

Zsuzsa Eszter Pető

**THE MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPE OF THE PAULINE MONASTERIES IN THE PILIS
FOREST**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2014

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by

Zsuzsa Eszter Petó

(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 Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Zsuzsa Eszter Pető**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval 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.

Budapest, 29 May 2014

Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ÁMTF 4 Györffy, György. *Az Árpád-kori Magyar ország történeti földrajza* [A historical geography of Hungary in the Árpadian period]. Vol.4. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó: 1998.
- Cod. Fejér, György. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. vol. 1-11.
Dipl. Buda: Regiae Universitatis Hungariae, 1829–44.
- DAP Gyéressy, Béla. *Documenta Artis Paulinorum*. Vol. 2. Manuscript, ed. Melinda Tóth. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1977.
- DL Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltári jelzet. [Hungarian National Archive]
- MNM
RA Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Régészeti Adattár [Hungarian National Museum Archaeological Archive]
- MRT 5 Horváth, István, Mónika Kelemen and István Torma, ed. *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 5. Esztergom és a dorogi járás* [The archaeological topography of Hungary. Esztergom and the district of Dorog]. Vol 5. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979.
- MRT 7 Torma, István, ed. *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 7. Pest megye régészeti topográfiája: A budai és szentendrei járás*. [The archaeological topography of Hungary. The archaeological topography of Co. Pest: Buda and Szentendre districts]. Vol. 7. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986.
- MTF 4 Csánki, Dezső and Antal Fekete Nagy, ed. *Magyarország történeti földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [A historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadi family]. Vol 4. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1941.

INTRODUCTION

As was summarized in *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries* by Lawrence Butler, one can identify four possible viewpoints of a monastic space: 1. Monasteries as oases of sanctity and workshops of prayer; 2. Monasteries as financial corporations, holding land and exploiting their resources; 3. Monastic buildings as potential deposits of material evidence; 4. Monastic ruins as ancient monuments, smoothed into well-ordered piles of masonry amid green lawns. As Butler continues, the first two options approach monasteries as their contemporaries saw them, but the two other options represent the modern perception of monasteries, “enunciated by the archaeologist and experienced by the visitor.”¹

Among the variety of viewpoints which all define monastic space, the scholarship intends to find and reconstruct (at least some small) pieces of the attitude which was defined as a medieval viewpoint. According to this horizontal view, a vertical perception has also validity, namely, that different spatial resolutions should be examined as well; from a monastery’s closest space up until a whole region/unit consisting of several monasteries. Furthermore, the final goal of complex spatial research is to understand and interpret the correlations between these perceptions; that is, what can give an adequate picture both for academic research and visitors.

Research on the Pauline order has many different approaches in Hungarian scholarship², but interestingly there are significantly more general works available – like the latest summary of Beatrix Romhányi on Pauline economy³ or the work of Tamás Guzsik on

¹ Lawrence Butler, “The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries in England and Wales,” in *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989), 1.

² In Germany and Austria there is also a long tradition of researching the Pauline order, but the topic of this thesis emphasizes the Hungarian scholarship. For German, also Polish and Croatian, research see Gábor Sarbak, ed., *Der Paulinerorden. Geschichte-Geist-Kultur* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010).

³ Beatrix Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatóak fenn – Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban* [Estate management of the Paulines in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2010).

Pauline architecture⁴ – then individual, smaller scale publications/projects/results. This phenomenon affects every single study on the topic and usually indicates a comparative approach, where individual cases are examined regarding the main tendencies of Pauline history. Accordingly, this develops a type of argumentation in the research where general questions help the understanding of single cases and individual phenomena may modify or at least articulate what is known on medieval Pauline history.

Regarding the framework and approach of the thesis, it is crucial to briefly summarize the general attributes of Pauline economy and its impact on the landscape, which reveals the cloudy and mixed character of the order. This indicates a double task, which has been partly solved in the historical research⁵ by systematically collecting a large number of sources and, based on them, defining general tendencies in the Pauline economy. Therefore, secondary literature helps to accommodate the overall view of present-day research. At the same time, the spatial impacts of Pauline economy are poorly studied since – referring back to the general tendency in scholarship – small scale studies are lacking and few features of the Pauline monastic space have been recorded.⁶ Therefore, the systematic connection of historical and spatial approaches means (temporarily) a unique way of evaluating data, although – as will be discussed – the quality and quantity of sources create the limits of this investigation. These circumstances all affect the framework of the research and the structure of the thesis, which focuses on the spatial issues and landscape aspects of the monasteries created in the Pilis region.

Equal attention should be paid to the special historical and natural sphere where the three monasteries (Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, St. Ladislaus) were founded. The royal forest of

⁴ Tamás Guzsik, *A pálos rend építésze a középkori Magyarországon* [Pauline architecture in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2003).

⁵ See the selected literature from Beatrix Romhányi in the bibliography.

⁶ Two main studies should be emphasized: Károly Belvényesy, *Pálos kolostorok az Abaúj-hegylján* [Pauline friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja region] (Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 2004); Andrea Kékedi, “Középkori pálos kolostorok környezetátalakítása a nagyvázsonyi történeti táj példáján” [The impact of medieval Pauline

the Pilis, in the heart of the Hungarian Kingdom (the so-called *medium regni*), surrounded by the most important medieval (royal and also ecclesiastical) seats and residences, was always regarded as a special territory with a unique development and role (Fig. 1-1.). Therefore, investigating the spatial features of the Pauline order here means examining the presence of royal power, where monasteries were the spiritual features of royal representation. Furthermore, based on the Pauline tradition, the foundation of the order took place in the Pilis, so the development and impacts of the Paulines can be examined from the beginning (including the cloudy circumstances of their foundation), side-by-side with a special regard on the connection between the Hungarian kings and the Paulines. According to these phenomena, research on the Pauline monastic space in the Pilis reveals several layers and a complex meaning.

All these features together define the framework and the research questions of the thesis and give a clear background for an integrated spatial approach, which is a complex task. The number of medieval sources surviving in Hungary is much poorer than in Western European countries or for the Pauline monasteries in German territories or in Rome⁷. In Hungary research has to face this problem since the documents and the physical remains of the Middle Ages were devastated and sometimes forgotten in the last four or five hundred years. Therefore, the modern historical and archaeological research has used all efforts to reveal, uncover, collect, and interpret the documents and features of the Middle Ages.

Although a great deal has been done since the nineteenth century and the quantity and quality of the sources is presently regarded as not bad, research in landscape archaeology, especially regarding the monastic space, does not have a long tradition, a well-founded method in Hungary, only a few researches have been carried out in the last few years. József

monasteries in the landscape on the example of the historical landscape at Nagyvázsony] MA Thesis in Landscape Architecture (Budapest Corvinus University, Budapest, 2008).

⁷ Lorenz Weinrich, *Hungarici monasterii ordinis sancti Pauli primi heremitae de Urbe Roma instrumenta et priorum regesta* (Rome-Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Rome, 1999).

Laszlovszky followed by Beatrix Romhányi, highlighted the need and the relatively good circumstances for landscape studies in monastic space.⁸ In their work it has been argued that the Pauline monasteries offer a particularly good case for the study of monastic space and landscape. Previous, topographical studies have also revealed some interesting examples (fishponds, mills, etc.) as landscape features of monastic complexes. Therefore, the approach of this thesis adopts the idea and concept of monastic space developed in England⁹, its homeland, which is articulated in the Hungarian circumstances. Based on this idea, Károly Belényesy carried out regional landscape archaeological work concerning the Pauline order, which is the first and still the last published monograph on the topic. This work is a small step in the research of the Pauline space, where I intend to give a systematic overview on several layers of space – from a monastery up to the entire Pilis Forest – using a variety of sources on a digital platform.

⁸ See József Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok a tájban, középkori kolostortájak” [Medieval monasteries in the landscape, medieval monastic landscapes] in *Quasi liber et picture; Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára* /title translation/, ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2004), 337-349; also Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 11; On the Pauline landscape see Belényesy, *Abauj-hegyalja*. Such studies were made on the Cistercians by József Laszlovszky and László Ferenczi recently.

⁹ E.g., on fishponds see Mick Aston, ed., *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988); and James Bond, “Water Management in the Rural Monastery” in *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989), 83-112. On mills see Richard Holt, *The Mills of Medieval England*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); David Luckhurst, *Monastic Watermills: A Study of the Mills within English Monastic Precincts* (London: Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 1964); on woodland management see Oliver Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape* (London: Phoenix, revised edition, 1996). On gardens, orchards, vineyards see Paul Meyvaert, “The Medieval Monastic Garden”, in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. E. D. Macdougall, (Washington DC: Trustees for Harvard University: 1986), 23-53. Also see the monograph by James Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004). Also see it for a great list of bibliography of case studies and monographs. A complex collection with an archaeological approach is by Graham Keevill, Mick Aston, and Teresa Hall, ed., *Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001).

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 The Pilis Forest: Natural and Historical Environment

All the features which defined Pauline monastic space have been preserved best in wooded areas until the present days,¹⁰ the Pilis Royal Forest is an ideal area which was examined generally by Péter Szabó at least.¹¹ The Pilis lies in what was called in the Middle Ages the *medium regni*, which was surrounded by all of the important centers in medieval Hungary. Esztergom, the seat of the archbishop and an early royal center is located to the northwest¹²; to the southeast there is Óbuda, which seems to have been the focal place of early Hungarian leaders and the kings as well until the first half of the thirteenth century. Later it was replaced by the most significant town, Buda. Further, in one day's journey to the southwest, there is Fehérvár, the town of Saint Stephen, the coronation and burial place of most medieval kings. These were joined by Visegrád in the north, a smaller royal town which had symbolic significance and could claim to be the capital of Hungary from the fourteenth century until the beginning of the fifteenth, when Sigismund emphasized Buda as the capital.¹³ (Fig. 1-1.)

¹⁰ During the Ottoman occupation, this territory – just as the wider area of Buda – was destroyed and deserted, so the medieval space survived until the end of the Ottoman period. From the second half of the seventeenth century this territory was resettled by Slavic (mainly Slovakian and Serbian) people, but the woodlands of the Pilis were respected, almost until nowadays. This indicates that the settlement structure is – just as in the Middle Ages – diffuse. The road-network has largely changed in the modern ages, but the remains of the medieval *viae magnae* can be reconstructed. On this topic see Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary* (Oxford: Basingstoke Press, 2005) and also Beatrix Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben” (Pauline monasteries in the Pilis), in *Laudator Temporis Acti – Tanulmányok Horváth István 70 éves születésnapjára*, ed. Edit Tari (Esztergom: Balassi Bálint Múzeum, 2012), 223-227. In the English landscape, around rural monastic sites, these features are more visible, e.g., at Stavordale (Somerset, Old Warden (Bedfordshire) and Bordesley (Herefordshire & Worcestershire). Bond, *Water Management*, 83. Also see Aston, *Medieval Fishponds*, Vol. 2.

¹¹ This summary is also based on his observations, most of the information was extracted from Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, chapter 10-14.

¹² King Emeric donated the royal palace to the archbishop first in 1198, with whom the Castle Hill was shared by the kings from the early ages of the kingdom. This donation was repeated later by Andrew II and Béla IV. From that time the transformation of a shared royal and ecclesiastical center to an ecclesiastical seat started. György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza 2* [A historical geography of Hungary in the Árpadian period], (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó: 1987), 246-247.

¹³ Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 87.

Geographically the Pilis is bordered by the Danube on the north and east, shaping a large triangle (400 km²). The longest side of the triangle (ca. 35 km) is from the northwest to the southeast, which is the elongated the Pilis Mountains in three sections. Pilis peak, which gave its name to the whole region, has been bare for a millennia, as shown by the presence of the rare, ice-age relict flower, *Ferula sadleriana*, which has grown on it continuously since (at least) the latest ice-age. It is interesting, because the name Pilis goes back to Slavic origins, meaning a bare, plantless area. Connecting the origins with the noticed barrenness, an active Slavic presence is noted here.¹⁴

The medieval history of the Pilis area also has many poorly documented periods. It is clear that this region was a royal forest from the beginning to the end of the Hungarian Kingdom. The origins of the medieval royal domains and forests in Hungary go back to the time of King Stephen I (997-1038), when he re-organized territories which were controlled by Magyar chieftains or were uninhabited and wooded areas of the Carpathian Basin beyond the defensive, boundary area, called “gyepűelve”. King Stephen organized the administrative and military county system of the kingdom, where he owned more than the seventy percent of the lands, including royal forests. It is unfortunate for the scholarship that the phases of this evolution can be only roughly reconstructed, because there is a lack of direct written evidence.

In written sources the term *silva* denotes both woodland and forest in Hungary. Otherwise, *silva regalis* means a wood belonging to the king. These royal forests were more than oversized woods; like a Western-type forest (German *Forst*),¹⁵ it was more a legal category, which incorporated wooded areas, but also settlements, meadows and arable lands. This becomes clear in the first decades of the thirteenth century when the sources usually

¹⁴ There are no other remains or evidence for that, except the name of Visegrád on the Danube bank, which means high castle. Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 93.

¹⁵ The origins of the royal forests came from England to the Continent. On English forests see Rackham, *Trees and Woodland*, 1996.

mention the *comes* and *comitatus* instead of *procurator* and *praedium*. Moreover, the new counties lacked many characteristic features of the regular counties, thus they were termed forest-counties in modern scholarship; although, they did not incorporate other castle districts or properties like the regular counties. Instead, several royal castles were built there in the thirteenth century which mostly existed until the end of Middle Ages.

The Pilis was always a Royal Forest, which is denoted by its first appearance in written sources, which are “a mention of it as the king’s very own Forest in 1187.”¹⁶ But before this it was the private possession of the Árpádians, which is marked several times, e.g., the foundation of the provostry at Dömös by Prince Álmos (1107), the brother of King Coloman (1095-1116) on *aregale allodium*¹⁷. The early history was dominated by a dense network of royal residences for the itinerant court beside the main residences, there are data, which verify the existence of hunting lodges/manor houses near Pilisszentkereszt¹⁸ (a Cistercian abbey), Kesztlöc¹⁹ (Holy Cross Monastery), Pilisszentlászló²⁰ (St. Ladislaus Monastery), and Pilisszentlélek²¹ (Holy Spirit Monastery). Mostly these are based on the memory of written sources, but in the case of Pilisszentkereszt and Pilisszentlélek, their use as hunting centers cannot be demonstrated.²²

Supposedly, these manor houses did not serve exclusively as hunting lodges; in the first part of the Árpáadian era, up until the end of the twelfth century, the kings used to practice itinerant kingship. Therefore, these lodges could have served simply as shelters for

¹⁶ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 93.

¹⁷ The fourteenth-century chronicle composition relates that King Béla I (1060-1063) died when his throne collapsed on him at Dömös, and a carved stone is known from here with a hunting scene.

¹⁸ László Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* [The Cistercian Abbey at Pilis], (Szentendre: 1984).

¹⁹ *palatium...quod habebat in insula de Pilisio pro venationis requie*. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 18. István Méri identified walls and some carved stones from an earlier building than the monastery. But at the same time, Júlia Kovalovszki warned that the relationship between the two might not be straightforward. Kovalovszki/ref/

²⁰ *domunculum lapidea venationi regum preparata*. Györffy, “Adatok”, 284.

²¹ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 21. Archaeological excavations here also confirmed earlier buildings, possibly connected with the royal manor houses. Sarolta Lázár, “A pilisszentléleki volt pálos kolostor templom kutatása 1985-86” [Archaeological investigation of the Pauline Monastery at Pilisszentlélek, 1985-1986], *A Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 5 (1997): 493-518.

²² There are two other places located by archaeological survey which may also have been hunting lodges. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 94.

the king, who was travelling and not hunting. Anyhow, it can be concluded that before 1200, whenever the king stayed in the Pilis, had a lodge within a few hours' ride, the centers of the period (the archbishop at Esztergom, the queen's town, Veszprém, the royal center Óbuda, and the coronation town of Székesfehérvár) were all within one day's journey.²³

The Pilis had been transformed into a forest county by the thirteenth century, at the same time as the end of itinerant kingship. The first appearance of the *comes* of County Pilis is from 1225 and there is data for royal servants.²⁴ Not much is known on the physical extent of the forest, a part of its boundary was mentioned only once, at Csaba, today's Piliscsaba,²⁵ but other data support that today's Pomáz on the southeast was right next to its area as well.²⁶

There was a certain change in this system by the thirteenth century, in the development of the forest county the role of the Pilis had changed. The hunting lodges were all transformed into monasteries; first, King Béla III (1172-1196) in 1184 founded the Cistercian monastery near Pilisszentkereszt, which was followed by the three Pauline monasteries in the second half of the thirteenth century. All the Cistercians and the Paulines had a somewhat similar relation to Pilis Forest: the geographical position of the forest made it possible for the two orders to achieve a status peculiar to this region, namely, that Pilis was a place hidden enough to be appropriate for religious orders, but at the same time the monasteries were within walking distance of the most important lay and ecclesiastical centers of the kingdom. The fact that all four monasteries were royal foundations, as Péter Szabó states, demonstrates the royal interest in maintaining control over the monastic orders in the

²³ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 94.

²⁴ In 1285 we also find forest guards, dwelling in Bogud. Other royal people lived there, with specializations preserved in place-names. Kovácsi, the settlement of the smiths was north of Pilis Mountain. From here to the south-east, Fedémes was located, which was named after bee-keepers. Peszérd, southeast of Esztergom, was the home of royal dog-keepers and Solymár, further to the southeast, was where the falconers lived.

²⁵ *As ubi separate de sylua vestra Pilis vocata*. Perambulation of Csaba. Cod. Dipl. V/2, 159-161.

²⁶ In 1278, Ladislaus IV donated the village of Pomáz to his daughter, where Pomáz was below Pilis Forest (sub silva Pilis) next to *castrum cum comitatu et district de Pelys*. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95.

forest. The king himself visited those monasteries with his retinue, but “these places were more “hotels” than “residences”.”²⁷

Pilis County was no longer simply an economic unit, but had a symbolic significance. Its *comites*, very far from keepers, received their titles as a sign of royal honour and cared little about the woods. Pilis was managed, in ways that are unknown to us, by lesser officers appointed by the *comites*. This tendency was in connection with the decreasing importance and role of the temporary residences and also the stabilization of the royal residences and therefore royal power; mainly the construction of the castle of Visegrád²⁸ by the wife of King Béla IV, Queen Mary, in the mid-1200s. In 1259 Béla donated “the castle with county and district of Pilis” to the queen, which might have been motivated by the weak income of the county.²⁹ After the death of the last Árpáadian King (1301), a new era commenced in the life of Visegrád and the surrounding Pilis Forest. Until the 1320s, however, Charles Robert, the new king, had more important issues to handle than the forests.

In 1323 he moved the royal court from Temes to Visegrád. From this time until 1366 the castellans of Visegrád used the title of *comes* of Pilis, but after this time they became less and less interested in the county and the castellans ceased to call themselves *comites*. There was probably no need to demonstrate royal power in the county, because it was overwhelmingly present. Beside this system, noble magistrates were present from 1333, which was sign of the new “noble” counties, serving as a balance to the overwhelming royal influence and disregarding the symbolic power of Pilis as a Royal Forest. The territory of the county started to grow in the fourteenth century, acquiring extensive territories south of its core area. Interestingly, Sigismund addressed a letter to his apparently non-existing officers,

²⁷Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95, 117.

²⁸ There had been a castle in Visegrád before which was built on a Roman fortress (Sibrik hill), which was the center of the ancient Visegrád County, but it fell from use by the early 1200s, for the county center moved to Esztergom. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95.

the *comites*, and talks about *silva nostra Pilisiensis*, which still reflects a thirteenth-century royal attitudes. In 1468 something similar was repeated by King Matthias, but this mandate was dedicated to the castellan of Visegrád and one reads about the woods of Visegrád. By the end of the fifteenth century, the royal forests had disappeared, Pilis County was united with Pest County sometime in the fifteenth century.

Beside generalities, the dynamics of the area are visible through the settlement system and road network of the area. Medieval people usually stayed in the valleys and in general did not inhabit the depths of the Pilis Forest. (Fig. 1-2.) Although this might be obvious, as Péter Szabó points out, the reasons behind it may be very complex. The most influential of these reasons was probably the existence of Royal Forest; to reveal other reasons, any specialties, complex research is crucial – not just to attain a wider view, but as the sources are poor on the early centuries, archaeological topographical research and spatial patterns are the basic sources.

Based on these sources, the observations point out that the dynamics of inhabited areas change through the centuries: there are many settlements in the eleventh century, and then the number decreases.³⁰ On the Danube bank some settlements were located just where the Roman road also crossed this area. However, it is visually clear that the southern part of the Pilis Mountains is dotted with many more settlements which are all close to the *via magna*, the geographically smooth main road between Óbuda (from the mid-1200s also Buda, which lies south of Óbuda) and Esztergom. Settlements close to the *via magna* were not always mentioned in written sources.³¹ This spatial attribute is hardly present in other features

²⁹ In 1263-64 it was stated that the income of the county was less than fifty golden marcs; compared with the income of the provostry of Dömös, which was estimated around sixty marcs, this was a poor income indeed. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 94-95.

³⁰ This areas with its hills and woods was not an exception to the general patterns of change in the medieval Hungarian settlement system. Many settlements disappeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries -- an overall trend in medieval Hungary – and also in Europe.

³¹ Written sources mention 37 settlements. Many of them (18) existed long before their first appearance in written sources, as the archaeological evidence shows. There are many other sites containing household materials which can be dated mostly between the eleventh and thirteenth century. They were found by

like royal manor houses or the monasteries, although they were not far from the main road – *nota bene* in a straight line.

Another piece of the medieval picture of the Pilis, has been revealed, namely, some data on the fauna. Generally, the Pilis, should have been covered with trees, although written evidence does not exist and quality maps are too late for present purposes. Probably, as archaeobotanical investigations and written sources suggest, walnut was well-represented and fruit trees were a specialty of the region. How intensive the management of orchards was is unknown, although there should have been many versions, from the gardens of the monasteries and royal residences to the extensive treatment of fruit trees in woods (recorded by ethnographers).

1.2 Pauline Monasteries in the Pilis – Research Questions

After discussing the possible target features of Pauline space and the unique background of the Pilis it is easier to articulate some questions and phrase new ones concerning the correlation between the two. The approach of the research may start from two points; first, the exact Pauline space itself has to be examined, then the known spatial development and changes of the Pilis royal forest. These all cover and highlight the spatial framework of the study, namely, general summaries are available both on the Paulines and the Pilis, but individual studies are fewer. Therefore, the framework has a minimum and maximum spatial resolution: from the entire Pilis to the smallest unit of a monastery.

In these circumstances, the main directions can be examined, namely: What was behind the Pauline foundations? What can their location mean inside the forest? In other words, what kinds of factors were taken into consideration in the siting of individual monasteries or in the site selection process of the order? What is the correlation with the known spatial features of the Pilis (settlements, roads, royal and ecclesiastical centers, other Pauline monasteries)? What other dynamic phenomena can be revealed by examining the religious representation of royal power? Moreover, how did the regional role of each monastery change in time?

On the level of monasteries, their properties and spatial connections can be researched, also the closest and direct features of supply. Attached to this, it is a valuable task in itself to record, list, and systematically analyze the spatial features around them. Thus, some features can be revealed on how could landscape and human-nature interaction have affected (in different time periods) the Pauline monasteries and influenced their profiles? Which features of each historical period and spatial level of Pauline life are recognizable in the Pilis Forest? Finally, as a huge and well-researched written background is available for a wider synthesis, accommodating the monasteries into the known tendencies also results in

formulating some general conclusions for the interaction of the order and the royal power. All these questions and cloudy areas of the Pauline research are examined with synthetizing and combining all of the available sources, results of analyses in a time/space graph.

1.3 Sources and Methodology

Examining the historical space means that all kind of sources have relevance in the study, but their structuring and the perception of the topic involves a special methodological issue, which is also affected by the researched territory. A proper and probably the clearest way of framing the background of the Pauline monastic space is that the view point is generated by unifying traditional sources (direct and indirect ones) and landscape archaeology, where datasets are elaborated on a digital platform.

One has to do it with a special regard, because – as it was mentioned before –, there is no well-founded protocol of spatial research in Hungary, specified/itemized/applied to regional history and environment; therefore methodological solutions have to be imported from those areas of Europe, where it has a long tradition, just like in England. These solutions include both source types and the approach of spatial analysis as well. As it was also mentioned, the research of the Pauline order goes back for many centuries and a considerable amount of literature has been published on their history;³² therefore a critical selection and a strict ranking was essential during the working process, where using the most recent and critically evaluated material was the main intention. In the following chapter the different types of sources (written, pictorial, topographical, and archaeological) and the methods will be summarized with an emphasis on those ones which help the most in characterizing the Pauline monastic space in the Pilis.

