Anita R á c z (Debrecen)

SETTLEMENT NAMES REFERRING TO CZECH SETTLERS IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

There are no Hungarian written sources from the time preceding the Conquest. Latin-language written culture in Hungary emerged with the establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Carpathian Basin (in 1000 with the coronation of St. Stephen) and the conversion to Christianity. The early Latin (less frequently Greek) written sources created at this time (charters, chronicles, etc.) contain Hungarian words and expressions only sporadically and they were mostly proper names designating places. These, however, due to their early appearance and low number have proved to be truly valuable in studies of historical linguistics. Historical studies also greatly rely on the conclusions drawn from them when exploring the early history of Hungarians and they attempt to describe the ethnic and population history of the contemporary Carpathian Basin also in consideration of the results of historical linguistics concerning the semantic and etymological features of names and their origin. In this respect, the settlement names rooted in ethnonyms have a key role as they also shed light on relations between Hungarians and other peoples. In this paper, I study those settlement names that may refer to Western Slavic settlers designated by the *cseh* ethnonym in medieval Hungarian language.

1. Ethnonyms as Sources in Historical Toponomastics and Ethnic History

After a long migration from the east, Hungarians arrived in the Carpathian Basin through the passes of the Carpathian Mountains and completed their conquest by 896. This is referred to in Hungarian history as the Hungarian *Conquest*. Several aspects of the history of this era (including the linguistic and ethnic features of the Carpathian Basin at the time), however, are still not fully clarified despite the analysis of available sources. We have no Hungarian written sources from the time preceding the Conquest. Latin-language written culture in Hungary emerged with the establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary in the Carpathian Basin (in 1000 with the coronation of St. Stephen) and the conversion to Christianity. The early Latin (less frequently Greek) written sources created at this time (charters, chronicles, etc.) contain Hungarian words, expressions only sporadically and these were mostly proper names designating places. These, however, due to their early appearance and low number have proved to be truly valuable in studies of historical linguistics. Historical studies also greatly rely on the conclusions drawn from them when exploring the early history of Hungarians and they attempt to describe the ethnic and population history of the contemporary Carpathian Basin

also in consideration of the results of historical linguistics concerning the semantic and etymological features of names and their origin. In this respect, the settlement names rooted in ethnonyms have a key role as they also shed light on relations between Hungarians and other peoples. In this paper, I study those settlement names that may refer to Western Slavic settlers designated by the *cseh* ethnonym in medieval Hungarian language.

The most important question in connection with early toponymic records is how and to what extent these names may be used for the determination of the linguistic and (mostly corresponding to it) ethnic characteristics of a given region. Earlier, it seemed clear that scholars may gain insights into this issue by studying one of the earliest toponym types of the Hungarian name system, settlement names containing ethnonyms. At that time, the majority of Hungarian publications in the fields of history and archaeology originated all settlement names the form of which corresponded to an ethnonym directly from the given ethnonym and based on the presence of an ethnonym in a toponym, they directly inferred the local presence of the ethnic group. Today, however, it is widely accepted that not every settlement name of an ethnonym base may be interpreted this way as the ethnonyms appearing in the settlement names do not necessarily indicate the presence of the given people. In the Hungarian language the transformation of an ethnonym into a personal name has been a rather frequent name formation process from the beginning. From the anthroponym created in this way (usually to express ownership) toponyms emerged in multiple linguistic forms. The early personal names and family names that had emerged until the 14th–15th centuries (until they became hereditary) were created as motivated names. The layer of these names with an ethnonym origin, with only a few exceptions, could refer to the ethnic belonging of the name bearer or at least to some kind of a relevant circumstance. Thus we may also draw conclusions on the history of ethnonyms indirectly from their appearance in these name forms. The more frequently an ethnonym was used in an era, the more certain its presence is in both layers of the Hungarian proper name system (anthroponyms and toponyms). Based on all these, it is not significant whether a given settlement name had an ethnonym as its direct antecedent or we can assume an ethnonym > personal name > settlement name formation. Thus settlement names including ethnonyms may be considered reliable sources of studies in ethnic history (Hoffmann – Rácz – Tóth, 2017, pp. 162–180; see also Rácz, 2013, 2014, 2015; Rácz – Tóth, 2019).

