the relics of two universal saints (St. Nicholas and St. George) dear to the hearts of Lotharingian reformers.

The other from the Law Book of King Coloman (r. 1105–1116) concerns the prescription of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, despite the Pope only making it compulsory in

⁸⁰ Levente Závodszy, *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai (függelék a törvények szövege)* [The Sources of the Laws and Synod Decisions Contemporary with Saint Stephen, Saint Ladislaus and (King) Coleman (the Law Texts in the Appendix)] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1904), Law XXXI, 163; see also: János M. Bak, ed., *Online decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae*. [The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary], vol. 4., All Complete Monographs (Utah State University: Digital Commons@USU, 2019), https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4. (I did not use this version due to the Latin version of the law being missing from the text, see p. 57).

⁸¹ Závodszy, *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények*, Law XXXVIII, 164.

1334.⁸² Stephen of Liège (901–920) originated the Feast of the Holy Trinity, a typically Liégeois tradition. This point was also made by János Bak.⁸³

While the number of texts dealing with the pilgrimages and crusades are very limited, two sources are generally quoted in this regard, the fourteenth century *Chronicon pictum* (*Chronici hungarici compositio Saeculi XIV.*) and the *Legenda S. Ladislai regis*.⁸⁴ These texts describe the situation during the reign of King Ladislas I (r. 1091–1095), in the period directly preceding the First Crusade, and makes clear that a steady stream of envoys and prelates were passing through Hungary to the Holy Land, a matter of crucial importance to the young kingdom.

3.3 Eger – The Bishopric and the *vallis Agriensis*

This section switches focus and concentrates on a historical episcopal center and picturesque valley in modern northeastern Hungary, Eger⁸⁵ and the Eger Valley, demonstrating the effects of medieval entanglement at a local level.⁸⁶ The foundation process of the bishopric, and its relationship to Leodwin, and the status of the *vallis Agriensis* as an ecclesiastical and administrative are of crucial importance for understanding the Walloon migration process.

⁸² Závodszky, Law LXXII., 192.

⁸³ For more on this subject, see: Florence Close, “L’office de la trinité d’Étienne de Liège (901-920). Un témoin de l’héritage liturgique et théologique de la première réforme carolingienne à l’aube du Xe siècle,” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 86, no. 3 (2008): 623–43; Florence Close, “L’octave de la Trinité du calendrier liégeois,” *Le moyen âge CX*, no. 3–4 (2004): 627–41; János M. Bak, ed., *Online decreta regni mediaevalis Hungariae*. [The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary], vol. 4., All Complete Monographs (Utah State University: Digital Commons@USU, 2019), 128, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4.

⁸⁴ Veszprémy, “Zarándokok és zarándoklatok,” 57; See also Imre Szentpétery, *SRH*, Vol. I, (Budapest: Akad. Lit. Hung., 1937), 416–18 and Imre Szentpétery, *SRH*, Vol. II (Budapest: Akad. Lit. Hung., 1938), 521–22.

⁸⁵ For information on the early history of Eger, see: András Kubinyi, “Urbanization in the East-Central Part of Medieval Hungary,” in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. László Gerevich, East European Monographs 297 (Boulder: Colorado University Press, 1990), 103–8.

⁸⁶ While I will be taking this term very loosely, this article provides the background to a rigorous methodological approach: Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50.

3.3.1 The Bishopric of Eger

The origins of the Eger bishopric have sparked a rich and ongoing scholarly debate, with the intriguing fact that Leodwin, alternatively referred to in previously mentioned sources as bishop of Bihar and Eger, fueling this intellectual fire.⁸⁷ This thesis will only delve into this controversy in so far as it sheds light on our understanding of Walloon migration to medieval Hungary.

György Györffy proposed that Eger was among the first four bishoprics King Stephen I established shortly after 1001 (including Kalocsa, Veszprém and Esztergom), claiming that the legal basis for the founding of the Hungarian church had been laid in Ravenna in 1001, when a church dedicated to St. Adalbert of Prague was consecrated. This was followed by similar dedications in Rome, near Subiaco, Aachen, Liège, Gniezno, and Esztergom. Györffy pointed out that four suffragan bishoprics were founded in Gniezno and assumed similarly that four would have been founded in Esztergom, including Eger, as this was a general rule in the Catholic church.⁸⁸

Gyula Kristó linked the foundation to Samuel Aba's marriage to King Stephen I's younger sister, placing the event between 1006–1009. Their marriage must have occurred between 1005–1010, with the year that the boundary between the dioceses of Eger and Veszprém of 1009 was fixed, being possibly the year of Eger's foundation.⁸⁹ The marriage probably also led to the transfer of lands surrounding Eger from the Aba kindred to the king, potentially explaining the territorial configuration of an area later to form the *vallis Agriensis*, the future bishops' economic hinterlands.

⁸⁷ See page 16 of this thesis.

⁸⁸ Györffy, *István király és műve*, 178.

⁸⁹ Gyula Kristó, *A vármegyék kialakulása Magyarországon* [The Development of Counties in Hungary], Nemzet és emlékezet (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1988), 395.

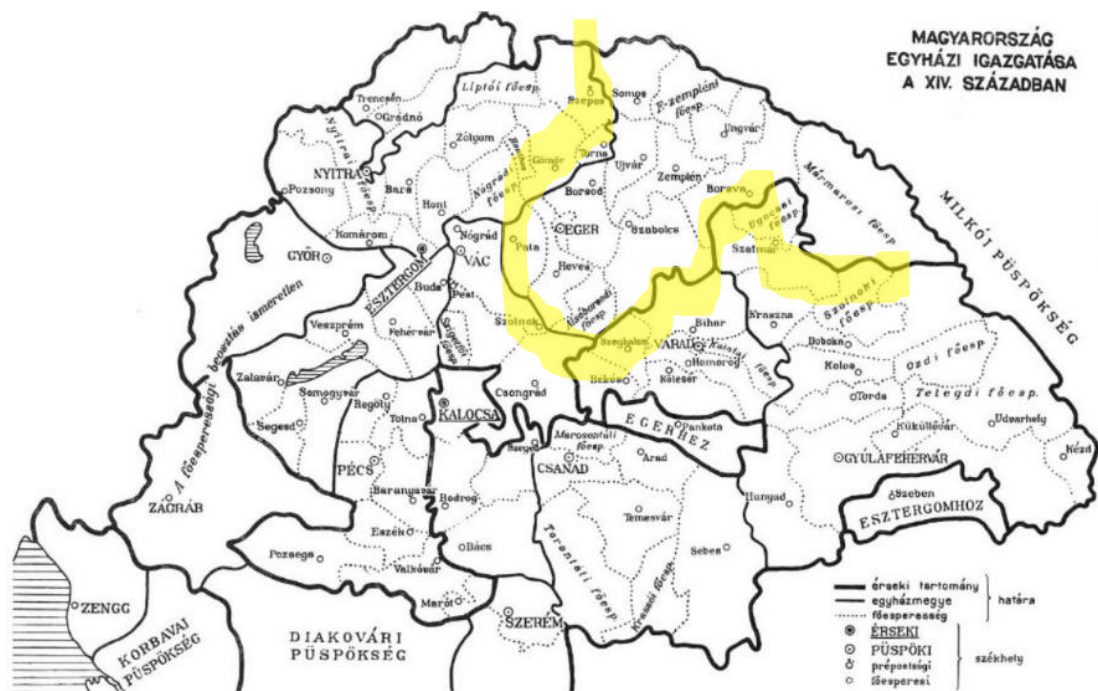


Figure 3: The ecclesiastical administration of Hungary in the fourteenth century ⁹⁰



Figure 4: Eger Diocese with the vallis Agriensis ⁹¹

⁹⁰ Map taken from György Balanyi with the boundaries of the Eger diocese marked in yellow, “Vallásos élet/iskolák [Religious Life/Schools],” in *Magyar művelődéstörténet* [Hungarian Cultural History], ed. Sándor Domanovszky et al. (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1943), 426.

⁹¹ Map with the vallis Agriensis colored in red by the author. Balanyi, 426.

While King Stephen's land accumulation in the Eger Valley suggests he established the bishopric, the archaeological evidence does not indicate that any construction works began during his reign. Gergely Buzás, archaeologist, conducted excavations at Eger castle and explained the early finds: a tower, a royal residence, and a round church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary,⁹² dated from King Stephen's reign. Not much later, a rectangular pillared building was constructed on the site, partly making use of the walls of the former tower. Archaeological excavations demonstrate, however, that Eger's three-nave basilica and bishop's palace were typical of the late eleventh, early twelfth century, and almost certainly built in the reign of Coloman the Learned (r. 1096–1116), considerably after King Stephen's reign. Gergely Buzás suggested that the basilica of Somogyvár represented one of the closest parallels to the cathedral in Eger.⁹³

⁹² For the links between the round churches of Central Europe and Lotharingia, see: Vera Gervers-Molnár, *A középkori Magyarország rotundái* [The Rotundas of Medieval Hungary], *Művészettörténeti füzetek*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), 13–18; but to provide a suitable counterbalance: Jenny Schaffer, "Recreating the Past: Aachen and the Problem of the Architectural 'Copy'" (PhD, Columbia, 1992).