Traditional Sources: Documents, Maps, and Archaeological Data

Traditionally, Pauline history has been assessed by economic, cultural, social, and political approaches, but less is known on the monastic space itself, although the basic

³² See Belényesy, *Abauj-hegyalja*, 88-91.

sources are generally the same.³³ Contemporary charters (mainly perambulations and financial documents) represent basic sources in landscape studies: among the several types of data one can find several direct or indirect spatial information (different types of properties, prices, locations of properties and objects, like mills, fishponds, roads, bridges, etc.). Most of these documents are published³⁴, moreover, these source collections or the digital copy of the original charters are usually available online.³⁵ Altogether ca. five thousand charters are researchable concerning the Pauline order, but the chronological and geographical distribution as well as the quality of these documents are not balanced.³⁶

Along with these documents, three major sources, all written in the sixteenth century, help the research.³⁷ The historical work of Prior General Gregorius Gyöngyösi³⁸, called *Vitae Fratrum*³⁹, is the best-known and mostly emphasized of these documents. It is not a typical work on the history of the order; besides important chronological data and some anecdotes, the ancestors (mainly prior generals) are in the focus, whom Gyöngyösi marked as ideal monks for his contemporaries. This personal approach shows two major problems with the source. First, the earlier biographies in the work are schematic and sometimes idealized, but even more problematic from my perspective, is that the solidity of the information decreases

³³ Last Beatrix Romhányi highlighted this, see in her work *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 11.

³⁴ See primary sources at the bibliography. Most of them are available online. *Digital Library of Medieval Hungary*.

http://mol.arcanum.hu/medieval/opt/a101101.htm?v=pdf&a=start_f

³⁵ *Database of the Hungarian National Archive*. <http://mol.arcanum.hu/>

³⁶ Of course, not all of the data are collected nor interpreted, partly because there is no complete catalogue of the documents. Many of them were collected (DAP), but with a special regard for art historical information, which results that many data are still hidden. The data on economy has been gathered by Beatrix Romhányi in her articles and book (ca. 1000 charters, see Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 11), but this also means a selective collection. For these reasons, the author of the thesis could use the results and source collections of the secondary literature and intends to do a complete revision of them concerning the Pauline monasteries of the Pilis.

³⁷ The list is mostly based on the summary of Beatrix Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary”, *Periodica Polytechnica* 43 (2012) 53-56.

³⁸ For more on his life and activity see Gábor Sarbak, “Prior General Gregory Gyöngyösi and the History of the Pauline Fathers in the Early 16th Century”, In: *Infirma aetas Pannonica: Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. Péter Kovács E. and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 2009), 250-260. n.v.

³⁹ Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum Eremitarium Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*, ed. Ferenc Hervay. (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1988).

as Gyöngyösi describes earlier periods in the history of the Paulines.⁴⁰ Fortunately, there are other contemporary sources to control some information. At the same time, it is important to note, that Gyöngyösi compiled his history of the order with the help of charters and other documents (see below). He often refers to them in his narrative and some documents are only known from his text.

An inventory of the medieval charters (*Inventarium*), also compiled by Prior General Gyöngyösi, was partly published in the volumes of *Documenta Artis Paulinorum* (DAP). Gyöngyösi was only interested in the final result of business; therefore he listed only charters which recorded real, existing properties of monasteries or the order in general. Comparing the surviving charters, the inventory, and *Vitae Fratrum*, historians have concluded that Gyöngyösi took many original documents in his hands, but sometimes he recorded false copies of charters, e.g., Slavsko Polje in Croatia.⁴¹

Another important post-medieval document, the *Formularium maius*, published recently by Beatrix Romhányi and Gábor Sarbak, was used by the secretary of the Prior General from the 1530s, which also contains some specific information about the Pauline economy, hierarchy, and structure. Most of these sources (from original charters to later summaries and catalogues) are well-researched,⁴² so during the work it was possible to find catch points regarding sources and results on Pauline history and economy.

Definitely, besides written data, in a spatial topic it is crucial to use modern (tourist) maps from the beginning of the twentieth century (1928) and maps of the Unified National Map System⁴³) and historical maps (especially the Habsburg Military Surveys of Hungary⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Some historians (lay and cleric) pointed this out Elemér Mályusz, “A Pálos rend a középkor végén” [The Pauline order at the end of the Middle Ages]. *Egyháztörténet* (1945): 1-53; also “Remeterendek” [Hermit Orders], in *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*, (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 254-274. Also see one of the latest and most detailed summaries on early modern Pauline sources, Beatrix Romhányi, “A pálos élet forrásai a középkorvégi Magyarországon” [Sources of the Pauline life in Hungary at the end of the Middle Ages], *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* 14–15 (2011): 323-330.

⁴¹Romhányi, “Pálos élet forrásai”, 324.

⁴²Especially Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 2010.

⁴³ The so-called *Egységes Országos Térképrendszer* (EOTR), projection: 1: 10 000. Digitized map, 2010.

and cadastral maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth century stored in the National Archives⁴⁵) as basic sources. It is equally important to take into consideration the geological⁴⁶ and (historical/reconstructed) hydrological maps.⁴⁷ Sadly, other kinds of medieval pictorial sources are not available for the Paulines in the Kingdom of Hungary.⁴⁸ Only one large-scale map depicting the whole country in the Middle Ages is available for my research. The scale of the Lazarius map (*Tabula Hungariae*, Fig. 1-3.) does not allow formulating a detailed image of the Pilis or on Pauline monasteries, but it confirms the general landscape character of the area.⁴⁹ On the medieval monastic economy a few, mostly Western European, sources helped the research, especially in the use of ponds, fish species, or simply the ways of farming.⁵⁰

Archaeological sources – the results of the excavations at the Monastery of Holy Cross⁵¹ and Holy Spirit⁵² and field surveys in connection with *The Archaeological*

⁴⁴*Első katonai felmérés: Magyar Királyság* [The First Military Survey: the Kingdom of Hungary]. DVD, Budapest: Arcanum, 2004; *Historical Maps of the Habsburg Empire – The Second Military Survey*. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Arcanum, Eötvös Loránd University, Metropolitan Archive, and Institute and Museum of Military History, 2014. <http://mapire.eu/en/>

⁴⁵ During the work I used the online database of the National Archive, Map Collection (all maps of the collection are digitized). <http://mol.arcanum.hu/terkep/opt/a121112htm?v=pdf&a=start>

⁴⁶ Digitized version of the Hungarian Geological and Geophysical Institution (Magyar Földtani és Geofizikai Intézet), 2010.

⁴⁷ The reconstructed hydrological map of the Carpathian Basin is based on historical maps (eighteenth-nineteenth century), which were made before the river regulations, and also on the plans of the regulations. Budapest: Hungarian Royal Agricultural Ministry and Hydrological Institution, 1938. Available online in a good resolution.

<http://foldepites.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/5-karpat-medence-kesz-wo9.jpg>

⁴⁸ Contemporary visual sources on average hermits and the legend of St. Paul the First Hermit emphasize the picture of the meditating men close to nature who live absolutely secluded from inhabited areas. This is true all around Europe, including Hungary. An important image of Saint Paul was found in the Abbey of Budaszentlőrinc on a fragment of a keystone. See Pic 1, Archive of Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, online database of the *Exhibition on the Religious Life in Pest-Buda*, 2001. Organized by the Archive of Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library. <http://www.fszek.hu/kiallitas/webkiallitas/tablok/palos/palos.html>

⁴⁹ Lajos Stegena, ed., *Lazarus secretarius. The First Hungarian Mapmaker and His Work*, (Budapest: 1982). See the accepted application for UNESCO World Register (Last accessed 05-19-2014)

http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/mow/nomination_forms/hungary_tabula_hungariae.pdf

⁵⁰Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 209, fig. 31, 32; *Medieval Parks, Gardens, and Designed Landscapes*. Article by Spencer Gavin Smith, posted (17-11-2013)

<http://medievalparksgardensanddesignedlandscapes.wordpress.com/2013/11/17/pond-life/>; Article Old Babbling Carp. Carpiopedia, Last edited by Jerome Moisand 5 years ago.

<http://carpiopedia.pbworks.com/w/page/15277490/Article%20Old%20Babbling%20Carp%20-%20Part%202>

⁵¹ See at the Appendix, III. Catalogue of the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis, 1. Monastery of Holy Cross.

⁵² See at the Appendix, III. Catalogue of the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis, 1. Monastery of Holy Spirit.

Topography of Hungary series⁵³ – partly revealed ruins of the monasteries. With the help of these volumes, the built structures, archaeological material, and collected features in the landscape can be discussed and one can gather much information on the daily life and spatial structure of monastic estates.⁵⁴ Previous archaeological research was based on published and archival data⁵⁵, the aim of this study was also to follow up and verify the past results in the field, select new approaches, and find additional features of the landscape around the monasteries; therefore the catalogue summarizes both past and present data.

Of course, there are some types of sources and approaches which are important, but less relevant for this work; art historical and architectural information on the monasteries are not represented in this thesis. There are two major reasons behind this decision. Published data from the Pilis area are only (and just partly) available from the Holy Spirit monastery. At the Holy Cross monastery some parts of the structure were revealed during excavations, but only a limited amount and less detailed data are available for the ground-plan or building phases and the internal structures of the buildings. In the case of the Saint Ladislaus monastery, the identification of its site is still problematic.

At the same time, a general picture on the architecture of Pauline monasteries has been formulated in a comparative study of the architectural heritage by Tamás Guzsik. Since the post-humous publication of his work, however, many more new data have been published and modified – usually dramatically – the past viewpoint of the research.

The complex study of religious space demands a multi-disciplinary approach where historians, archaeologists, art historians, architectural historians and other specialists have crucial roles, but isolated research and topics can produce an incomplete, or sometimes

⁵³ See *MRT 5*, *MRT 7*.

⁵⁴ On the Monastery of Holy Spirit see Sarolta Lázár, “A pilisszentléleki volt pálos kolostor templom kutatása 1985-86” (The archaeological investigation of the Pauline Monastery at Pilisszentlélek), *A Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 5 (1997): 493-518. On the Holy Cross see Júlia Kovalovszki, “A pálosremeték Szent Kereszt-kolostora (Méri István ásatása Klastrompusztán)” (The Pauline monastery of the Holy Cross [the excavation of István Méri at Klastrompuszta] *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1993): 173–207.

worse, a misleading picture.⁵⁶ Thus, there are several ways to summarize all of these approaches, moreover, other forms of investigation (integrating monastic landscape studies, archeological, and new archaeometrical data) can produce significant new results by re-summarizing ideas and revealing the different levels of the Pauline phenomenon.

Monastic Landscape and Landscape Archaeology

Human-nature interaction has left marks and features on the landscape which are the basis for further historical investigation into politics, economy, and culture. The common denominator of this issue is space, where each type and detailed data has its own role. Space gathers all the reachable information on human-nature interactions: For the present research topic, they are direct (medieval) and indirect (early modern, modern) sources investigated by historical (written and pictorial sources), archaeological, and environmental studies (historical geography, geology, historical climate, etc.). The spatial approach is a neutral layer in this case; therefore the results of such perspectives are closer to the perception of medieval people, and more can be understood about the features of the medieval world.

Concerning this spatial aspect, so-called monastic space, the framework of the research and the interpretation can be defined as:

Monastic space is a physical impoundment of a territory, which is based on historical traditions and events. Monasteries were endowed from their first foundation with extensive lands and properties, where they could establish, configure, and develop the elements and conditions of sustenance and incomes to support their community.⁵⁷

These elements (properties and holdings) and the boundary of the monastic jurisdiction defined monastic space, which gives the main spatial frame of my thesis. In the case of the Paulines in the Pilis forest, the landscape holds many important, yet just partly

⁵⁵ For instance, in the archive of the Hungarian National Museum some new and essential data was found on the previous landscape around the site of the Holy Cross monastery.

⁵⁶ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 13.

revealed, historical features. Thus, besides gathering and visualizing the previous results, it is possible and also essential to find new pieces of spatial information concerning the potentials and the structure of the land.

These existing elements are the exact physical remains and catchments of the historical human-nature interactions in the medieval (here monastic) space; most often they are so-called earthworks. Around a monastery one can find typical spatial features: moats, dikes, fishponds, water supply leats and drains, wells and streams, remains of arable land, boundaries of woodlands and pastures, the remains of market gardening or the location of mills, other industrial buildings, and roads close to the monastery.⁵⁸ These earthworks are well-preserved on many sites in our research area; especially in the wooded, uninhabited areas of the Pilis many – mostly undiscovered – earthworks exist.⁵⁹

In England, for example, a great wealth of evidence survives from all sources regarding spatial features. This richness of different types of sources has helped scholars to interpret complex elements and historical processes of monastic landscapes. Therefore, it is useful to give an overview of this research of the main elements of monastic space which survived there but are also correlated with discoverable features of the Pauline space in Hungary. Taking the most telling examples, the remains of water management systems, should be emphasized. Monastic fishponds had a variety of forms, just as on lay estates, from

⁵⁷ James Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), 12.

⁵⁸ On this topic see Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*; also *Water management*. On medieval fisheries and ponds see Aston, *Medieval Fishponds*, 1988.

⁵⁹ During the Ottoman occupation, this territory – just as the wider area of Buda – was destroyed and deserted, so the medieval space survived until the end of the Ottoman period. From the second half of the seventeenth century this territory was resettled by Slavic (mainly Slovakian, Serbian) people, but the woodlands of the Pilis were respected, almost until nowadays. This indicates that the settlement structure is – just as in the Middle Ages – is diffuse. The road-network has largely changed in the modern ages, but the remains of the medieval *viae magnae* are can be reconstructed. More on this topic see Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary* (Oxford: Basingstoke Press, 2005) and also Beatrix Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben” (Pauline monasteries in the Pilis), in *Laudator Temporis Acti – Tanulmányok Horváth István 70 éves születésnapjára*, ed. Edit Tari (Esztergom: Balassi Bálint Múzeum, 2012), 223-227. In the English landscape, around rural monastic sites, these features are more visible, e.g. Stavordale (Somerset, Old Warden (Bedfordshire), or Bordesley (Herefordshire & Worcestershire). Bond, *Water management*, 83. Also see Aston, *Medieval Fishponds*, Vol. 2.

small single ponds up to complicated sets of ponds.⁶⁰ In his paper on water management James Bond summarizes that: “the basic requirements for and the use of water were similar in all monastic establishments. In other respects, however, there are significant distinctions to be made.”⁶¹ The mechanism of water management was imported from the Cistercians at Clairvaux to the English landscape, where three main points should be highlighted as the frameworks of water supply systems.⁶² At the same time, these particular features are relevant for different types of water systems in many parts of medieval Europe.

As James Bond highlights, it was essential: 1. To bring water to areas where it was needed, 2. To make use of it for a variety of purposes, and 3. To remove water from places where it was not wanted. Also, the quality and volume of water were important, and sometimes it was necessary to draw from more than one source.⁶³ Fishponds, dikes, streams and springs formed a complex system in the English landscape which has been studied intensively since the 1950s.⁶⁴ “Natural watercourses had to be diverted out of the valley bottom, dams had to be built, sluiceways made and feeder and overflow leats constructed. Small ponds sometimes were constructed immediately above larger ones to serve as silt-traps.”⁶⁵ Fish and fisheries throughout the medieval period were almost as important as forestry and more important than hunting. It was even more important for monastic communities, as fasting and other dietary restrictions were often related to fish. English research has made many efforts to reveal as many features of fresh-water fisheries as possible and the results are that the acquisition of a water supply could be achieved in a variety of

⁶⁰ James Bond, “Water Management in the Rural Monastery”, in *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. Roberta Gilchrist, and R. Mytum (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989), 100-101.

⁶¹ First, the Cistercians developed a complex system; “their regulations recommended their monasteries to be built by streams which could be harnessed to provide power for mechanization.” Bond, “Water Management”, 83-84.

⁶² Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 198-199.

⁶³ It could happen that although streams were adequate for filling fishponds, they were not always pure enough for drinking; in these cases wells and springs served as sources. Bond, “Water Management”, 85.

⁶⁴ B. K. Roberts, “The Re-discovery of fishponds”, in *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*, ed. Mick Aston (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988), 9.

⁶⁵ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 203.

ways.⁶⁶ Here just those types are mentioned which are in the focus now. The characteristics of valley ponds were also discovered, which is a typical feature in the hilly areas of the Pilis. In a steep sided valley a strong dam creates a classic reservoir pond, which also demands careful provision for floodwater control (floods will produce a greater volume of water which can result a dangerously accelerated speed of flow, which can cause damages). Here the size, the depth, and the degree of exposure to shade or sun (therefore the average temperature) of the pond basically modifies the usage.⁶⁷

Much is known on the structure as well (Fig. 1-4.); these ponds were dug into the sub-soil and puddled, i.e., covered with layers of clay or sometimes wood (usually elm). Usually two types, surface or sub-surface water inlets and outlets were constructed, controlled by sub-surface sluices (made from wood). Later, the key point is that with all pond systems for rearing fish the excess water must be drawn off not at depth, but from the surface; or if it is solved by pipe, than screens should be installed.⁶⁸ Regarding the water supply, pure fresh water is best for incubation (as from a spring), but water rich in natural foods and washing in from fields is the best for rearing ponds.⁶⁹ Aeration is easily achieved by small falls, especially in hilly areas. Summarizing the background of such solutions, as James Bond emphasizes: “the slope of the ground and the alignment of existing natural water channels or potential drain courses was one of the fundamental considerations in monastic planning”, but besides it was not unusual for artificial watercourses to lead off of natural streams.⁷⁰

Detailed and complex analyzes (from constructing fishponds through artificial watercourses to the disposal of waste with historical and archaeological approaches, specific

⁶⁶ Bond, “Water Management”, 85.

⁶⁷Roberts, “The Re-discovery of fishponds”, 10-11.

⁶⁸Roberts, “The Re-discovery of fishponds”, 12-13.

⁶⁹Roberts, “The Re-discovery of fishponds”, 13.

⁷⁰ Bond, “Water Management”, 91. On the use of canals and rivers see Bond, “Water Management”, 97-98.

fishes⁷¹, etc.⁷²) are available from all over in England, as the last overall publication on the topic demonstrates, edited by one of the most active researchers in this field and approach, Mick Aston. Hungarian scholarship still stands far from this kind of complex record of features, but there are already good signs in the publication of such approaches more and more regularly.⁷³ According to the status of the research, there are typical problems which were recognized in the English scholarship which are relevant in this region as well. As C. C. Taylor points⁷⁴ out, the cloudy origins and development (also construction and operational details) of water management systems create research problems, mostly attached to fishing. Also the typology should be unified and gathered with a special regard to form, siting, and complexity. Associated functions may have a variety as well; in Hungary, mills were mostly attached to water management systems, but as it was revealed in England, it happened that beside fishponds individual millponds were accommodated.⁷⁵

In the case of the Paulines, the natural and often symbolic elements of hermitages (caves, stream-heads/wells) also play a unique role in this landscape, especially in the relevant archaeological findings, which correlate with the emphasized timeframe. These features define not only the hermits' living-sphere, but their symbolic meaning, as they were identified with hermits even in the late Middle Ages.

⁷¹ Interestingly, carp reached England only in the 1460s first, coming from the Danube basin. Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 205.

⁷² Bond, "Water management", 101-102; *Monastic Landscapes*, 204-210.

⁷³ A group of medievalists, both historians and archaeologists, are dealing with this approach at Central European University, led by József Laszlovszky, where graduate students are using this perspective for new research. Besides, I can refer to the already mentioned work of Andrea Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony* and Károly Belényesy, *Abatj-hegyalja*.

⁷⁴ C. C. Taylor, "Problems and Possibilities", in *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*, ed. Mick Aston (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988), 465-474. He also mentions a problem which might be interesting in Croatia or Dalmatia for the Paulines, namely, the question of sea-fishing. In England, he argues, river fishing, ponds, and weirs tend to obscure the importance of sea fishing.

⁷⁵ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 203.

Levels of Interpretation – Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Gathering and properly documenting the monastic landscape features was the first crucial task of this work. As these spatial features are just starting to play an important role on the next level of interpretation in Hungarian scholarship⁷⁶, there is no strict, well-prepared protocol for the documentation. Thus, this work can also be regarded as an experimental method of recording such spatial features (See catalogue).⁷⁷ As expected, the framework and the nature of this documentation is specialized and cannot be valid for all kind of features. At this stage, it has an interpretative character as well which is directly attached to the problems and methodology of source collecting.

First, the whole data structure generates a problem which affects even the interpretation of the results. Namely, the discoverable medieval space – besides the spatial level of earthworks – has more valid information in other spatial frameworks as well, from the level of the artefacts to the entire Pilis forest itself (e.g., regarding the role of medieval road-network and settlement-structure); the monastic space represents only one part of the whole picture. The different origins and scales of the material make it essential to create a structure and manageable framework of datasets. If the space is separated into various levels on the basis of spatial approaches each level can represent a distinct chance for a historical examination of already revealed or new phenomena, problems, and questions.

Additionally, these data are not only variously detailed, but they also represent different time periods – and all have to be included into the working progress. At this point some appropriate methodological questions can be asked as the summary of the issue: what other levels can be regard as catch points of space? How they can be structured regarding time and space and used in a comprehensive and scientifically valid way?

⁷⁶ See on this József Laszlovszky, “Kolostori táj”; also Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 11.

⁷⁷ Moreover, these spatial earthworks in Hungary still play just a partial cultural heritage role even though they have the same validity of heritage as other sites. The documentation and registration of these elements are also important from this perspective as well.

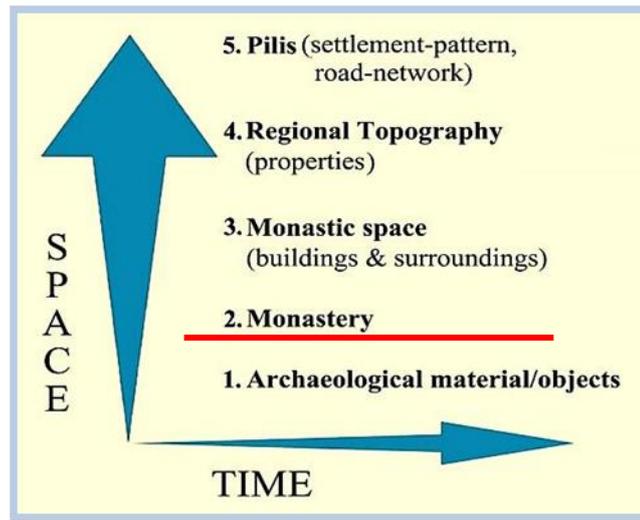


Figure 1-5. The structure of spatial levels, which is used in the thesis.

The discoverable medieval space here has five spatial levels, from artefacts to the entire Pilis forest itself (Fig. 1-5.). The data structure, the background of the approach starts with the smallest physical objects (archaeological material) and ends with the Pilis area, but the focal point of this system is on the level of the monastic space (Level 3).⁷⁸ This leads to viewing the results in two mayor ways: to register a local (Level 1-3), and a regional perspective (Level 4). This interprets the whole Pilis region (Level 5) itself as a geographical unit, and also in the wider region.⁷⁹

Archaeological material and monastic space, everything in the historical framework of a monastery⁸⁰ is the local area (Level 1-3). Regional topography (Level 4) supports, on one hand, the framework of monastic space, contextualizes the spatial location of a monastery/a group of monasteries with their surroundings or other properties in the light of the contemporary topography. On the other hand, it also helps to separate (and investigate

⁷⁸ Archaeological and architectural sources (Level 1-2) are indirect sources for our work. It is essential to study the objects and finds from the monasteries, but further investigations and collection of new data are not the task of this work.

⁷⁹ The numbering of the levels, from 1 to 5 represents that more spatial levels can be added to this system; e.g. 6 as a wider region, like the Pilis-Börzsöny area together, or the central part of nowadays Hungary. This study claims (and would verify) that regarding a microregion (a wider geographical unit), especially the mid-hilly areas, the introduced spatial system work properly.

separately) the different legal, historical, or geopolitical parts of the Pilis area. Therefore, the Pilis region (Level 5) is the area in and around the geographical Pilis territory.⁸¹ Here it also has to be highlighted that since the time frame of the structure is divided into separate periods based on the tendencies and changes which were described in Chapter 2. These horizontal and vertical levels are the bases of the following analyzes.