At the same time, we also know that the content, meaning of particular ethnonyms might have changed over the history of the language. Based on the sources we may see that the same people or ethnic group could be referred to by different names both simultaneously or in different eras. It also happened that the same denomination was used to designate several different groups. The meaning of ethnonyms may be expanded, narrowed, or it may also change completely. We may

gain more insights into the actual use of particular ethnonym lexemes and their semantic changes by consulting early mono- and bilingual dictionaries. We have dictionaries of the Hungarian language, however, coming from the 16th century and later.

Using their own methodology, historical studies have also attempted to find out whether we can really assume the actual presence of the people in question at the given settlement behind the specific settlement name including the ethnonym. Therefore, besides the study of toponyms I also take into consideration the relevant results of historical studies. I believe that we may formulate a well-founded opinion on the actual presence of an ethnic group by comparing and juxtaposing the independent research results of historical linguistics (historical onomastics) and history.

2. The *cseh* lexeme

In terms of its etymology, the Hungarian *cseh* [tʃɛ][1] lexeme represents the borrowing of their own ethnonym of the Czech people with an unknown origin, cf. Czech *Čech*; see also Bulgarian *чех*; Serbian-Croatian *Čĕh*; Slovenian *Čéh* (TESz.; EWUng.; Benkő, 1998, pp. 69–70). When in 902 Hungarians occupied the territory of the Moravians, the Hungarian and the Czech ethnic groups came into direct contact with one another and throughout their history they were allies or enemies at various points (KMTL. *csehek*, *cseh–magyar kapcsolatok*; NéprLex. *csehek*). In the 11th century, one of the groups of Slavic immigrants moving into the territory of Hungary was represented by the Czechs in the western regions of the Hungary (Kristó, 2003, p. 105). The earliest appearance of the *cseh* lexeme in Hungarian is identified by etymological dictionaries as a toponymic derivative from 1075/+1124/+1217 (? "Iterum iuxta arbores pro illorum diuisione, qui *cehti* dicuntur, fouea facta est" TESz.; EWUng.), however, the question mark indicates the uncertain identification of the data. Melinda Szőke in her monograph focusing on the charter in question refers to the record as more likely being a toponym of a personal name origin (2015, p. 162), and due to the *t* element appearing in it, we may to a lesser extent associate it with the *cseh* ethnonym. The first common noun occurrence of the *cseh* word meaning a 'Czech person' is associated by TESz. with a personal name but also with a question mark from 1146 (*Ceh*). We can recognize this semantic content with certainty in the record "bohem[us]: *cheh*"

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[1] The pronunciation of particular Hungarian linguistic elements is also provided with their IPA transcription from this point on. In Hungarian language, in closed syllables (i.e., at the end of words or before a vowel) the *h* [h] sound is not pronounced while it still appears in writing in this position as well.

from around 1405 and included in a Latin-Hungarian glossary. In the dictionary of Albert Szenczi Molnár (1611), Ferenc Pápai Páriz (1708), and Ferenc Kreszne-rics (1831) we encounter the "Bohemus" interpretation of the lexeme. According to Czuczor–Fogarasi (1862–1874) and Mór Ballagi (1873), the *cseh* noun was used to designate the branch of the Slavic people living in the northwestern part of the Austrian Empire and speaking Western Slavic. The encyclopedia of today's Hungarian language defines the lexeme as "people living in the Czech Republic in a large proportion and speaking Slavic" and as "Czech people" (ÉKsz.).

The use of the *cseh* ethnonym as a **personal name** became widespread relative-ly early in Hungarian as its first record is quoted in the historical anthroponym dictionary from 1146 in *Ceh* form, which later also appears in *Cheh*, *Cech* form (ÁSz.). Its presence in a family name function is discussed by Miklós Kázmér in two columns from the 14th century, which in comparison with other entries of the dictionary appears to be truly substantial (RMCsSz.). A few years ago, based on two surveys from the early 18th century (1715, 1720), János N. Fodor compiled the historical family name atlas of Hungary. According to the map representing its territorial distribution, the most frequent occurrence of the *Cseh* family name may be seen in the eastern and western parts of the country (Háromszék, as well as Zala, Veszprém, Nyitra counties) and in the middle region (Heves and Külső-Szolnok, Borsod, Bihar counties) (TMCsA.). According to the Hungarian family name dictionary published a decade ago, the *Cseh* family name barely lagged behind the then top one hundred most frequent family names, the *Cseh* family name and its variations were used by close to ten thousand Hungarian citizens (CsnE. 116). We can probably assume similar data today as well.

