

On the Determination of the Source Value of Forged Charters in Historical Toponomastics¹

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1. Scholars of Hungarian historical linguistics consider all authentic charters that have not survived in the original to be charters with an uncertain chronological status (Szőke 2015: 16). These include forged charters, interpolated charters that are partly forged as well as those authentic charters that did not survive in their original and were only in a copied form (cf. Hoffmann/Rácz/Tóth 2017: 72–76, Tilahun/Feuerverger/Gervers 2012: 1618). Therefore, when it comes to studies in historical linguistics, a charter is considered to be of an uncertain chronological status if the date of recording the proper names in it and thus the association of their spelling with a certain era is uncertain even if we are aware of the age of copying, interpolation or forgery. In the process of copying, the texts of charters recorded earlier (sometimes centuries earlier) were written down again and, therefore, the text itself was typically not expanded, but the spelling of (at least some of) the elements of vulgar origin were modernised. The changes affecting the names are typically of an orthographic and phonological nature and it seems that such modifications did not endanger the legal authenticity of the charter. As part of linguistic studies, however, we must also consider the contingency in the spelling of names resulting from this. In the case of interpolated documents with subsequent additions and forged charters, however, there may also be such toponyms (and other linguistic elements) that had not been included in the original document or in the source used for writing the forged charter (cf. Szentpétery 1942: 404, 408, Szőke 2015: 16–19, Kenyhercz 2016: 12–13, 16).

From the perspective of historical toponomastics and linguistics, there are multiple chronological layers in charters of an uncertain status. Due to the circumstances of their creation and survival, the historical linguistic and historical onomastic source value of names included in them do not necessarily overlap; this means it may be possible that the same name can be associated with different centuries as a source in historical linguistics and historical onomastics. Therefore, one of the key principles of the linguistic exploration of these

1 The research and writing of this essay has been supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Office – NKFIH 134389. This work was carried out as part of HUN-REN-UD Research Group for Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics.

charters is that we examine the source value of the charter separately for the purposes of historical linguistics and historical toponomastics: The chronological features of the recording of the names (historical linguistic source value) is assessed only after the consideration of the date of the inclusion of the names in the charter (historical onomastic source value). With the examination of the chronological layers from two perspectives, we can avoid looking for early (in this case, 11th century) traces in the recording of a name (orthography, phonological form) that had not been included in the original charter serving as the source and whose existence at the given time cannot otherwise be presumed.

We may determine the historical toponomastic source value of charters with multiple chronological layers both in terms of historical toponomastics and historical linguistics mostly based on the principles of historical studies and diplomatics. This includes, for example, the consideration of litigations of abbeys or the study of the formulas of charters. At the same time, the stylistic features of the charter, for example its word use, may also be of help in this respect. The Founding Charter of Bakonybél, for example, states the following about the servant staff granted to the monastery: +1037: „in his villulis sive prediis cuiuscumque condicionis homines sunt ad me pertinentes, Sancto Mauricio dedi” (DHA. 1: 118) – “regardless of the condition the people belonging to me have in these villages or estates, I have given them to St Maurice” (Dénesi 2013: 127). The expression *cuiuscumque condicionis* ‘regardless of the condition’ was unknown in the 11th century but it became typical by the age of the forgery in the 13th century (Karácsonyi 1891: 140). In numerous cases, the types of donations may also serve as proof against the authenticity of the given charter section. According to some charter scholars, the donation of the relatively numerous market and port duties, besides the forest right and hunting measures indicated as donations of Saint Stephen, in the Founding Charter of Bakonybél also differs from general practice in the 11th century (PRT. 8: 233).