How can one can apply these approachesto find all discoverable and relevant features of monastic space, collect them into an appropriate database and synthetize the informations? Methodology starts with reviewing (historical and modern) maps, as basic data, and after thiscombined with the technique of archaeological field survey. As in the case of a traditional field survey, after gathering the available historical and pictorial sources, – with a particular regard on maps, – archaeologists are exploring the targeted territory using a camera and a GPS (Global Positioning System) unit for recording the condition and location of archaeological objects and features. Such targeted field surveys were made several times at the monastery of Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, partially at Pilisszentlászló.

Besides using a GPS unit in each case, at one of the sites site the digital surveying of the spatial features was done with total station (focusing on a fishpond and two dikes, also the eastern area of the ruins, where the downhill part of the terrain begins in the direction of the fishpond). Nowadays – definitely differing from the first studies in this field from the 1970s⁸² – the methodology is based on a digital platform, so it is obvious to collect all types and pieces of information from the field and from other primary sources (charters,

⁸⁰More on the difficulties of defining a monastic space in Chapter 2.3.

⁸¹ The medieval historical and legal boundaries of the Pilis area changed through the centuries, sometimes encompassing the entire Pilis as a geographical unit, sometimes not – written sources do not define the physical framework of the Pilis royal forest. The details are also unclear because there is a lack of contemporary sources on the topic (see Chapter 1.2.). In these circumstances, Pilis means a geographical territory and for historical units the exact terms are used (e.g., Pilis County, Royal Forest, etc.).

⁸² The definition of landscape archaeology (which within the monastic space is interpreted) was used first in 1974 by Mick Aston and David Rowley in their principle book, *Landscape Archaeology* (Newton Abbot, London, Vancouver: David & Charles, 1974). Here they dedicated individual chapters on field techniques and on the organization and application of fieldwork.

descriptions, maps, and archaeological data) into a GIS (Geographical Information System) database.⁸³

A Digital Application of Sources

A GIS database not only operates as a database of the digitalized data, but – what is also important – it gives the basis for further researches, where the results can be synthesized and also visualized. The spatial datasets and maps are forming different layers, all have to contain exact spatial validity. With the help of different methods (digitizing, georeferencing, etc.) these layers can be overlapped with each other, which helps to find new spatial connections between various maps on a digital desktop. Several features, unknown earthworks or simple spatial connections can be revealed by this way, which sometimes have correlating data in medieval written data. During this work, the spatial information was extracted from all the available modern and historical maps⁸⁴, but only the following maps were georeferenced (invested with real geospatial data) and with a selection of the listed data:

- tourist/hiker map from the beginning of the twentieth century⁸⁵ (concerning the whole Pilis area)
 - streams, lakes, springs; (also the modern route of the Danube)
 - caves;
 - mills (or names which contained the definition);
 - some other interesting names and objects;
- map of the Unified National Map System (projection 1: 10 000, concerning the whole Pilis area);
 - streams, lakes, springs;
 - caves;
 - some other interesting names and objects;
 - modern highways and pathways;

⁸³ The demo version of ArcGIS Software (ESRI) was used to develop the database and to do trials on the area.

⁸⁴ See the precise references of the sources in subchapter Traditional Sources.

⁸⁵ Digital version of a Reprint (1928) by Ministry of Defense, Cartographical Public company; Budapest, 2007.

- First and Second Military Surveys of Hungary (concerning the monasteries and monastic space, Fig. 1-5. Level 3);
 - roads;
 - some types of land management: arable lands/vineyards;
 - remains of water management: mills, ponds, streams;
- maps from the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary* (all of the medieval sites were digitized concerning the whole Pilis region, which is the basis of settlement structure);
- several historical maps were not well drawn for georeferencing them, but the information were extracted from them, like
 - cadastral map of Pilisszentlélek from 1788, stored in the National Archive⁸⁶
 - cadastral maps of Pilisszentlászló from eighteenth century, stored in the National Archive;⁸⁷

Additionally, a few more spatial data was integrated:⁸⁸

- digitized terrain and features (total station and GPS unit) around the monastery at Kesztlőc;⁸⁹
- digitized features (GPS unit) around Pilisszentlélek and the Holy Spirit monastery;⁹⁰

Based on these layers, further (geostatistical) analyzes and models can be developed, but for every analysis, a precise digital geographical and elevation map or model (DEM) is essential. The more detailed model is available, the more successful analysis can be developed; the open source layers are 30 m precise at the best, which is sufficient for middle or large scale tests. By a DEM, slope inclination and slope aspect is measurable basically on the selected area, just as the landscape units and slope classes can be identified. The potential sources of water supply and also past stream channels can be identified on the basis of a potential drain density model (pdd), which uses a combination of slope inclination with optimal flow direction, based on the terrain. As this model requires a precise terrain model as

⁸⁶ S 12 Div IX No 0099.

⁸⁷ Reference numbers: S 11 No. 30; S 86 No. 1; S 86 No. 2; S 86 No. 4; S 86 No. 5; S 86 No. 6.

⁸⁸ See the details in the catalogue of the Monasteries in the Pilis.

⁸⁹ By Katalin Tolnai and András Harmath.

⁹⁰ By author.

a basic layer, in this work this was used only for a control and as a test version for the Pilis region. Based on the author's previous observations, this model with present accuracy of terrain model can be used successfully in those regions, where hilly and flat lands form the land; the Pilis is not an ideal place for this. In the mid-hilly area of the Pilis, a Least Cost Path (LCP) analysis was used successfully, which measures the shortest and easiest way between two points. It is based on a cost distance analysis, on the basis of the distance and the energy what is needed to take the path (calculated on digital elevation model by slope categories). The irregular terrain decreases the inaccuracy of the model, which is caused by the mid-/low resolution of the DEM. Translating all these things to fit the spatial structure (Fig. 1-5.), it means that each layer has both same and different digital approach, background, and sources. (Fig. 1-6.)

Lastly, the digitization of terrain has to be emphasized. This gives a unique opportunity to examine some geographical conditions and the circumstances of establishment, development, and the approximate capacity of these fishponds and dikes. Otherwise, if this method stands alone, it can mislead the results, because simply just measuring and recording the condition of the earthworks in their present day form cannot be valid for medieval times. Geodesy and digitization is just the basic step to further researches, mainly with geoarchaeological approaches and besides, they are essential regarding heritage preservation and management of these lands.⁹¹

All these new landscape approaches, which have a short-term tradition in Hungary,⁹² can tone the picture of the Pauline order and can reveal many new elements concerning the connection between the Pauline political role, character, and economic traditions. As the most important factor, the Pilis royal forest could have a strong effect on this whole medieval

⁹¹ On the topic see József Laszlovszky, *Az Európai Táj Egyezmény és a hazai tájrégészet*. [The European Landscape Convention and the national landscape archaeology], *Műemlékvédelmi és Építészettörténeti Szemle* 52/2 (2008): 101-104.

⁹² See Laszlovszky, "Kolostori táj".

(economic, political, and evidently spatial) model. With the help of a wider spatial approach, as it is described above, the royal and Pauline relations can have a new or re-contextualized meaning and a spatial frame as well, which can be fulfilled with spatial features. Moreover, new elements can be revealed on the medieval daily life of the Paulines from their long-ago perception of space, of their world.

CHAPTER TWO – SHAPING PAULINE SPACE

The aim of this study is to give answers to some research questions, to summarize and visualize the evolution of the Pauline character in different levels of space in the Pilis: from the basic spatial organization of the smallest monastic estate to define their role in the entire area of the main royal forest of the Kingdom of Hungary. (See Fig. 1-1.) The location of the monasteries in the largest scale (Level 5) of the research is examined considering basically the supposed settlement-pattern, road-network, properties and geographical (terrain and hydrology) sphere.⁹³

The regional topography (Level 4) uses the same features of the historical space, but the focus is on a smaller picture: on the known estates and properties of the monasteries outside the basic monastic space– a spatial research may highlight their unique or general relationship with the owner monastery. Also, a main point here is to examine the relationship between the monasteries in the Pilis, which can tell more about the original idea (which was) behind their settling. A spatial adaptation of local features (Level 3) informs about the monasteries (individually), their closest sphere and properties (buildings, workshops, features of the water management system, etc.). In the followings, the spatial analysis is according to the indicated structure of space and the researchable (geographical and historical) features of it in a chronological order.

2.1 The Impact of the Pauline Monasticism and Economy on the Landscape

The Paulines were the only Hungarian order, and according to the order's tradition they emerged first in the Pilis forest. Eusebius, as the tradition says, a canon of Esztergom, gathered the hermits who lived in the Pilis⁹⁴ and founded the first hermitage near the hidden

⁹³ More on the sources see A Digital Application of Sources in Chapter 1.2.

⁹⁴ The unification of the secluded clerics was not an unusual phenomenon in those times; in other regions, such as the Mecsek or the Bakony region, hermitages were founded even before the 1250s, when the hermits founded their first community in the Pilis. Belényesy, *Abauj-hegyalja*, 88.

caves at the later Holy Cross Monastery (present-day Kesztlőc-Klasmompusztá) which was also constructed by his initiative around the 1250s.⁹⁵ (See Fig. 1-1.) In the Pilis (and in other regions as well) hermitages were founded in hidden, mid-hilly areas (the sources refer to these places as *desertum*⁹⁶); as the Pauline tradition tells, secluded from lay sphere, and closely connected to nature (near springs, which were always crucial and caves) with the tough wish of “forgetting the world and by the world forgot”.⁹⁷

Next to the Pauline tradition, which is basically the sixteenth century work of Gregorius Gyöngyösi, called *Vitae Fratrum*,⁹⁸ there are a few contemporary sources, which affect the picture, which was drawn by latter – although Gyöngyösi also invoked/used original documents in his historical work. First, there are debates even on the date of the foundation; furthermore, there is no medieval evidence for the existence of Eusebius or at least about his leading role in the foundation.⁹⁹ Although the first few decades of the order are seem to be cloudy because of the lack of sources or they confirming oppositional data, there are some direct and indirect information and tendencies regarding the circumstances of the Pauline foundations, which were described by recent scholarship.

What is sure that the Pilis has many features, which support hermit life; e.g. many smaller caves are hidden in the region and at least three of them – just in the neighborhood of the Holy Cross Monastery – can be surely associated with the Pauline order,¹⁰⁰ or more likely with the hermits whom might live there unorganized, long before the foundation of the

⁹⁵ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 8.

⁹⁶ The concept of desert-forest was developed by Jacques Le Goff, see Belényesy, *Abauj-hegyalja*, 88. and Jacques Le Goff, “Le desert-forêt dans l’Occident medieval”, *L’imaginaire medieval* (Paris: Édition Gallimard, 1985). A summary on the earliest monasteries of the desert fathers and the English research, see Mick Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape*. (London: Tempus, 2000), 29-42.

⁹⁷ It is also true, that in one hand, the location of the monasteries is unpredictable, because human sanctity is spontaneous, which *erupts wherever the spiritual urge is felt*. Butler, “Archaeology of Rural Monasteries”, 1.

⁹⁸ Gergely Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum Eremitarium Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*, ed. Ferenc Hervay. Bibliotheca Medii Recentisque Aevorum. Series Nova IX. (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1988). The translation, published first Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Arcok a magyar középkorból* [Faces from the Middle Ages], ed. Ferenc Hervay (Budapest: Szépirodalmi könyvkiadó, 1983).

⁹⁹ Beatrix Romhányi argues that the character of Eusebius in the Pauline tradition is more likely the picture of the ideal Pauline hermit, the founder. Of course, he might have existed, but his leading role in the settling of the Paulines in the Pilis is not testified by sources. See more in Romhányi, “A pálosrendi hagyomány”.

monastic communities. Anyhow, this part reflects to the Pauline tradition as well. The Holy Cross Monastery itself, near the caves, should have been founded a few years later than the early modern sources suggest, between 1263 and 1291.¹⁰¹ The according to the early modern tradition of the order that in 1270 the first general provost¹⁰² was elected in the Holy Cross Monastery, which is a clear sign of the monastery's leadership over the hermit movements, which existed much earlier, since the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Although, it is not a deception if the Holy Cross monastery is regarded as the birthplace of the Pauline order, if it is regarded as a basic step in the development of medieval hermit movements. *Nota bene*, these circumstances and the fortunate carrier of the Holy Cross monastery and the whole Pilis region – at least at the beginning of the orders carrier – was the result of their location. As Péter Szabó pointed out, it seems that the king just fostered a spontaneous process,¹⁰³ so the hermits in the Pilis seemed to be there in the right place in the right time. Beside the Holy Cross Monastery, the St. Ladislaus Monastery was founded by 1291 as well, as the second inventory of Veszprém diocese mentions them.¹⁰⁴ More precisely, as József Laszlovszky argues, - which the author totally agrees - this could have been a foundation of King Ladislaus IV (1272-1290).¹⁰⁵ The Holy Spirit

¹⁰⁰Szabó, *Woodland and Forest*, 116.

¹⁰¹ In 1263 Paul, the Bishop of Veszprém listed the existing hermit communities in his diocese (in which this part of the Pilis region was integrated), where he does not mention the Holy Cross, not even other monasteries, but the next inventory, written in 1291, already mentions it (with the St. Ladislaus Monastery). There was a long debate in the scholarship about the reason for missing from the earlier inventory while the tradition says that the monastery has been already founded by that time. Also, the precise identification (the contemporary name) of the monastery was questioned, but finally László Solymosi cut many false summaries of the debates and articulated the date of foundation to 1263-1291. See Solymosi, "Pilissziget vagy Fülöpsziget?", also Laszlovszky, "Ciszterci vagy pálos?". Although, all this cannot exclude the inhabitation of the caves or huts, because hermits could live there unorganized until they were constituted.

¹⁰² Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 13.

¹⁰³ Romhányi, "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben", 224.

¹⁰⁴ The monastery was listed in the second inventory of Veszprém bishopric in 1291. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 10, also 17. Cited: Györffy, "Adatok", 285; *ÁMTF* 4, 700; *MRT* 7, 167.

¹⁰⁵ As the contemporary tradition was to give the founder's name, especially the king's name to the monastery (e.g. The St. Andrew monastery at Visegrád was founded by King Andreas I). This argument is crucial because here it is clearly visible, (which was discussed just before) that the traditional history by Gyöngyösi, which mentions King Charles Robert I as a founder, and the data from original documents, also used by Gyöngyösi (the list of the inventory), do not correlate with each other. Therefore, in his *Vitae Fratrum* there is a significant paradox. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 9, 23. It also has to be highlighted here, that the early memory of

Monastery might exist as a sub-cloister of the Holy Cross Monastery¹⁰⁶, as it was founded in 1287,¹⁰⁷ but it was not listed in 1291. None of the three monasteries were ever examined systematically in space; beside the hermit origins, one other feature is emphasized by scholars.

Namely that the monasteries in the Pilis were founded on the basis of royal “hunting lodges”, as the secondary literature defines these royal properties, which were used e.g. *palatium* in the sources.¹⁰⁸ Also, as their locations show, the hermit schema cannot be used in their case; although they were situated in the wooded area, in the valleys between the mountains (and this phenomenon is a general trend among all Pauline settlements up until the Late Middle Ages),¹⁰⁹ the Pilis was not a typical *desertum*;¹¹⁰ the Paulines were not very far from the lay sphere (on the contrary, small settlements were found around them), nor from roads (they typically lay along main trading routes a few kilometers off),¹¹¹ and not even from each other (the hermits of the three hermitages in the Pilis could reach each other in a day).¹¹² Furthermore, there was another monastery nearby, the Cistercian abbey of Pilis,

foundations, which appears sometimes in the work of Gyöngyösi, might refer Esztergom-Fárikút site which is yet an unidentified monastery complex east to Esztergom. See *MRT* 5, sites 8/119-123.

¹⁰⁶ As Beatrix Romhányi suggests it, see “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben”, 225-226.

¹⁰⁷ King Ladislaus IV donated the land of Bendwelve or Benedekvölgye (again, which lies on the lawn of the Pilis) with a *palatio* to the Paulines, namely Father Peter of Hévíz (*Petro de Calidis Aquis*) and his fellows and at the same time the King mandates to Father Benedek, the prior of Holy Cross Monastery, to send some monks to settle that monastery (supposedly the Holy Spirit Monastery). Ferenc Hervay argued that this donation refers to the Holy Spirit monastery and recent research also agrees with this, and also it is the closest to Dömös from all three monasteries. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 15; Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 116, ref. 75. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, 209.

¹⁰⁸The basis of Holy Spirit Monastery? Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 15. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*,

¹⁰⁹Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 117.

¹¹⁰ See on this Máté Urbán, “Pusztasivatag és Paradicsomkert – Táj és természet a remeterendek és a ciszterciták középkori felfogásában” [Abandoned desert and Paradise – Landscape and nature in the understanding of hermit orders and Cistercians] *Vigilia* 75 (2010): 2-9.

¹¹¹Otherwise, it is also true, that the relations with the laymen were confined to economic and other average, daily connections; there was no religious communication (mass, religious liturgy) between the peasants and the Paulines until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Except the praises and masses which were for the salvation of the founders and donors. See more e.g. Gábor Sarbak, “Pálosaink írásbelisége a középkor végén” (Pauline scripts at the end of the middle ages), *Vigilia* 66, no. 2. (2001): 112-119. And also Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül*, 10-12. On the Pauline landscape see Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok,” 348-349. And also Tamás Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon* (Pauline architecture in medieval Hungary), (Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2003), 67-69, 162.

¹¹²As Károly Belényesy pointed out it in the case of the Pauline monasteries in the Abaúj-hegység region. Belényesy, *Abaúj-Hegyalja*, 102. Or Péter Szabó argued in the Pilis Forest. Szabó, *Woodlands and Forests*, 111.

which was most probably also founded near royal curia. A typical Pauline feature is that the Paulines form small groups of monasteries, which were not only present in the Pilis, but also in the southern regions of the Bakony and in the Zemplén, where Károly Belényesi highlighted that these groups were not only geographically were connected but also economically and spiritually.¹¹³ Also, they refer to the Pauline administrative system and internal hierarchy; namely that since the thirteenth century they elect priors who lead the monasteries (as in monastic traditions), which were regulated by vicars. Several smaller monasteries formed a vicariate, which supposed to show spatial reference with the smaller groups of monasteries.¹¹⁴

Another feature of the changing impact of Pauline economy should be highlighted. At the beginnings, the hermit communities were recorded as too poor to ask for papal allowance in 1263. But the next inventory in 1291 finds the main communities in better, satisfying conditions. Between the two dates at least two monasteries in the Pilis were founded, from these the Holy Cross Monastery took leadership over the hermit movements and the royal patronage already have shown its significant affect in the area through donating lands. This period was the confine between the clear hermit life-style and changing, more developed economy.

¹¹³ Belényesi, *Abatj-hegyalja*,

¹¹⁴ According to this complexity of the Pauline order, a few thoughts should be mentioned about the terminology, which helps to define the changing character of them. As Beatrix Romhányi suggests it, it is better to avoid the term monastery or cloister to define in some cases the communities existed in the thirteenth century. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 15. It is optimal to use the term “hermitages, hermits”, moreover “Pauline hermitages, hermits” referring for the their status in the thirteenth century, because 1./ first, until a point there were no Pauline monastic buildings, maximum huts for the hermits, 2./ the historiographical tradition also uses it, 3./ the brothers of the Holy Cross near Esztergom (*fratribus S. Crucis prope Strigonium*), as these communities were mentioned in the thirteenth, sometimes even in the fourteenth century, were regarded as the basis of the Pauline order. Moreover, Gentilis papal legate in 1309 refers to the hermits of the Holy Cross as the order of Saint Paul the first hermit (*fratribus S. Crucis de Heremo, Ordo S. Pauli Primi Eremitae*). This clearly states that the hermit communities, whom followed legally the regulations of St. Augustine (not just the ones in the Pilis!), were called coincidentally the brothers of the Holy Cross, and the order of St Paul the First Hermit. Also, the monastic and mendicant features support the mixed character of these communities. About this mixed character of the thirteenth century see the idea and perception of Beatrix Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 15-17; also “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben”, 224, which standpoint I also agree with and follow in the thesis.

Some features, like the ideal location of the monasteries and the groups of monasteries were inherited through the centuries in the Pauline tradition, but many other elements changed a lot even in the first part of the fourteenth century. These changes are mostly known on the Pauline economy and administrative system; partly because these types of written sources survived and these features have mostly physical extensions in space. The last and the most detailed studies were published by Beatrix Romhányi on Pauline economy and character. Based on mostly her research, the following complex pattern had been revealed in general.¹¹⁵

The beginnings of the order are not well articulated, but it is sure that at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century the hermit monasteries were catered with small lands and properties. Vineyards have a main role since the very first pieces of donations,¹¹⁶ but depending on local facilities/availabilities,¹¹⁷ arable lands, meadows and pasture-lands, woods, or fisheries also had primary importance in local Pauline economy during the Middle Ages.¹¹⁸

This smaller, basically self-sufficient system started to lose its exclusivity and the Paulines were broaden the facilities in the mid-1300s; in 1359 a charter on donating privileges to the monastery of Bereg summarized the basic features¹¹⁹ of Pauline subsistence: vineyards, fisheries (fishponds and channels built by the Paulines), pannage, and the usage or rent of mills. What is crucial from this charter is that beside the features which usually – but not exclusively – served for direct supply of the monasteries, such as fisheries or piggs, there

¹¹⁵ Based on Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 9-17, 130-142, also data extracted on specified topics from the exact, specified chapters, like alms and and also on an English summary on Late Medieval period see “Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary”, *Periodica Polytechnica* 43 (2012) 53-56.

¹¹⁶As László Solymosi pointed out before.

¹¹⁷ This is clear from the charters, that different holdings at different territories had variant value, which modified the basic holdings of the monasteries in some degrees. E.g. in Northeastern Hungary there were more vineyards, in Slavonia woods had more value, therefore they were preferred. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 132.

¹¹⁸ Also, the cooperation between the monasteries and the founders or donators was close, but there was a symbiosis with other ecclesial institutions as well. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 130.

¹¹⁹ This charter confirmed and verified these opportunities and features for the Paulines. *DAP* I. 10.

were others, which produced regular financial income for the monks; these were coming from mainly vine, vineyards, and mills. Based on this extra income the Pauline monasteries started to systematically develop a monetary economy in first half of the fourteenth century.

The monetary found allowed the Pauline order to cultivate their lands with lease-work, or if they could manage, increase the number of their properties. Since the end of the fourteenth century, there is a clear division in the Pauline economy. On one hand, there were well-to-do monasteries, whom were out to evolve their economy on monastery base, had granges and manors, urban houses with several privileges. For example, the main Monastery of St. Ladislaus could provide thirty-forty monks. On the other hand the small hermit-like monasteries were existing until the end of the Middle Ages, whom had a self-sufficient, small economy and husbandry with six or ten monks.¹²⁰ Many examples are fit in this category, most probably the monasteries at the Pilis as well.

Based on the charter by Pope Eugene IV to Dionysios, the Archbishop of Esztergom, in 1440 the contemporaries saw the Pauline evolution by this way:

“...first the order was settled only in deserted, uninhabited, wooded places, far from populated/dwelled areas and lived a monkish life in small cells and chapels, which are still can be found at some places; but as time went by, through ones’ donations the cells have been transformed to great monasteries, the chapels to splendid churches and around the monasteries several other necessary buildings were erected.”¹²¹

¹²⁰Altogether, almost 1500 Pauline monks lived at the same time in the ca. seventy friaries in Hungary and in the surrounding regions as well. Only the Franciscans had more monasteries in Hungary. The Paulines were present also in Dalmatia, Croatia, Silesia, Poland, Austria, and Germany (also in Rome) with an additional 25 friaries.

¹²¹Translated from Hungarian to English by the author. Hungarian text available in Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 17. Original charter: DL 13521.

In both cases, the basic and general features of properties, concerning farming and cultivating, were almost the same, but there were regional differences recorded depending on the environment. Most of the larger monasteries evolved their economy focusing on one property or product, which could be vine, mills, or even crops. Supposedly, at some territories, keeping animals could assure income for the monasteries, like pigs in Slavonia. Although the monetary economic nature was emphasized previously, it has to be highlighted again that the lands (arable, meadow, etc.), which represented the basic economic sources until the mid-1300s, even after they effacement were still kept and meant elementary features of even larger monasteries as well until the end of the Middle Ages.