3. *Cseh* in Hungarian Settlement Names

3.1 Name Structural Types

The villages of settlers moving into the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary were often named by the Hungarian-language population living in the surrounding settlements, and often with reference to the ethnicity of the settlers, using for this purpose the lexeme designating the given ethnicity.[2] In line with this semantic con-tent, the particular settlement names could appear in different linguistic forms, in harmony with the linguistic and name-giving models used in Hungarian at that time and in that region. The ethnonym often became a settlement name in itself, by means of metonymic semantic change, this is how the *Cseh* [ʧɛ] toponyms were created, while in other cases the -*i* toponymic formant was added to the ethnonym

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[2] The villages of settlers could, of course, also bear names of another type and have a differing semantic content.

lexeme: *Csehi* [ʧɛhi]. The name-formation method in which a lexical name formant meaning 'settlement' was added to the ethnonym became more frequent somewhat later: *falu* [fɔlu] 'village', *telek* [tɛlɛk] 'plot', *földe* [føldɛ] 'his land', *vár* [va:r] 'castle', but the *völgy* [vølɟ] 'valley', *völgyfő* [vølɟfø:] 'beginning of a valley' words also appear as secondary constituents. The Hungarian names of these settlements (similarly to many other settlement name types), however, are often found in Latin charters sometimes in a form translated into Latin (e.g., terra *Boyemorum*). These name structural forms are also typical among the other Hungarian settlement names created from ethnonyms. Besides these examples, when the ethnonym referring to the people was attached to the already existing settlement name as an attribute this also represented a widespread name formation method. We are, however, not aware of a very few settlement names with such a structure having the *cseh* distinguishing attribute in the early Middle Ages. This may indicate that in the Middle Ages no majority of Czech ethnicity was settled in places inhabited by other peoples.

3.2 Geographical Distribution

The *cseh* ethnonym is featured as a name-formation element in more than 400 name records of more than 30 settlements of early medieval Hungary. The first record is found in a forged charter dated +1093 and refers to a *Csehi* settlement located next to the lake Balaton in the northern part of Somogy County (*Chehy*[3]). The first authentic charter refers to *Csehi* in 1201 close to the Száva (Sava) river south of the city of Zágreb, the center of Zágráb Country (*Zesa*, 1217: *Zechi ~ Sechi*). The first occurrences of the ethnonym in settlement names, with a few exceptions, appear from the beginning of the 13th century but are recorded in a higher number in sources only in the 14th century. We need to remember, however, that their appearance in written sources is independent of the date of the establishment of the settlement, which could take place much earlier than their first recording in writing.

The settlements created with the *cseh* ethnonym are located across the 18 counties of early medieval Hungary and thus it is worth examining the geographical distribution of denominations based on larger regions. The significant presence of the lexeme may be seen in two larger regional units of medieval Hungary: the **western, Transdanubia** region (Somogy: 4, Baranya: 3, Zala: 3, Vas: 2, Tolna: 2, Veszprém: 1), and the **eastern, trans-Tisza** and **Transylvanian** regions (Bihar: 4, Doboka: 2, Közép-Szolnok: 2, Kolozs: 2, Kraszna: 1). In the **northern** region of the country, the settlement names created using the *cseh* ethnonym are rare and are completely absent in the **central, Great Plain** region.

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[3] I do not indicate the sources of certain data as these may be found in my work introducing ethnonym-based settlement names in dictionary form (Rácz, 2011, pp. 32–40).

