

ARTYKUŁY

ATTILA NUTRITUS IN ENGADI OR THE KNOWLEDGE OF LATE ANTIQUE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARIAN CHRONICLES¹

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ABSTRACT. The 10th chapter of the *Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum* written by Simon of Kéza contains a puzzling phrase: *Attila (...) nutritus in Engadi*. So far, no attempt has been made to explain it. According to the authors of the following article, Simon took it from the Latin translation of the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339) by St. Jerome. In all likelihood, Simon gained access to Jerome's codex during his trip to southern Italy.

It is necessary to distinguish three stages of the rise and change of the scholarly tradition about Attila as the ancestor of the Arpad dynasty and the Huns as the ancestors of the Hungarians: 1) Attila is viewed as the ancestor of Almos and Arpad; 2) Aquila in the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle as the founder of the Hungarian state, which was an attempt at a Christian rationalization of the story of the Turul, an ethnogenetic story about the Hungarians and their dynasty; 3) the inclusion of the Huns in Hungarian history by Simon of Kéza while removing Attila from among the ancestors of the dynasty. The mention of Engaddi (attesting to Simon's knowledge of the Latin topography of Palestine, ultimately derived from Eusebius of Caesarea) likens him to the biblical David showing that, like the great warrior-king of Judah and Israel,² Attila was the preeminent ruler of the Huns, i.e. the Hungarians, and at the same time legitimizes him, placing him, and, not least, his people, in the horizon of the world of Mediterranean civilization.

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² Only according to tradition, for there is no independent, extra-biblical attestation of the figure of David, and therefore his historicity is strongly uncertain; even if it turned out that he was a real-life figure, his power would undoubtedly have had the more modest character of one of many local, minor tribal leaders, see: M. Liverani, *Not Only the Bible. A history of ancient Israel*. Warsaw 2017, p. 107–112; Ł. Niesiołowski-Spanò, *David in History and in the Hebrew Bible* [in:] *The Character of David in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, eds. M. Zawanowska, M. Wilk, Leiden 2021, p. 19–40.



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INTRODUCTION

In the 10th chapter of Simon of Kéza's History of the Huns, dated roughly at the summer of 1283,³ as transmitted only by late medieval chronicles which were drawing on the 14th century Chronicle Composition, we find a passage clearly modeled on the titulation of documents:⁴

Atyla Dei gratia filius Bendekus, nepos magni Magor, nutritus in Engadi, rex Hunorum, Medorum, Gottorum, Danorum, metus orbis terre et flagellum Dei (...).

Among other things, it states that the grandson of the great Magor *rested in Engaddi*. This toponym has not been properly addressed by researchers so far. Sándor⁵ Domanovszky (1877–1955), creator of the term Chronicle Composition of the 14th century and its publisher in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, the primary edition of medieval Hungarian narrative sources to this day, does not write about it. Elemér Mályusz (1898–1989) and Gyula Kristó (1939–2004), authors of commentaries on the Chronicle of János Thuróczi, concluded that it refers to the upper part of the Aeni River valley in Swiss Grisons, while admitting that it is difficult to explain its connection with the Hun invasions.⁶ On the other hand, the editors of the Latin-English edition of the Illuminated Chronicle in the series of Central European Medieval Texts published by the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University limited themselves to indicating only their helplessness in explaining what this biblical name means in the context of Attila.⁷ To fully illuminate the new hypothesis of the authors of this contribution, we will first present the evolution of the perception

³ Regarding dating see: Gy. Györffy, *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet. Régi kérdések – új válaszok*, Budapest 1993, p. 188 (work dated 1948, quoted part added in 1993).

⁴ A. Domanovszky (ed.), *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* [in:] SRH, ed. E. Szentpétery, vol. 1, Budapest 1937, p. 261, v. 9–12. New edition of the Illuminated Chronicle itself: *Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto saec. XIV. Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex*, eds. and transl. J.M. Bak, L. Veszprémy with a Preface by N. Kersken, Budapest–New York 2018, p. 30.