It is interesting to give a quick look on those members of the community who are hidden behind the features and tasks. It is known that the Pauline monks were doing the work originally themselves on the lands and around the houses, but since the hierarchy of the order became more articulated (after the first general chapter in 1309), the different tasks were clearly separated. Farming and cultivating the lands was the task of the lay brothers (*frater laicus*), but they occur very rarely in the charters, the only source mentioning them in a larger number is Gyöngyösi himself, the sixteenth century orator of the Pauline history, and even he spoke only about the most notable *fraters conversi*, who run the workshops or did a bit more honorable (but not intellectual) tasks.¹²²

Around the consolidation of the order – mainly after the official papal approval (1368) – the first flourishing period started in the last third of the fourteenth century, when the first

¹²² The early modern historical work on the Pauline order, *Vitae Fratrum* remembers e.g. fr. Jacob, who made window glasses, fr. John, who constructed organs, and *magister* Dionysius the sculptor who contributed to the decoration of the Saint Lawrence's monastery near Buda. These members of the Pauline communities could become a novice (novicius), but it was rare; usually they could not do (and supposedly did not have time to do) other things beside their mandatory tasks. Based on Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Decalogus de beato Paulo primo heremita comportatus*, (Cracow: Florianum Unglerium, 1532); see Felicián Gondán, *A középkori magyar pálos rend és nyelvemlékei (Festetich- és Czech-kódexek)* [The medieval Pauline order and its monuments (The Festetich and the Czech codexes)], (Pécs: Printed by József Taizs, 1916), 37-38; Romhányi, "Life in the Pauline Monasteries", 55-56.

monasteries appeared outside the borders of Hungary.¹²³ This popularity strongly affected the Pauline estate structure and character. High ranking aristocrats supported the order, established monasteries, donating houses in the towns, mostly at Buda¹²⁴, which supposed to be a long-term property and besides receiving regular rent, it could serve for commercialization; the Paulines could sell their products, mainly their wine or salt in the cities and towns. Landed estates and properties, such as vineyards, mills were exploited through renting.

The money what they received was then lent at rates to partners from local nobles to cities, such as Buda or Vienna. Several general and individual privileges were given to the Paulines concerning first their basic supplies; they received general immunity from paying tax to their lord (*kilenced*) after wine and crops, which they produced on their lands. The number of alms and donations as significant features of support increases in the sixteenth century, but the first donation can be connected to King Louis I, who gave the order a yearly rent of salt to the value of 300 florins.¹²⁵

King Matthias I (1458-1490) was the most significant patron of the order.¹²⁶ During his reign the Paulines got more and more privileges in their second flourishing period, furthermore legal privileges as well (e.g. Paulines could execute guilty people), but they received to run a great number of monasteries, which were built and occupied previously by other orders. Based on King Matthias' support, the patronage of the Paulines was continued

¹²³ In 1382, the first foreign Pauline monastery was founded in Częstochowa by Ladislaus, the prince of Opełn.

¹²⁴ A different attitude is connected to the urban houses; donating these properties to Paulines became a practice after King Louis I gave the Kammerhof, the old royal residence at Buda to the Paulines when the translation of the St. Paul's relics took place from Venice to Buda, after to the Monastery of St. Laurence. Since the royal donation the number of Pauline urban houses (by donation or purchase) started to grow and soon they had the support of other members of the royal court (e.g. the high noble families of the era, such as the Cudar, Kanizsai, or Kont family). Several times these houses were allowed to run as tap-houses (*kocsmáltatási jog*), which meant extra income for the monasteries. It was also recorded that different monasteries own and use an urban house together. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 131-132. See more on this in Altmann, *Medium Regni*, 1993.

¹²⁵ Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 120, 122-123, 131-132.

¹²⁶ The strong relationship between the King (his sympathy and policy) and the order is apparent in many ways. For example, the Prior General Gregorius Gyöngyösi influenced the King politically in the 1470s and 1480s and it is clear from the sources that King Matthias regarded the Paulines as the sacral representation of the kingdom;

after the King's death and as it seems like they served in the court of the Holy Roman emperor as well.¹²⁷

The fishponds, woods, meadows, and pasture-lands brought small profit, the vineyards, mills, and urban houses, also the tolls, the salt-trade, and other privileges meant more income for the Paulines. The vineyards were originally present as elementary properties since the thirteenth century; the mills – in greater number – show up in the fourteenth century; urban houses were mentioned from end of the fourteenth, but more from the fifteenth century. As Beatrix Romhányi summarizes, the status and economy of the Paulines had changed considerably by the end of the fourteenth century, but the monks continued to live in small, sometimes hermitage-like communities. Besides, “...*the order had a clear concept of the ideal estates it needed, nevertheless, the sustention of the monasteries and the religious also necessitated alms.*”¹²⁸ As she continues, “*although the order had contacts to the towns and cities, its presence there was essentially of economic character; Pauline monasticism has never been an urban feature.*”¹²⁹

All these features of economy and structure show clearly that the character of the Pauline order cannot be articulated by using the traditional categories of religious orders (monastic, mendicant, hermit).¹³⁰ They have transformed their economy and therefore in their impact on the landscape have changed from the thirteenth century until the end of Middle Ages. The German historian, Kaspar Elm referred to the Paulines as an unmade mendicant order¹³¹ (e.g. they received alms for pastoral work), while Beatrix Romhányi highlighted the

also, the new monastery foundations can be seen as the symbols of loyalty. Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries”, 54.

¹²⁷Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 134.

¹²⁸These incomes were gathered from different testators, donators, and believers visiting the pilgrimage places run by the Paulines, but also from high ranking persons whom the Paulines addressed with supplications or gifts. Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries”, 55; Máté Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek a későközépkori Magyarországon” [Pauline pilgrimage sites in late medieval Hungary], *Vallástudományi Szemle* 5, no. 1. (2009): 63-85.

¹²⁹Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries”, 56.

¹³⁰Laszlovszky, “Kolostori táj”, 348-349.

¹³¹Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries”, 54.

other character of the order, which was similar to other monastic orders. Her conclusions were based on a complex analysis, through the described features of Pauline economy became diverse as the monastic character of the order was complex; although the Paulines had landed estates from the beginning, they managed them in an innovative way as the incomes apparently did not cover the expenses.¹³²

As a result of this general overview, the archaeological and historical data on the monasteries of the Pilis, become valuable in a broader view. Those features, which were still recognizable in the landscape and were systematically researched in the royal forest can be accommodated, analyzed, and evaluated with a historical approach by comparing them to the general tendencies. Otherwise, to examine these features in a meaningful, detailed way, a closer look is essential on the written, archaeological, and spatial aspects concerning the particular features of the Pauline monastic space, which was hidden in the nature (but not secluded) and strongly connected to water. At the same time they have been running a complex economy since the end of the thirteenth century.

¹³²Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 139.

Boundaries

In the valleys, under the hills, beside the construction of monasteries, the nucleus of the monastic space was separated from the world by walls. These features were destroyed first by the Ottoman army and perished after the centuries not just on its natural way, but these easily reachable stone structures served as quarry for local people. Around the St. Elisabeth Monastery at Tálodthe wall around the monastery, built by stone, fences an irregular 110 x 200 x 120 x 180 meter shaped area.¹³³ In the Pilis, the remains of the precinct wall were found around the Holy Cross Monastery and in a better condition at the Holy Spirit.¹³⁴

*Manors and Lands (Arable Lands, Meadows, Woods, Truck Farms)*¹³⁵

Landed estates were gathered by the Paulines one-by-one from the thirteenth century. There are no data on the value of such lands, but this is because a lack of surviving data (e.g. there is no data for buying lands).¹³⁶ It is clear from *Vitae Fratrum* that the accurate record of the possessions (size and structure) was generally kept in the Pauline monasteries.¹³⁷ Not only the documentation was part of the land management, but the Paulines tried to unify and concentrate their properties; those which were not too close to their monastery, they tried to sell or barter with other properties. This intention must have had effect on the spatial distribution of their lands on the level of regional topography.

Donating woods for the Paulines was usual in the first few decades in the order's history; soon after the Paulines usually cleared the woodlands, which they already had or earned newly and used the free lands as arable, vineyard, orchard, or meadow – it depended

¹³³ Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 73-75.

¹³⁴ See catalogue.

¹³⁵ Based on the summary of Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 18-41, 132.

¹³⁶ Although, most of the legal cases are on the violation of ownership regarding properties, e.g. stealing crops, cutting woods, fishing in ponds, etc.

on local circumstances. A part of woods served for pannage, which was usual in the forests and woods.¹³⁸

Usually, a few peasants served at the monasteries in cutting trees, cultivating lands and help in household activities,¹³⁹ which were verified by the archaeological field surveys as well; e.g. next to the Holy Cross Monastery a medieval settlement was supposed and also, near the Holy Spirit, to the southwest a settlement or a manor could exist.¹⁴⁰ (It rarely happened that the monasteries gained complete villages and if so, this rather it happened in the late Middle Ages). These people helped in cultivating different types of cereals on the arable lands (wheat, rye, spelt, sty, millet), or in track farming (here lens, pea, parsnip, melon, carrot, poppy seed, cabbage, etc. could be found). The Paulines harvested several types of fruits in the fruit gardens (*pomarium*), like apple, peach, pear, cherry, plum, almond, walnut, medlar, blackthorn, etc. Also, the wild fruits had an important role, like dogwood, elderberry, etc. Although there is a lack of evidence for using special herbs in the monastic space, it should existed in the Middle Ages.¹⁴¹ The archaeobotanical researches revealed some data on the area close to the Cistercian monastery in the Pilis, where a developed horticulture existed. There was a general lack of tree pollens; instead the researches specified pigweeds and

¹³⁷ The provost of Nosztre declines the donation of King Louis I, because the monastery already owns too much lands. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 26.

¹³⁸ There is lack of data on animals, kept in the monastic economy. There are examples when a monastery received valuable horses as donations; but of course they had workhorses as well, beside they had neat, which gave milk or but some monasteries were involved in neat trade. The significant amount of data is on pigs (beside the fishes, which lived in the ponds). Pork was the most common food in the monasteries; therefore pannage was a regular activity, which information also represents the biggest part of sources concerning the usage of woods. The income from this part of the economy is cannot be measured on the purpose of there are no sources. Romhányi, *Pálos kolostorok*, 90-96,130-142.

¹³⁹ There is a large opposition in the scholarship, when were the Paulines allowed to work with peasants. It was strictly forbidden in the first ages, they worked by themselves, but after they gained more money from their businesses, they could pay for the peasants. Although, there are sources which tell about peasants working with the monks, and the archaeological field surveys always evaluate the sites next to the monasteries as the settlement of the servants from the Árpáadian ages. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 11, 18.

¹⁴⁰ *MRT* 5, 236. There is no special regard on this question concerning the Paulines; although it is sure that – regarding they were not secluded from lay sphere – the monasteries were not far from settlements, which were – at least in the late middle ages – attached to the monasteries. Several times in the late middle ages, the larger settlements, attached to the Paulines, had permissions to held fairs and markets.

¹⁴¹ A codex survived where indirect information tell about the usage of comifrey, cocklebur, etc. See Tamás Grynæus, “A pálosok orvosló tevékenységének egy elfeledett emlékeről” [On the forgotten memories of the

mugwort, besides walnut in the study area.¹⁴² Also, the wild fruit trees still exist around the monastery.

In only a few cases could the research specify and reconstruct the land-use system of a monastery, and in fewer cases even the order of the lands and forms of cultivation. For example, at Nagyvázsony (Veszprém County), after the basic studies of *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* series,¹⁴³ Andrea Kékedi could identify on the basis of written sources and historical maps the following order: *terras autem, prata faenilia, campos, silvas, rubeta, nemora sed etdictam piscinam*.¹⁴⁴ As later historical maps showed, this system existed until modern ages.¹⁴⁵ Also, there were still wild fruit trees at the monastery, which were fenced with a 1,5 meter high stone wall, which still can be seen at the site. Some fields of land cultivation (on terraces, or lynchets) were detected at the Pauline monastery of Tálod (Veszprém County).¹⁴⁶

*Vineyards*¹⁴⁷

Vineyards played a leading role since the beginnings of the Paulines economy. The reasons behind are more or less clear: at first the work with peasants was prohibited in the order, so vineyards could be cultivated/farmed by the Pauline monks themselves. Later, they

Pauline medical care], in *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendörténeti Tanulmányok* ed. Gábor Sarbak (Csorna: Árva, Vince, 1994), 234-236, 294-298.

¹⁴²Bálint Zólyomi and István Précsényi, "Pollenstatistische Analyse der Teichablagerungen des mittelalterlichen Klosters bei Pilisszentkereszt", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37 (1985): 153-158.

¹⁴³For this region see Vol. 2.

¹⁴⁴Meadows, fields, woods, blackberries, parklands and fishpond. DL 19562. Translated to English by the author. Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 43.

¹⁴⁵Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 43-47.

¹⁴⁶Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 68. In other parts of Hungary the traits of medieval farming were documented as well since the 1980s. The most well-known site is in Veszprém County, the medieval village of Sümeg-Sarvaly and Tamási in Tolna County. See Gyula Nováki, "Szántóföldek maradványai a XIV–XVI. századból a Sümeg-Sarvalyi erdőben [Remains of arable lands from the fourteenth-sixteenth century in the woods of Sümeg-Sarvaly]", *Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei* (1985): 19–32; István Torma, "Mittelalterliche Ackerfeld-Spuren im Wald von Tamási (Komitat Tolna)", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33 (1981): 245-256. On the land-use patterns and traces of medieval fields in general: József Laszlovszky, "Field systems in medieval Hungary," in *The man of many devices, who wandered full many ways ... : Festschrift in honor of János M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 432-44.

received money or vine from the tenants,¹⁴⁸ therefore almost every single Pauline monastery had at least one vineyard among its properties, even the smallest ones.

Usually, the charters mention the tools, which were used at vineyards, like barrels, cellars, rams, etc. Most of the charters precisely localize the vineyards, but their localization is a bit easier on the reason that cultivating grapes for fine vine is geographically (therefore spatially) conditioned; the Paulines, as anyone else, tried to own the best territories, where the soil is good and the terrain's inclination is fine. Also, the cultivation of such lands meant that the Paulines should invest a large amount of money and until the first payback of the financial and physical efforts, many years are passing. Therefore, vineyards were stable properties of the Pauline economy, which means a stable spatial feature as well. This was expressed by the contemporaries, when they mention large areas of vineyards (*promontorium*). In the Pilis region, the Holy Cross and the St. Ladislaus Monasteries owned vineyards.

Fishponds, Dikes, and Springs

The closeness of water was always crucial for daily life, thus it was also essential for the Pauline monasteries; the valleys in between hills are usually the ideal places for permanent streams from energy landscape perspective, which basically defined the Pauline space. Basically, fishponds as part of the water management systems are usually developed from such kind of environmental backgrounds, close to the monasteries. This means that they were part of daily routine (regarding the main importance of fish in the monastic diet, also the multiple usage of reed). Although not much is known on their value and the ideal size which

¹⁴⁷Based on mainly Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 55-72, 130-142.

¹⁴⁸ The Paulines were exempted from paying *decima*, the ecclesial tax. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 21. Also, King Louis I left the royal part of tax at the Paulines.

produced income for the monks, three or four ponds should have been enough for a stable, or more, a rich supplication.¹⁴⁹

In some cases the name of the ponds is known.¹⁵⁰ A charter on a donation mentions the name of fishponds several times in the late Middle Ages, but the oldest known name of a fishpond was recorded in 1282 (Hattyas-tó/Swan/Swany-pond at the Danube).¹⁵¹ Their value/price is not known, accordingly that they were mostly just donated for the Paulines (of course, sometimes it is impossible to separate whether the Paulines constructed the pond or not; it can be just supposed in the case of those ponds, which were the closest to the monasteries). Sometimes the charters mention the price of their reparation (supposedly the construction of moats and dikes, cleaning the bend, etc.), as in the case of the St. Ladislaus Monastery in the Pilis.

An interesting spatial character of the fishing ponds, that usually mills were attached to them. Both written and archaeological investigations pointed out this characteristic. At least Károly Belényesy verified some data on this around Budaszentlőrinc,¹⁵² the St. Laurence Monastery, but mostly in the Zemplén region (Gönc¹⁵³, Regéc¹⁵⁴); this feature was clear in other places as well.¹⁵⁵ Around Nagyvázsony (Veszprém County), Andrea Kékedi recorded also the correlation of mills and fishponds.¹⁵⁶

After examining several monastic spaces, Belényesy and Kékedi highlighted and verified some further, general characteristics concerning fishponds. The ponds and the

¹⁴⁹Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 84-89, 130-142.

¹⁵⁰ In few cases the charters remember the violation of the law with fishing in the monks' pond secretly or cutting the reed (!) by lay people.

¹⁵¹ DL 6292; cited Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 84.

¹⁵²¹⁵² Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum, Caput 57*; cited Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 87.

¹⁵³DAP I, 167–170; Belényesy, *Abauj-hegyalja*, 27–28. Cited Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 87.

¹⁵⁴DAP II. 309–311; Belényesy, *Abauj-hegyalja*, 13–14. Cited Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 87.

¹⁵⁵ In Hangony, Jenő, Örményes the same observations were recorded. Cited Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 87, reference 444-446. Written sources mention ponds and mills together in several legal cases, like in 1382, 1486 or in 1496. Cited Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 87.

¹⁵⁶ This is clear from the surveys around the monastery, where two fishponds, two dikes, and two mills were recorded. Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 61-66. The mills and fishponds were mentioned together in the perambulation of Nagyvázsony Pauline monastery (1489). Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 42.

monasteries were located together in a relatively small area, forming an integral unit. Local features also define the location and the form, e.g. in the Zemplén region, where the climate is relatively dry, the ponds were constructed just under the spring. There were different types of ponds and their size also shows diversity; the latitude of these lakes was depending on the runoff of the supplying stream and the definition of the shore has to be managed with special regard on it.¹⁵⁷ Belényesy examined the function of the small ponds, which were usually existed right under the springs and highlighted the existence of a special type of pond, called *vivarium*, which served for the temporary storage of fishes, which were selected for cooking. (This feature supposed to exist at the Monastery of St. Ladislaus as well.) But of course, small ponds, close to the monasteries (especially with stoned bed) might serve as reservoirs, water storage lakes,¹⁵⁸ like the one next to the monastery of Tálod.¹⁵⁹ Springs and wells, which supplied these lakes and ponds, may appear inside the monastery, in the middle of the cloister garden or at one side of the ambulatory/cloister. Or they can be situated outside the monastery, at closely located springs or streams. A spring was shaped at Nagyvázsony just next to the fishpond.¹⁶⁰

Several times the dikes were used as roads, which duplicated their usefulness. An 80-100 meteres long dike was constructed close to the Pauline monastery at Tálod, which contained Roman ceramics.¹⁶¹ Near the St. Michael Pauline monastery at Nagyvázsony, one from the two large dikes, was built by stone and mentioned in a charter as it was served as a road over the stream.¹⁶² Another type of dike (supposedly medieval) was detected in Nagyvázsony (Határvölgyi dike), which lights a part of the constructions and reconstructions, which mentioned in the charters, namely that the embankment was supported with a wooden

¹⁵⁷ Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 48.

¹⁵⁸ Belényesy, *Abauj-hegyalja*, 102-103.

¹⁵⁹ It was first mentioned by Flóris Rómer, the “Father of Hungarian Archaeology” in the mid-1800s. Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 68, 70, 75.

¹⁶⁰ Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 60-61.

¹⁶¹ *MRT* 2, 181.

structure made of panels.¹⁶³ All these data support that the features of past water management systems are mostly detectable in present day landscape; it was more clear in the case of a recent study, where the LiDAR survey detected the area of the Pauline monastery at Pécs-Jakabhegy (Baranya County). Here the relation between the monastery and the fishponds, also the roads leading to the ponds are precisely visualized based on the produced terrain model.¹⁶⁴ As there are only a small number of sources on fishponds, the value of other type of data increases.¹⁶⁵

*Mills*¹⁶⁶

Mills served as lettings from the beginnings, which is represented in the charters as well; the half of the monasteries had at least one mill. It was an optional property, because a regular income mainly coming from milling soke, could stabilize the financial support and background of the monks.¹⁶⁷ A hint is given by a charter concerning spatial characteristic of the mills: the same charter which verifies and also summarizes the needs of the Paulines at Bereg in 1359,¹⁶⁸ points out another warranty in the letting of mills. It exposes that mills could not be built near the mills of Paulines. On one hand, because the mill might not functioned well after connecting another mill to the system (depends on local circumstances), but on the other hand, another mill near the Paulines' mill would have decreased their financial utilities from rent serving as a competitor.

¹⁶² Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 60.

¹⁶³ Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 64.

¹⁶⁴ Gábor Bertók and Csilla Gáti, *Old Times – New Methods. Non Invasive Archaeology in Baranya County (Hungary) 2005-2013* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014), Fig. IV.2.

¹⁶⁵ Even the researchers, involved in The Archaeological Topography of Hungary project from the 1970s realized the need to document at least basically these features, which (in the case of the Paulines) were carried out in nowadays Komárom-Esztergom, Pest, and Veszprém Counties.

¹⁶⁶ Based on Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 73-83.

¹⁶⁷ Other financial privileges connected to mills, increased the stability, the regularity and amount of income for the monks. This was essential for the Paulines, because the tendencies show an order to develop a monetary economy for their needs. *Nota bene*, although the number of handouts was growing from the fifteenth century, there supposed to be a general direction to decrease the number and size of the lands; also bagging was strictly prohibited, therefore mills were the only regular and stabile sources for the Paulines, which tends to be more and more significant from the mid 1300s.

Usually one or two mills served a monastery, but they might have more than one wheel, as it was verified by some sources.¹⁶⁹ A regular maintenance was essential for the mills, just as in the case of the ponds, because the wooden part should be changed after a while. It is telling that the monasteries usually owned mills for 100-150 years; this shows how important was a regular income for them. Furthermore, donating mills was a good way of developing small and poor monasteries – this was recognized by the royalties, therefore since King Louis I several monasteries were donated with mills – just as the Monastery of St. Ladislaus in the Pilis.

Mills were used in daily life for milling mostly corn, but there are data on woolen mill, sawmill, and a mill which was milling leguminous crops. One of the two mills, which were identified near the monastery at Nagyvázsony, produced flour and had an individual channel (!) from the supply stream, which was also preserved.¹⁷⁰ Other buildings were attached to these mills, which served the farmyard as well. If the mill is located near a fishpond, these attendant structures were sometimes also there. In other cases, inside or right next to the walls of the monasteries there were also structures which might have had similar functions, or as they are usually interpreted, functioned as workshops. This is supposed at Nagyvázsony by the topographical surveys¹⁷¹ and at the Holy Spirit Monastery in the Pilis as well.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸DAP I. 10.

¹⁶⁹Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 78.

¹⁷⁰Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 60.

¹⁷¹Cited by Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 60.

¹⁷² See Lázár “Pilisszentlélek műhelyház”, 219.

2.2 Shaping a Pauline Space in the Pilis – The Motion of Emphasis

The Emergence of Pauline Monasteries in the Pilis region. Foundations and the Tradition of the Order

The unique role of the Pilis royal forest is undoubted, as it was with scattered royal residences and surrounded by the most important royal and ecclesial centers. To understand some traits of the location of the Pauline monasteries on this spatial level (Level 5), the research has to go back as far as the circumstances of the foundations. The Paulines were the only Hungarian order established in the thirteenth century, as the later tradition of the order says,¹⁷³ precisely in the Pilis. Eusebius, a canon of Esztergom, founded the first Pauline hermit community¹⁷⁴ close to Esztergom, near three caves and a spring close to the later Holy Cross Monastery¹⁷⁵, present-day Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta (Fig. 2.1-1) around the 1250s.¹⁷⁶

This traditional viewpoint of the order defined the historical interpretation until recent times, although another history of the order started to evolve in the past few years, based on the critical examinations of the thirteenth century documents. This evolution of the research have been proposed by Tamás Guzsik, who collected the architectural features/memorials of the Paulines,¹⁷⁷ but also *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* had a main role surveying a significant part of those areas, where the first hermitages and Pauline monasteries were founded.¹⁷⁸ Partly based on these directions, recent studies – mostly by Beatrix Romhányi, László Solymosi, and József Laszlovszky – proposed¹⁷⁹ the necessity of a reconsolidation in the research concerning mainly chronology and the circumstances of

¹⁷³ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*.

¹⁷⁴ As was discussed in the Introduction, despite the community being called the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit for the first time only in the fourteenth century (1308/1310, see Catalogue), to call the first hermit communities in the Pilis Paulines is not ahistorical.

¹⁷⁵ *prope Strigonium ... prope speluncam triplicem, quam ipse alias incoluerat, iuxta aquam vivam*. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 6-7.

¹⁷⁶ See the catalogue.