⁹³ Gergely Buzás, "Az Árpád-kori egri püspöki központ kialakulása [The Development of Eger's Episcopal Center in the Middle Ages]," *Archaeologiai értesítő* 145, no. 1 (2020): 106–14; Gergely Buzás, "Magyarország korai székesegyházairól," *Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania VI Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben VI Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania VI* (Satu Mare: Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 2020); Gergely Buzás, "Új ásatások az egri várban [New Excavations in Eger Castle]," *Élet és tudomány* LXXIV, no. 41 (October 13, 2017).

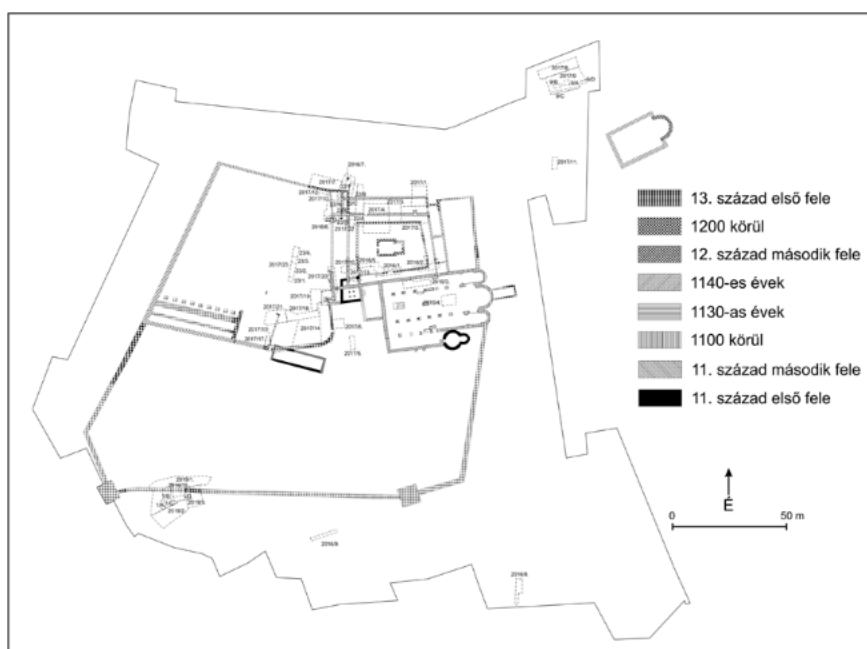


Figure 5: Excavation Plan of Eger Castle.⁹⁴

The traditional view that two bishops preceded 1046, was based on Jesuit historians' opinions from eighteenth century Trnava/Nagyszombat (in modern Slovakia); the most influential work was *Episcopi Agrienses* written by Nicolaus Schmitth in 1768.⁹⁵ This work mentioned three bishops prior to the 'pagan' uprisings of 1046, Catapranus (r. 1009-1018), Bonifacius (r. 1018-1037) and St. Buldus (r. 1037-1047), while providing no convincing evidence. Leodwin is the first bishop we know of for certain, even though not mentioned by Schmitth, but clearly testified by the two Lotharingian sources already mentioned in 2.2 and 2.3. In a recent article, Péter Galambosi put forth a compelling theory that Leodwin played a pivotal role in establishing the bishopric, as its first bishop, only perhaps later being transferred to Biharia/Bihar.⁹⁶ His explanation for this reversal of locations (the textual evidence points

⁹⁴ The legend translates as follows from top to bottom, first half of the thirteenth century, around 1200, second half of the twelfth century, the 1140s, the 1130s, around 1100, second half of the eleventh century, first half of the eleventh century, Gergely Buzás, 103.

⁹⁵ Nicolaus Schmitth, *Episcopi Agrienses* (Tyrnava/Nagyszombat: Typis Collegii Academici Societatis Iesu, 1768).

⁹⁶ László Koszta, "A bihari püspökség alapítása - A bihari püspökség alapításának historiográfiája [The Foundation of the Bishopric of Bihar - The Historiography of the Foundation of the Diocese of Bihar]," ed. Boglárka Weisz

chronologically in the opposite direction) is rooted in a text discussed earlier in this thesis, the *Herigeri et Anselmi. Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium*, which exclaims that Wazo's fame had reached distant Pannonia⁹⁷ Based on this virtually contemporary source, and the traditional beliefs of the Walloons of the *vallis Agriensis*, regarding their origins, as regaled in the *Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot*, Galambosi concludes that Leodwin must have accompanied the Walloons to the Eger Valley in around 1046 to become bishop of Eger by the late 1040s. The fact that the Necrology of St Lambert cathedral in Liège mentioned Leodwin as bishop of Eger indicates his original mission when he left Lotharingia, for which he was best remembered in the city. This change in the chronology seems a sensible point to make.⁹⁸

The birth of King Andrew I's son Salomon (r. 1063–1074) led to a crisis; as previously, he had made his brother, Béla (r.1060–1063), his heir, but his son's birth questioned Béla's inheritance. This led to a rapid deterioration in their mutual relationship and a realistic chance of the brother rebelling against the king. For this reason, according to Galambosi, it would have made sense, if Andrew had transferred Leodwin, one of his trusted protégées, to Biharia/Bihar to keep a close eye on his brother, whose *ducatus* and Leodwin's new diocese would have coincided. This view contradicts László Koszta's opinion who believed Leodwin had become bishop of Bihar before the conflict blew up, later transferring to Eger.⁹⁹ It should be stressed here, that the lack of reliable archaeological evidence from Biharia/Bihar brings the very existence of this early bishopric into question.¹⁰⁰

and Attila Zsoldos, *Nagyvárad és Bihar a korai középkorban - Tanulmányok Biharország történetéről* I (2014): 80.

⁹⁷ See footnote 57.

⁹⁸ Péter Galambosi, "Az egri püspökség kezdetei [The Origins of Eger Diocese]," *Egyháztörténeti szemle* XXI, no. 2 (2020): 12.

⁹⁹ "A bihari püspökség alapítása - A bihari püspökség alapításának historigráfiaja [The Foundation of the Bishopric of Bihar - The Historiography of the Foundation of the Diocese of Bihar]," ed. Boglárka Weisz and Attila Zsoldos, *Nagyvárad és Bihar a korai középkorban - Tanulmányok Biharország történetéről* I (2014): 56.

¹⁰⁰ For an alternative view on this topic, see Gábor Thoroczkay, "Megjegyzések az egri és bihari (várad) püspökségek esetleges korai kapcsolatáról [Notes on the possible early connection between the bishoprics of Eger and Bihar/Nagyvárad]," *Belvedere Meridionale* 33, no. 1 (2021): 13–18.

Galambosi made another significant point in connection with land grants, based on King Béla IV's charter confirming the property rights of the bishops of Eger. While the lands King Stephen I granted, were chiefly located in the foothills and approaches to the northern Hungarian mountains in Heves, Borsod, Zaránd, Zemplén, Abaújvár and Szabolcs counties, King Ladislas granted lands in the southern counties of Szolnok, Csongrád, Békés and Veszprém counties. Except for distant Zaránd county, granted by King Stephen, this suggests that the original diocese would have covered a compact area in the northern plain and foothills of the central mountains relatively close to Eger, roughly equivalent to the old Újvár county.¹⁰¹ Galambosi made a further claim that Eger's choice was related to its strategic position in a row of strongholds approximately 90-100 kms apart in the foothills of the mountains. The historical facts do not bear this out as Eger had no stronghold until after the Mongol invasion.

Ilona Kristóf also made some important points regarding the language used in the 1261/1271 charter. The charter's language suggests that King Stephen I founded and granted the lands for the original bishopric, later expanded, and augmented by King Ladislas. She points out that while King Stephen was described as *fundator* and *dotator* of Eger's cathedral dedicated to John the Evangelist, in a charter issued by King Béla IV in 1261/1271,¹⁰² King Ladislas raised the diocese's status (*extitit ampliata*) through his extensive donations. The basis of the patron's law was providing the land for the church to be built (*fundus*), donations to enable its upkeep (*dos*) and the construction work itself (*aedificatio*).¹⁰³ Defining what exactly was meant by the foundation, or establishment of the Eger bishopric is the crux of the matter.

Further arguments pointing in Galambosi's direction can be gleaned from the textual evidence. In the *Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot*, it was King Andrew I who granted the Walloons land in the *vallis Agriensis* and not the church, suggesting that until the 1040s, the lands central

¹⁰¹ Galambosi, "Az egri püspökség kezdetei," 14.

¹⁰² See the description of this data in the section on the *vallis Agriensis*, starting on this page.

¹⁰³ Ilona Kristóf and Anita Berecz, *Eger ezer éve* [A Thousand Years of Eger], (Eger: Líceum Kiadó, 2020), 17.

to the new bishopric of Eger, were still owned by the Hungarian rulers. Strangely, Béla IV's charter, that otherwise provides clarity in the matter of land ownership, fails to do so in the case of the *vallis Agriensis* itself.¹⁰⁴ Could it be that the fact these lands remained in royal control for an embarrassingly prolonged period?