3.2.1 The Transdanubia Region

Transdanubia is a geographical region of Hungary west of the river Danube with the country's largest lake, Lake Balaton in the middle. The settlement names containing the *cseh* ethnonym are located in the counties surrounding the lake. In **Somogy** County south of Balaton we are aware of the names of four settlements created with this lexeme. The already mentioned *Csehi* 'cseh + -i' village is located in the northern part of the county, next to Balaton with its earliest record known from the forged charter dated +1093 (*Chehy*). The designation was created with the *-i* topoformant attached to the ethnonym, but the papal tithe register from the first third of the 14th century also recorded the name form of the village without a formant as in *Cseh* (1332–7/Pp. Reg.: *Chech*). The Ordacsehi name of the village that merged with Orda settlement has preserved this ethnonym to this day. Of the other three settlements of Somogy County that include the *cseh* ethnonym, one was located in the southern part of the country and first appeared in written sources in the middle of the 13th century (1250: *Cheh*). Besides this name form created by means of metonomy, in the second half of the century the *Csehi* form featuring a formant (1280: *Chehy*) was also recorded. Besides the already mentioned single component names, the compound name type also appears in the designations of the settlement: the name of King Kálmán, who was responsible for the settling, appears in the name of the village from the end of the 13th century in the *Kálmáncsehi* [ka:lma:nʧɛhi] 'Kálmán <anthroponym> + Csehi <settlement name>' (1281: *Kalaman Chehy*) and *Kálmánkirálycsehi* [ka:lma:nkira:ʎʧɛhi] 'Kálmán <anthroponym> király 'king' + Csehi <settlement name>' (1286: *Kalman Kiralychey*), as well as in the *Kálmáncseh* [ka:lma:nʧɛ] 'Kálmán + Cseh <settlement name>' (1474: *Kalmanchech*) name forms. The personal name attributive first constituent of the name also indicates the early time of settlement at the beginning of the 12th century. (The reign of King Kálmán: 1074–1116.) Today the settlement name is used in Kálmáncsa form with the meaning of the ethnonym second constituent becoming obscure. The next *Cseh* settlement can be found in the Western part of Somogy County and we are familiar with its earliest trace from a 1330 charter (1330: *Cheh*). In the final third of the 15th century, the name of the settlement also appears with the *-i* formant (1477: *Chehy*). The settlement does not exist today. A charter written in 1360 first mentions the village of the county called *Cseh* (1360: *Cheh*), its identification, however, is uncertain.

Baranya County is located at the southeastern border of Somogy County and we are aware of three settlements created with the use of the *cseh* ethnonym in the early Middle Ages. Of these, the first one appearing in the middle of the 14th century was *Csehi* 'cseh + i' settlement (1346: *Chehy*) that has survived to this day under the name of Drávacsehi. Sources recorded traces of two inhabited places from the final third of the 15th century which featured a geographical common noun referring to a settlement in their second constituents. One of them was *Csehtelek* [ʧɛtɛlɛk]

'Czech + lot' (1475: *Chehtelek*) located in the western part of the county, which was previously mentioned under the name of *Csernyetelke* (1408: *Cernyeteleke*); however, this latter name form is not related to the examined ethnonym lexeme. The settlement does not exist today, its memory could be preserved by the microtoponym of Csertelek (BMFN. 271/141). The other name created by means of compounding was *Csehfalu* [ʧɛfɔlu] 'Czech + village' at the western border of the county and was first mentioned by a charter in the last third of the 15th century (1478: *Chefalw*). The settlement also does not exist today, but its memory may be preserved by the microtoponym of Csepfalu (BMFN. 98/65). In the latter two names the reason for the modification of the first constituent could also be the changed pronunciation of the word *cseh* [ʧɛ].

Zala County, the northwestern neighbour of Somogy County was located at the western border of medieval Hungary, on the territory of which, according to the historical sources there were three settlements referred to with the *cseh* ethnonym. The -*i* toponymic formant was attached to the ethnonym to create the name of *Csehi* (1370: *Chehy*) village in the northern part of the county and first mentioned in a charter in the final third of the 14th century with its *Cseh* (1400: *Cheh*) form without a formant also appearing not much later. The settlement that has existed independently to this day is called Sümegcsehi. At the turn of the century, a newer settlement was added to the charters under the name of *Csehfölde* [ʧɛføldɛ] 'Czech + land' (1400: *Chefelde*). According to the sources, it could be located in the area of Sümeg, one of the significant settlements of the county, but we are not aware of any later data and there are no traces of the settlement today. We are aware of a single record of *Csehi* settlement at the southeastern border of Zala County (1335: *Chehw*) and as its trace today is preserved by the *Csehi* microtoponym, it is likely that the *w* at the end of the record is the result of a mistake and stands instead of *y*.