¹⁷⁷ Guzsik, *Pálos építészet*, 2003.

¹⁷⁸ Veszprém, Pest, and Komárom-Esztergom Counties.

foundations. Otherwise, it is worth to mention that the original documents were used by Gyöngyösi and preserved in his *Vitae Fratrum*. Because of these characteristics it is crucial/necessary to summarize briefly the two, partly contradictive perspective of Pauline history concerning the foundation.

As this Pauline hermitage is located almost halfway between Esztergom, the seat of the archbishop,¹⁸⁰ and the Cistercian Abbey at Pilis¹⁸¹ (present-day Pilisszentkereszt), it suggests (in accordance with the tradition of the order) that ecclesiastical power organized or at least generated the first hermit communities, which can be accepted because of the strong influence of the Church in the Árpáadian Era and the weakness of new religious communities.¹⁸² The archbishop of Esztergom would not have allowed any other religious groups to settle close to his seat without support or at least permission.¹⁸³ If one accepts that the distance between Esztergom and the Holy Cross Monastery¹⁸⁴ – calculated by a Least Cost Path (LCP) analysis – is not more than 13 kilometers over low terrain, the seat was easily accessible.¹⁸⁵ (Fig. 2.1-1.)

The second level of development started when – just as in other regions of the kingdom¹⁸⁶ – the first religious community of the Paulines in the Pilis became a (pseudo-)

¹⁷⁹ See her publications on the topic listed in the bibliography.

¹⁸⁰ By that time the royal presence was rare in Esztergom, see more in György Györffy.

¹⁸¹ The Cistercian Abbey was founded by King Béla III (1162-1196) and Queen Gertrude, the wife of Andrew II, was buried there. MRT 7, 159-164. For further data see Remig Békefi, *A pilisi apátság története 1184-1814* [A history of the Pilis monastery 1184-1814] (Pécs: 1891-1892).

¹⁸² In other parts of the country it t small communities sometimes decided to found monasteries with their own support, but it is impossible to believe that this could have happened close to the religious center of Hungary. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben”, 224.

¹⁸³Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben”, 224.

¹⁸⁴ It is believed that the Holy Cross monastery was erected near the place where the first hermits, the hermits of Eusebius, were living in caves. That is the reason why the monastery is relevant as a fixed point for the hermit period of the Paulines. See the catalogue.

¹⁸⁵ The path from the settlement of Kesztlőc (even from the present village) led to the *via magna*, the main road between Esztergom and Buda.

¹⁸⁶ The origins of the Pauline order in other regions of the kingdom raise several questions. The process of becoming a unified order was a complex issue and had many steps. The only chance to get closer to the details of these steps is by a large and complex synthesis and summary of several regions where Paulines were detected. This nature of the topic predicts the future direction of the monastic studies concerning the Pauline order.

monastery at some time between the 1260s and 1270s¹⁸⁷. The tradition says that Eusebius erected the buildings of the monastery near the caves; thus, based on the Pauline tradition, this site was more than a simple hermit community. They must have had huts at least and a church, where – as the tradition of the order described – Eusebius was buried.¹⁸⁸

Although the steps of Pauline evolution at that times are not well known¹⁸⁹ (therefore they cannot be described or even defined precisely), some suppositions can be based on the small number of direct and indirect sources. This new interpretation focuses on the early phase of the hermitages and of the communities, as well as on the emergence of the Holy Cross monastery. The site itself, its location, and the quick development of the community all suggest that the Holy Cross Monastery and the Paulines underwent a relatively radical change owing to a change in support.¹⁹⁰ Beyond religious influence, royal patronage was crucial for the hermits to settle and the community to evolve.¹⁹¹ Therefore, the first and most important direction of the research is to articulate the presence of this support in the early Pauline history.

King Béla IV moved his royal residence to Esztergom again, next to the archbishop, in the mid-1260s since he was in a dispute with his son, Stephen (later became a king as Stephen V), the *rex iunior* of Hungary; therefore the king's was more aware of happenings in the area of Esztergom.¹⁹² For this reason, the king would have been aware of and permitted or supported events like the foundation of hermitages/pseudo-monasteries near or in the royal

¹⁸⁷ See the critical historical data in the catalogue.

¹⁸⁸ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 12.

¹⁸⁹ Because there is lack of historical, lesser archaeological, fixed points.

¹⁹⁰ Belényesy, *Abauj-hegyalja*, 87-88; also Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 15-16.

¹⁹¹ On the debates, see Romhányi, "Pálos rendi hagyomány", 289-312. Discussed in Chapter 1.1, see the subchapter on the Pauline monasteries.

¹⁹² The conflict between the king and his son began in the early 1260s; the first battle took place in 1264. Based on this data, the king would have spent more time in the archbishop's seat, Esztergom, at this time, rather than in the newly founded Buda, which was occupied by his son. Romhányi, "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben", 224-225. Additionally, it might be a sign of Esztergom's strong connection with the royal presence that King Béla and his closest family members were buried there in 1270.

forest close to Esztergom. As Beatrix Romhányi discusses¹⁹³ in her short summary on the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis, the nature of this support is known from later written sources, namely, that King Béla assured free territories for the hermits around the mid-1260s near the site that later became the Holy Cross Monastery.¹⁹⁴ This was less than support, but more than simple permission and answered the need of such hermit-like communities: their own free and cultivatable territories. Besides this, he also donated a hunting lodge to the Holy Cross community, supposedly for founding a new monastery there. This was surely unsuccessful – as it is most probably was repeated by King Ladislaus IV –but it shows that the King respected and personally supported the hermits.

The significance of royal support becomes stronger if other events are added to the synthesis. By this time the first catalogue of the Pauline monasteries of the bishopric of Veszprém was ready because the hermits¹⁹⁵ living there asked for papal permission to live by the regulations of St. Augustine. Bishop Paul came to the conclusion that these hermitages were too poor to become a legal hermit order, a unified community; therefore he prohibited the foundation of new monasteries in his territory but at the same time he gave a *regula* for them.¹⁹⁶ All this might have been disregarded in the Pilis Forest. Paul did not visit the Holy Cross Monastery, even though the area was still under the regulation of the Veszprém bishopric.¹⁹⁷ As László Solymosi pointed out, it would have been impossible to unrecognized such an important monastery what the Holy Cross was and miss out from the inventory than,

¹⁹³Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben”, 224-225.

¹⁹⁴Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 14, 15. See the event listed in the catalogue. As this donation was recorded in a later charter, when some buildings had surely been erected, i.e., the monks had settled down. Or King Ladislaus IV took the donation back by force from the Paulines (the royal army burnt the monastery two years earlier) than he changed his mind, as Beatrix Romhányi refers to it. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben”, 224.

¹⁹⁵ The text says: *provincialis et alii priores ac fratres heremitae diversorum locorum nostrae diaecesis*. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum* Cap. 11.

¹⁹⁶ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 9.

¹⁹⁷ Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 48. Although there have been debates on the regulation of the monastery, the scholarship more or less agrees with the authority of Veszprém bishopric over this territory. Finally, in the next catalogue, written in 1291, the Holy Cross Monastery and the St. Ladislaus Monastery are listed as parts of the bishopric. See Solymosi, “Pilissziget”, 14-15. Taking into consideration that each bishop who had such hermits

however, three decades later list it (1291) as governed by the Veszprém Bishopric; there were arguments on its exemption from the Bishopric's regulations by the time of the first inventory, but in this case the strange, why did the Bishopric got control over the monastery again in 1291? This order of the ecclesial evolution is against the medieval tendencies.

All inventories are survived in Gyöngyösi's *Vitae Fratrum*, where the traditional aspect is also described; this means, that at this point the traditional history and the original documents are contradicting again with each other. The traditional history emphasizes the Holy Cross Monastery and the Pilis area, though it also mentions earlier hermit movements, mostly in Baranya County (*Pécs-Jakabhegy*). These were founded a few decades before the Holy Cross Monastery, so before the 1250s. Even so, the later tradition commemorates the Holy Cross Monastery as the first and earliest site of the Paulines, which uncertain data have largely affected the scholarship as well. Summarizing the debates and pointing out the questioned data, László Solymosi came to that conclusion that the Monastery of Holy Cross may not exist at that time when the first inventory was written in 1263, otherwise there was no other reason to skip it. As it was listed in 1291 as the first monastery, it must have been found between 1263 and 1291.¹⁹⁸

The settling of the hermits may articulate this given time period. The land and even the hunting lodge as a property, donated by King Béla to the Paulines at the Holy Cross Monastery,¹⁹⁹ (logically, donated after 1263), which may indicate that the foundation of a somewhat coherent community could happen between 1263/64²⁰⁰ (when the King stayed mostly at Esztergom) and 1270, the death of King Béla. The first donations supposedly led to the emphasis of the Holy Cross Monastery within the hermit movements, which distinct position should have been the result of their geographical location at least. Although the

under his control (like in Eger or Pécs), regulated them individually – but of course with similar conditions -- the Holy Cross Monastery might be emphasized more.

¹⁹⁸ Solymosi, "Pilissziget", 18-23.

¹⁹⁹ See the catalogue.

whole character of the community was not well articulated, the Paulines seem to have had good (self-) management.

The settling of the hermits helps to unlock this contradiction. The land and even the hunting lodge as a property, donated by King Béla to the Paulines at the Holy Cross Monastery, seem to have been given to them around the time of (or rather after²⁰¹) the travel of Bishop Paul, therefore establishing exclusive royal support for the monastery. At the time it might have had a different status and that was why Bishop Paul did not list it or did not have access to the Holy Cross Monastery²⁰². Although the exact date of the donation is unknown, the Paulines' ecclesiastical/legal status was complicated and unstable. The whole character of the community was not well articulated, although the Paulines seem to have had good (self-)management. It seems that the first Paulines at the Holy Cross Monastery acquired the basis of their estates in times when they emphasized their separation from the hermit community of the bishopric, at least from the 1260s.

This successfully started career and emergence of the Holy Cross Monastery was followed by two more foundations (the Holy Spirit and St. Ladislaus monasteries), probably by King Ladislaus IV, around the 1280s.²⁰³ In the case of the St. Ladislaus monastery, as József Laszlovszky argues, King Ladislaus IV could have been the founder, as the monastery was named after his patron saint.²⁰⁴ What is more interesting is that that the last two, but

²⁰⁰ In these years the King was in Esztergom,

²⁰¹ It should have been just after the *visitatio*, if it is accepted that the rising at the Holy Cross Monastery, the royal donation, and the presence of King Béla in Esztergom from 1264, one year after the *visitatio*, correlate strongly.

²⁰² If it is accepted that the king knew about the result of it and the donations for the Holy Cross Monastery happened after the visit, then there might be a connection between the two. The Paulines may have asked for it or the king realized the needs of his hermits and therefore supported them by giving lands. Or, if the Paulines got the lands and a hunting lodge earlier than the visit of Bishop Paul, they might have had a different status in the hierarchy (which is poorly articulated in the research) in that period.

²⁰³ Romhányi "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben", 225.

²⁰⁴ This kind of denomination has relevance, there are previous examples, where the religious institution was named after the founder royalty, e.g. the Saint Andrew Monastery at Visegrád was named after King Andrew I (1046-1060). Here I thank to József Laszlovszky for his suggestion and verbal information.

perhaps originally all three, Pauline monasteries²⁰⁵ were founded on the sites of royal hunting lodges²⁰⁶ by the end of the thirteenth century (before 1291) during the reign of King Ladislaus IV. Besides the Holy Cross Monastery, the Holy Spirit and St. Ladislaus monasteries were small communities (with a maximum six monks each), seemingly hidden in the wild, wooded areas of the Pilis; however, they existed on royal property, which in itself was particularly important.²⁰⁷

In parallel with the positive results of founding monasteries in the royal forest, the donation of royal lodges was also a sign of the decline of the physical royal presence in the Pilis.²⁰⁸ This suggests that the role of the Royal Forest was changing and, practically, that the kings preferred permanent residences to small ones in the Pilis. Regarding the fact that these were all royal foundations, it should be highlighted that the kings kept their control here spiritually.²⁰⁹ Maybe this change of perception was originally the reason why King Béla IV donated his hunting lodge to the Holy Cross Monastery in the Pilis, which was repeated by his successor, Ladislaus IV in 1287 in order to allow some monks from the former monastery to establish a new monastery.²¹⁰ The data (surviving in the *Vitae Fratrum*) suggests a few articulated events. Scholars suppose²¹¹ that the King Béla's first attempt was unsuccessful, which is why King Ladislaus repeated the donation and thereafter the Holy Spirit Monastery

²⁰⁵ Evidence of earlier buildings was found in the excavations at the Monastery of the Holy Spirit (Pilisszentlélek) and seemingly at the Monastery of the Holy Cross also. At the former site the written evidence is a report on a manor house; see the catalogue. In both cases the archaeological sources are weak. The foundation of the St. Ladislaus Monastery is cloudy, scholarship has supposed that the charter on the donation of King Béla, verified by King Ladislaus IV for a hunting lodge, does not refer to the Holy Spirit but to the St. Ladislaus Monastery.

²⁰⁶ On the southeast the Cistercian Abbey also had a royal basis. Although these might be not just simply hunting lodges connected with the itinerant kingship, which started to disappear around the end of the thirteenth century

²⁰⁷ Romhányi, "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben", 225.

²⁰⁸ Although, there is some evidence of royal support behind the religious development; the first ecclesial institutions (monasteries, chapters) were founded in the eleventh century. See more in Romhányi, "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben", 223. For more on the change, see section: The Pilis Forest: Natural and Historical Environment in Chapter 1.1, based on the ideas of Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 93-97.

²⁰⁹ As Péter Szabó points out – "these places were more 'hotels' than 'residences' ". Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95. The itinerant court, the kings during their travels (or hunting), could easily run into hermits in the Pilis Forest.

²¹⁰ Charters and sources cited in the catalogue.

was established. This monastery may have operated paired with the Holy Cross friary for few years or decades, because it is not mentioned in the second catalogue of Pauline monasteries in the Veszprém bishopric from 1291.

The plan of the church at the Holy Spirit Monastery shows clearly that originally it was not erected to serve for religious purposes.²¹² The excavations at the site revealed some unusual parts of the building, which is usually regarded in the scholarship as the sign of the early and after the donation transformed royal hunting lodge.²¹³ Also, the physical royal presence was documented²¹⁴ only here among the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis, therefore – as excavations have revealed – some structures served as living quarters for visitors, especially for the kings and members of the royal court. Of course, different events and structures of the time represent these elements, but they offer a hint for research in the general framework of the Paulines' function and character.

Although the foundation and the early phase of the third monastery, dedicated to St. Ladislaus is weakly documented and no physical remains of the monastery are known, it is sure that the foundation took place before 1291.²¹⁵ In this year Lodomér, the archbishop of Esztergom, verified the existence of the Paulines, so by this time these monasteries -- the whole community -- was strong as an ecclesiastical power. Besides, the St. Ladislaus Monastery also had strong royal support; therefore its foundation was substantiated for recordable reasons.

It is clear that the monasteries were founded on royal features of space (hunting lodges), which supposedly were elements of a special administrative system of the Árpáadian Era. Accordingly, the continuity of strong royal support is clear in the thirteenth century as

²¹¹The commentary of Ferenc Hervay, see Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, 209.

²¹²See plan, data in the catalogue.

²¹³ These unusual features are: the asymmetry of the church and the unusual plan of the nave, also there were earlier structures and traces of modifications/transformations recorded on the southern wall of the nave. See the listed works of Sarolta Lázár, who was leading the excavations at the site.

²¹⁴ See the data in the catalogue on the presence of Charles Robert and a few decades later his son, King Louis I.

well, but there are other features of space which may help to explain the contemporary status of the Pauline monasteries in the Pilismore accurately.

Integrating Natural Environment, Medieval Pathways and Known Settlements

It is clear that the locations of the royal hunting lodges –uninhabited, wooded areas of the Pilis –correlated more or less with the environment preferred by hermits. It is generally supposed that this preferred territory can be described by clear geographical factors. The *desertum* nature of the mid-hilly area refers to a hidden territory; the Pauline monasteries are – at a first sight – lying in the wild area of the forest, in closed valleys, near springs and caves, distant from lay sphere (Fig. 2-2.) Were the Paulines totally secluded from the outside world?

In the case of the Holy Cross Monastery, if the hermits sought an ideal space, the answer is more or less yes. Adding that the hunting lodges were supposed to preserve the privacy of the kings, the answer is again, yes. But taking into consideration that the royals would have had servants settled at the lodges and reachable residences (even another lodge) close to them, the Pilis does not seem particularly uninhabited.²¹⁶ Also, as partial regional studies concluded,²¹⁷ in the mid-hilly region the maximum distance between Pauline monasteries was not more than a few kilometers (a few hours walking) from settlements and main roads.²¹⁸ Thus, this area was not totally secluded from the secular sphere; the monasteries accessible from the main roads and inhabited areas of the *medium regni*. (Fig. 2-3.) A closer view of these landscape features, which is just partly available in the secondary literature, helps articulate the spatial structure of the area.

²¹⁵ It is listed in the second catalogue of Pauline monasteries in the Veszprém bishopric, see details in the catalogue.

²¹⁶As Péter Szabó describes, “wherever the king and his retinue stayed in the Pilis, they had a lodge within a few hours’ ride and the archbishop, the queen, St. Stephen’s tomb, and their own residence within one day’s journey.” Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 93-94.

²¹⁷Belényesy, *Abaúj-hegyalja*, 87-88.

Research on the road-network in the area has to deal with many problems, mostly with dating. The Romans left many traces of roads in the landscape, which were used often or occasionally in the Middle Ages as well. Research on the detailed documentation, separation (in time, space, role), and analysis of these pathways is still a major task of the historical investigations in Hungary. Not much is known on the topic, but enough to articulate some points about the monasteries and residences, and the question of royal power, the lay sphere, and religious centers.

The best known route, the *via magna* (VM, Fig. 2-3.) was regarded as the main line of the settlements between Esztergom and Buda, crossing the settlement of Csaba – even the modern road follows the path of this medieval road.²¹⁹ A subsidiary trail was reconstructed by Elek Benkő based on written sources;²²⁰ the exact route is an ideal reconstruction and follows a modern motorway. Another important route is known in the area, originally the main Roman road between Brigetio (present-day Szőny)²²¹ and Aquincum (present day Óbuda), through present day Szántó. The track of this road led north to the medieval *via magna* from Óbuda to Szántó, crossing Üröm, Borosjenő, but turning west at some point to reach Szőny. (R1, Fig. 2-3.) The remains of this ballast-road were recorded

²¹⁸ *Nota bene*: the distance between the Pauline monasteries was no more than they could manage in a day. See Belényesi, *Ibid*.

²¹⁹ *Magnam viam per quam itur de Strigonio Budam* is mentioned first in the thirteenth century and in later periods as well. It was recorded in 1411 that it crosses Csaba, DL 1798, cited ÁMTF 4, 591. Elek Benkő, “*Via regis – via gregis*. Középkori utak a Pilisben” [*Via regis – via gregis*. Medieval roads in the Pilis], in “*Fél évszázad terepen*.” *Tanulmánykötet Torma István tiszteletére 70. születésnapja alkalmából* [“Half century in the field” – Studies on the honor of István Torma for his 70th birthday], ed. Klára Kővári and Zsuzsa Miklós (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011), 116. It also crosses, e.g., the boundary between the monastery and the medieval village of Kesztlőc. ... *in quandam magnam viam de Strigonio versus Budam transeuntem saliendo*, DL 236647.

²²⁰ The *viae magnae*, the main roads, led to Esztergom, Buda [!] and Dorog [!], and a *via antiqua*, an old road, is mentioned in the perambulation of Nyír settlement, the neighbour of Kesztlőc. MRT 5, 194-195, (Esztergom site 8/41) The *via antiqua* might be the main Roman road to Brigetio as it was found south to the settlement. The reconstruction by Elek Benkő was not supported by sources. See Judit Majorossy, ed. “*A királynét megölni nem kell félnetek jó lesz*” *Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013. Történeti vándorkiállítás, kiállításvezető* [The queen to kill you must not fear will be good Commemorating Gertrude of Merania, 1213-2013. Historical Touring Exhibition, Museum Booklet] (Szentendre: Ferenczy Museum, 2013), 10, picture 31.

²²¹ Today part of Komárom, about 70 kilometers from Budapest.

archaeologically.²²²It is visible on modern topographical maps²²³ and there is evidence for its use in the Middle Ages. A group of settlements is clear in this part of the Pilis foothills).²²⁴(Fig. 2-3.)

Based on this information it became clear that the important medieval monasteries, (which had strong royal support and sometimes enjoyed the king's presence) did not follow these routes; they were seemingly secluded. Scholars have started to integrate more information; it is clear that there are other parts/pieces of the Roman road-network which can all be crucial for the research.²²⁵ A route was detected from Szántó to Üröm, going the same direction as the previous road, but north of it (R2, Fig. 2-3.), on the southern side of a hill, (Hosszú-hegy/Long hill) which was probably mentioned as *via magna* in a medieval perambulation of Boron.²²⁶ Another piece was found around Pilisszentkereszt and Dobogókő (R3, Fig. 2-3.)²²⁷, which – as Elek Benkő argues – should have been the continuation of the road at Szántó (R2) crossing the Cistercian Abbey. He is convinced that these roads (R2 and R3) were medieval, therefore he identifies another road, a *via regis*, which was shorter and crossed a relatively uninhabited area in the Pilis (Fig. 2-3.) As he points out, kings might have used this “royal express road” to get to the hunting lodges or curia, later monasteries, and then arrive continue on to Esztergom or Óbuda.²²⁸

²²² Archaeological evidence: *MRT* 5, 278-279 (Piliscsév site 16/5.); *MRT* 7, 156 (Pilisszántó site 17/12); 173-174 (Pilisvörösvár site 21/21).

²²³ E.g., an administrative map of Pilis county, S 12 Div XI. No. 89; after Elek Benkő, “*Via regis*”, 116, ref. 1.

²²⁴ Elek Benkő, “*Via regis*”, 116. At some point modern secondary roads may follow its route.

²²⁵ Following the summary of Ferenczi et al., *Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben*, 2013.

²²⁶ The route was recorded by Dezső Simonyi, *MRT* 7, 156 (Pilisszántó site 17/12a); 76-77 (Csobánka site 6/28); 143-144 (Pilisborosjenő site 15/8); 353 (Üröm site 37/11). Ferenczi et al., *Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben*, 2013.

²²⁷ Recorded by Lajos Zambra, *MRT* 7, 164-165 (Pilisszentkereszt site 19/2). Research indicates that this is part of the internal Roman road of the Pilis until Esztergom, but the question is still open. Elek Benkő, “*Via regis*”, 115-119; Ferenczi et al., *Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben*, 2013.

²²⁸ The idea of this *via regia* was unknown in the scholarship before it was posed recently; the problems in the research of historical roads were caused by the complex history of the area. The ideal routes between different points may be identified, but in many cases the time period of their use is problematic. The function and the route of the *via regia* between Üröm and Pilis have been researched recently by József Laszlovszky and László Ferenczi. I am grateful for their personal communications. Based on their idea and with their participation, ongoing research reveals the route of the complete path. Further participants: Balázs Kohán, Zsolt Petkes, Márton Deák, Tamás Lantos, and the author. The latest summary on the research status: Ferenczi et al.,

Based on this idea, the latest research on the *via regis* using geographical and topographical evidence²²⁹ has revealed another option A Roman/medieval road (R2) passing through the medieval settlement of Boron (Fig. 2-3, zoomed), may also run on the north side of Long Hill (maybe in two tracks) and connect the Cistercian Monastery with the southern road system, skipping Szántó (VR, Fig. 2-3.) This path would have been practical for several reasons which are still clear to modern tourists.²³⁰ The slope was more balanced along the whole path and skipped the steep part of the road from Szántó to the Cistercian Monastery. Also, a side path led to the Cistercian grange to the northeast.

The last known and researched main historical road runs on the Danube bank, which is substantiated by clear terrain evidence; it was also part of the Roman road next to the *limes* in *Pannonia provincial* (R4, Map 2.1-3.) In the Middle Ages there were several settlements there based on the traditionally good circumstances for living and the important role of the Danube as transport and also a source for food, namely, fish.

This short summary of the known elements of historical road network in the Pilis area indicates that a spatial approach, the use of GIS, can discover additional features. Some trials were made to reconstruct the ideal pathways of the region based on the elevation of the area and compare the results with known information. First, by a Least Cost Path Analysis the shortest way between Esztergom and Óbuda²³¹ (LCP 1, Fig. 2-4.) was calculated, which

“Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben,” 2013. For research on historical roads see the following selected literature: *MRT 5*, *MRT 7*; Elek Benkő, “*Via regis*”, 115-119. Also see the map reconstructed by Elek Benkő in Majorossy, *Gertrudis*, 10, picture 31.