⁵ The name is the Hungarian equivalent of Alexander, hence the presence of the latter form in the scholar's numerous foreign-language publications.

⁶ E. Mályusz, I. Kristó (eds.), *Johannes de Thurocz, Chronica Hungarorum*, vol. 2 (*Commentarii, pars 1: Ab initiis usque ad annum 1301, composuit*), Budapest 1988, p. 98.

⁷ *Chronica de Gestis*, p. 31, fn. 84.

of the figure of Attila and his people by Hungarian chroniclers. Then we will return to Engaddi, pointing out both the supposed source of knowledge about this oasis and what significance it may have played in the plotted biography of the leader of the Huns, or rather, of the Hungarians already.

ATTILA AND ARPAD

Attila was associated with the Carpathian Basin area from the time of his reign, i.e. from the mid-fifth century. The center of the multi-ethnic state was somewhere on the steppes of the future Great Hungarian Plain (Hungarian: Alföld, Slovak: Veľká dunajská kotlina) and in the former Roman Pannonia. The Huns, after the death of Attila (453) and the defeat in the Battle of the Nedao River (454), dissolved among the ethnē of the Great Steppe, but nevertheless left behind a tradition of their power. Taking advantage of the social, cultural and linguistic similarities between the Avars and then the Hungarians, Latin intellectuals commonly associated them with the Huns (cf. the term *Hungarii*).⁸ In some of the remains of Roman centers in Pannonia, chroniclers saw the headquarters of the nomads. Song of the Nibelungs, written down in the early 13th century, mentions Attila's capital, Etzilburg (Attila's Castle). In Bavaria, a sword was linked to Attila – it was given to Otto of Nordheim by Anastasia, widow of Andrew I, hiding in this region with her son Solomon from the vengeance of her brother-in-law, Béla I. The sword, by the way, did not bring good luck, as in 1071, when falling from his horse, the Emperor Henry III's adherent Liutpold, Count of Merseburg, impaled himself on it.⁹ László Veszprémy (b. 1958) argues convincingly that Bavaria was the place from where the knowledge of the Hunnic ruler came to Hungary. It would therefore be an external, erudite source of Hungarian knowledge about Attila.¹⁰

However, this hypothesis does not rule out another, namely that there were internal sources familiarizing Hungarians with the Hun ruler. These are indicated by the anonymous notary of King Béla III, who compiled his History of the Hungarians after the death of that ruler, i.e., after 1196. In more recent times, the writing of this chronicle is postponed to the first years or even the first decades of the 13th century.¹¹ In

⁸ Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*, Szeged 1996, p. 71–84; M.G. Kellner, *Die Ungarneinfälle im Bild der Quellen bis 1150. Von der „Gens detestanda“ zur „Gens ad fidem Christi conversa“*, München 1997, p. 64–67.

⁹ O. Holder-Egger (ed.), *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis Opera*, „MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum ad usum scholarum“ 1894, vol. 38 (Hannoverae et Lipsiae), p. a. 1071, p. 130.

¹⁰ L. Veszprémy, *A magyarországi hun hagyomány legkorábbi írott forrásai és európai kapcsolataik*, „Acta Historica Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae“ 2013, no. 135, p. 25–44.

¹¹ Kulbicka A., Pawłowski K., Wodzinowska-Taklińska G., Grzesik R. (ed. & transl.), *Anonimowego notariusza króla Béla Gesta Hungarorum*, Cracow 2006; M. Rady, L. Veszprémy (eds., transl.), *Anonymus and Master Roger. Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The*

Chapter 50, the Szeklers, seen as the people of Attila (*qui primo erant populi Atthyle regis*), joined the Hungarians and later fought in the Hungarian vanguard.¹² Simon of Kéza, compiling his chronicle after 1282 and before 1285, was also aware of the connection between the Szeklers and the Huns. He mentions that the Huns, after the death of Attila and defeat they suffered in the battle, mostly retreated to the east. The remaining three thousand men called themselves Szeklers and later joined the returning Hungarians, settling in Transylvania.¹³ On this basis, many researchers have concluded that the Szeklers, at least some of whom may have descended from the Huns and Onogurs/Bulgars, were the purveyors of knowledge of Attila.