In the early medieval **Tolna** County to the northeast of Somogy, there were two settlements including the *cseh* ethnonym. Chronologically, the first of them, the one called *Cseh* and located at the northwestern border of the county, was mentioned by the papal register (1332–7/Pp. Reg.: *Cheg ~ Chek*). In the same source, the settlement appears in the *Csehi* (1332–7/Pp. Reg.: *Chly ~ Chochi*) name variant as well. It should be noted that the papal tithe register includes a lot of name forms recorded incorrectly. In the middle of the 15th century the village was divided into two parts and the name givers differentiated them by adding two antonym attributes to the *Cseh* name form: *Nagycseh* [nɔɟʧɛ] 'big + cseh' (1443: *Nagchech*) and *Kiscseh* [kiʃʧɛ] 'small + cseh' (1443: *Kyschech*). Although these two settlements do not exist today, their memory has been preserved by two microtoponyms and both are used in the *Csehi* form. The memory of *Csehfő* [ʧɛfø:] 'Czech + fő 'an important part, beginning of a place' (1419: *Chehfew*) settlement is preserved today by the *Csefő* microtoponym.

In **Vas** County, bordering Zala to the north, the name of one medieval settlement was created with the *cseh* lexeme. The name of *Cseh* (1217: *Cheeh*), appearing in sources earlier, at the beginning of the 13ᵗʰ century, was created from the ethnonym metonymically. Half a century later, however, a charter also mentions the *Csehi* (1275: *Chehy*) name form with the *-i* settlement name formant. This settlement is located in the eastern part of the county, to the east of one of the significant settlements called Vasvár and it has survived to this day bearing the latter name.

Veszprém County borders Vas and Zala counties from the east and is located to the north of Balaton. The settlement whose name may be reconstructed in an uncertain way in the *Csehi* (1309: *Chey*), *Cseh* (1374: *Chee*) and *Cső* [ʧøː] (1430, 1451: *Chew*) forms was located in its northern part. The idea that the name constituent of these names may still be the *cseh* lexeme is supported by the *Csehipuszta* [ʧɛhipustɔ] microtoponym still existing today nearby the former settlement.

3.2.2 Eastern Hungary

Another remarkable region for the occurrence of settlement names created with the *cseh* ethnonym is the eastern region of medieval Hungary. This is where the country's largest county, **Bihar** County could be found, in the territory of which the written sources mention four settlements with the *cseh* ethnonym. The first of these to be mentioned in a source in 1220/1550 was *Csehi* (*Chehy*) settlement located south of Várad, the most significant town of the county. According to Zsigmond Jakó, who wrote a historical monograph on the county, its Slavic founders were brought in by the royal and came prior to the 13ᵗʰ century but its residents assimilated early into the Hungarian environment (1940, p. 226). The village preserved the ethnonym in its name even later on: today it is known as Váradcsehi and as Cihei in Romanian. Another village called *Csehi* (*Chehy*) was located to the southwest of Körösszeg, another significant settlement of the county, on the right bank of the Sebes-Körös. It was first mentioned in sources dated 1284/1410 with its *Csehtelek* 'Czech + plot' (1351: *Chehtelek*) name variant also appearing more than half a century later. The first residents of the settlement were the Czechs who were invited by the monarch in the 12ᵗʰ century. They, however, disappeared after the Tatar invasion of Hungary (in the middle of the 13ᵗʰ century) but its name survived for a while (Jakó, 1940, p. 226). The settlement does not exist today. A settlement called *Csehkereki* [ʧɛkɛrɛki] 'Czech + Kereki <settlement name>' (1284/1410: *Chehkereky*) could also be located in this region, in which the *cseh* ethnonym was attached to the former *Kereki* toponym as an attribute. *Csételek* [ʧeːtɛlɛk] ~ *Csejtelek* [ʧɛjtɛlɛk] 'Czech + plot' settlement was located in the northeastern part of Bihar County with its name featuring a geographical common noun second constituent meaning 'settlement'. We know this settlement from

a source from the beginning of the 14th century (1305: *Cheytelek*). According to historians, the settlement could have been founded by the Slavs who settled down there in higher numbers for the purposes of utilizing the local forests (Jakó, 1940, p. 227). The peculiar phonological form of the name is due to the above-mentioned change of the word-ending sound *h* of the *cseh* lexeme. The settlement is later called Cséhtelek, and today it is known in Romanian as Ciutelec.