These historical observations fully align with Buzás's archaeological evidence. It is likely that Leodwin, when he arrived, had to suffice with the existing buildings on the castle hill, while the settlers were busy clearing forests to establish the vineyards on which the episcopal economy would come to depend. The bishop may even have been buried in the humble round church on the site.

3.3.2 The *vallis Agriensis*

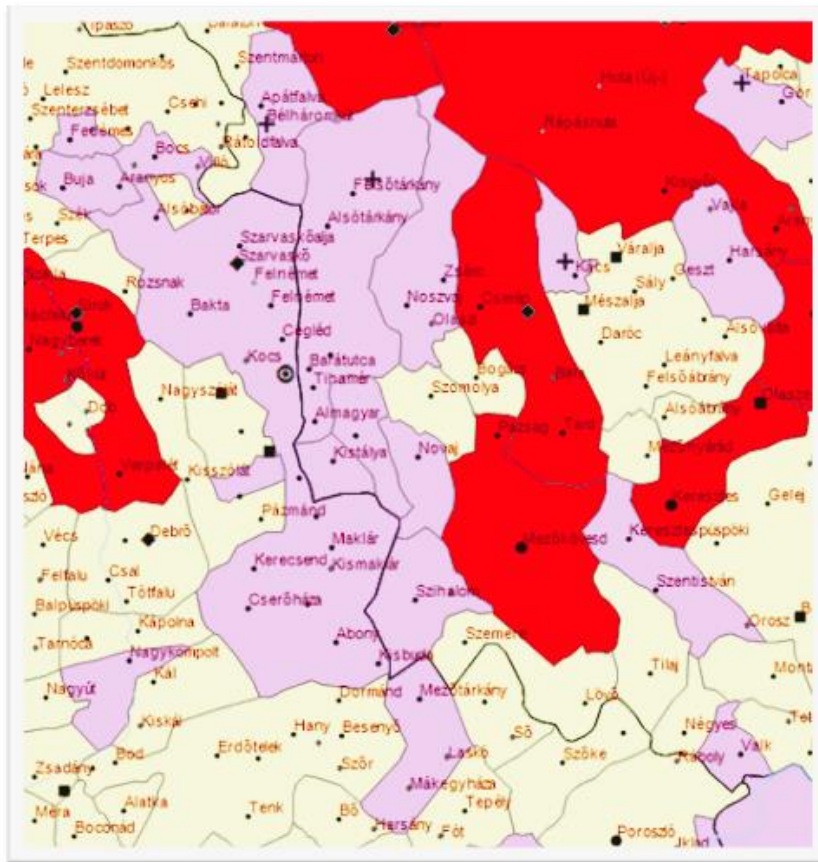
Defining the exact nature of the *vallis Agriensis* is key to understanding the ecclesiastical arrangements in Eger. Various attempts have been made in the past to define its role and in this section these various threads have been drawn together to create a cohesive whole. The sources include a seminal charter, the report of royal money changers, the experiences of a papal legate and tithe collectors as well as a humanist bishop's observations.

The first textual reference to the *vallis Agriensis* and its territory is a charter dated 9 September 1261, (the version we have dates from 1271) in which King Béla IV (r. 1235–1270) confirming the properties, fishing grounds, privileges, and tithe rights of the bishops of Eger. This royal confirmation was crucial as the earlier records had been destroyed during the Mongol invasion.¹⁰⁵ This text not only provides a glimpse into the past, and a picture of the diocese's medieval topography but also vividly recalls the frightful destruction wrought by the invasions. It lists the settlements belonging to the *vallis Agriensis*, an intriguing territorial unit

¹⁰⁴ Kristóf and Berecz, 17.

¹⁰⁵ For a recent treatment of this topic, see: János B. Szabó et al., "The Mongol Invasion of Hungary (1241–42) and Its Eurasian Context. Interdisciplinary Research Project Supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office (2018–2022)," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, vol. 26 (Budapest: Central European University, 2020), 223–33.

in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, that while belonging to two counties, was controlled by neither.¹⁰⁶

Figure 6: The *vallis Agriensis* in 1338 ¹⁰⁷

The *vallis Agriensis* spread from the lands of the lords of Beel (Bél), and our (the king's) castle of 'Noggeur' (Diósgyőr), in Borsod County in the north, down the Eger valley to the lands of the lords of Farnos, and Szemere, including side valleys. The settlements included were *Feltarkan* and *Altarkan* (Felsőtárkány), Felnémet, Tihamér (a settlement destroyed during the Ottoman occupation, name of field boundary and modern urban district of Eger),

¹⁰⁶ Erzsébet Kondorné Látkóczki, ed., *Árpád-kori oklevelek a Heves megyei levéltárban* [Arpadian Charters in the Heves County Archives], A Heves megyei Levéltár forráskiadványai 4 (Eger: Heves megyei Levéltár [Heves County Archives], 1997) Charter no 9, 23; see also Balázs Ferenc, *Heves vármegye története* [The History of Heves County I]. (Eger, 1897), 302–9.

¹⁰⁷ The *vallis Agriensis* is marked in mauve (the red colored areas are the royal estates), Pál Engel, *Magyarország a középkor végén. Digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar királyság településeiről* [Hungary in the Late Middle Ages. Digital Vector Map and Attaching Database about the Settlements and Landowners of Medieval Hungary], (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2021) downloaded on 16.05.2024.

Kistálya, Nagytálya and Maklár, Keresztesfölde, Endréd, Apáti and Izsépfája (lost villages bordering on Abony/ Füzesabony and Szihalom), Buda and Dézsmaszió (lost villages near Füzesabony), Kerecsend, Bakta and Fedémes, as well as the villages of Zsérc, Cserép, the destroyed village of Szöllőske, Kisgyőr and Noszvaj in the East.¹⁰⁸

The former Eger historian, and Head of the County Archives, Béla Kovács's meticulous research has been instrumental in understanding the territorial arrangements and purpose of the *vallis Agriensis*, the last person to examine this intriguing entity. He pointed out the cathedral archdeaconry borders (the modern Eger District archdeaconry) coincided with the ancient borders of this district, suggesting a degree of continuity between medieval and modern ecclesiastical entities. He also remarked that the Aba kindred's primary settlement areas and the medieval counties that developed from them, usually roughly coincided with the archdeaconry boundaries. While this rule-of-thumb applied to the other archdeaconries in the diocese of Eger, which were equivalent to historical royal counties (Heves, Borsod, Abaújvár, Zemplén, Ung, Borsova or Szabolcs), or indicated lost (or embryonic) counties (Pata and Kemej); this does not apply to the *vallis Agriensis* which conforms to no such boundaries and is minuscule by archdeaconry standards.¹⁰⁹

Another intriguing aspect is that the outer boundaries of the district follow no obvious topographical barriers, such as hill ridges. Unlike other such regions the villages in the East and West of the *vallis Agriensis* are not arranged according to any such characteristics. This suggests that the boundaries were not naturally formed, but rather were deliberately created, drawing specific villages into this ecclesiastical district. A question that arises is how this

¹⁰⁸ Béla Kovács, "Adatok az Egri-völgy középkori településtörténetéhez [Data Relating to the History of Medieval Settlements in the Eger Valley]," in *Dolgozatok Heves megye múltjából* [Essays on Heves County's Past], ed. János Győző Szabó (A Magyar Régészeti, Művészettörténeti és Éremtani Társulat 1969. évi egri vándorgyűlésének régészeti és középkori magyar történeti előadásai, Eger, 1970), 39; Kondorné Látkóczi, *Árpád-kori oklevelek*, 25; for information on Heves county's lost villages, see: Éva B. Huszár, "Heves megye elpusztult falvainak történeti topográfiája," in *Historia Est... (Írások Kovács Béla köszöntésére)*, ed. Gergely Csiffáry (Eger: Heves megyei önkormányzat, 2002).

¹⁰⁹ Kovács, 39.

puzzling territorial arrangement can be explained.¹¹⁰ According to Kovács, a thorough investigation of the foundation of the diocese of Eger and land ownership arrangements during the eleventh century is essential. By the end of the tenth or by the beginning of the eleventh century, the kings had gouged out royal castles and private estates from the Aba kindred's settlement areas, with Eger an ideal location for larger and smaller settlements, as demonstrated by the late tenth, early eleventh century cemeteries that have been uncovered in the vicinity. This redistribution of land and the establishment of new settlements could have influenced the territorial arrangements of the *vallis Agriensis*.¹¹¹

3.3.3 The *Comes* of the *vallis Agriensis*

The meaning of the Latin word *comes* in a Hungarian context is extremely complex leading to serious difficulties translating the term.¹¹² The local historian Béla Kovács was the first to claim that the *vallis Agriensis* had been an ecclesiastical, administrative district; in the following section, these claims will be examined, based on the Arpadian charters kept in the Heves County Archives.¹¹³ Two scholarly articles mentioned the function, *Comes patriae*, *comes vallis Agriensis*, with Béla Kovács cited as the source, yet no mention of it is made in his article.¹¹⁴ However, previously unmentioned, it transpires that the bishop had a *comes maior*, a certain *Magister Marcell* who featured in two charters dated 14 and 19 February, 1296, in the first a certain Wrüz of Szemere sold land to the bishop's *Magister Marcell* to pay his dues, in the second *Magister Marcell* gave the bishop permission to sell this land on to a

¹¹⁰ Kovács, "Adatok," 39–40.