The anonymous notary of King Béla already saw Attila as the ancestor of Almos and Arpad.¹⁴ However, it was not until Simon of Kéza, in his *History of the Huns*, that the history of the Huns and Attila was included in the pantheon of Hungarian history, which was adopted by modern Hungarian political thought.¹⁵ However, this was not the original ethnogenetic legend of the Hungarians. The Anonymous notary himself had already recorded the legend of the origins of the Hungarian dynasty, that is, the story of the dream of Emese, who dreamed that someone in the shape of a hawk (*asturis*) prophesied to her that she would give rise to a family of rulers.¹⁶ Also, Simon of Kéza knows that the bird was called *turul*.¹⁷ The name of the bird is omitted by

Deeds of the Hungarians and J.M. Bak, M. Rady (eds., transl.), *Magistri Rogerii Epistola in miserabile Carmen super destructione regni Hungarie per Tartaros facta* (Master Roger's Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars), Budapest–New York 2010, p. XXI–XXII.

¹² *Anonimowego notariusza*, 50, p. 166; Anonymus and Master Roger, p. 108.

¹³ L. Veszprémy, F. Schaer, J. Szűcs (eds., transl.), *Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum. Simon of Kéza, The Deeds of the Hungarians*, Budapest 1999, p. 71.

¹⁴ *Anonimowego notariusza*, 8, p. 50; Anonymus and Master Roger, p. 22: *Tunc duces Rutenorum hoc intelligentes timuerunt valde eo, quod audiverant Almus ducem filium Vgeke de genere Athile regis esse, cui proavi eorum annuatim tributa persolvebant*.

¹⁵ *Simonis de Kéza Gesta*, p. XXIII–XXIV. A closer discussion of the issue in an important study: Szűcs J., *Theoretical Elements in Master Simon of Kéza's Gesta Hungarorum (1282–1285)*, Budapest 1975 = *Simonis de Kéza Gesta*, p. XXIX–CII; Gy. Kristó, *Hungarian History*, p. 81; A.A. Шохин, *Причины и ранние этапы формирования „гунского мифа” в средневековой венгерской хроникальной традиции*, „Финно-угорский мир” 2015, no. 4, p. 48–53; M. Rady, *Attila and the Hun Tradition in Medieval Hungarian Tradition* [in:] *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, eds. J.M. Bak, L. Veszprémy, Budapest 2018, p. 127–135; Д.Е. Алимов, А.И. Филюшкин (eds.), *Мобилизованное средневековье*, 1 (*Медиевализм и национальная идеология в Центрально-Восточной Европе и на Балканах*), St. Petersburg 2020, p. 193–195; on the Turanian idea in Hungary at the turn of the 19th/20th century: A.B. Ратобильская, *Венгерский туранизм* [in:] *Славяне и их соседи*, vol. 10, ed. Б.Н. Флоря, Moscow 2001, p. 218–226, p. 221 and 225; Gy. Rózsa, *Pictorial Types of the Attila Iconography* [in:] *Attila. The Man and His Image*, eds. F.H. Bäuml, M.D. Birnbaum, Budapest 1993, p. 29–37.

¹⁶ *Anonimowego notariusza*, 3, p. 38–40; Anonymus and Master Roger, p. 12. The chronicler emphasizes that the name Álmos came from the Hungarian word *álmom* ‘dream’, but also means saint, as holy kings were supposed to come from his lineage. The most detailed analysis of the legend in Polish literature: L. Spychała, *Studia nad legendą dynastyczną Arpadów. Między pulpitem średniowiecznego skryby a „warsztatem” współczesnego badacza*. Wrocław 2011.