2. With the growing number of charters of an uncertain status studied linguistically, it has become clear that we need to further specify the assessment of the charters from the perspective of historical toponomastics completed based on these principles (cf. Szőke 2019a, 2020a, Tóth 2019: 25). In my paper, I study how we may establish the source value of particular toponyms from the perspective of historical onomastics using two forged charters of Saint Stephen (the charters of Pécsvárad and Bakonybél), while also relying on considerations rooted in history and diplomatics. From the early period of Hungarian charter writing, one Greek and nine Latin charters of the Church have survi-

ved under the name of the first Hungarian king, all of in which are copies. The real number of charters issued, however, could be higher than that: György Györffy, for example, supposes the existence of at least 20 charters recording the foundation of churches by Saint Stephen (1977: 268). Of the ten charters that have survived to this day, only the one written in Greek may be deemed authentic. Three of the Latin charters are interpolated, while six charters (including the two studied here) are forgeries made centuries after the early 11th century (Solymosi 2006: 193–195, Thoroczkay 2009).

The number of forged charters increased significantly in Hungary in the 13th century. This is related to changes in legal protection at the end of the 12th century as from this point on it became compulsory to show written evidence, i. e. charters in the course of court cases. As a consequence, there was exponential growth in the need to acquire charters by way of forgery. Not even the strict laws enacted against the creators and users of forged charters could stop such a process (Szentpétery 1930: 249–250). The linguistic analysis of these charters is also significantly influenced by the circumstance that the forgery of documents did not always go hand in hand with the acquisition of estates or other privileges that those people, who had the forged charters issued, would not have had originally. In many cases, although they had the right, they could not verify it with documents as this form of providing rights was not widespread at the time when the right in question was acquired; or they wanted to make up for charters that had been issued earlier but were lost later on (e. g. destroyed by fire) (Szentpétery 1930: 254, Szovák 2001: 37).

2.1. The charters of Pécsvárad (+1015/+1158 [1220 k.]/1323/1403/PR.) and Bakonybél (+1037 [1240 k.]/+1246/1330) were forged in the 13th century. In the case of both charters, we may also suppose the existence of an authentic charter at the beginning of the 11th century (cf. DHA. 1: 63–72, 113–118). Besides the foundation of the abbeys of Pécsvárad and Bakonybél (the foundation of which are recorded in the analysed charters) at the time of Saint Stephen, the beginning of the 11th century, the former existence of the authentic 11th century charters provides the basis for our attempt to involve these forged charters in the studies of historical linguistics and historical onomastics aimed at the 11th century. The extension of the scope of documents with source value for the 11th century is essential because, in terms of research in historical linguistics, the authentic charters that have survived in their original form are undoubtedly the most valuable, but there are only a few such documents from the first centuries of Hungarian written culture: We are aware of only four documents of

this kind. This means that the authentic charters that have survived in their original form represent less than 4% of the Hungarian (or Hungarian-related) charters known today from the first century of the Kingdom of Hungary (DHA. 1.).

In the two charters analysed, we may consider the following chronological layers both in terms of historical linguistics and onomastics: (1) the time of the foundation of the abbeys and issuing the original charters, (2) the century of recording the forged charters, (3) the age of the copy/copies of the forgeries. Therefore, in a single charter, we may identify the traces of 4–5 chronological layers depending on the number of copies that have survived; some of these layers should be dealt with jointly, however (Szőke 2015: 24). The reason for this is that, in the process of analysis, our aim is to differentiate the early, 11th century layer of the charters (in terms of historical onomastics and linguistics) from the later chronological levels, irrespective of how many there are of the latter in the charters.

2.2. Irrespective of the fact, for example, that a certain name had not been included in the original source of the forged charter but was added to the charter at a later point of the history of the document (in the process of forgery or the copy of the forgery), the places and names in question could also already exist in the 11th century. This may also be true if we have no (authentic) document confirming this. The places and the creation of toponyms do not necessarily overlap chronologically with their (currently known) first (authentic) occurrence as the charters examined by us as linguistic records were created due to legal matters and not for the purposes of recording and preserving the toponyms at the time of their creation; what is more, the survival of such documents is also rather contingent (cf. Solymosi 1976: 142).