¹¹¹ Kovács, 40.

¹¹² János Harmatta, ed., "Comes," in *A magyarországi középkori latinság szótára - Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi Hungariae* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991).

¹¹³ Kondorné Látókóczi, *Árpád-kori oklevelek a Heves Megyei Levéltárban*.

¹¹⁴ Péter Bán, *Heves megye történeti archontológiája (1681–)1687–2000* [The Historical Archontology of Heves County (1681–) 1987–2000], A Heves megyei Levéltár forráskiadványai, 14. (Eger, 2011), 16; Havassy, *Heves megye középkori tisztségviselői*, 10.

third party. The *comites maiores* were clearly entrusted with the bishop's economic affairs, a task later also undertaken by the *comes vallis Agriensis*.¹¹⁵

The first specific mention of an individual with the title *comes vallis Agriensis* appears in a charter dated 15 September 1338; a certain *Mengeth*.¹¹⁶ The document pertained to a sales transaction concerning the rights to half a *locus molendini* (mill site)¹¹⁷ by Peter, son of Byche of Szalók and Maurice John, son of Lodomir of Kocs to the archdeacon of Borsod and the commissary of the bishop of Eger for five marks in front of Eger chapter; they had inherited the mill from the former *comes*.¹¹⁸ This mill-owner and *comes* credibly belonged to the Walloon community and was clearly a man of some wealth.

Another *comes vallis Agriensis* is mentioned in a letter written to King Louis the Great (r. 1342-1382) by the *vicecomes* of Borsod county, describing how the *comes* of the *vallis Agriensis*, along with his Walloon followers, attacked the king's money changers. The letter used an abbreviation for the *comes*'s name, Magister N. f. M., Magister Nicolaus, filius Martini?¹¹⁹ Both Marcell and N. held the title of *magister* and were university educated. In this section, the *comes* and his people may have been infuriated by the fact of their being subject to compulsory royal coin exchange, and inherent loss of coin value that that entailed, or that their *comes* had not been charged with the task, with it being conducted by the *vicecomes* of a

¹¹⁵ HmL ME.621, DF 210 540, see: Kondorné Látkóczy, *Árpád-kori oklevelek*, charter 55, 80–81.

¹¹⁶ Maps indicating where this name is still active can be found in appendix 5. The name is a diminutive version of Dominic.

¹¹⁷ For more information on this topic see: András Vadas, "Terminológiai és tartalmi kérdések a középkori malimhelyek körül [Terminological and Contentual Questions Relating to Medieval Mill Sites]," *Történelmi szemle* [Historical Review] 2015, no. 4 (2015): 619–48.

¹¹⁸ HmL ME. 792, DF 210 718, "rectam dimidietatem cuiusdam loci molendini, que a Mengeth quondam comitis vallis Agriensis proximi eorum iam defuncti iure successorio ad ipsos fuisset devoluta, et qui locus molendini ex nunc vlgo Mengedmonahely nuncupatur, super fluvio videlicet Egurwyze, intra metas ville nostre Tyhemer vocate et prope limites seu distinctiones metas eiusdem ville Tyhemer et ville Magyartalya existentis" "XV_5_Regeszták" (Heves megyei levéltár, 2015).

¹¹⁹ Márton György Kovachich, *Formulae solennes styli in cancellaria, curiaque regum, foris minoribus, ac locis credibilibus, authenticisque regni Hungariae olim usitati* (Pest: Trattner, 1799), 20; de Borchgrave, *Essai historique*, 27.

county with no authority over the valley. Although not specified, one senses that the *comes* was also a member of the Walloon community.¹²⁰

In 1447, a law case unfolded, shedding light on the rights of the provost and chapter of Eger to hold a market in their village, Almagyar, a right the bishop of Eger had previously contested. After a thorough investigation of all relevant records issued by Kings Louis I and Sigismund, the bishop acknowledged their right and issued a judgment accordingly. The bishop's findings were to be heeded by all, the distinguished and noble judges, and the castellans of the castles of Szarvaskő and Eger, the *comes* and *vicecomes* of the *vallis Agriensis*. The equal standing of the castellan and comes in Eger and Szarvaskő is made clear by the phrase *castellanis castrorum nostrorum Agriensis et Zarwaske comitibusque vallis Egerwelge vocati*.¹²¹

3.3.4 Papal Legates and Tithe Collectors

Ferenc Balázsy demonstrated that papal tithe collectors also visited the Eger Valley in 1332-1337, providing a wealth of information on the *vallis Agriensis*.¹²² The entries either specifically mentioned the *vallis Agriensis* by name or paraphrase it with another term. The phrase *Nota, quod ista sunt nomina sacerdotum de villis domini episcopi, solution tertii anni pro media parte* is featured, followed by a list of the *vallis Agriensis* settlements, making it

¹²⁰ “Nos igitur praeceptis Vestris obedire cupientes, ut tenemur, duos ex nobis providos, et utique fide dignos viros et idoneos, videlicet talem et talem, cum annotatis talibus, transmisimus ad praemissa mandata Vestra exequenda, qui quidem socii nostri tandem ad nos reversi nobis concorditer retulerunt isto modo, quod ipsi pridie, utpote feria tertia proxime praeterita Octavas tales talis festi jam prasteriti in Civitatem Agriensem cum eisdem talibus accessissent, et in foro generali facta proclamatione memoratas Monetas Vestras juxta continentiam dictarum aliarum literarum Vestrarum exinde confectarum in eadem Civitate in foro cambire, et palam currere facere voluissent; tandem Magister N. f. M. Comes Vallis Agriensis cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, specialiter quae universis hospitibus et Gallicis de eadem villa ad dictos Procuratorem Comitum Camerarum Vestrum et homines eorumdem Archiepiscopi Magistri Thesaurariorum Vestrarum armatis manibus irruentes ipsos letalibus vulneribus sauciassent in trapezeta, seu mensa nummaria evertissent florenos, grossos, denarios ad numerum sexaginta marcarum ad terram dispersissent usque ad perditionem eorumdem.”

Kovachich, *Formulae solennes styli in cancellaria, curiaque regum, foris minoribus, ac locis credibilibus, authenticisque regni Hungariae olim usitati*, 20.

¹²¹ HmL ME. 98, DF 209 999, see Appendix 4.

¹²² Ferenc Balázsy, “Az egeri püspökség,” 142–43.

clear that the valley operated under the direct control of the bishop of Eger.¹²³ Later on the phrase *De walle Agriensi* appears, again with a listing of its settlements, fully in line with the charter of 1261/1271. These included Al- and Feltárkány (modern Felsőtárkány), Felnémet, Eger Harangutca, Eger, Parish of St. Michael, Eger, Parish of St James, Tihamér, Kistálya, Nagytálya, Maklár and Eger, Parish of St Peter.¹²⁴ In both cases, the district is dealt with separately from the rest of Eger diocese.

A papal legate who travelled to Hungary during the reign of King Matthias (r.1458–1490) also remarked on the Walloons living in the Eger Valley, noting that they enjoyed their own separate district.¹²⁵ Whatever the degree to which the Walloons were treated preferential by this time, two facts can be ascertained; they were still inhabiting the Eger Valley and the *vallis Agriensis* still represented a separate ecclesiastical district which due to the Catholic church's conservatism, still lives on as the Eger district archdeaconry.

3.3.5 Life in the *vallis Agriensis*

However early we assume the Walloon settlers arrived in the Eger Valley, we know that they had certainly arrived before the Mongol invasions, due to the onomastic evidence present in the charter of 1261/1271. We learn from a charter dated from the year 1281, that their community was not only devastated by the Mongol invasion, but also by King Ladislas IV, the Cuman (r. 1272–1290) who laid the valley to waste, suspecting that Andrew II, Bishop

¹²³ Arnold Ipolyi, *Pápai tizedszedők számadásai. 1281–1375* [The Accounts of Papal Tithe Collectors], vol. I, Vatikáni Magyar Okirattár [Vatican Hungarian Document Archive] 1 (Budapest: SPASPE, 1887), 340.

¹²⁴ Ipolyi, 356.

¹²⁵ “Trovati ancora detto regno abitato da gente fiamenga, liquali parlan dritto francese. Questi hanno una provincia per loro separata. Costoro rimastro nel regno anticamente, quando il re Carlo lo conquisto.”: Johann Christian von Engel, *Staatskunde und Geschichte von Dalmatien, Croatien, und Slavonien: nebst einigen ungedruckten Denkmälern ungarischer Geschichte* (Halle: J.J. Gebauer, 1798), 8; de Borchgrave, *Essai historique*, 28.

of Eger (r. 1275–1305) had participated in a plot against him.¹²⁶ Here again we get a real sense that the *vallis Agriensis* was recognized as the bishop's own property.