¹⁷ *Simonis de Kéza Gesta*, 10, p. 42; 27, p. 80; 76, p. 158.

chronicles drawing on the 14th century Chronicle Composition. They, after all, repeat Anonymous notary's story about the birth of Almos.¹⁸ As it seems, for Christian chroniclers and members of the dynasty that had been considered sacred since the time of Béla III,¹⁹ the reference to the pagan, totemistic tale of the turul bird was unacceptable. It was Attila who constituted a more attractive hero, rooting the history of the Hungarians in the history of the classical world, and consequently the Judeo-Christian world. But how did the replacement of the turul with Attila come about? The answer seems to be found in the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle, dating back to the late 1220s and early 1230s. In this source we read about the mighty King Aquila, who in Eastern Hungary enjoyed the riches of the world, power and fame of chivalry. For this, he set out with his men from his homeland, crossed Europe, assassinated St. Ursula, Cordula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, conquered Lombardy and Apulia, and instead of going to Rome, led by angelic inspiration, he set out for Croatia to avenge King Casimir murdered by his subjects, incidentally founding Aquileia. He then settled in Sclavonia, which he called Hungary, distributed the land among his mighty, established the principle of power succession, or in one word, created the state.²⁰ Of course, the readers knew from the very beginning that this was about Attila. That is why the author of the shorter Chronicle redaction, which is actually a Polish version of the Legend of St. Stephen, acting, according to Stefan Albrecht, at the end of the 13th century in the Lesser-Polish entourage of Wenceslas II, changed the name of Aquila to Attila.²¹ The first publisher of the Chronicle, Hipolit Kownacki²² and Stanislaw Pilat,²³ were convinced that it was Attila. József Deér (1905–1972) believed that the name Aquila was created by superimposing the name of the city

¹⁸ *Chronica de Gestis*, 26, p. 62.

¹⁹ G. Klaniczay, *Szentkirályok* [in:] *Korai magyar történeti lexikon* (9. –14. század), eds. Gy. Kristó, P. Engel, F. Makk, Budapest 1994, p. 632–633; G. Klaniczay, *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, Budapest 2000, p. 190–191 with the emphasis that Béla IV in a letter to Pope Innocent IV in 1254 emphasized the merits of *sanctorum regum praedecessorum nostrorum*, idem, p. 190, fn. 102 after Codex Fejér, vol. 4, part 2, p. 223.

²⁰ B. Karácsonyi (ed.), *Chronica Hungaro-Polonica, pars. I. (textus cum varietate lectionum)*, “Acta Historica” 1969, vol. 26, 1–3, p. 10–20; R. Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska. Studia z dziejów polsko-węgierskich kontaktów kulturalnych w średniowieczu*, Poznań 1999.

²¹ S. Albrecht, *Drei neue Handschriften des sog. Chronicon hungarico-polonicum*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze” 2015, vol. 53, p. 111–121, in particular p. 120; idem, *Three New Manuscripts of the so Called Chronicon hungaro-polonicum* [in:] *Hungaro-Polonica. Young Scholars on Medieval Polish-Hungarian Relations*, eds. D. Bagi, G. Barabás, Zs. Máté, Pécs 2016, p. 119–141, in particular p. 140.

²² H. Kownacki (ed.), *Kronika węgiersko-polska na początku wieku XII. Kronika czeska na początku wieku XI. W łacińskim języku pisane z tłumaczeniem na Polski język. Tudzież ziemopismo Bedy wieku VIII. List popa Jana wieku XIII. Z rękopismów różnych Bibliotek*, Warsaw 1823, p. 5, fn. 2 (*Aquilla or Attila, Thile. Ethele*).