One of the eastern neighbours of Bihar County is **Közép-Szolnok** County. *Csehvár* [ʧɛvaːr] 'Czech + castle' (1319/1323: *Cheewar*) settlement is located in its northeastern part. It also has its castle and appeared in the sources at the beginning of the 14th century with a compound name form. Later, the same village was referred to by three other name forms. In the middle of the 14th century, the *Csehi* (1343/1344: *Chehy*) name created with the -*i* topoformant appeared in the sources, while at the end of the century the *Cseh* (1399: *Cheh*) name variant was used to refer to it. More than a century later, in the first third of the 16th century, a compound name form, the *Szilágycseh* [silaːɟʧɛ] 'Szilágy(ság) <name of region> + Cseh <settlement name>' (1525: *Sz.-Cseh*) form designated the settlement. Even today, it is known as Szilágycseh and Cehu Silvaniei in Romanian. Some historical works also indicate another *Csehi* (1470: *Csehi*) settlement in Közép-Szolnok County in the final third of the 15th century, while others argue that it belonged to the neighbouring Kraszna County and its referent may be identical to the settlement designated by the names of *Csehi ~ Csehtelek ~ Csehivölgyfő* discussed below.

Kraszna County borders Bihar from the east and Közép-Szolnok from the south. The already mentioned settlement designated by three name forms was located in its central and northern part. Its first occurrence in sources is the *Csehi* name form (1251: *Chehy*) from the middle of the 13th century. Simultaneously with this name of the village created with the -*i* topoformant, the *Csehtelek* 'Czech + plot' (1257/1390/1454: *Cheh Thelek*) compound designation created with a geographical common noun was also used. This, however, could only be a transitional name form as in the *Csehivölgyfő* [ʧɛhivølɟføː] (13[41]: *Chehywelgfew*) microtoponym the vilage's *Csehi* name form is used: 'Cseh(i) <close to the settlement> + völgyfő 'the beginning, start of the valley''. The settlement still exists today, its Hungarian Somlyócsehi form preserves the ethnonym. In Romanian it is called Cehei.

Doboka County may be found to the east of Kraszna and it also had a settlement with a name belonging to the discussed semantic group. *Cseh* (1314/1355: *Cheh*) was located in the northern part of the county, to the northwest of the settlement named Doboka and it was present in sources since the early 14th century. Its name form was extended at the end of the century with the -*i* toponymic formant, this is how its *Csehi* (1399: de *Chekhy*) name variant appeared in 1399. A few decades later, the village was also known by name users under the name of *Páncélcseh* [paːntseːlʧɛ] (1434: *Pancher*-, 1547: *Pánczélcseh*), a name more typical of later times (FNESz., *Páncélcseh*). The *Páncél* first constituent was added to the name

of the village as the name of the owner. The latter denomination proved to be constant: the settlement is still called that today, while in Romanian it is referred to as Panticeu.

In **Kolozs** County east of Bihar and to the south of Kraszna and Doboka counties, there was also one early medieval settlement the three name variants of which were also created using the *cseh* lexeme. The name versions of the village in the northern part of the county appear in charters at the beginning of the 14th century. Besides the *Cseh* (1306: *Chee*) name form created by means of metonymy, the *Csehtelek* 'Czech + plot' (1306: *Chehteluk*) and the *Csehtelke* 'Czech + lot + -e <possessive suffix>' (1306: *Chehteleke*) names with a compound structure were also used for the identification of the settlement. It is still an independent settlement under the name of Csehtelke, called Vişinelu in Romanian.

3.2.3 Northwestern Hungary

Based on historical studies, the most important gate through which Western Slavic settlers could arrive in the country was **Nyitra** County that was closest to their language area (Kristó, 2003, p. 90). We are aware of three settlements with the name *Csehi* in its territory, two of which appeared in the middle of the 13th century. The first settlement (1247/1248/1323/XVI.: *Chey*) was in the southern part of the county, to the south of Nyitra settlement of central importance, and we are not familiar with its later history. The other (1255>after 1380: *Chehy*) was also located in the southern part of the county, to the southeast of Nyitra. This is still an existing settlement that is known in Hungarian as Nyitracsehi, and in Slovakian as Čechynce. The third *Csehi* (1333: *Chehi*) village appears in sources with scarce data, thus its identification is uncertain.