As was clear from the case of the *comes, Mengeth*, watermills were of great economic importance in the Eger Valley. The charters provide further examples of such transactions. In 1291, the chapter of Eger rents its mill to *Iohannis Latinus*, known as 'Russia' to be paid for in roughly ground barley.¹²⁷ In another transaction from 1298, Paul, the son of *Borgos, Lomboth*, son of Frank Delsa and Martin, son of John of Maklár sold their mill above Maklár for 50 marks to Master *Gekmynus*. The Walloon names, particularly *Lomboth, Gekmynus* and perhaps *Borgos* (*Borgeu* elsewhere) are striking.¹²⁸ A further example occurs in 1314 when *Thyrior*, son of *Renyl* also sells his partial ownership of a watermill to Bartholomew of Maklár.¹²⁹ The fact that the Walloons operated the watermills may be an important example of technology transfer from their homelands in Lotharingia; watermills would remain a characteristic of the Eger Valley well into the early modern period.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ HmL ME. 837, DF 210 963: "Proinde ad universorum notitiam harum serie volumus pervenire, quod accedens ad nostram presentiam venerabilis pater Andreas miseratione divina episcopus Agriensis humili precum instantia sue intetionis seriem petiit exaudiri, ut animi sui conceptum veritate iuvante possit explicare pretedendo excusationem inique accusationis et infidelitatis, quam contra eundem sui emuli zelo Dei postposito regiis nostris auribus promulgarant, propter quas accusationes sibi et suis pertinentibus actiones feceramus processus et severos iuris ordine non servato in gravamen ecclesie Agriensis, maxime vallem Agriensem devastando et depopulando, et fere omnes populos ecclesie de valle Agriensi educendo in quandam terram ecclesie predictae Agriensis Scenholmbuda vocatam sub nostra protectione congregandoat ab eadem ecclesia penitusauferendo,..."

Kondorné Látkóczy, *Árpád-kori oklevelek*, 57.

¹²⁷ HmL ME. 789, DF 210 715: "Ad universorum notitiam tenore presentium volumus pervenire, quod molendinum nostrum super fluvio Agrie inter villam Talya et inter villam Makrar situm cum universis utilitatibus et pertinentiis suis dedimus et tradidimus Iohanne Latino, dicto Russia de Talya pro centum et viginti cubulis, cum cubulo trium palmarum et trium digitorum, ex toto in brasio bono annuatim nobis persolvendis, quos idem Iohannes assumpsit nobis solvere singulis annis in festo beati Thome apostoli."

Kondorné Látkóczy, 69.

¹²⁸ HmL ME. 790, DF 210 716: "Ad universorum notitiam tenore presentium volumus pervenire, quod Paulo filio Borgos et Lomboth filio dicti Delsa de Nogtalya ac Martino filio Iohannis de Maklar ex una parte, ab altera vero magistro Gekmyno (...) de Latina villa corum nobis personaliter constitutis per ipsos Paulum, Lomboth et Martinum propositum extitit, quod quoddam molendinum ipsorum superiori parti ipsius ville Maklar proximius, in quo Paulus et Lomboth tres partes, et idem Martinus quartam partem possidebant, cum universis utilitatibus et pertinentiis suis vendidissent et tradidissent eidem magistro Gekmyno pro quinquaginta marcis plene receptis ab eodem sibi et suis heredibus perpetuo possidendum et habendum." Kondorné Látkóczy, 86.

¹²⁹ HmL ME. 791. – DF 210 717 "XV_5_Regeszták" (Heves megyei Levéltár, 2015).

¹³⁰ For further information on water management in Lotharingia, see: Ellen F. Arnold, "Engineering Miracles: Water Control, Conversion and the Creation of a Religious Landscape in the Medieval Ardennes," *Environment and History* 13, no. 4 (2007): 477–502; András Vadas, "Terminológiai és tartalmi kérdések a középkori malomhelyek körül [Terminological and Contentual Questions Relating to Medieval Mill Sites]," *Történelmi szemle*, no. 4 (2015): 619–48.

3.3.6 Creating a Timeframe

Combining Galambosi's and Petrovics's argument leads to an interesting conclusion: a first group of Walloon settlers, small, may have arrived in the *vallis Agriensis* with Leodwin in the mid-eleventh century. The argument gains greater credibility if we factor in the evidence from Lotharingia of Anselm and his sons leaving for Hungary in 1103. As far as the *vallis Agriensis* is concerned, the earliest textual evidence dates from 1261, meaning that we cannot be certain where the first Walloon settlers arrived, suggesting the need for considering alternative, non-textual evidence.

Onomastic evidence provided by the Béla IV's charter indicates that toponyms of Walloon origin existed before the Mongol invasion. The 'tálya' element in the placenames *Thala mogor* (Magyartálya) and *Thala nogh* (Nagytałya) is widely recognized by onomasticians to have originated from the French *taille*.¹³¹ The pre-existence of these placenames, as demonstrated by the charter, giving a period of settlement anywhere between the eleventh and the thirteenth century.

The account of Eger Valley pilgrims travelling to Liège in the Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot, and the later accounts of a pilgrimage in 1493 indicate that the Walloons were still aware of their origins in the fifteenth century. The last Eger bishop before the siege of Eger in 1552, Nicolaus Olahus (r. 1548–1553), a humanist, also wrote about his *Eburones*, who are now described as inhabitants of the Principality of Liège, the Walloons of the Eger Valley.¹³²

Factoring in all this information, we can establish a timeframe for Walloon settlement, perhaps starting in the mid-eleventh century, but before the Mongol invasions of 1241, and ending with the second siege of Eger in 1596, when the city fell to the Ottomans. While

¹³¹ See article on 'Tálya' in Kiss Lajos, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* [The Etymological Dictionary of Geographical Names] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980), 626.

¹³² "In valle Agriensi, aliquot pagi incoluntur, habiti pro coloniis Eburonum, qui nunc Leodienses dicuntur, olim eo traductis. Horum incolae, in hodiernum diem Gallicam sonant linguam. Quo autem tempore, aut eo traducti sint, aut sponte migrarint, haud satis compertum eo," see Nicolaus de Olahus, *Hungaria - Athila*, ed. Kálmán Eperjessy and László Juhász (Budapest: K. M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1838) 34; See also: De Borchgrave, 28.

suffering serious losses, they would have survived the siege of 1552. The archivist and museum director Péter Havassy suggested that the *vallis Agriensis* ceased to exist when Johann Beckenschlager/Beckenloer János became bishop of Eger (r. 1468–1474) and made *supremus et perpetuus comes* of Heves County.¹³³ As we saw in the previous section, however, the papal legate mentioned that the Walloons of the Eger Valley still had their own separate district towards the end of the fifteenth century; indeed this mysterious district may have existed up until the Ottoman occupation.

1447 was an incredibly significant year, with the settlers' gaze fixed firmly on the complex power structure that governed their small world. Poorly documented 'privileges,' power plays between the chapter and bishop of Eger and administrative reforms that were drawing bishops increasingly into the king's orbit, making them into *perpetui comites*, all had a role to play. This changing world would have filled the settlers with uncertainty, and it is in these circumstances that we can best understand their pilgrimage to Liège. Little did they now that the real threat to their very survival would come from a completely different source.

¹³³ Péter Havassy, *Heves megye középkori tisztségviselői*, 20; for further information on this office, see: C. Tóth Norbert, "Az örökös ispánságok Zsigmond király korában," *Történelmi szemle* 53, no. 3 (2011): 467–77.

Conclusions

The migration of Walloon merchants, prelates, and settlers to Hungary was a significant historical process that demands our attention. This thesis delved into the reasons for and timing of their arrival, attributing it primarily to the activities of the Lotharingian church, bolstered by factors such as high population density, economic circumstances, famines, and armed conflict in Lotharingia. Hungary's strategical position as a central point on the northwestern-southeastern trade and pilgrimage route to the Holy Land, was a key factor in this migration, a strategic advantage fully exploited by the Arpadian rulers.

Despite some anachronistic elements, the Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot provides a credible and detailed account of the initial migration process. The year 1046, marked by 'pagan' revolts in Hungary and comital revolts in Lotharingia, was a turning point that brought prelates to Hungary. The likelihood of settlers accompanying them is supported by the records of settlers leaving Lotharingia in 1103 and the existence of a *Latini* merchant settlement in the southern part of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1096. The fact that Bishop Wazo's fame had also reached Hungary during this same period further strengthens this view. Achieving a balance between a critical and over-critical approach seems essential here; such chronicles partly include elements with historical veracity, partly fictional and partly adapted to the chronicle's fifteenth-century audience. In the case of the Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot, all these factors are at play.

Challenging the conventional belief that a functional Bishopric of Eger dates to the reign of King Stephen, a new and intriguing theory posits that Leodwin, and his settlers began work upon their arrival in Eger in the mid-eleventh century. Textual evidence from Eger unfortunately postdates the Mongol invasion, and therefore cannot support this theory.

However, the onomastic evidence, reveals the presence of Walloon settlements in the Eger Valley prior to the invasion.

The apparent lack of formal settler privileges, remarked on by Émile de Borchgrave is of significance. In an eleventh-century setting, we would not only expect migration to have been a sporadic process, but any privileges, when offered, would have been informal in nature and would probably not have been set down in writing. This matches an early, quite possibly eleventh-century, settlement period.