²²⁹ Sources: historical and modern maps, also a field survey from Ūröm to Dobogókő. Ferenczi et al., “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben,” 2013

²³⁰ During the field survey it turned out that at several points and sections this pathway is still used as a secondary road or simple hicking trail. Ferenczi et al., “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben,” 2013.

²³¹ Óbuda, as an early royal residence (see Fig.1-1.) is a good basic for all periods, regarding that the road from Buda to the north or northeast should cross it. Indicating Esztergom as a starting point in this model raises some questions which may be the topic of studies on GIS techniques and cognitive sciences. Interestingly, the control analysis differs from the ideal path if the starting point is Óbuda. Of course, the difference is not so large (a few hundred meters) and not constant. But considering the features of human nature may highlight some natural laws on the question of road reconstructions and GIS techniques. It is the personal observation of the author that taking the same path between two points from both directions generates different solutions in the human mind/nature. It has to be admitted that during the LCP analyses the indication of starting points was a personal decision.

resulted in adding some new features to the research. It runs the closest to the original main Roman road to Szőny (R1) at the beginning and, interestingly, it crosses an Árpáadian Age settlement which stood near a Roman watchtower, and the reconstructed path of the main Roman road (R1).²³² The remains of this road – at some point – were probably used by medieval people as well.

This path goes near the Holy Cross Monastery, but here uncertainty grows, because the written evidence has not yet been selected and analyzed for this area.²³³ The only thing which is sure is that more than one *via magna* is mentioned in this area²³⁴, the basis of the northern branch of the reconstructed main *via magna* (VM), so supposedly this reconstruction and the model road correlate at some point. It is telling that the medieval village of Kesztölc and other anonymous settlements lie next to the reconstructed shortest and easiest path to Esztergom.

The LCP analysis has already made a determination in reconstructing the shortest and easiest path of the *via regis* from Óbuda to Esztergom. Additional features can be used to change the area examined. The main idea behind the *via regis* is the need for a connection between the royal and ecclesial centers and the monasteries in the Pilis. On a straight line between the two main centers, Óbuda and Esztergom, the Cistercian Abbey and the Holy Spirit Monastery seem to be ideal stops (LCP 2, Fig. 2-5). The route from Óbuda to Esztergom (LCP2) followed the route of the main Roman road (R1), but on the south side of Hosszú-hegy/Long Hill it runs between the main and the supposed other (secondary?) Roman roads (R1 and R2). Then the track turns north, crossing the northern Roman road (R2) and the probable route to Dobogókő (R3). After this, it joins (on the track of modern hiking trail), the

²³² MRT 5, 277-278. (Piliscsév site 16/1).

²³³ Although it is clear from the source collection published in *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* (MRT 5) that a systematic analysis can result in further fixed points on the question of a road-network. This could be a topic for further research.

²³⁴The *viae magnae*, the main roads, led to Esztergom, Buda (!) and Dorog (!), and a *via antiqua*, an old road is mentioned in the perambulation of Nyír settlement, the neighbor of Kesztölc. MRT 5, 194-195.

reconstructed route of the *via regia* (VR) and further follows it to Esztergom. Summarizing the results, this geographically generated model supports, or more, verifies the validity of such roads in the Pilis.

Going to northern areas by searching for other options in LCP analyses, it turns out that in this previously analyzed system the third monastery, dedicated to St. Ladislaus, was not included, not even mentioned. Looking behind the reasons, a more general geographical phenomenon is revealed; namely, a spatial division is clear among the three monasteries in the Pilis. The geographical location separates a southwestern-western religious sphere (Holy Cross and Holy Spirit monasteries and also the Cistercian Abbey) and a northeastern-eastern section (the St. Ladislaus monastery) in the Pilis.

Looking on the map, the status of the St. Ladislaus becomes sharp; it lay between Buda/Óbuda and the newly constructed royal castle of Visegrád.²³⁵ The importance of this location is supported by a historical event, namely, this monastery hosted an important political meeting in 1308 between Cardinal Gentilis (as a papal legate) and Matthew Csák in order to stabilize and verify the reign of Charles Robert. The importance of this meeting (therefore the important role of the monastery) is highlighted more with another event; a month later the papal legate officially confirms the regulations of St. Augustine for the order. As Beatrix Romhányi argues, the St. Ladislaus monastery was an ideal location for discussing political and legal questions because it was hidden in the forest and political enemies were far from their residences.²³⁶

After these correspondences, it was clear that examining the topographical features could add more to the issue. The start and the end points of an LCP analysis were certain. From Óbuda to Visegrád (LCP 3, Fig. 2-6.) there are well-articulated (but also less clear)

²³⁵ The construction of the castle of Visegrád, built by Queen Mary, wife of King Béla IV, to protect the nuns of Margaret Island from the Tatars, also strengthened royal control of the Pilis. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95.

²³⁶ Romhányi "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben", 225.

areas on the DEM, therefore in some areas the generated route is really informative ²³⁷ but – mostly in the northern area – it is more a draft than a precise track. The main and key result of the analysis is clear, however, the Monastery of St. Ladislaus was not simply hidden from thickly settled parts of the territory, but also gave an opportunity to for resting between royal residences. By that time (from the mid-thirteenth century) these stops became quite important. The close geographical relationship of the main royal residences with the St. Ladislaus Monastery may represent a spiritual connection of royal power and the Pauline order in the Pilis Royal Forest.

A Long-term and Fruitful Relationship with the Angevin Kings

Around the time when the last Árpáadian king died (Andrew III, 1301) and Charles Robert finally overcame political difficulties, a significant change is revealed in the spatial structure of the Pauline monasteries. Side-by-side with the new concept behind the location of the St. Ladislaus Monastery, the center of the Pauline system moved from the Holy Cross Monastery close to Buda, which was a growing royal center besides Visegrád and Óbuda. Written sources report that the Monastery of Saint Laurence (at Budaszentlőrinc), built by the prior of the Holy Cross Monastery (Fig. 2-7.), became the new head of the hierarchy – the first general prior was elected there in 1309. Although it lay outside the Pilis, it had a great effect on the monasteries in the Pilis. Their decreasing importance and the changing concept of the Holy Cross Monastery as the leader can only be understood by viewing the geographical periphery.

As the royal court moved from Esztergom and the royal centers were strengthened along the Danube, the newly founded Pauline order had to re-contextualize its role and background. The Monastery of the Holy Cross was a perfect example of the hermit life,

²³⁷ The generated route follows the track of the modern motorway.

partly connected with the royal presence, but the decreasing importance of hunting lodges, the functional change of the Pilis Forest²³⁸, and the stabilization of the royal centers meant that the Paulines also had to move their center closer to the royal power and presence.²³⁹ They realized this need and managed to do it.

The Pauline hierarchy was influenced by the primary royal centers, Buda and Visegrád, but dominance varied between the two. Pauline research shows that the dominance of the St. Laurence monastery was greater during the Middle Ages. Its representation developed unbreakably, but the historical context and the spatial picture of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries highlight some basic questions and phenomena.

The Angevin kings, Charles I (ca. 1288 –16 July 1342) and Louis I, reorganized a stable, developing, and flourishing country. They took every opportunity in many respects to build up their kingdom; supporting the Pauline order was one element for them which was connected with imperial and foreign policy. But how did they support the order?

After the royal court moved to Visegrád, the Angevin kings developed a royal seat and residence there. Their local policy affected the Börzsöny area as well, which lies opposite Visegrád on the northern bank of the Danube. Here, King Louis I founded two Pauline monasteries at Nosztre²⁴⁰ and Toronyalja²⁴¹(Fig. 2-7.). The importance of this territory peaked in the translation of the relics of St. Paul the First Hermit from Venice to Hungary, finally to the central royal territory of the country, the Monastery of St. Laurence, in 1381, after the victory of King Louis I over Venice.

²³⁸ See more in Chapter 1. The decreasing importance of the Pilis went side-by-side with the changing administrative system of the country.

²³⁹Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben”, 225-226.

²⁴⁰ The monastery at Nosztre was founded in 1352. Its significance is clear from the fact that Nosztre was the mother monastery of Częstochowa, the first foreign monastery of the order in, 1382, Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 64.

²⁴¹ It was founded between 1352 and 1381 by King Louis or the monastery at Nosztre. Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 99-100.

This event was the emblematic verification of the order²⁴² and also the St. Laurence monastery in a prosperous and successful period of Hungarian history. This significant meaning was clear for the Paulines as well. In some sources,²⁴³ the event was documented in the best-known and only medieval work on Hungarian Pauline history, *Vitae Fratrum* (1523). It gives a short report on the translation of the relics to Buda and an explanation of the circumstances, emphasizing that King Louis I the Great promised the clerics and monks at the monastery of Nosztra[!] that if he was victorious over the Venetians he would translate the relics of St. Paul to the Paulines.²⁴⁴ Gyöngyösi refers (in the introductory poem of the chapter) to the monastery in Buda as the final shelter of the relics in the future,²⁴⁵ after the battle with Venice, but the same chapter mentions Nosztra, founded by the king.

The text is strange because it is not clear why Gyöngyösi points out the place of the king's promise and attached many symbolic acts and events to this story: [Rex] ... *promiserat ... in Nozthre protunc constitutus audiente toto conventu, quod si omnipotens Deus meritis beati Pauli triumphare posse super Venetos donaret, extunc corpus eiusdem sancti eisdem donaret*. Also, for the memory of this word, the king, *ante monasterium plantavit arborem tiliae, quae ... vocatur arbor regis Ludovici*, which was still known many years later.²⁴⁶ The text is not clear about what *eiusdem* (them) means here: simply the Paulines or Nosztra

²⁴² First, in 1308, Gentilis, the papal legate, allowed the Paulines to live under the rules of the Augustinian Regulation. It was permitted again by Pope John XXII in 1328 and he also gave many large-scale privileges to the monks. In 1368 Pope Urban V approved and ratified the order. Belényesy, *Abauj-hegyalja*, 88-89.

²⁴³ The Pauline Valentinus Hadnagy and an anonymous author focused on the life of St. Paul, the journey of the relics from the beginnings to Buda. Hadnagy also focuses on the miracles of St. Paul in his *Vita Divi Pauli*, published in 1511. It is believed that all these sources report on a more or less detailed picture of the ceremonial translation from Venice to Buda and to the St. Laurence monastery. This information – concerning events, places, and actors – can mediate a closer look at the connections between the relics of St. Paul and thesauration, representation, power, and politics within external and internal policy and the Pauline hierarchy. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 80; Gábor Sarbak, *Miracula Sancti Pauli Primi Heremite. Hadnagy Bálint pálos rendi kézikönyve*, 1511 [The Pauline Handbook of Valentinus Hadnagy, 1511], (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem, 2003).

²⁴⁴ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 35.

²⁴⁵ Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 34.

²⁴⁶ The King took an oath in front of the whole convent that if the omnipotent God helps him to be victorious over Venice by the merits of Saint Paul the First Hermit, than he donates the body (relics) of this saint to them. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 34.

especially? If the last presumption is correct, *toto conventus* was *eiusdem*, than Nosztra can be regarded as the pre-selected place for the relics.²⁴⁷

The historical context and the Pauline policy show that these two monasteries could have had enough power and impact at the court (in and close to the territory of the *medium regni*); moreover, they had outstanding support from the king himself, so they both could have had a claim on becoming the keeper of the relics. Perhaps, finally, the Monastery of St. Laurence had a stronger impact²⁴⁸ than Nosztra.²⁴⁹

However it happened, the location of Nosztra includes another layer of its role which helps understand broader tendencies. King Louis approached this monastery as a special one on his lands; naturally because he founded it, but regarding its location, he did it in a special manner. Referring to the idea of József Laszlovszky,²⁵⁰ this monastery was a feature of royal representation; it was an element attached to the royal residence at Visegrád. This perspective articulates more clearly why the St. Ladislaus Monastery was founded – it is lay close to Visegrád.

²⁴⁷ These events (and the didactic short story of Father Lucas as well) suggest and underline (whether they are true or not) that the king had a special relation with the monastery at Nosztra and also he himself promised the relics to his beloved monks at Nosztra, but finally, he cheated and gave the relics to the St. Laurence Monastery.

²⁴⁸ Following the translation of the relics from Venice to Hungary, it is strange that the body was placed in Buda, in the king's chapel (St. John Chapel) at first, but one month later it was translated formally (*...pulchro stilo scripta est in Brevario nostro...*) to its final resting place, the Pauline church of the St. Laurence Monastery, on 14 November. If the story is stopped here, one could ask: Why did they keep the relics in the royal chapel for a month? Why did they did not take them to the St. Laurence Monastery or somewhere else? Referring to the problem of the Monastery of St. Laurence and Nosztra, it can be supposed that the arrangements were not ready for the final location of the relics. It may also be a sign of a royal mediation or, more likely, a royal priority in religious (and ecclesiastical-political) questions. The ceremony from Buda to the monastery was also unique; the translation was led by Archbishop Demetrius and the papal legate, not by the general provost or the prior of the monastery, which absolutely represents the importance of royal and ecclesiastical power concerning the relics and the meaning of thesauration. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, Cap. 34. Ottó Kelényi, "A Buda melletti Szent Lőrinc pálos kolostor történetének első irodalmi forrása (1511)" [The first literary source (1511) on the history of the St. Laurence Pauline Monastery near Buda], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 4 (1936): 94.

²⁴⁹ It is strange that Nosztra had an important role in the early modern and modern history of the Paulines, like nowadays; history struck a balance at least. *Nota bene*, as far as is known, no other sources mention any previously declared place for the relics, nor was Nosztra mentioned. Gábor Sarbak, "Hadmagy Bálint: Remete SzentPál gyógyító csodái" [Bálint Hadnagy: The healing miracles of Saint Paul the First Hermit], in *Medicina renata*, ed. László András Magyar (Budapest: Semmelweis Orvostörténeti Múzeum, Könyvtár és Levéltár, 2009), <http://www.orvostortenet.hu/tankonyvek/tk-05/Green/author.php?name=Cs&begin=c-d> (Last accessed: 2013-12-05)

²⁵⁰ I am thankful for that he shared this important verbal information.

From the mid-1200s the growing importance of royal representation generated the disappearance of an itinerant court and the establishment and development of royal residences. The Pilis, as the Royal Forest, the focal point of the *medium regni*, was surely the territory where other features could have a physical presence. Following the trends of other European countries, the religious orders were seeking the highest support and the kings were searching for religious phenomenon to raise their royal representation, broaden their influence, and warrant their salvation.

Attached to the importance of royal representation, St. Paul's relic had a more important meaning in a wider context than a simple spiritual union. Under the rule of King Louis I the Great, the Kingdom of Hungary reached the highest point of its political power. The economy and cultural life saw a golden age and his power and the factors behind his power were imported into the regions where he ruled;²⁵¹ thus, the Paulines also moved outside the kingdom, but first just into Central Europe.²⁵²

In this context, the impact of the relic could have helped the monks at the Monastery of St. Laurence to become the verified leaders, not only in the group of neighboring monasteries, but on a country-wide scale. After the translation they became the absolute cult center of the order and also had political impact and access to financial resources.²⁵³ In this story the shadows of the monasteries in the Pilis are still touchable in the fact that the Monastery of St. Laurence was founded by the prior and monks of the first Pauline community in the Pilis, the Holy Cross Monastery. This is a spiritual and religious continuity which was strongly determined by the name of the community, *fratrea sancte crucis de*

²⁵¹ The first university was founded in 1367 and the *Chronicon Pictum*, one of the most important medieval chronicles, was finished. King Louis ruled most of Central Europe, including Poland (after the death of Casimir III the Great) and Croatia.

²⁵² In 1382, the first foreign Pauline monastery was founded in Częstochowa by Ladislaus, the prince of Oppeln, who got Pauline monks from the monastery of Nosztre – maybe this gesture just after the translation was a compensation for the king's unsuccessful application for the relics.

*eremo*²⁵⁴, although the southern part of the Pilis area had lost its historical privileges. The question here is, did they lose their donors, the chance to develop their monastic space? Some historical events surrounding another change in royal policy indicate that the answer is more or less yes.

King Sigismund – Combine Work with Pleasure

After the perception of the Angevin rulers, King Sigismund understood the Árpáadian attitude toward the Pilis Forest; he addressed the territory as the Royal Forest, so the financial and political control over the area was still kept in the king's hands; therefore the financial acts of the existing monasteries in the area were also affected by royal power in the ages when most of the counties were governed by nobles.²⁵⁵ Although the royal seat moved to Buda from 1408, Sigismund respected and regularly visited Visegrád and the baths of Hévkút close to the Pauline monasteries in the Börzsöny. Therefore, in his area another royal road, *via regia* appears, which connected the royal center with Hévkút through the northern part of Szentendre Island, passing the ferry at Kisoroszi, and another Pauline monastery which was founded by Sigismund and has only been partly researched recently.²⁵⁶

This event shows that the original concept, the memory of the hermit Pauline system in the Pilis, was absolutely collapsed by the first half of the fifteenth century. The summary of tendencies until this time, the changes in the particular royal and ecclesiastical centers all give some catch-points for the summary of the whole issue regarding each spatial level of the

²⁵³ ... *in ipsa Ecclesia venerandum, cum summa reverentia deposuit*. The work of the anonymous author and Valentinus Hadnagy, cited in: Máté Urbán, "Pálos zarándokhelyek a későközépkori Magyarországon" [Pauline pilgrimage sites in late medieval Hungary], *Vallástudományi Szemle* 5, no. 1 (2009): 72.

²⁵⁴ The brothers of the Holy Cross were changed officially in 1309 to the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit - *ordo fratrum Sancti Pauli primi eremitaе*, Mályusz, "Remeterendek", 258.

²⁵⁵ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 118.

²⁵⁶ On this royal pathway, the foundation of the St. Sigismund Monastery, and the connections between the royal power religious houses see, József Laszlovszky, "The Royal Palace in the Sigismund Period and the Franciscan Friary at Visegrád. Royal Residence and the Foundation of Religious Houses." In *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, ed. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013), 207-218.

research in the thesis. After the reign of King Sigismund, from the first half of the fifteenth century, the Pauline hierarchy did not change much; furthermore, they received many monasteries, which were ran by other order, mostly unsuccessfully.

The carrier and impact of the Pauline order reached its highest point under the reign of King Matthias I. This period is mostly studied by recent scholarship, where much more historical data tells about the Pauline life – which was directed from St. Laurence Monastery – than before; therefore the spatial analysis concerning the Pilis stops at this point. Until the battle of Mohács (1526), which led to the fall of the Kingdom of Hungary, the Pauline dominance in the royal court is undoubted. Changing the resolution of the research and concentrating on the sources in a more spatial approach leads to finding more regional and local data on the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis which were hidden behind the scene of historical events almost from their foundations.

2.2 Pauline Monastic Space in the Pilis

Step on the lower spatial levels, further features revealed concerning the all kind of properties of Pauline monasteries. Regarding general tendencies, it has been proved by written sources that the Paulines wanted to unify their lands (mostly arable lands, vineyards, mills) close to their monasteries. Regarding the Paulines in the Pilis, this supposed to mean a regional tendency, where one or two days of journey – for a more productive/profitable property – should not cause problems for the monks. This seems to be the case of St. Ladislaus Monastery,²⁵⁷ which had a parcel in Visegrád, a vineyard at Borosjenő²⁵⁸ and Vác,

²⁵⁷ See data in the catalogue.

²⁵⁸DL 4230, 4231. See in the Catalogue; cited by Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 56. The name of the settlement may refer to vine.

and a mill with a parcel at Sződ²⁵⁹, in this case more to the south on the other side of the Danube (Fig. 2-8.).

On this spatial level other questions could be researched concerning the Paulines' relations with lay sphere, like the connection between the monasteries and the settlements, but yet there is no precisely articulated database for these examinations.²⁶⁰ At the same time, what can be studied is the connection between the monasteries. As previous examinations on roads revealed, most of the monasteries could easily reach each other. The *via regis*, connecting the Pilis Cistercian and the Pauline Holy Spirit monasteries also offered a link to the Holy Cross Monastery to the north; at the same time the two Pauline monasteries were close to each other. Monks living in latter monastery could use *via magna* as well. The St. Ladislaus Monastery was part of a different spatial microregion, but beside the royal centers, the Danube to the east was also easily reachable for the monks; that is why the written sources mention people from Szentendre or Tahi. But beside generalities, a closer look on the monasteries' closest space, the recorded spatial features is necessary.

Monastery of Holy Cross (Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta)

The Holy Cross Monastery was of crucial importance in the early history of the order; the Paulines were called *fratres sancte cruces de heremo* even in the early fourteenth century. These monastic buildings were situated halfway between the Cistercian monastery and Esztergom, close to *via magna* (or *viae magna*) and to the supposed *via regis*. The western boundaries of the monastery were described in a perambulation, which recorded a new

²⁵⁹*Nota bene*: sold a vineyard at Szentendre (!), much closer to the monastery to purchase it.

²⁶⁰ Although, the author proposed a part of the research to deal with this problem, therefore the digitization of medieval archaeological sites has been done, but as the interpretation holds many gaps and not even all of the data were gathered, this plan was postponed. What is clear about the settlements in the Pilis, it has been summarized by Péter Szabó recently. See Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, Chapter 12, 105-110.

situation in 1393.²⁶¹ Here, based on the mentioned features, the route could be more or less reconstructed. (Fig. 2-9.)

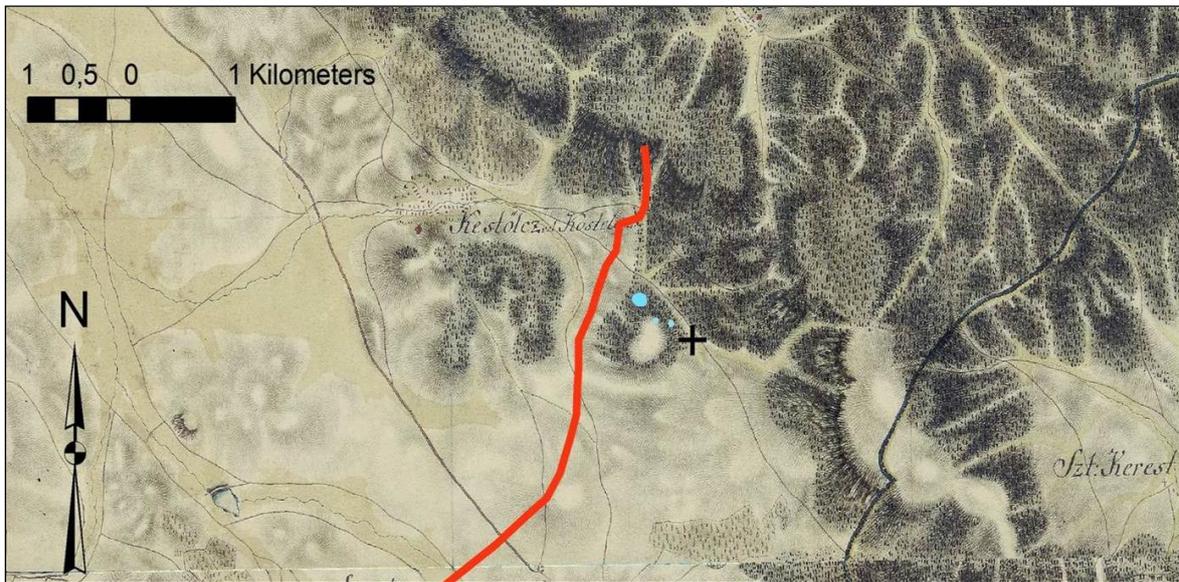


Figure 2-9. The reconstruction of the track of the medieval perambulation, based on the First Military Survey.

It was clear that the starting point was somewhere between the village of Kesztlőc and the monastery, also, at the beginning the route from Kesztlőc to the Holy Cross monastery was mentioned, then after several valleys and hilly parts later *via magna* from Esztergom to Buda appears. No other names are recognizable on historical or modern topographical maps. Probably the *vallum Zeketarla* can be identified with a Roman fortress, which – based on archaeological evidences – was also used in the Árpáadian ages. But as the directions from the charter lead to the oppositional area, this seems to be questionable. The reconstruction will be more precise by the research of settlements and the articulation of regional topography.

²⁶¹ See the text in the catalogue.