The linguistic assessment of the forged Bakonybél founding charter of Saint Stephen is greatly facilitated by the fact that the charter listing the donations of the abbey has also survived. Twenty three of the 34 toponyms referring to 32 referents in the founding charter also appear in the parts of the Bakonybél Survey created at the end of the 11th century and early 12th century (DHA. 1: 118–119, 250–254, Szőke 2016: 54, 2018: 74). Based on the substantive authenticity of the relevant parts of the Bakonybél Survey, we can consider these names to be names of the former authentic Bakonybél Founding Charter and we may suppose that they were transferred into the text of the survey from here. Such a conclusion may somewhat be contradicted by the fact that, in the 13th century, the most important source of the forged Bakonybél Found-

ing Charter was the Bakonybél Survey. Another circumstance, however, may also support the source value of the names for early 11th century historical onomastics, namely that the foundation of the abbey by King Stephen also involved donations at the beginning of the 11th century as well as the fact that there are many more donations in the survey than in the founding charter: The founding charter mentions eight estates, as opposed to the thirty estate names in the survey. This shows (although we cannot verify it) that those included in the forged founding charter could already be present in the 11th century version and the additional 22 estates were received by the abbey from monarchs following Saint Stephen.

Based on the comparative study of the Founding Charter of Bakonybél and the Bakonybél Survey, we may conclude that the other eleven names of the forged founding charter that are missing from the survey were not included in the authentic founding charter of the 11th century. This, of course, does not exclude the option that these names could have already existed at the time of Saint Stephen. Based on the comparison of the two charters (the founding charter and the survey), we only see which donations of the abbey could come from the founder of the abbey.

Interpreting the historical onomastic source value of charters with an uncertain chronological status in this way, of the 11 names of the Founding Charter of Bakonybél, I have included six among the names of an 11th century historical onomastic source value based on different factors (including historical circumstances) (cf. Szóke 2019b).

For example, the founding charter mentions four mountains in Veszprém County (*Hygeskw* 'pointed/rock', *Kertuskw*: *kert* 'garden' with the -s suffix + *kő* 'rock', *Feerkw* 'white/rock', *Oduoskw*: *odú* 'lair' with the -s suffix + *kő* 'rock' (DHA. 1: 119)), with their names existing to this day. These mountains are recorded in the charters because of the donation of killed game and their skins. Several people have expressed their doubts about the idea that this would be an 11th century donation which is also supported by the fact that it is also not mentioned by the Bakonybél Survey. This circumstance, at the same time, also confirms the 11th century existence of those names and donations that are indeed mentioned by the Bakonybél Survey. The Bakonybél Basin is surrounded by Triassic and Jurassic mountains. The main text of the Bakonybél Survey from the end of the 11th century records *Koppány* settlement in Veszprém County together with its boundaries and lists the people serving in the settlement by name (DHA. 1: 250, 253). Based on this, I conclude that, in the 11th century, Hungarians could have already lived in the area and, as today's

Bakonykoppány settlement is located near the mountains mentioned in the founding charter, it may be supposed, even without data about the four oronyms of the Bakonybél Founding Charter, that they have existed not only in the 13th century but also the 11th century and, in terms of historical onomastics, they belong to this layer of the charter (cf. Szőke 2018, 2019b: 317–318).

3. After the examples from the Founding Charter of Bakonybél, relying on Saint Stephen's Charter of Pécsvárad, I introduce those constraints that we need to apply when designating names with a source value for the 11th century.

The parts of charters with an uncertain chronological status that have been designated as belonging to the 11th century mostly using the principles of diplomatics and history may also include names the use of which is questionable at the time of foundation (the early 11th century). This does not mean that I would call into question the existence and occurrence of the particular places at the beginning of the 11th century or the authenticity of the donations related to the places. I only wish to call attention to the fact that it is also a possibility that certain places and other donations were received by the abbey from the king but the denomination of the place was changed in the process of forgery or copying or was replaced by the new name of the place and was thus modernised. The need for modernisation is substantiated by the legal nature of charters as being legal documents, and their most important function was to ensure rights (cf. Szentpétery 1930: 2, Györffy 1970: 200). If the name of a place acquired at the beginning of the 11th century changed with time, it was in the interest of the owner to include the donation in the charter under the new name. At the time of the name change, both the old and new names of the place were probably known (that often also existed side by side for a while), but later on, it could lead to difficulties if the charter referred to a place with the older name that was no longer used. After donation, the *Disznó* ('pig') estate of the Tihany Abbey, for example, was replaced by the denomination *Apáti* ('abbot's') referring to the new owner: 1055: *alius locus, qui Gisnav dicitur* (DHA. 1: 150), 1055>1416: *villam Diznou, quam nominavit Apati* (DHA. 1: 156), 1267/1297: *predium et villam de Gesnov vel Apaty* (PRT. 10: 526), 1275, 1536: *Apaty* (Cs. 2: 587). The data indicate a long-term process, while mentioning that the old name was most probably also important due to the compatibility of documents and occurrences (cf. Hoffmann 2010: 99–100). At the same time, just as the modernisation of remnants was not uniform in terms of their phonemic orthography when transcribing charters, the indication of name changes could also be contingent (cf. Kenyhercz 2016: 15). However, while a difference in phone-