²³ S. Pilat (ed.), *Kronika węgiersko-polska*, (MPH, 1), Lviv 1864, p. 490: *The author begins with Attila, because the legend, which is also repeated by later writers, Gwido and Keza, stated, albeit erroneously, that the Hungarians are the ancient Huns' descendants. Starting from Attila thus leads him across the Baltic and the Rhine straight to Cologne.*

of Aquileia on that of the Hunnic leader.²⁴ The co-author of this article tried to explain the name change in a similar way: “Perhaps, then, the change of the name of the King of the Hungarians to Aquila would have originated from the author of the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle himself, and the form in O edition [i.e., the shorter one – R.G., A.K.] would have been just an erudite alteration by a copyist?”²⁵ A Slovak researcher Martin Homza (b. 1967) was on the right track to clarify the name. He noted that the figure of Aquila is a contamination of the historical Attila, leader of the Avars (Bajan?) and Arpad. He also recognized that in the eyes of the chronicler, the Hungarian royal dynasty was actually the Aquilovci i.e. the Aquilas, descendants of Aquila and his Croatian wife. He also made a cursory note of possible connotations, related to the Latin meaning of the word. Unfortunately, he abandoned this thread, concentrating instead on hard-to-understand considerations of this figure’s role in settling disputes between Hungarians and Slavs.²⁶ Meanwhile, we have to recall that the mythical turul was a bird of prey, like an eagle, in Latin aquila. We put forward the hypothesis that Aquila of the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle is a Christianized and personalized turul, who, albeit a pagan, is guided by the commandments of the Christian God. For the chronicler of the early 13th century, the previous ethnogenetic legend of the Arpads was no longer acceptable. He therefore decided to rationalize it in the spirit of euhemerism: Aquila/turul is a man with a “bird” name. Attila, who had actually already been incorporated into the dynastic history of the Arpads, was well suited for this. The name of Aquileia that was supposedly founded, though in fact destroyed by Attila, became the final premise for the character of Aquila, or Attila not yet associated by the chronicler with the Huns. This character represents an intermediate step in the incorporation of Attila into the native Arpadian genealogy.

It is possible that the presence of people named Aquila in biblical culture, reinforced the chronicler’s decision in “changing” Attila’s name.²⁷ These references allow us to return to the starting point of the present considerations, i.e. the biblical Engaddi, where Attila rested, depicted in the mature form of the new Hungarian false ethnogenetic legend as the king of the Huns, the ancestors, although not in a direct line, of

²⁴ I. Deér (ed.), *Chronicon Hungarico-Polonicum* [in:] SRH, ed. E. Szentpétery, vol. 2, Budapest 1938, p. 294.

²⁵ R. Grzesik, *Kronika*, p. 172.

²⁶ M. Homza, *Mulieres suadentes. Presviedčajúce ženy. Štúdie z dejín ženskej panovníckej svätosti v strednej a vo východnej Európe v 10.–13. storočí*, Bratislava 2002, p. 151. The sketch *Úvahy nad systémom vlastných osobných mien v Uhorsko-poľskej kronike* is reprinted in: M. Homza, *Uhorsko-poľská kronika. Nedocenený prameň k dejinám strednej Európy*, Bratislava 2009, p. 51.

²⁷ Aquila (2nd half of 1st century) and his family left Rome for fear of anti-Jewish persecution and joined the community in Corinth (*Act. Rev.* 18.1–3, ed. Nestle-Aland). Aquila of Synopa (2nd century) was the author of a literal translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek in response to criticism of the excessive Hellenization of the LXX translation, see G. Veltri, *Deconstructing Translations: the Canonical Substitution Aquila/Onkelos* [in:] idem, *Libraries, Translations, and “Canonic” Texts* (Supplements to the “Journal for the Study of Judaism”, vol. 109), Leiden 2006, p. 147–189; R. Grzesik, *M. Homza, Mulieres suadentes*, “Nasza Przeszłość” 2005, no. 104, p. 317.