The mention of privileges in the Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot, must therefore be considered an anachronistic element, perhaps reflecting that they accrued over time but remained in an unwritten form. This could have led to a precarious situation for the settlers, when the bishop of Eger, Ladislás Héderváry brought their rights into question. However, the settlers, displaying remarkable resilience, were prepared to go to great lengths, according to the *Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot*, to demonstrate the antiquity of their claims to continued preferential treatment.

Another fascinating insight of this thesis relates to the individuals mentioned in the charters; they seem to feature as a semi-rural economic ‘elite’ who were charged by the bishop with running the economic affairs of the valley. The Walloons of the Eger Valley played a crucial role, busy operating water mills and presumably producing wine. The fact that the name of the first comes vallis Agriensis, *Mengeth*, occurs in northeastern France, suggests that he was a member of the Walloon minority, and the money lenders incident of suggests something similar in the case of *comes N*.

The *vallis Agriensis*, which they made home, operated as a separate ecclesiastical, administrative district with its own officials, directly under the control of the bishop of Eger, and distinct from the two counties to which it belonged. The Walloon community enjoyed a privileged and intriguing position well worth investigating, and hopefully this thesis brought it

a little back to life. Entanglement, a theory designed to investigate the features of a globalized is just as relevant when considering the Middle Ages.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.

The Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot – The Charter¹³⁴

Universis et singulis principibus, regibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, clientibus, comitatibus et universitatibus villarum et oppidorum, presertim illustri domino Laurentio, regni Hungariae palatino, ac reverendo in Christo patri domino Anselmo, episcopo Agriensi, omnibusque aliis et singulis ad quos presentes nostre littere pervenerint, Johannes de Heinsberghe, Dei et apostolice sedis gratia episopus Leodiensis, dux Bullonensis, comes de Monhaut, Clarimontensis et Lossensis, ac marchio de Franchimont, dominusque de Rupeforti, de Agimont et de Millen, decanus et capitulum, necnon magistratum scabini, jurati et consules, totaque universitas civitatis Leodiensis, sinceram in domino caritatem et presentibus fidem indubiam adhibere. Gratum Altissimo nos arbitramur prestare obsequium, dum veritati testimonium perhibemus hiis signanter que suspicionis sunt scrupuli subductiva, ad finem ut proborum fidelium animos per hec reddamus pacificos et quietos.

Hiis siquidem diebus nostram accedentes civitatem Mathias Andree Biro, Paulus Dolo, Nycholaus Tamarasco, Symon Henrat, Marcus Balaven, Martinus Ponche, et quamplures alii eorum consortes, incole, subjecti et habitatores, ut adserrebant, villarum et locorum que Gallica loca in regno Hungarie vocitantur, nobis exposuerunt, se a suis progenitoribus audivisse, multos pridem de civitate nostra predicta et circumvicinis locis ad predictum regnum se transtulisse, inclitissimum quoque ipsius regni regem eis in hujusmodi regno locum et terram largiflue deputasse, ipsosque ibidem ad ingentem populi multitudinem excrevisse. Supplicaverunt nobis dicti Mathias, etc., et eorum consortes quatenus modum et formam eorum exitus, qui ipsos latet, juxta ea que de hiis in nostris chronicis et archivis seu libris autenticis reperimus, literatorie et sub fideli testimonio tradere dignaremur. - Nos igitur veritati testimonium perhibere cupientes, ut suspicionis scrupulus eruatur, et obloquentium animi in pacis tranquillitate quiescat, inducti amore patrio, harum serie attestamus, quod in pluribus et diversis chronicis et libris, qui apud nostrates autentici reputantur, quibusque per eos fides plenaria adhibeatur, iuculenter et expresse continetur, quod anno a Navitate Domini millesimo, vicesimo nono, tempo Reginardi, Leodiensis episcopi vicesimi primi, regnante protunc dive memorie Conrado, Romanorum imperatore, et Bohemie rege secundo, tanta per Almaniam et Hungariam viguit caristia atque fames, quod quamplures in viis et plateis fame tunc perierunt. Durante itaque hujusmodi caristie tempore, predictus episcopus mille et ducentis personis vite necessaria cotidie ministravit, tricentis videlicet in civitate Leodiensi, tricentis in Hoyensi, tricentis in Diocensi et totidem in Fossis et Tudunensi, suis opidis, adeo quod hujusmodi ministrationis fama, per diversa mundi climata divulgata, innumerus populus de Hungarie, Frisie, Hanonie et Almaniepartibus cotidie Leodii adventabat, quem prefatus Reginardus episcopus benigne recepit, ac similibus privilegiis et libertatibus quibus patiebantur digne sublimavit, et infra murorum civitatis capta certam terram seu locum habitationis benigne assignavit, Hungrorum scilicet vicum magnum, Hanoniensibus autem, Frizonibus, et aliis similem vicum, qui Hanonia adhuc hodierna die vulgariter nominatur. Quodque de post,

¹³⁴ Jean de Stavelot, "Chronique de Jean de Stavelot," ed. Adolphe Borgnet (Brussels: M. Hayez for Belgian Royal Academy of Sciences, 1861), 595–98.

videlicet anno a Navitate millesimo quinquagesimo secundo, tempore Wazonis, Leodiensis episcopi vicesimi tertii, presidente Gregorio papa sexto, regnanteque Henrico imperatore hujus nominis secundo, vehemens ingensque caristia patriam Leodiensem et finitimas partes affecit in tantum, quod multi Leodienses cum uxoribus et liberis cum certa quantitate Hungrorum, Leodii ut premittitur, residentium, a Leodio dumtaxat propter dictam causam discesserunt, versus Hungaria partes se transferentes. Quibus rex Hungarie, pro impensa suis Hungariis gratitudine rependere volens vices, terram seu locum fere in regni sui medio dictis Leodiensibus, ut in illa seu illo habitarent et remanerent, perpetuo assignavit, mandans eisdem ne gallicam dedisserent aut oblivioni traderent quovis modo. Et que premissa in nostrisronicis seu libris autenticis, ut premittitur, reperimus reputantes et pro firmo constantique tenentes eam mera fulciri veritate; idcirco premissis quodque predicti Mathias, Paulus et eorum consortes linguam seu loquelam gallicam nostre civitatis patrie gallice omino consimilem eloquuntur, ad vestram omniumque vestrum notitiam deducimus per presentes, universitatem vestram in Domino deprecantes, quatenus eos, quibus ob patrium et fraternalem amorem allicemur, prout indigenarum et compatriotarum nostrorum natura et conditio excitat et requirit, velit nostris contemplatione et nutu spiritualibus amplius recipere recommissos et caritativis affectibus gratiose prout condecet confovere, adeo ut vestris et similibus ad antidotum obligemur, ad quod sincero corde nos offerimus benivolos et paratos. In quorum omnium fide et testimonio predictorum, litteras presentes sigillorum nostrorum fecimus appensione communiri. Datum in civitate Leodiensi, anno a Navitate Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadagesimo septimo, mensis julii die octava.

Appendix 2.

Geographical Distribution of Personal Names Occurring in the Chronicle of Jean of Stavelot (based on data from Geneanet.org).