mic orthography did not fundamentally influence the legal authenticity of the charter (cf. Szentpétery 1942: 404, 408, Kenyhercz 2016: 13, 16), this was not the case when disregarding a name change, thus in these cases a higher level of consistency could be expected.

The Founding Charter of Pécsvárad includes close to 140 place designations (i. e. toponyms and the description of the places) (DHA. 1: 72–77). Most probably, the founding charter also had an 11th century authentic version (DHA. 1: 72, Érszegi 2000: 1, cf. Thoroczkay 2009: 73). Several arguments support the idea that the villages included in the forged founding charter come from the 11th century survey² (cf. Szóke 2020b: 87), but György Györffy argues that it practically reveals the holdings of the abbey at the time of its foundation (the early 11th century). It supports the argument that the estates' donations in the forged founding charters were donated by Stephen that the donations of rulers after Saint Stephen are also included in the forged text, but these are clearly separated from one another. Such a differentiation of the donations of monarchs enables the conclusion that the estates referred to as donations by Saint Stephen can indeed be considered to come from the founder of the abbey (1977: 235–237, DHA. 1: 77–80).

Agreeing with Györffy, I analysed the Founding Charter of Pécsvárad earlier in a way that I also considered the names included in it to belong to the early 11th century chronological layer of the charter in terms of historical onomastics. At the same time, it is also clear that the linguistic analysis of charters with an uncertain chronological status needs to be carried out more carefully. In the following, I discuss those names whose early 11th century source value in terms of historical onomastics is unlikely despite the fact that they are included in the Latin texts in connection with the donations probably already included in the authentic charters created at the time of the foundation of the abbeys.

3.1. The toponyms referring to ownership by the abbey, for example, could have value in terms of historical toponomastics from a later time than the early 11th century.

The *Scena abbatis* (DHA. 1: 74) possessive structure of the Founding Charter of Pécsvárad with a Latin word order and partly translated to Latin may refer to the *Apát-széna* ('abbot/hay') or *Apát szénája* ('abbot's/hay') Hungarian toponym with the semantic content of 'the abbot's meadow'.

2 This survey did not survive as an independent charter but rather only as the part of the forged founding charter (DHA. 1: 70).

As for the recording of the name form in the charter, we may consider two options: On the one hand, it could already be included in the 11th century charter and, on the other hand, it could be added later (in the process of forgery or the copying of the forged charter). I do not consider the first option to be likely due to the following reasons. The *apát* 'head of an abbey of monks' dignitary name appearing in the name indicates ownership by the abbey (TESz. *apát*). If the place standing as a boundary mark was included with this name in the authentic, early 11th century charter already, it would mean that in the name of the so far *unnamed* area designated at the time of the foundation ownership by the abbey would have been indicated immediately or the name of the place would have been replaced with a new one motivated by the changed circumstances at the time of issuing the founding charter. We can find name changes expressing ownership by the abbey also among the estates of the Tihany and Garamszentbenedek abbeys (1055: *Disznó* 'pig' > 1055>1416: *Apáti* 'abbot's'; 1075/+1124/+1217: *Knyezsic* 'settlement named Knyezic' > 1507: *Apáti* 'abbot's' (Hoffmann 2010: 99, Szőke 2013: 112–113)) but these do not yet appear either in the authentic 11th century Founding Charter of Tihany or in the Charter of Garamszentbenedek interpolated in the 13th century. As opposed to this, the Founding Charter of Pécsvárad mentions not even an estate but rather a meadow indicated as a boundary mark and I believe this makes its early 11th century source value even more doubtful: The toponym could be added to the text from the survey at the end of the 11th century or even more likely during forgery (13th century) or in the process of copying (14th–15th centuries) (cf. Szőke 2020c: 38–39).