the Hungarians, and who at the same time was dethroned from his function as the direct ancestor of the Arpads.²⁸ It needs to be recalled that the toponym was found in the History of the Huns by Simon of Kéza.²⁹ At the same time, it is known that the present form of Master Simon's Chronicle does not convey the entire Hunnic History; a part of the original text was only transmitted by later chronicles.³⁰ After all, there is no doubt that Attila's characterization, which includes the news of Hun's upbringing in Engaddi, was indeed written by Simon of Kéza. The author was a notary at the royal court during the reign of Stephen V (1270–1272) and Ladislaus IV the Cuman (1272–1290). In 1270–1271 he was sent to Sicily to Charles I of Anjou, negotiating the alliance of Hungary with the Sicilian Normans, sealed by the marriage of Charles II to Maria, daughter of Stephen V.³¹ He then traveled through southern Italy, all the way to Monte Cassino. And it is probably in this journey that one should look for the mention of Engaddi.

ATTILA IN ENGADDI: THE SOURCE OF INSPIRATION AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

The toponym Engaddi appears in the *Septuagint*³² three times: (1) purely enumeratively,³³ as (2) the source of a particularly high quality vine³⁴ and precisely as (3) the location of David.

In 314, Eusebius of Caesarea completed the *Onomasticon*,³⁵ the work that is both a geographical description of Palestine and a lexicon of all the biblical toponyms of the *VT* and *NT*. This eminent erudite scholar used not only the biblical canon, but also Greek literary sources, documents and state maps, as well as his own considerable experience. Hence, many entries contain additional information not encountered in the books of the Bible. The practical usefulness of the work (e.g., for people who, from the mid-fourth century, began to make pilgrimages to the territories that were *terra*

²⁸ See M. Rady, *Attila and the Hun Tradition*, p. 132.

²⁹ See *Simonis de Kéza Gesta*, p. XX.

³⁰ J.M. Bak, R. Grzesik, *The Text of the Illuminated Chronicle* [in:] *Studies on the Illuminated Chronicle*, eds. J.M. Bak, L. Veszprémy, Budapest 2018, p. 14. See also Kornél Szovák's afterword to the Hungarian translation of the *Illuminated Chronicle*, J. Bollók (transl.), K. Szovák, L. Veszprémy (eds.), *Képes krónika*, Budapest 2004, p. 250.

³¹ J. Szűcs, *Theoretical Elements*, p. IC–CII.

³² A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta, Editio altera quam recognovit et emendavit R. Hanhart*, Stuttgart 2006 (=LXX).

³³ Ios. 15.62: καὶ Ηνγαδδὶ.

³⁴ Cant. 1.14: βότρυς τῆς κύπρου ἀδελφιδός μου ἐμοί, ἐν ἀμπελῶσιν Εγγαδδὶ.

³⁵ *Eusebius Werke. Dritter Band. Erster Teil, Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen: Kritische Neuausgabe des griechischen Textes mit der lateinischen Fassung des Hieronymus* [in:] *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte – GCS, Neue Folge*, vol. 24, Berlin–Boston 2017, p. 107–108 (parallel Gr.-Latin text).

sancta for them) and the abundance of information in it led Jerome of Stridon to produce a Latin translation at the end of the fourth century (shortly before 393),³⁶ which surpassed the original in popularity and was also widely distributed in the West.

1 Regnorum 24.1–2	Eusebius, Onomasticon, 428	Hieronymi translatio, 428
Καὶ ἀνέβη Δαυιδ ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἐκάθιζεν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς Εγγαδδι. καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν Σαουλ ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ ἀπηγγέλη αὐτῷ λεγόντων ὅτι Δαυιδ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Εγγαδδι.	Ἐγγάδδι. φυλῆς Ἰουδα. ἐνθα ἐκρύπτετο Δα(υῖ)δ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τῆς ἐν τῷ αὐλῶνι Ἰεριχοῦς. καὶ νῦν ἐστι κώμη μεγίστη Ἰουδαίων Ἐγγάδδι παρακειμένη τῇ νεκρᾷ θαλάσσει. ὅθεν τὸ ὀποβάλαμον. κεῖται καὶ ἀνωτέρω Γάδδι.	Engaddi in tribu Iudae, ubi absconditus est Daud, in solitudine, quae est in Aulone Ierichus, hoc est in regione illa campestri, de qua supra diximus. Uocatur autem usque hodie uicus pergrandis Iudaeorum Engaddi iuxta mare mortuum, unde et opobalsamum uenit, quas uineas Engaddi Salomon nuncupat.