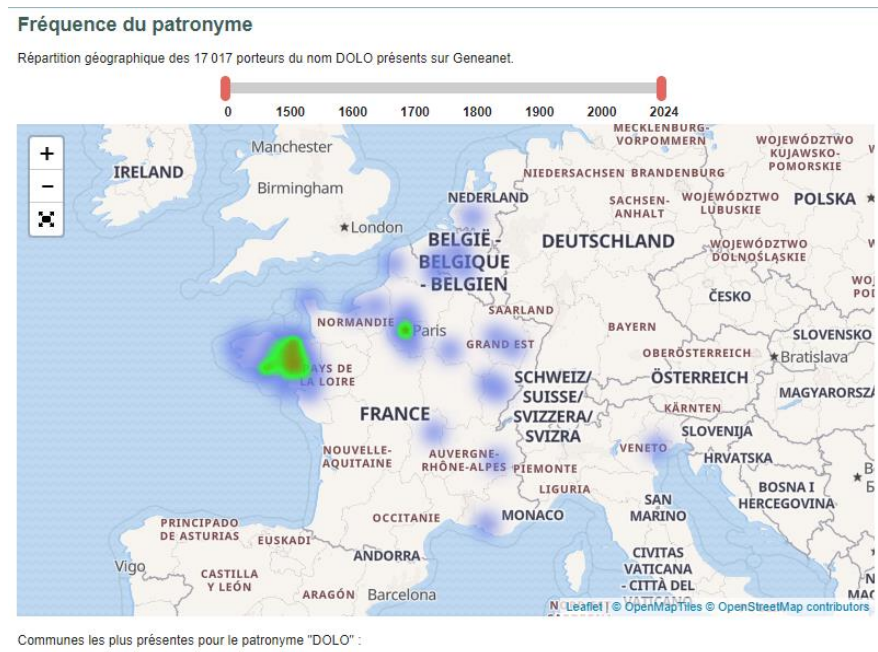


Figure 7: Distribution of the Family Name Dolo¹³⁵

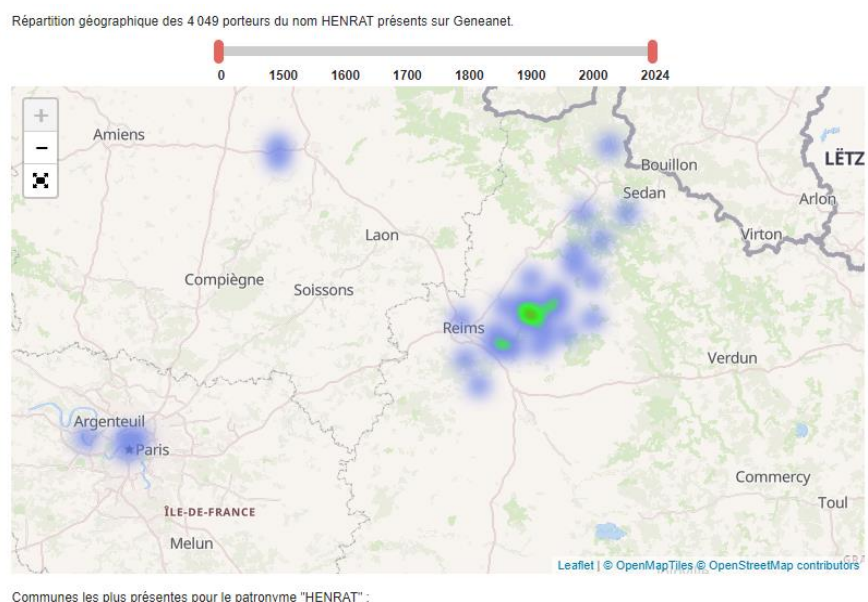


Figure 8: Distribution of the Family Name Henrat¹³⁶

¹³⁵ *Dolo* (Geneanet.org), accessed March 4, 2024, <https://www.geneanet.org/nom-de-famille/DOLO>.

¹³⁶ *Henrat* (Geneanet.org), accessed March 4, 2024, <https://www.geneanet.org/nom-de-famille/HENRAT>.

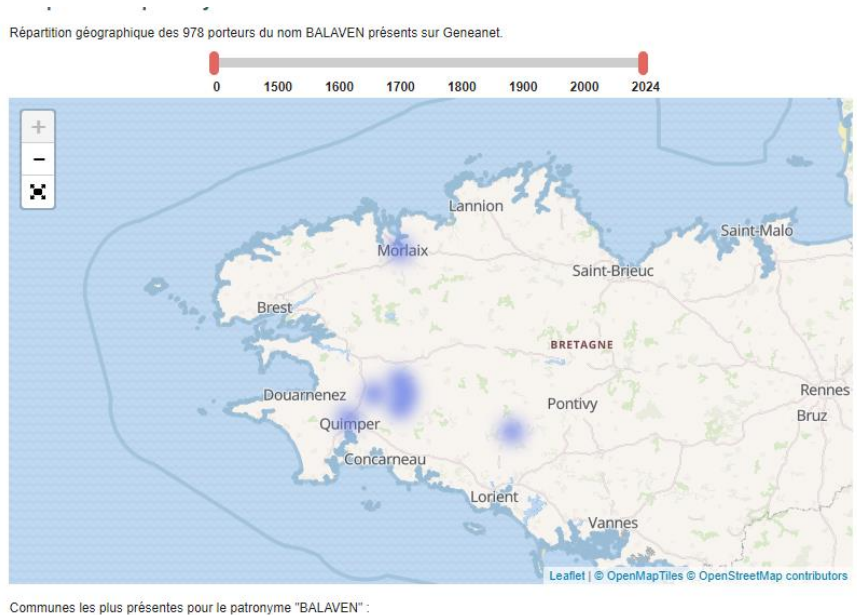


Figure 9: Distribution of the Family Name Balaven¹³⁷

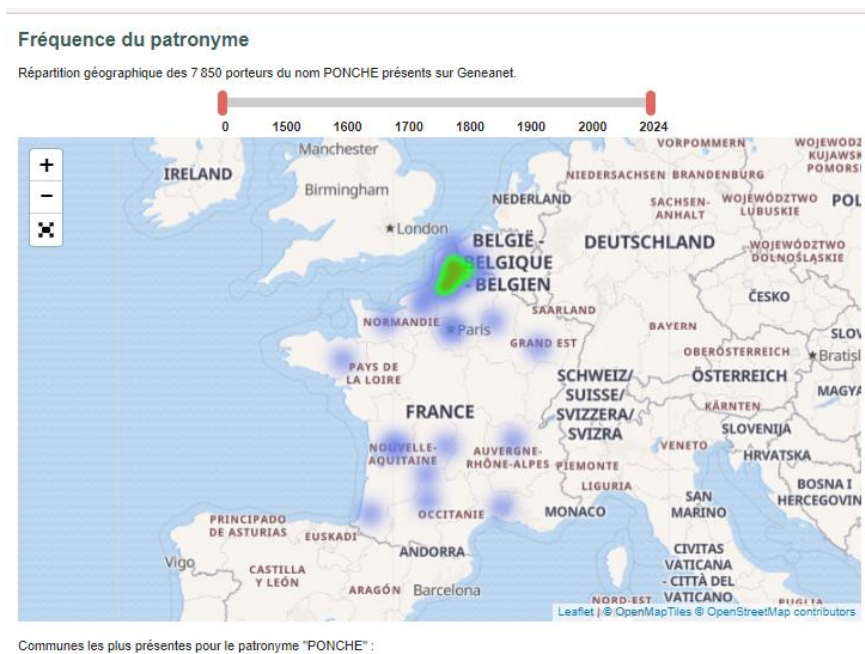


Figure 10: Distribution of the Family Name Ponche¹³⁸

¹³⁷ *Balaven* (Geneanet.org), accessed March 4, 2024, <https://www.geneanet.org/nom-de-famille/BALAVEN>.

¹³⁸ *Ponche* (Geneanet.org), accessed March 4, 2024, <https://www.geneanet.org/nom-de-famille/PONCHE>.

Appendix 3.

Chronicon Cornelii Zantfliet - Arrival of Eger Valley Walloons in Liège¹³⁹

Anno Domini MCCCCXLVII septem perigrini ex Hungaria venientes & de Aquensi dioecesi oriundi, visitatis sacris & famosis reliquiis in urbe Aquensi, consequenter pervenerunt ad Leodium. Audierant siquidem a suis progenitoribus eorundem praedecessores de patria Leodensi ante multos annorum circulos egressos prae victualium penuria in Hungariam commigrasse, illique locum habitationum suarum collacasse, easque sedes, servato semper natalium suorum primaevo & originali idiomate delegisse. Quod cum plerisque frivolum videretur, examinati tandem fere ab universis, reperti sunt in eodem materno idiomate cum Leodensibus per omnia concordare. Et ut omnis de hac idiomatis servati serie tolleretur ambiguitas, asferebant hanc causam ratione plenam, quod licet viri propter sua commercia exercenda per diversas et vicinas regiones quotidie se transferant, & Hungarorum linguam idcirco omnes addiscant, tamen quia semper & continuo feminae in suis domiciliis residentes, filiorum educationibus intentae, nusquam vadunt aut evagantur, nativum propterea conservantes idioma et in eodem soboles suas instruentes. In hujus rei ratificationibus ex praefatis peregrinis ad terram Hungariae repedare volentibus, burgimagistri Leodienses commendatitias litteras sigillo civitatis communitas ad suos primarios deferendas contulerunt, eosdem exhortantes ut fraternaliter & humane sui generis & patriae monines tractare non cessarent, similem in suos comprovinciales afferentes se velle reddere recompensam, si temporis & rerum necessitas in posterum id postularet. Postmodum revolutis annalibus & antiquitatum historiis compertum est, annos circiter centum & triginta decursos quod dictorum peregrinorum proavi ab avitis sedibus ad Agriensem provinciam commigrarunt.

¹³⁹ Edmundi Martene and Ursini Durand, eds., “Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum ...,” in *Chronicon Cornelii Zantfliet*, vol. 5 (Paris: Montalant, 1729), 455–56.

Appendix 4.