The exclusion of toponyms motivated by ownership by the Church from the list of names with an early 11th century source value in terms of historical onomastics clearly resonates with the results of Andrea Bölcskei who, in her monograph, identified 190 referents from the early Old Hungarian Era which were (at least temporarily) designated with a toponym form referring to church ownership (as well). Of the 573 name forms that may be considered in this regard, we may find only 23 in the first century of Hungarian written culture (until 1120) altogether, which includes, for example, the name form which I also examined. Based on the more than 500 pieces of data, it seems that this type of name giving became truly significant from the second half of the 13th century. Approximately 80% of the names are dated from the period between 1241 and 1350 (2021: 145–147). The differences between the proportions are most probably not independent from the number of issued and survived sources but they still certainly indicate the main trends.

3.2. The second group of names that supposedly do not have source value for historical onomastics for the early 11th century is made up of names with additional attributes. Of the names in the analysed charters, *Hajmáskér* settlement in Veszprém County recorded in the Founding Charter of Pécsvárad, may be mentioned in this regard („quadragesima (villa) *Hagmasker*” (DHA. 1: 75)). The source value of the name for a later time may be supposed not only because of the chronological features of the change (cf. Tóth 2008: 237) but also other data of the settlement. The primary *Kér* name of the settlement³ has records in an 11th century charter (also of an uncertain status) (1009/+1257: *Cari villa* (DHA. 1: 52)) and a 14th century source (1343: *Keer* (Cs. 3: 232)). The attachment of an attribute affects nearly 90% of the settlement names of a tribal name origin that went through changes with a significant part of them being the result of official name giving from the second half of the 18th century (Tóth 2008: 237). In the case of the settlement name in Veszprém County, we may consider an earlier change: The 14th century *Kér* and 15th century *Hagymáskér* data (1424, 1426: *Hadmásker*, 1488: *Hagmasker* (Cs. 3: 232)) mostly indicate the 14th–15th centuries as the likely date of change.

4. This time, I have highlighted such a feature of charters with an uncertain chronological status that make their linguistic scrutiny even more complicated; however, such information also clearly brings us closer to identifying those layers of the charters that have so far hindered us from using our toponyms with more certainty and more successfully regarding a certain era both from the perspective of historical linguistics and historical linguistics.

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3 The settlement name *Kér* preserves the name of an ethnic group, as one of the conquering Hungarian tribes (Hoffmann/Rácz/Tóth 2017: 181–185).

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[**Abstract:** From the perspective of historical toponomastics and linguistics, there are multiple chronological layers in charters whose status is uncertain. Due to the circumstances of their origin and survival, however, the historical linguistic and onomastic source value of the names they contain do not necessarily correspond. We may determine the historical toponomastic source value of charters most reliably on the basis of principles derived from historical studies and diplomatics. This includes, for example, the consideration of litigations of abbeys or the study of the formulas contained in charters. With the growing number of linguistics studies conducted on charters of uncertain status, it has become clear that we need to further specify how such charters are to be assessed from an historical toponomastics perspective. In this paper, I explore how we may establish the source value of particular toponyms from the perspective of historical onomastics using two forged charters of Saint Stephen (the charters of Pécsvárad and Bakonybél). The first part of this paper shows that, irrespective of a certain name having not been included in the original source of the forged charter, the places and names in question could otherwise already have existed as early as the 11th century. The second part of the paper demonstrates that the parts of charters whose chronological status is uncertain but have been deemed to originate in the 11th century (based largely on the principles of diplomatics and history), may also include names whose use is not proven for the founding period (the early 11th century).]