From the above summary, it is clear that at each stage of the transmission there was some enrichment of the text. Both Eusebius and Jerome use the adverbium *vñv* / expression *usque hodie* respectively, to mark the moment in the narrative when they add the information from outside the *VT*, thus making a clear division of the lemma into two distinct parts. Eusebius states that it is a large village,³⁷ located near the Black Sea, famous for its oils, while Jerome, translating the above faithfully, adds vines. Let us emphasize again, on the basis of the LXX there is no data about a flourishing settlement, on the contrary, Engaddi is described as wilderness: ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. This fact reinforces the suggestion that Jerome's *vineas* came both from his eyewitness experience and from his knowledge of the reference (2). These circumstances outweighed, in Jerome's view, the integrity of the translated passage (1), for they not only expanded it informatively, but even contradicted it in part.

Hence, it seems legitimate to suspect that Simon decided to use a note from the Latin translation of the Onomasticon to portray Attila as a "new David", both in terms of his function as a warrior and his presence in a place symbolizing the material affluence of the Christianized Mediterranean culture – while the latter aspect could only be inferred from the Onomasticon. The above interpretation is confirmed by the record of the Pozsony (or Bratislava) Chronicle, preserved in the manuscript of the Bratislava Chapter of the 16th century, which transmits the text of the editorial of the Buda Chronicle, which is close to the 15th-century Dubnica Chronicle. Well, whilst writing about Attila, *nutritus in Engadi*, the chronicler is the only one who then

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ It is also known to classical geography: Ptolem., *Geogr.* 5.16.8: "Εγγάδδα", Plin., *NH* 5.17.73: "Engada oppidum".

adds: *que est melior terra in mundo*.³⁸ There is a significant probability that Simon became acquainted with Jerome's translation during his stay in Italy. More than a dozen surviving manuscripts of the Onomasticon come from that area,³⁹ including as many as four from Monte Cassino,⁴⁰ which attests to its relatively high availability to the traveler in the 13th century. In addition, Simon may also have been emboldened to reach for the David motif by its presence in Western ideology of *potestas*.⁴¹

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³⁸ A. Domanovszky (ed.), *Chronicon Posoniense* [in:] SRH, ed. E. Szentpétery, vol. 2, Budapest 1938, 8, p. 20. In his monograph on the Chronicle, Sándor Domanovszky points out that according to the site the text of Simon's Chronicle has reached us in an incomplete form: *Kézai Simon mester Krónikája. Forrástanulmány*, Budapest 1906, p. 51.

³⁹ B. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta. La Tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de Saint Jérôme*, Steenbrugis 1969, vol. 2, no. 202, p. 23–29.

⁴⁰ *Biblioteca dell' Abbazia*: 292 C, p. XI; 293 F, p. XIII; 342 E, p. XII; 557 A, p. XII med.; see. A. Reifferschied, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica*, vol. II.3, Wien 1872, p. 398–402.

⁴¹ A. Grabois, *Un mythe fondamental de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge: « le roi David » précurseur du « roi très chrétien »*, "Revue Historique" 1992, no. 287, p. 11–31; J. Pysiak, *Saint Louis a New David and Paris as a New Jerusalem in Medieval French Hagiographic Literature* [in:] *The Character of David in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, eds. M. Zawadowska, M. Wilk, Leiden 2021, p. 154–187.

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