The northern border of the natural region of Transdanubia is represented by the upper section of the Danube in Hungary. The northern neighbour of Veszprém County in Transdanubia, already discussed, is **Komárom** County, the territory of which is cut in half in a west-east direction by the Danube. The only *Csehi* settlement with the *cseh* ethnonym in this county is found in the northern section. Its first record in sources is from the beginning of the 15th century (1415: *Chey*). Today, the settlement is called Komáromcsehi, in Slovakian Čechy.

To the northeast of the early medieval Komárom county and to the east of Nyitra, **Hont** County also had a single settlement with a name formed using the *cseh* ethnonym. *Csehi* (1257/1345: *Chehy*) settlement at the eastern border of the county was first recorded in charters in the middle of the 13th century. There are abundant records of it in later charters and from the middle of the 14th century a newer form is also recorded without the *-i* topoformant, as the *Cseh* (1345/1346: *Cheh*) name variant. It does not exist today as a settlement but its memory is preserved by the Csehipuszta microtoponym.

3.2.4 The Central and Southern Regions of Medieval Hungary

In the regions of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary presented so far, names created with the *cseh* ethnonym, although not too high in number, were still present more frequently. In the next section, I introduce a few sporadic settlement names from the central and southern parts of the country. These settlements may be found in counties located far from each other.

Heves County is located in the central part of medieval Hungary. The settlement named *Cseh*, the first record of which appears relatively early, in the middle of the 12th century, in a charter (+1153/+?1261/1417: *Cheh*) was situated to the north, northeast of Eger, one of its most significant settlements. At the beginning of the 14th century, a newer name variant is also mentioned in the *Csehi* 'Czech + -i' (1310: *Chechy*) form. It is still an independent settlement today, which preserves the ethnonym even in its Egercsehi name form. Another settlement named *Csehi* (1327: *Chehy*) in the southern part of the country was recorded in a charter in the first third of the 14th century. We are not familiar with the later history of the village.
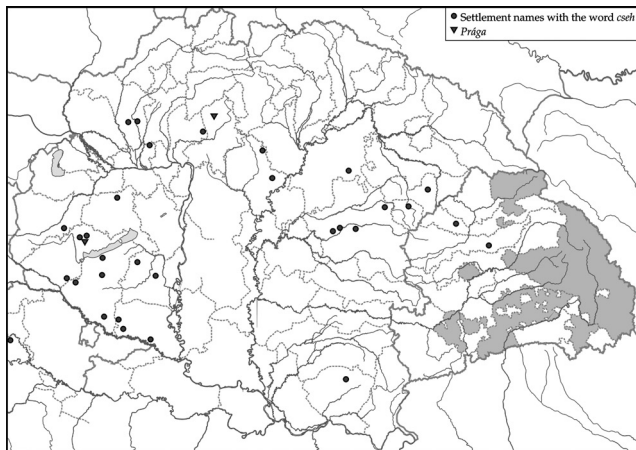
In **Szabolcs** County situated to the east of Heves, there is a single settlement whose name is rooted in the *cseh* ethnonym. *Csehi* (*Chehy*) settlement that first appeared in sources in 1312 has since disappeared. Today it does not exist as an independent settlement.

In one of the southernmost counties of the central part of the country, in **Krassó**, sources recorded a *Cseh* (1323: *Chech*) settlement with a single datum, the later fate of which is unknown.

Zágráb was the border county of the country to the southwest. *Csehi* (*Zesa*) settlement was located in its northern section, to the south of Zagreb, the key settlement of the county, nearby the Sava. Its first certain data is from the second half of the 13th century (1262: *Chehi*). Its earlier records (1201, 1217) could be degraded name forms but in the first third of the century the settlement name was also recorded in writing in Latin translation (1228: terra *Boyemorum*), while in the middle of the 14th century, besides the single-component name form, the compound *Csehtelke* 'Czech + plot' (1350: *Chehtelke*) name variant also appeared with the geographical common noun meaning 'somebody's plot, village' in its second constituent. The settlement still exists as today's Croatian Donji Čehi and Gornji Čehi.