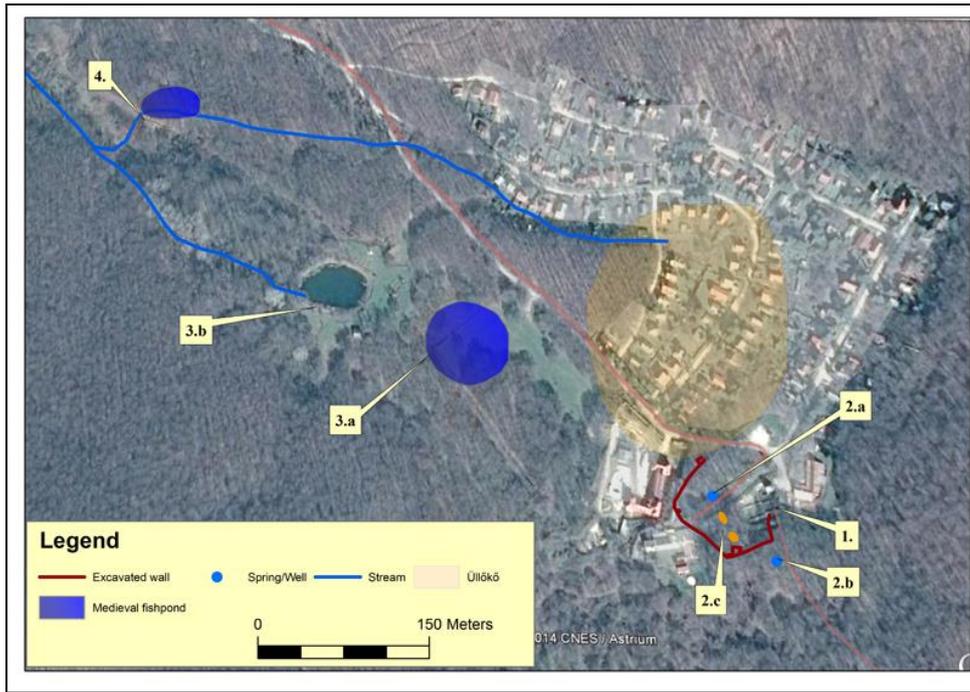


Figure 2-10. The recorded features around the monastery. Based on a Google Map.

Around the ruin garden of the monastery, which was partly excavated, several features indicate a complex water management system (Fig. 2-10.) accommodated in the valley, which runs from the southeast to the northwest. One kilometer to the west from the caves, which might have been used by the hermits, several springs (2.a-c) could supply streams, but they can be reconstructed only indirectly. The Bence well (2.a) might supply the monastery (1) directly with fresh water, situated most probably in the cloister garden/courtyard, but the monks could lead the water further to supply the ponds. As the spatial features were destroyed between the monastery and the first detected pond (3.a), which was dug 200 meters from the ruin garden, it is not possible to make further conclusions on the starting point of the system. Still it seems to be relevant that the northern stream may had a role in this system as well; supposedly the drainage channels could emerge from the second pond (3.b), if earlier reports are accepted on the existence of a vaulted stone drainage outlet.²⁶² Former pond was

²⁶² See in the catalogue.

destroyed by erosion, while latter by strong human impact since the 1950s. Nothing can be said about the development and the dating of the ponds, the only thing which must be true that they have medieval origins.

Just as in latter case, there is no written data reflecting on mills or other spatial features connected to the economy or land-use around the monastery; but according to the structure of a newly recorded dike (4), there might be a mill at the end of the sharp slope, where this earthwork is located. Archaeological evidence supports the existence of a medieval settlement just right under the monastery and the remains of workshops were also revealed by the excavations. The slag which was found just next to the walls (outside) suggests the existence of metal workshops, for which water supply must have been also important. As the written sources suggest, the monastery had its properties (arable lands and vineyards) mostly nearby.²⁶³As the late medieval tendency reflects, the monasteries focused on the development of a monetary economy; beside the unifying direction of the Holy Cross monastery, they owned at least two houses, one at Buda with the Holy Spirit Monastery, which meant a mid-level regular income for them, and another at Esztergom.

Regarding the archaeological findings, two interesting materials were found here, which may reveal a small from the life sphere of the monks. Fragments of a clay sculpture, portraying St. Christopher²⁶⁴which was part of religious representation. It tells a lot, that the fragments of a baptismal font were found; they should have been present since it was allowed for the Pauline to manage pastoral tasks, since 1417.

²⁶³ See in the catalogue.

²⁶⁴On the topic see Gerald Volker Grimm, ed., *Kleine Meisterwerke des Bilddrucks. Ungeliebte Kinder der Kunstgeschichte Handbuch und Katalog der Pfeifentonfiguren, Model und Reliefdrucke* (Aachen: Suermond-Ludwig-Museum, 2011).

Monastery of Holy Spirit (Pilisszentlélek)

A lot is known on the boundaries around the late medieval Holy Spirit Monastery and its landed estate. The monastic building complex is located near the supposed *via regis* (see Fig. 2-3.). King Louis I confirmed the donations of his ancestors, donated further lands for the Paulines, and ordered a new perambulation. As it says,²⁶⁵ on the north, King's peak (*Kyrállese/Királylese*) hill is the starting point, than turning to the east, the boundary crosses the road to Marót (today's Pilismarót on the bank of the river Danube), when it arrives to the Old Hermit's site (*Óh Remete-hely*), where it follows further the *Örimes* stream, turning to the south and to the west, where it crosses *Soklós* (probably water snake) hill, Black rock (*Fekete-kő*), White rock (*Fejér/Fehér-kő*), *Vodnyíló/Vadnyaló/Vadnyíló* valley (referring to wild flora or wild animals who maybe usually go there to smarmy salt), than reaches again King's peak.

²⁶⁵ See the Latin text transcribed by a later copy in the catalogue.



Figure 2-11. Cut from a cadastral map on the territory of Szentlélek. (1788) National Archive, S 12 Div IX No. 99.

A cadastral map of Pilisszentlélek from 1788, stored in the National Archive covers a few points with this perambulation (Fig.2-11.). As a significant feature in the landscape, *Süllér* hill might be the medieval King's peak; unfortunately, only one further suggestion can be made on the medieval boundary. In the southwestern area, the name Black rock have been preserved until nowadays. It is clear that even the older boundaries on the map are showing a larger area, surely from the southeastern area until Black rock.

A bit more is known on the environment around the monastery which was enclosed by a wall. (Fig. 2-12.) A few meters near the ruin garden to the northwest, several wild fruit trees (apple and pear) may represent a historical orchard at the site.²⁶⁶ Here the remains of a complex water management system were recorded. As sources did not mention this, here the existence of a structure is only a hypothesis.

²⁶⁶ It was clear after the field surveys; here I should thank to my Father to notice the regularity of apple and pear. Afterwards LászlóFerenczi gave free run in a document on the plan of the surrounding landscape heritage management, which also marks the area as a historical orchard.

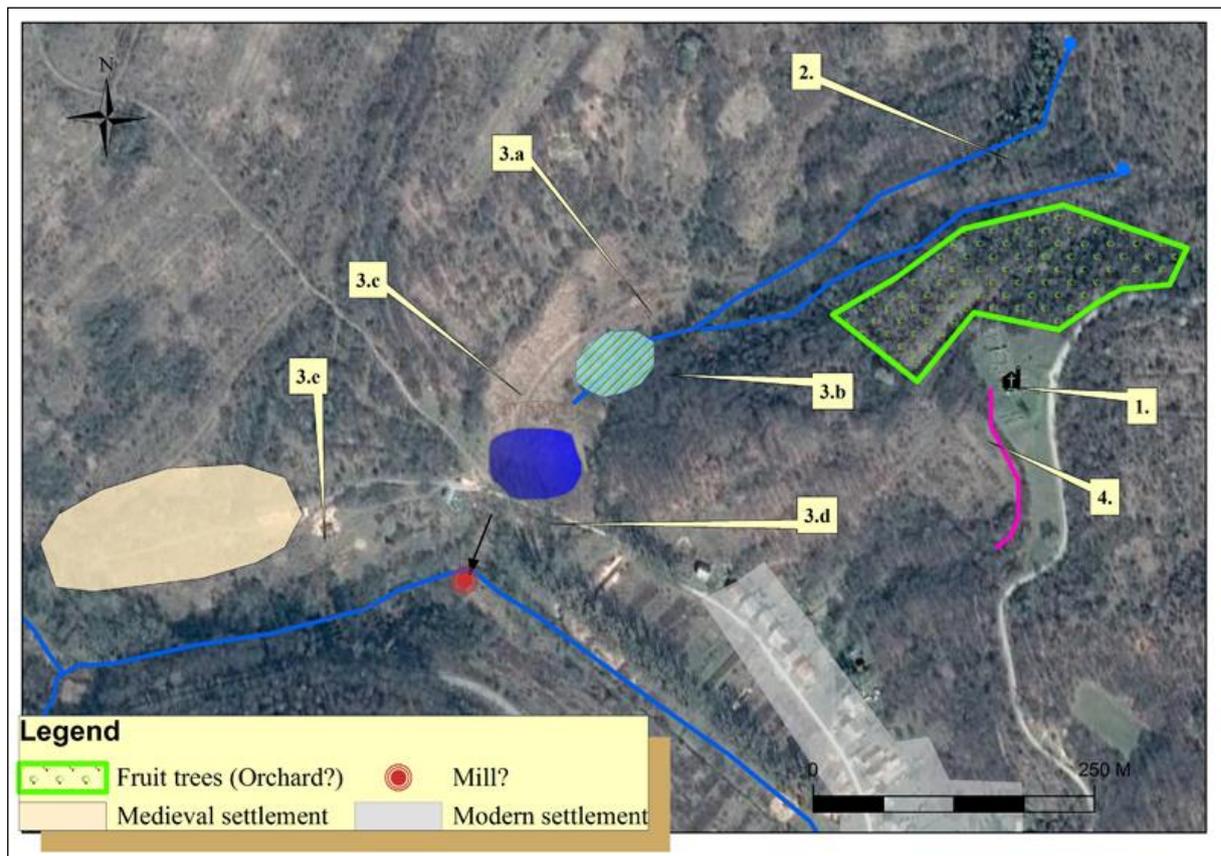


Figure 2-12. The results of the field surveys around the Holy Spirit Monastery (1), where near the orchard, streams and springs (2), fishponds and dikes (3.a-e) were detected with a supposed mill with its channel.

According to local circumstances, the fishponds (3.a-e) were dug in the first sharply, then lightly elevating terrain of the valley ca. 200-250 m from the monastery.²⁶⁷ Nowadays the moats and structural details are hardly recordable, only the area in circular form covered by reed is the sign of them. The mill was identified by previous researches,²⁶⁸ but the mill channel, which was mentioned in the reports, was destroyed by erosion and human impact. Although, the medieval settlement in the valley, near the stream is clearly identifiable; it also could be a manor, which was the nucleus of a later settlement.²⁶⁹ There is no data on

²⁶⁷ A landscape architectural survey detected here three fishponds, but according to the situation what our field surveys resulted, the terrain – as it is moist bed of a valley – seems to be changing radically in a short period.

²⁶⁸ See the catalogue.

²⁶⁹ As after the Ottoman period the uninhabited territories were settled by newly arrived people, it is problematic to connect the newly founded settlements with medieval origins. Although, if there ever was a settlement, served for the monks, it supposed to named after the monastery, as it is generally true in such situations.

workshops connected to water management system, but there were some buildings excavated to the south from the church, which served for industrial purposes.²⁷⁰

There are only a few medieval documents on the monastery,²⁷¹ but there is no strong evidence against the general characteristic features of an average Pauline monastery. A telling event is that acting together with the Holy Cross Monastery, which must have been a good financial decision, the Paulines could buy a house for 400 Florins, which supposed to be a mid-, or low high category building in the late Middle Ages. The strong connection between the two monasteries may originate from the foundation of the Holy Spirit Monastery, which must have been a *filia* of the Holy Cross Monastery. Translating it to spatial language, the two monasteries were not far from each other, the ideal route between them was ca. 1 km.

Although it has been suggested that royalties were accommodated here, beside the written evidence, there are only few archaeological evidences which can be used to support this idea.²⁷² The present picture of the ruin-garden shows the final period of the buildings, finished around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. It also articulates the picture on representation and wealth, as the uncovered stone fragments represent a typical rural architecture of early fifteenth century Hungary.²⁷³

²⁷⁰Lázár “Pilisszentlélek műhelyház”.

²⁷¹ See the catalogue.

²⁷² For example, the excavated stove tiles were coming from the refectory and the Southern outbuilding (3rd and 5thpermises). The laying of a stove in the chapter and a negative of a stove tile (decorated with Madonna and baby Jesus) was also found in the monastery. Sarolta Lázár, “A pilisszentléleki pálos kolostor kályhacsempéi” [The stove tiles of the Pauline monastery of Pilisszentlélek], *A Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (2001):167-180.

²⁷³ The information from the material is enough to reconstruct some parts, like the vestry or the apse of the church. Gergely Buzás, “A pilisszentléleki pálos kolostor kőfaragványai” [Stone fragments of the Pauline monastery of Pilisszentlélek], in *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok*. Vol. 1. (Csorna: Private Edition of Vince Árva, 1994), 182-183.

Monastery of Saint Ladislaus (Pilisszentlászló)

As the location of the monastery is unsure and the landscape features have not yet been recorded, written sources and historical maps are the basis for some conclusions. Examining the historical maps of the eighteenth and nineteenth century (usually drawn by Pauline monks²⁷⁴), several questions are added to the whole issue of St. Ladislaus Monastery. As the analysis on the structural dynamic of the Pilis revealed, it is supposed to have a special location by being situated halfway between Visegrád and Óbuda, which may correlate with the foundation.²⁷⁵

There are debates on the issue to what extent the parish church was built upon/next to the Pauline monastery, right above the settlement on an abandoned hill. An early map (eighteenth century) representing the boundaries and inner structure of the settlement (Szentlászló), interestingly marks an ecclesial site to the east-southeast (Fig. 2-13.). Some other features also appear, like boundary marks (most probably *metae terrae*) from this latter site down to the settlement of Bogdány or the arable lands on that hill, where later maps mark the St. Ladislaus Monastery, right above Szentlászló.

²⁷⁴ After the Ottoman period, as part of the long consolidation, there were several trials to reconstruct the original medieval properties of the religious orders. This raised many questions and misunderstandings up until contemporary scholarship. An example József Laszlovszky, "Ciszterci vagy pálos? A Pomáz-nagykovácsipusztán található középkori épületmaradványok azonosítása." [Cistercian or Pauline? Interpretation of the medieval architectural remains at Nagykovácsipusztá, Pomáz], in *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában*, ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 191-208.

²⁷⁵ As was highlighted above, the foundation of the monastery raises many questions. The monastery was supposedly founded by King Ladislaus IV by 1291, as the contemporary tradition was to give the founder's name, especially the king's name, to the monastery. This argument is crucial because here it is clearly visible, that the traditional history by Gyöngyösi and the data from original documents, also used by Gyöngyösi, do not correlate with each other. Therefore, in his *Vitae Fratrum* there is a significant paradox.



Figure 2-13. Detail from a historical map; Szentlászló settlement and its territory. (Eighteenth century) National Archive, S 86 No. 1.

Although the map cannot be georeferenced properly, the site of the marked ecclesiastical feature is identifiable on modern a map; there might be a potential location around nowadays St. Ladislaus Hill (Szent László-hegy), somewhere on the southeastern-eastern side or (understanding the order of the hills differently on the historical map) more to northwest, around the Small Priest Hill (Kis-Pap-hegy) (Fig. 2-14.)

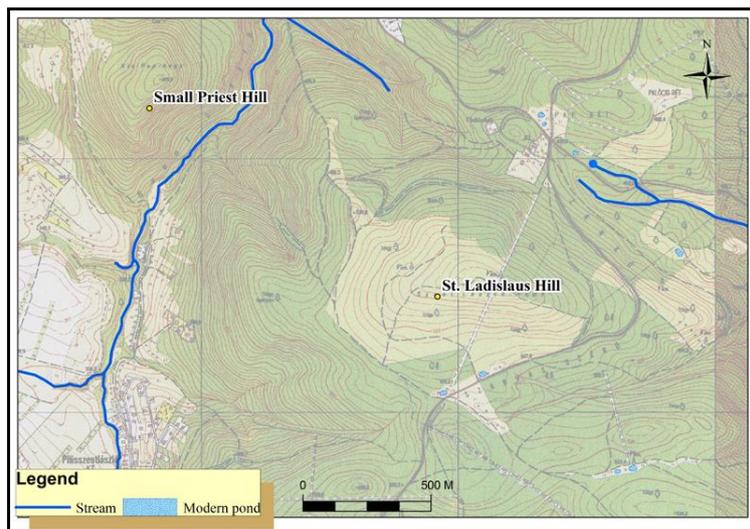


Figure 2-14. Present-day features of landscape; Detail from the map of the Unified National Map System (projection 1: 10 000)

Another historical map (Fig. 2-15., directed to east-southeast) on the boundary ditch between Szentendre and Szentlászló settlements marks a cross at the same location, but it can be understood as the sign for the crossing roads.²⁷⁶ On this map the (supposed) ruins (*rudera*) of St. Ladislaus are marked on the hill over the settlement, on that location, which is accepted by recent scholarship. This map also shows some hints for historical land-use; a vineyard (*vinea*) is present from east to the settlement, before the cross.

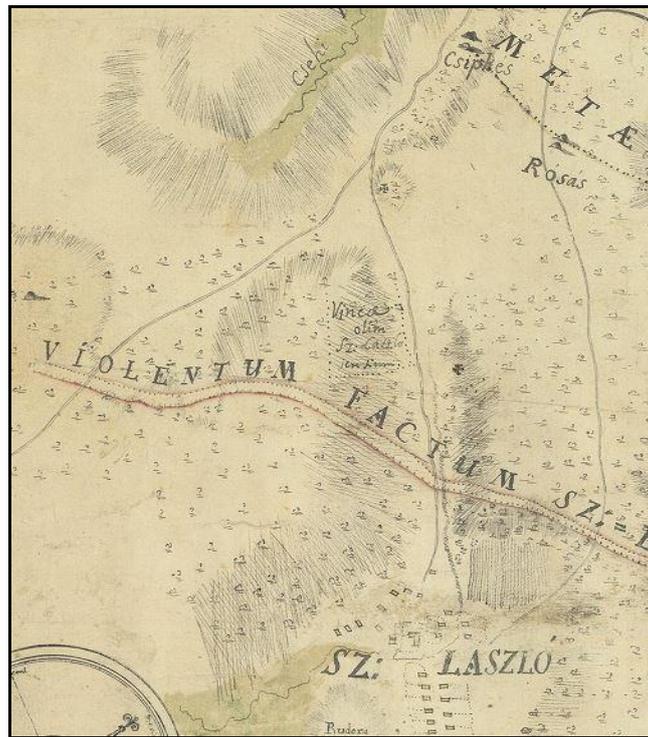


Figure 2-15. Detail from a historical map; the boundary between Szentlászló and Szentendre. (Map directed to the east; from 1760) National Archive, S 86 No. 5.

Historical maps also contain information about the boundary of the settlement²⁷⁷, but regarding the long debates around this topic, which resulted numerous pieces of these maps, further research should compare the information.²⁷⁸ *Nota bene*: most of these maps are

²⁷⁶But it is interesting, that on further maps, this cross is duplicated, therefore it suggests something to exist there. See other maps from the National Archive: S 86 No. 8 and 9, S 107 No. 19.

²⁷⁷ Map: S 86 No. 8, S 86 No. 4.

²⁷⁸ It is also a problem, that these maps were drawn within a short period, containing different information and approaches.

supporting the idea that the arable lands were and nowadays they are still located on that hill, where the monastery supposed to stand.

Another map illustrates the best how complex the medieval landscape must have been. The next details of a map (Fig. 2-16.) illustrates the boundary between Szentlászló and Bogdány (settlement to the northeast), where a garden, cultivated by the inhabitants of Szentlászló (*hortus molior Szt. László*) and two charcoal production sites (*carbonarium*) were located. But what is more important, the Kékes (Bluish) stream is identifiable as nowadays Apátkúti (Abbot's well) stream, where at least one mill was used by the Paulines. But this identification seems to contradict the sources, which also tell that this stream was on the territory of Szentendre royal village, which is to the east from Szentlászló. And, to articulate more this picture, there is a stream from Szentlászló to southeast, which floods into the Danube near medieval Szentendre – among the Small and Large Bluish hills.

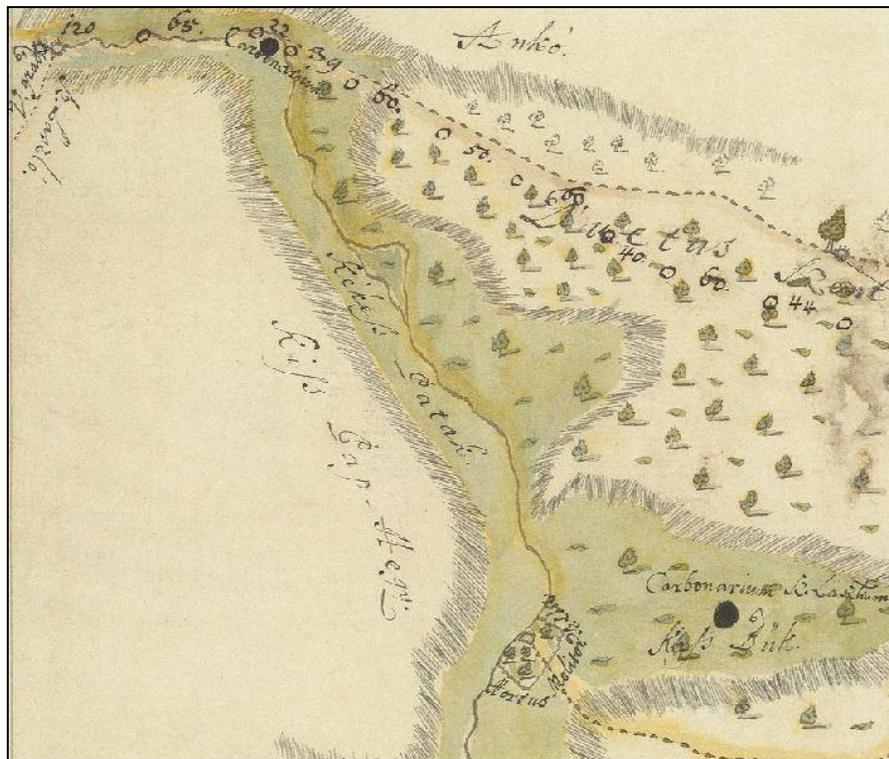


Figure 2-16. Historical map; the boundary between Szentlászló and Bogdány (1760). National Archive, S 86 No. 5.

Regarding written sources, they contain rich information for the late Middle Ages. They suggest that this monastery fits the typical Pauline scheme, namely that the monks focused on to find regular and stable incomes from vine/vineyards, mills (as the most precious features), and rent houses or sometimes donated by alms.²⁷⁹ Even unbuilt but suitable sites for mills or ruined mills, which were donated for them (1358) by the King close to the monastery on Kékes stream, were valuable for the Paulines. It is not known, how often it was necessary to make repairs on mills, but more than a hundred years later a charter informs us that the mill (or a mill) still exists on the stream, but it needs to be repaired.²⁸⁰ The basic daily needs were supplied from their fishponds; even two of them served the monks, situated over the monastery: A larger one, which had to be repaired at that time, and most probably if there was a larger one, there must have been a smaller fishpond as well.²⁸¹ It is also known that a settlement (Kékes) was near the monastery by 1301, settled by a castellan of Visegrád.²⁸²

2.3 Conclusions on Spatial Analysis

Accommodating the Paulines in the Pilis, several approaches can be used. On the level of the Pilis, examining the location and changing emphasis of the Pauline monasteries, a draft on the dynamic of the Pilis can be drawn. By the termination of the itinerant kingship the role of the hunting lodges or (a kind of) *curiae regales* changes; they are no more as important for the king as before, therefore – as the symbolic representation of the royal power

²⁷⁹ See data in catalogue.

²⁸⁰ Peter of Tahi in the name of his wife, sons, brother (Stephen, the provost of Dömös) and himself offered a large donation for the monastery preparing the larger fishpond and mill at Kékes stream, and in return, he most probably asked for a permission to get buried in the monastery. Also, the donator prospected more donations in the future and at the same time the Paulines obligated the monks of the monastery to celebrate a mass for the family on each Saturday in front of the Virgin Mary altar. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 99. Also see reference 547.

²⁸¹ DL 17454. See Catalogue. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 86.