The Bishop of Eger Returns Market Rights to Eger Cathedral Chapter

May 28th, 1447.¹⁴⁰

"Nos, Ladislaus de Hederuara, electus ecclesiae Agriensis memoriae commendamus, quod, quamquam inter nos et honorabiles dominos Philippum praepositum et capitulum ecclesiae Agriensis praedictae ratione et praetextu fori eorumdem dominorum, singulis Sextis feriis in possessione seu vico ipsorum, Almagyari vocato, celebrari soliti, disceptationis atque contentionis materia mota fuerit et exacta; tamen, non obstante illo, quod aliqui praedecessores nostri episcopi ipsum forum dominorum praepositi et capituli in dicta eorum possessione celebrari non permisissent et, etiam qualicumque ratione ab eisdem abstulissent; quin potius cupientes, uti nostrae decet dignitati, cum eisdem dominis praeposito et capitulo dictae ecclesiae Agriensis iugiter in pacis pulchritudine permanere; visis etiam, conspectis et diligenter examinatis iuribus et litteralibus instrumentis eorumdem dominorum, per quondam Serenissimos principes Dominos Ludovicum et Sigismundum, regni Hungariae reges, felicitis recordationis, super dicto foro eisdem datis et in aeternum concessis, comperimus ex ipsis, eosdem dominos praepositum et capitulum ad dictum forum merum, plenum et efficax ius habere, ipsum forum liberum, ut fertur, singulis VI feriis in dicta Almagyari celebrari solitum, eisdem dominis praeposito et capitulo pure et simpliciter duximus remittendum et relaxandum. Quocirca vobis egregiis, nobilibus nostris, iudici curiae nostrae **ac castellanis castrorum nostrorum Agriensis et Zarvaske, comitibusque vallis Egerwelge vocatae**, cunctis etiam familiaribus iudicibus, iuratis ceterisque populis et iobagionibus nostris, tam in civitate Agriensi quam dicta valle exsistentibus, per nos constitutis et in futurum constituendis, damus in nostris mandatis. Datum Agriae in festo Pentecostes, anno Domini MCCCCXLVII.

¹⁴⁰ "XV_5_Regeszták" (Heves megyei levéltár, 2015), HmL ME. 98 / DF 209 999

Appendix 5. The Name Menget(h)

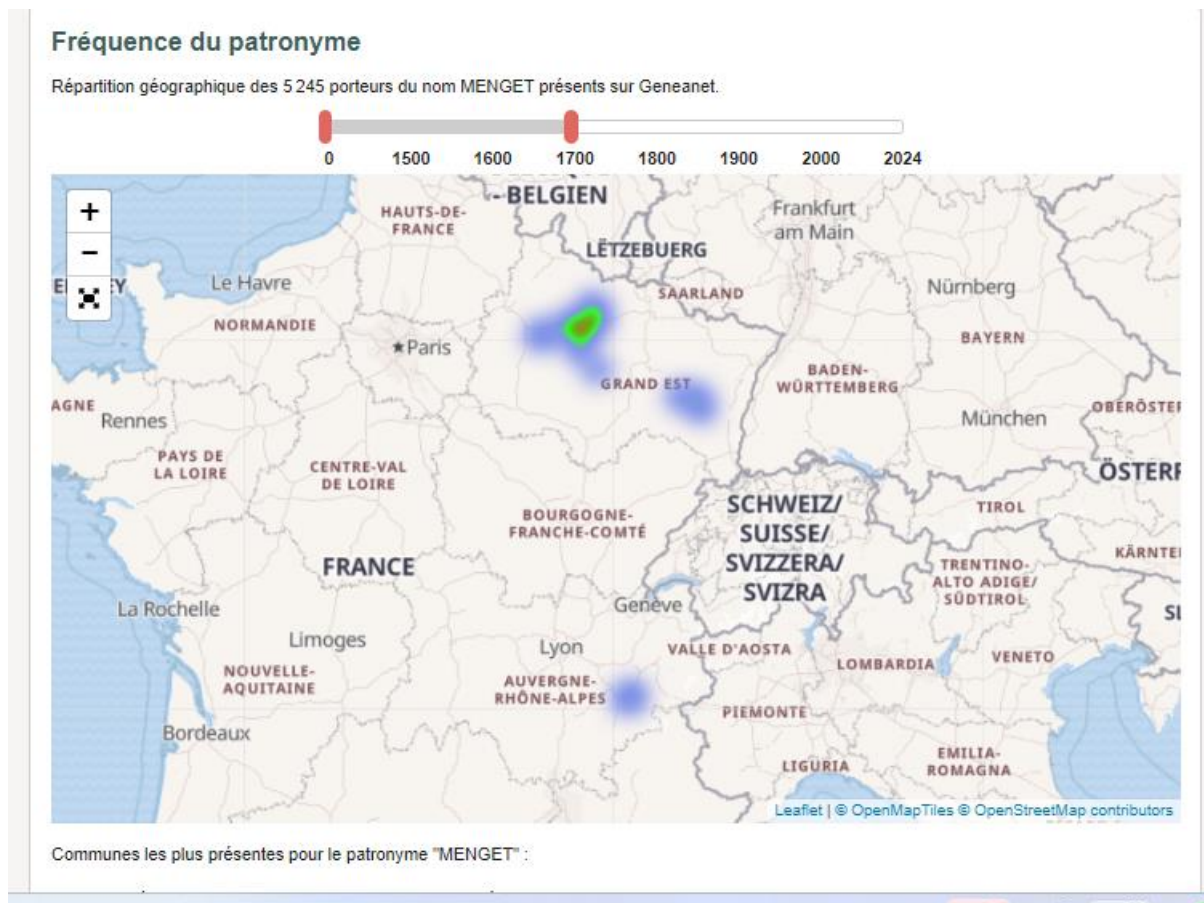


Figure 11: Distribution of the Family Name Menget¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ *Menget* (Geneanet.org), accessed May 18, 2024, <https://www.geneanet.org/nom-de-famille/MENGET>.

Appendix 6. Late Carolingian/Early Ottonian Europe



Figure 12: Late Carolingian/Early Ottonian Europe¹⁴²

¹⁴² Simon MacLean, "Maps", in *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), xix.

Appendix 7. Lotharingia

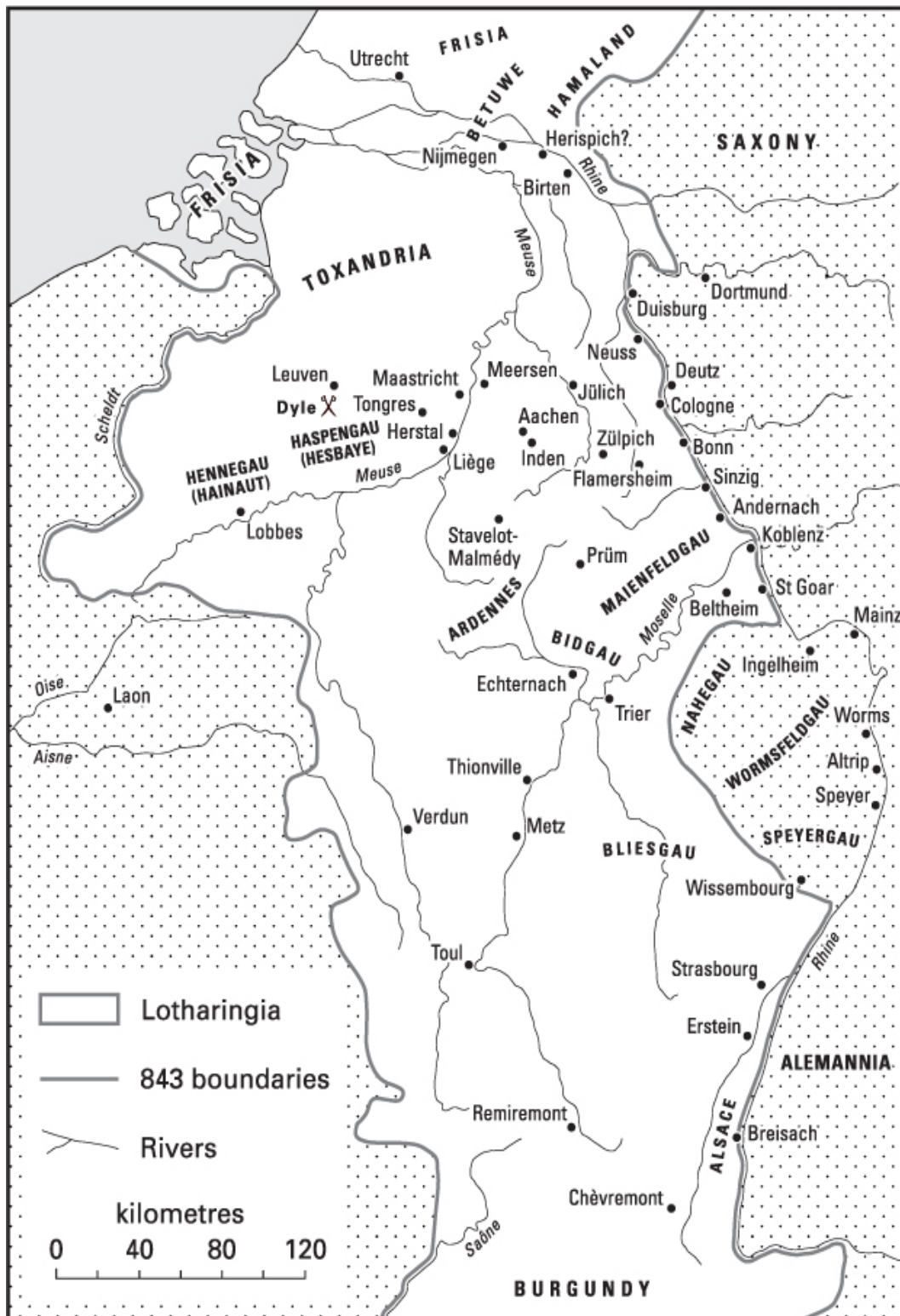


Figure 13: Lotharingia.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ Simon MacLean, "Maps", xx.