4. Prága, the Relocated Name

It is not rare in modern name giving that a population that settled down in faraway lands and into a foreign language environment would name the newly founded settlement the same way as the place from which they emigrated. Nor was this rare in the Middle Ages. In the Transdanubia region, in the former **Zala** County to the north of Balaton, to the south of the castle of Sümeg, close to (Sümeg)csehi, there is a Prága [pra:gɔ] settlement which first appeared in charters in the first part

Map 1: The map shows the settlement names with the lexeme *cseh* 'Czech' as well as the settlements named *Prága* 'Prague'

of the 15th century (1436: *Praga*). According to historical studies, the residents of the settlement were Czech and Moravian charcoal burners who were brought there by the Bishop of Veszprém probably after the Tatar invasion of Hungary in the middle of the 13th century. The settlement is still known today as Sümegprága (FNESz., *Sümegprága*).

The Prága town name also appears in the name of a village in **Nógrád** County. According to some sources, the village was first settled in the middle of the 15th century but it disappeared in the same century. Its resettlement took place in the second half of the 16th century when it is mentioned in sources as *Praga* (1573). It is a still existing settlement next to Gács, which was called in Hungarian Gácsprága, and in Slovakian as Praha (FNESz., *Gácsprága*).

5. Summary

It is also clearly visible on the attached map that the settlement names featuring the *cseh* ethnonym were typically located in two larger regions of medieval Hungary, in the Western Transdanubia and the Eastern Hungary regions. Besides these, although in lower number, they appear in the northwestern region, and with the exception of the middle of the country, some names of this group appear sporadically elsewhere also. The decisively western Hungarian appearance of these settlement names is primarily due to this ethnic group's direction of settlement.

Chronologically, the earliest occurrence of the settlement names discussed here was recorded in sources at the beginning of the 13th century, however, the first mentions of particular villages are mostly from the 14th century. The earlier, 13th century occurrences have records mostly from the eastern and northern areas, while

the earliest records of Transdanubian settlement names are from the 14th century. It should be noted that the appearance of these names is, of course, contingent in sources, while on the other hand it is clear that the establishment of the settlements always precedes the time of their first recording, perhaps by even a century. This trend, however, still allows us to draw the conclusion that based on the introduced settlement names the larger scale and typical settlement of a population designated by the *cseh* ethnonym could take place only in the second half of the Árpád Era (895–1301), typically after the Tatar invasion.

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MÍSTNÍ JMÉNA ODKAZUJÍCÍ K ČESKÉMU OSÍDLENÍ VE STŘEDOVĚKÝCH UHRÁCH

Z doby před dobytím neexistují žádné maďarsky psané památky. Písemné památky zaznamenané v latině se objevily v době založení maďarského království v Panonské pánvi (r. 1000 korunovace sv. Štěpána) a konverze ke křesťanství. Rané latinsky (a méně často také řecky) psané prameny vytvořené v tomto období (listiny, kroniky apod.) obsahují maďarská slova a výrazy pouze sporadicky a většinou se jedná o vlastní jména označující místa. To se ovšem s ohledem na jejich stáří a malý počet ukázalo být opravdu cenné pro historicko-lingvistický výzkum. Historické vědy na jejich závěry spoléhají při studiu rané historie Maďarů a také do značné míry usilují o popis vývoje etnicity a osídlení v současné Panonské pánvi v souladu s výsledky historické jazykovědy. V tomto ohledu hrají místní jména vycházející z etnonym klíčovou roli, protože napomáhají vysvětlovat vztahy mezi Maďary a dalšími národy. V tomto článku jsou zkoumána místní jména, která mohou odkazovat k západoslovanským osadníkům, kteří byli označováni ve středověké maďarštině etnonymem *cseh*.

Klíčová slova

stará maďarština; Panonská pánev; toponyma; místní jména; etnonyma; vývoj etnicity

Anita Rácz
ORCID: 0000-0002-9917-6625
racz.anita@arts.unideb.hu
Department of Hungarian Linguistics
University of Debrecen
Egyetem tér 1
4032 Debrecen
HUNGARY