²⁸² Györffy, “Adatok,” 254.

in the Pilis, – the kings donate these buildings for religious orders (Cistercians – 1184, Paulines – second half of the thirteenth century).

The royal power shifts from Esztergom to Buda and Visegrád in the mid-1200s – by that time Esztergom, as a place of royal representation, totally ceases. The Paulines “followed” the movement by their presence at the St. Ladislaus Monastery, halfway between Buda/Óbuda and Visegrád. It seems like, that by the end of the thirteenth century, the emphasis of royal power might move to Buda, which was marked by the foundation of St. Laurence Monastery close to it. Most of these tendencies were revealed by the location of royal and ecclesial centers, and among them, the location of the monasteries and their locations to the roads in the Pilis.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the Paulines were highlighted by royal support; this ensured their somewhat stabile presence and economy (at least self-sufficiency). In parallel with royal support, the stabile place and background of the order provided their confirmation by the highest ecclesial authority, the archbishop of Esztergom by 1291.²⁸³ After, another event confirms the swift of focus to the eastern region of the Pilis, namely the political talk at the St. Ladislaus Monastery in 1308. King Charles Robert I could stabilize his role and the political background after the 1320s, when Visegrád was in the focus.

The Pauline network and economy was developing afterwards; a significant event is the foundation of monasteries in the 1350s at the Börzsöny Forest (Nosztre and Toronyalja), north to the Pilis and Visegrád, on the other side of the Danube bank. It suggests that King Louis I, by his foundations, intend to give a new meaning of symbolic royal representation by

²⁸³ In this context it is more contradictory that in 1270 the monks could elect a general provost; at that time it is hardly correct to talk about the Paulines as an order; this title must have been symbolic and the provost had influence over just a few monasteries/ hermit communities.

the Paulines with settling them close to Visegrád, around the royal court, situated around the Lower Palace.²⁸⁴

The official papal confirmation of the order was a great success, but more telling is the circumstances of the translation of St. Paul the First Hermit's body in 1381. By that time the royal curia was built out at Buda, which feature might have been essential in the decision about the final place of the relics. After all, the St. Laurence Monastery dominated not only the Pauline hierarchy, but the royal court. King Sigismund I attempted to create another symbolic center near Visegrád, but it seems to be an unsuccessful trial. Since the mid-1400s, mostly during the reign of King Matthias I the order was donated with several monasteries, ran by other religious orders unsuccessfully before; but also, their "international carrier" (mást) was successful by getting the San Stefano Rotondo at Rome.

By the sixteenth century, thanks to their brilliant self-management and strong royal (and besides ecclesial) support, the Pauline order could stabilize its position and have an overwhelming leverage in the Kingdom of Hungary. It is conformed that regarding only spatial attributes of medieval features and catch the supposed logic behind can articulate or sometimes rephrase the meaning and role of the Paulines, the Pauline monasteries and hierarchy, also the dynamic changes of their spatial sphere, which is the Pilis.

Regarding the description of monasteries, here the attached catalogue should count as well. The main goal was to systematically list the known features of space, afterwards to control and also record their condition. Besides, it was also an aim to find new features on the targeted areas, around the monasteries. From the three monasteries two were precisely identifiable; the systematical summary could reveal some new features behind their foundation, the frame of their life and local history.

²⁸⁴ Which was built around that time.

The Holy Cross Monastery was and yet is still regarded as the first monastery of the Paulines, though there were hermit communities and monasteries much before its appearance. Although it had its symbolic leadership, as the traditional history and the contemporary documents preserved in it seems to prove this. It might have been true until the general changes in the spatial network have affected its role; the global changes in the royal policy led to the end of its supposed leadership and afterwards, since the beginning of the thirteenth century it may become an average Pauline monastery with a complex water management system and some properties around the area, just as with some regular income from rents for the ca. 15 monks. Its symbolic meaning might be as small as for the contemporaries at the end of the fourteenth century (or more, it was forgotten), that the Holy Cross Monastery was not even mentioned as a potential place as the site for the final emplacement of the relics of St. Paul the First Hermit.

The Holy Spirit monastery seemed to have the smallest impact since its beginnings, but the site itself tells a lot about the circumstances of foundations; here the archaeological and architectural evidences more or less proved the existence of an earlier (royal) curia. By the end of the fourteenth century its size and character was similar to the Holy Cross Monastery. The foundation of the St. Ladislaus Monastery might have been indicated by a good spatial location, but as the circumstances of its foundation and the precise location is not known, just hypothetical ideas could have a place. After all, where it was possible to target the area precisely, it was proved that the circumstances of examining a monastic space in the Pilis forest are good.

CONCLUSIONS

The Pauline order has a carrier full with dynamic changes, closely connected to royal power and representation, and it can be regarded as an ideal basis for landscape studies. The research of the Pauline economy from historical perspective has well-founded basics, thanks to the gathering, evaluating and analyzing approach of recent researches and studies, but the scholarship also has to deal with the contradiction between the early modern traditional history of the Pauline order (*Vitae Fratrum*) and medieval sources (even preserved in *Vitae Fratrum*). All these should be revised in a complex way, because many contradicting information could reveal a more articulated difference between what has happened and what was supposed to be happened.

Examining the Pauline space from landscape archaeological perspectives does not have as long history as for example in England, but the basic methods are articulating in this field the Hungarian scholarship. Although, there are significantly more general works on the research of the Pauline order, individual studies were also published in the last few years. In these circumstances the approach of this work follows a basically systematic line, where documenting the spatial features and collecting sources is great task; besides it is also crucial to apply to visualize and analyze the information on a digital platform. This method results a more articulated picture on each level of space.

Therefore, turning to the basic question of the thesis, it may be that the role of royal power was fundamental in the evolution of the Pauline order from their foundation. Therefore, their location beside the *desertum* phenomenon means the spiritual and symbolic representation of royal power in the Pilis royal forest after the thirteenth century, which can be approached from spatial features like roads and royal/ecclesiastical centers, or simply from the terrain (e.g., LCP analysis). More detailed research regarding the settlement system of the area would bring new data, which seems to be a more complex approach.

Side by side with their growing political potency, their economic management was changed and developed, which formed a stable basis for ecclesiastical approval. The basic forms of economy were developed by the fourteenth century; they mostly received donations of arable land, vineyards, mills – connected by fishponds (St. Ladislaus Monastery), and correlating with late medieval tendencies, they managed to develop or change to a more stable monetary economy. The monasteries' regional role – just as their attitude changed from hermits to unmade-mendicants – changed through the centuries, which spatially meant a shift from the west (Esztergom) to the east (Visegrád, then Buda); from the Holy Cross monastery to the St. Ladislaus.

Regarding the spatial sources, valuable data were found during the field surveys, although the land-use systems -- mostly the remains of past water management systems – were just partly discoverable. Simply by revealing and registering them means a great deal and gives a basis for further suggestions, but precise reconstruction of development, construction and use needs more general results on the topic. Not to mention the problem of dating; all these features probably represent the last phase of the monasteries, the end of the late Middle Ages.

Another crucial point is to study and collect other landscape features in the Pilis and their correlation with the medieval sites; there are still unknown and questioned sites which could articulate the picture of the medieval landscape of the Pilis by using basically traditional sources and new techniques based on a digital platform. Using the LiDAR technique for a survey would result in a detailed terrain model of the Pilis, which is absolutely crucial for a precise knowledge of the landscape. Not just to have an ideal resolution for digital models, but to identify new archaeological sites as well.

Geoarchaeological research, for example.. sampling fishponds, would help in reconstructing the past landscape regarding flora and fauna (including fish!); it could reveal

some data on the structure of fishponds and details of the whole water management system of the Paulines. Each monastery would be an ideal place, even the suggested locations of the St. Ladislaus monastery may lead to results. In this case an elementary method reveals information: the classic archaeological excavation. At least it would be ideal to open trenches near the supposed site, the present-day parish church of the settlement, to decide whether scholars have to do something with this area or it can forget about it. Also, the precise excavation of fishponds would be good and necessary.

Another issue is to examine Pauline architecture in general by continuing the work of Tamás Guzsik, but besides individual analysis it is crucial to broaden the picture to regional size, where all the ecclesiastical buildings are integrated and evaluated as comparative features of the question. Also, as the last source collections of Paulines were gathered a few decades ago, from a special perspective -- as Beatrix Romhányi also suggests²⁸⁵ -- it is time to start this increasingly important and just as hard work again. With the evolution of digital technology the archives e flooded scholars with a large number of historical documents (e.g., charters and maps), therefore a revision is suggested by integrating this way of collecting as well.

Based on a broader research palette with more and more systematic studies with complex approaches will form the basis for comparative studies as well. Here it has to be admitted that this work was originally planned to integrate two monasteries from northeastern Hungary, the Virgin Mary Monastery at Martonyi and the Monastery of John the Baptist at Kurityán. This particular idea was based on the author's recent interest in the spatial structure of that area where these monasteries were founded, the Bódva-Sajó interfluve. Here the historical background and the date of foundation differ from what is present in the Pilis, therefore forming an ideal basis for comparative studies on the focal points of the Pauline

²⁸⁵Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 10.

impact, the “Pauline-nature interaction”. During the work it turned out that the comparative approach should have a relevant system and points of references.

This comparison is only reliable with the Zemplén region, where the background of the foundations completely differs from the Pilis; although the general attributes which were highlighted by Károly Belényesy are valid in the Pilis as well. The environmental circumstances of locations are just the same: hidden but not secluded from the lay sphere, accommodating the profile, the main economic source, to local circumstances and the use of water with a complex system are all the same attributes. It is interesting that the cooperation among the groups of monasteries is not as clear as it was in the Zemplén; minimum cooperation is clear between the Holy Cross and the Holy Spirit Monasteries, which owned common properties and geographically were close to each other, but besides there is no other data on this.

According to these, this work is only a first-step in a large enterprise, which – based on a spatial approach – reveals new aspects in the research of the entire Pauline order. The Paulines in the Pilis were one of the main attributes of the royal forest, therefore the more detailed way they are researched, the more an articulated picture will reveal about them, in their development and changing role in royal power and the Pauline hierarchy. This correlates with the need for systematic and individual studies on Pauline monasteries, which would affect the conclusions of general studies as well. In this case, a relevant way to continue the studies is by elaborating the conclusions from the excavated archaeological materials, where the tools of daily routine suggest more on the Pauline impact of the landscape.

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APPENDICES

1. The Historical and Spatial Context of the Research

A proper historical work should start with the general view on the events which affected the research topic. Here, on the purpose of the selected approach, – instead of summarizing the several layers of the topic, – a table is attached where the main historical events are listed in a chronological order concerning the Paulines and the *medium regni*.²⁸⁶ This solution gives not just a much shorter overview of the topic, a fix point for further references, but beside, it may highlight the chronological connections between the historical events, which give a clear base of a more telling interpretation of the whole issue.

²⁸⁶ Also, the complex and critical historiography is skipped, considering that it has already been summarized in previous studies., therefore a general repetition is unnecessary, I point out the important debates in specified questions, connected to the narrow topic of the thesis. A compact and critical summary on the history and historiography of the Pauline order is available in English written by Károly Belényesy, *Abaúj-hegyalja*, 88-91. Since it has been published, several articles were written by historians and archaeologists closely attached to the Pauline monasteries, see the rest of them here in chronological order. László Solymosi, “Pilis-sziget vagy Fülöpsziget? A pálos remeteélet 13.századi kezdeteihez” [Island of Pilis or Island of Philip Island? Additions to early Pauline hermit life in the thirteenth century], in *Emlékkönyv Orosz István 70.születésnapjára*, ed. János Angi and János Barta, jr., (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2005), 11-23; Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary*, BAR International Series 1348. Archaeolingua, Central European Series, vol. 2, (Oxford: Basingstoke Press, 2005); Beatrix Romhányi, “Pálos gazdálkodás a 15-16.században” [Estate management of the Pauline monks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], *Századok* 141 (2007): 299-351; Gábor Sarbak, ed. *Decus Solitudinis. Pálos évszázadok* [Pauline Centuries], (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007); Beatrix Romhányi, “A pálosrendi hagyomány az oklevelek tükrében. Megjegyzések a Pálos Rend középkori történetéhez” [The tradition of the Pauline Order as reflected in charters. Remarks on the medieval history of the Pauline Order], *Történelmi Szemle* 50, no. 3. (2008): 289–312; Andrea Kékedi, “Középkori pálos kolostorok környezetátalakítása a nagyvázsonyi történeti táj példáján” [The impact of medieval Pauline monasteries in the landscape on the example of the historical landscape at Nagyvázsony] (MA Thesis in Landscape Architecture: Budapest Corvinus University, Budapest, 2008); Juan Cabello, Csaba László, and Zoltán Simon, “A Három hegyi Boldogságos Szűz Mária Pálos kolostor régészeti kutatása” [The archaeological investigation of the Pauline monastery dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary of Háromhegy], *A Hermann Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 47 (2008): 147-168; József Laszlovszky, “Ciszterci vagy pálos? A Pomáz-nagykovácsipusztán található középkori épület maradványok azonosítása” [Cistercian or Pauline? Interpretation of the medieval architectural remains at Nagykovácsipusztá, Pomáz], in *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában*. Vol. 5. ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 191-208; Máté Urbán, “Pálos zarándok helyek a későközépkori Magyarországon” [Pauline pilgrimage sites in late medieval Hungary], *Vallástudományi szemle* 5, no. 1. (2009): 63-85; Beatrix Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatóak fenn – Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban* [Estate management of the Pauline monks in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2010); Gábor Sarbak, ed., *Der Paulinerorden. Geschichte-Geist-Kultur* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010); Beatrix Romhányi, “A pálos élet forrásai a középkor végi Magyarországon” [Sources of the Pauline life in Hungary at the end of the Middle Ages]. *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* 14–15 (2011): 323–330; Beatrix Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben” [Pauline monasteries in the Pilis] in *Laudator Temporis Acti – Tanulmányok Horváth István 70 éves születésnapjára*, ed. Edit Tari Edit (Esztergom: Balassi Bálint Múzeum, 2012), 223-227; Sarolta Lázár, “A pilisszentléleki pálos kolostor műhelyháza [The workshop of the Pauline monastery at Pilisszentlélek], in *Laudator Temporis Acti – Tanulmányok Horváth István 70 éves születésnapjára*, ed. Edit Tari (Esztergom: Balassi Bálint Múzeum, 2012), 213-222; Beatrix Romhányi, “Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary”. *Periodica Polytechnica* 43 (2012): 53-56; Melinda Miskolci and Gábor Szörényi. “A miskolc-szentléleki pálos kolostor

Date	Event
972(-1240s)	Esztergom was the most important royal residence and ecclesiastical centre of the Hungarian Kingdom.
Before 1046	The St. Peter Provostry at Óbuda was founded by (most probably) King Peter I (1038-1040, 1042-1046).
1055	The St. Andrew Monastery was founded by King Andrew I (1046-1060).
ca. 1107	Foundation of Dömös provostry in the Pilis by Prince Álmos, brother of King Coloman on a <i>regale allodium</i> .
1184	The Cistercian Monastery was founded in the Pilis by King Béla III (1172-1196).
1187	The Pilis was mentioned as the King's very own Forest.
1198	King Emeric (1196-1204) donates the royal palace at Esztergom to the Archbishop; therefore Esztergom turns to be mainly a religious seat. Although, the kings (mainly King Béla IV) stayed there for longer periods several times until the mid-1200s.
1200s	At the end of the twelfth, beginning of the thirteenth century the royal residence of Óbuda starts to emerge in the <i>medium regni</i> .
1225	Bishop Bartholomew had given rules to the hermits, living above the Patacs Hill (South Hungary, today Baranya County)
1225	The <i>comes</i> of Pilis County was mentioned the very first time.
1241/42	The Mongol invasion.
1240s	The role of Esztergom as a capital decreased while the construction of Buda castle (fortified town with royal curia) was ongoing.
1251	The construction of the royal castles in Visegrád was partly ready. The Upper Castle was built to protect, in case of another invasion, the nuns of what is today Margaret Island (back then Rabbit Island) in Budapest. The Lower castle was built for the king.
1250s	Eusebius founds the Monastery of Holy Cross in the Pilis, near Esztergom.
1255	The construction of Buda Castle was already finished by this time. It was basically a fortified urban settlement with a royal curia.
1259	King Béla IV (1235-1270) donates "the castle [of Visegrád] with the county and district of Pilis" ²⁸⁷ to the queen.

története és 2012.évi kutatása" [The history of the Pauline friary near Miskolc and its archeological excavation in 2012] In *A Kaposváron 2012. november 22–24. között megrendezett Fiatal Középkoros Régészek IV. Konferenciájának tanulmányai. A Kaposvári Rippl-Rónai Múzeum Közleményei* 2.ed. Máté Varga (Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Múzeum, 2013), 83-91; József Laszlovszky, "The Royal Palace in the Sigismund Period and the Franciscan Friary at Visegrád. Royal Residence and the Foundation of Religious Houses," in *The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád*, ed. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013), 207-218; Beatrix Romhányi and Gábor Sarbak, ed. *Formularium maius ordinis Sancti Pauli primi Heremitaie* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2013).

²⁸⁷..castrum cum comitatu et districtu de Pelys. Translated by Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95.

1263	Seven communities were recorded in the first inventory of hermits living in the territory of Veszprém Bishopric. The hermitages were too poor to ask for religious allowances, so Paul, the Bishop of Veszprém ordered an individual rule for them.
1270	The first general provost was elected in the Holy Cross Monastery
1291	The second inventory of Pauline monasteries in Veszprém diocese by Benedict, the bishop of Veszprém, in which the Holy Cross and the St. Ladislaus Monastery was mentioned. Lodomér, the Archbishop of Esztergom confirms this inventory and the existence of such hermit communities.
1290s	The construction of the St. Laurence Monastery.
1297	Andrew, Bishop of Eger gave a guideline of lifestyle for the hermits living in that bishopric.
1301-1323	After the death of Andrew III (1301), the last ruler of the Árpáadian dynasty, Charles Robert I of Anjou, the first Angevin ruler, spent many years to stabilize his reign (1308-1342) during this period his main centre was not located in the <i>medium regni</i> , but in the eastern part of the kingdom.
1308	Cardinal Gentile, the Papal Legate supporting the fight of Charles I for the royal power, confirms the regulations of St. Augustine for the order (13 th December) one month after the political meeting with Matthew Csák (10 th November) in the Pauline Monastery of St. Ladislaus at Kékes.
1309	The first general chapter (<i>capitulum generale</i>) of the Pauline order was held at the St. Laurence Monastery (near Buda!), which shows that it took leadership from the Holy Cross Monastery. Cardinal Gentile Papal Legate mentions the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit (<i>fratribus S. de Heremo, O. S. Pauli primi eremite per Hungariam</i>) in a charter.
1323	After the death of Matthew Csák, Charles Robert and the royal court moved to Visegrád.
1327/1328	The inventory of Ladislaus, the Archbishop of Kalocsa mentions thirty monasteries in 1327, at some places with twelve or twenty monks. As a result, Pope John XXII permitted the monks to follow the rules of St. Augustine and elect general prior, who had the right to visit, discipline, and to absolve from excommunication. Since this time, their lands were exempted from paying tithe, and they were separated from the local ecclesiastical organization.
1347	King Louis I (1342-1381) moved the royal court from Visegrád to Buda (to the so called <i>Kammerhof</i> , which supposed to lay on the northeast of the castle hill, in the town).
1352	King Louis I founded the Pauline monastery at Nosztre, north to the Pilis and the Danube bank, in the Börzsöny forest.
1355	King Louis I moved the royal court from Buda back to Visegrád.
1368	Pope Urban V (1362-1370), at the request of the King Louis I approved and ratified the Pauline order.
Ca. 1377	The construction of a <i>curia regia</i> , a new castle/palace for the royal court was finished on the south of the Castle Hill at Buda.

1381	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The relics of St. Paul the First Hermit were translated from Venice to Buda (royal palace), than to the St. Laurence Monastery. • On this occasion, King Louis donates the old royal palace (<i>Kammerhof</i>) to the Paulines.
1405-1408	The royal seat moves to Buda from Visegrád by the order of King Sigismund I (1387-1437).
1417	The permission given by Pope Martin V allowed the Paulines to do pastoral work.
1454	The Paulines ran the San Stefano Rotondo in Rome.
1523	The relics of St. Paul were unified (the skull of the saint was translated from Karlstein by King Louis II)

*Fig. 1. Important Events in the Medieval History of the Pauline Order*²⁸⁸

²⁸⁸ Data extracted from Júlia Altmann et al., *Medium Regni - Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1993); Belényesy, *Abauj-Hegyalja*, 88-90; Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 93-97.

2. Illustrations

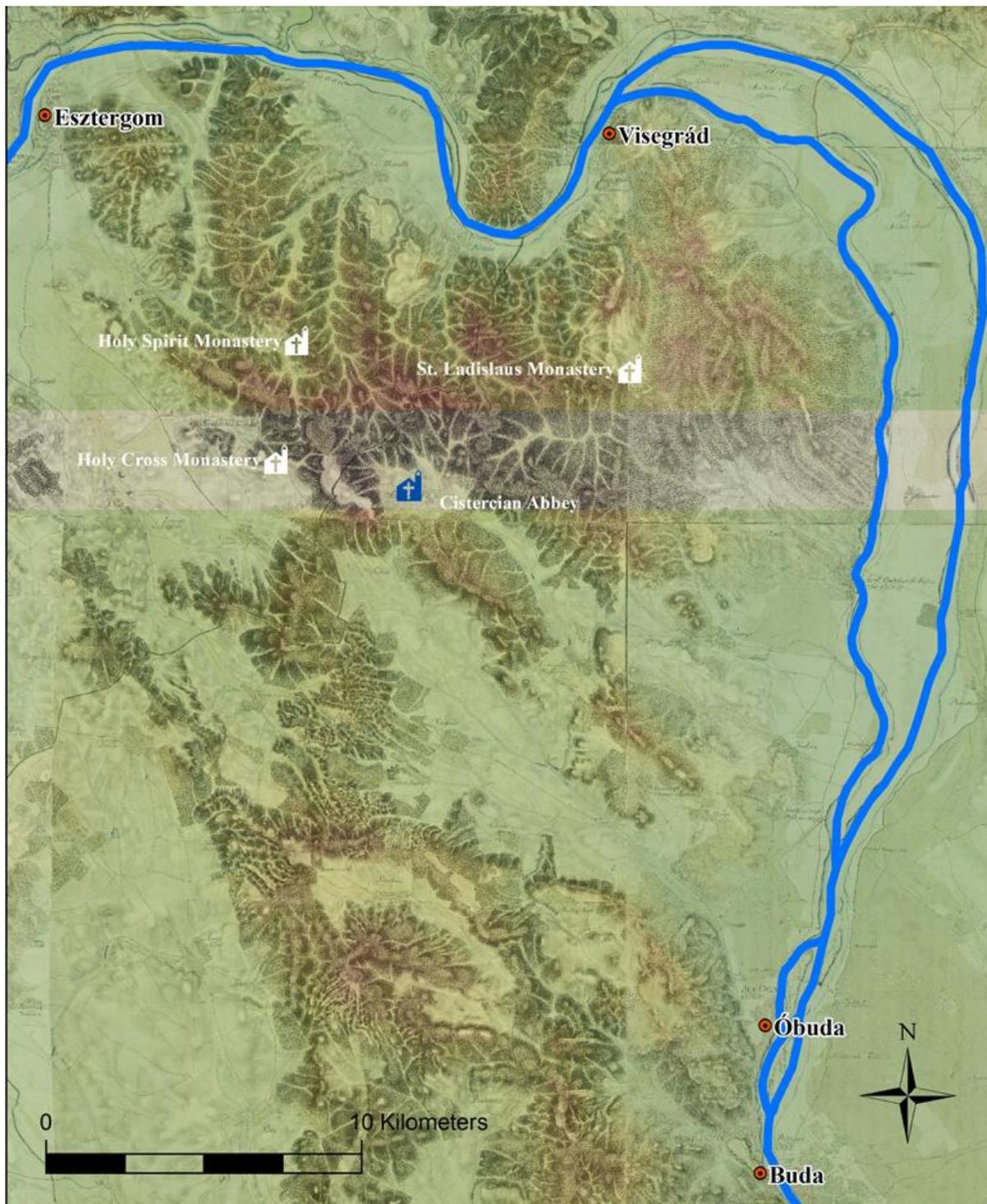


Figure 1-1. The main royal and ecclesial centers of the *medium regni* regarding the Pilis. Basic layer is a cut from the First Military Survey.

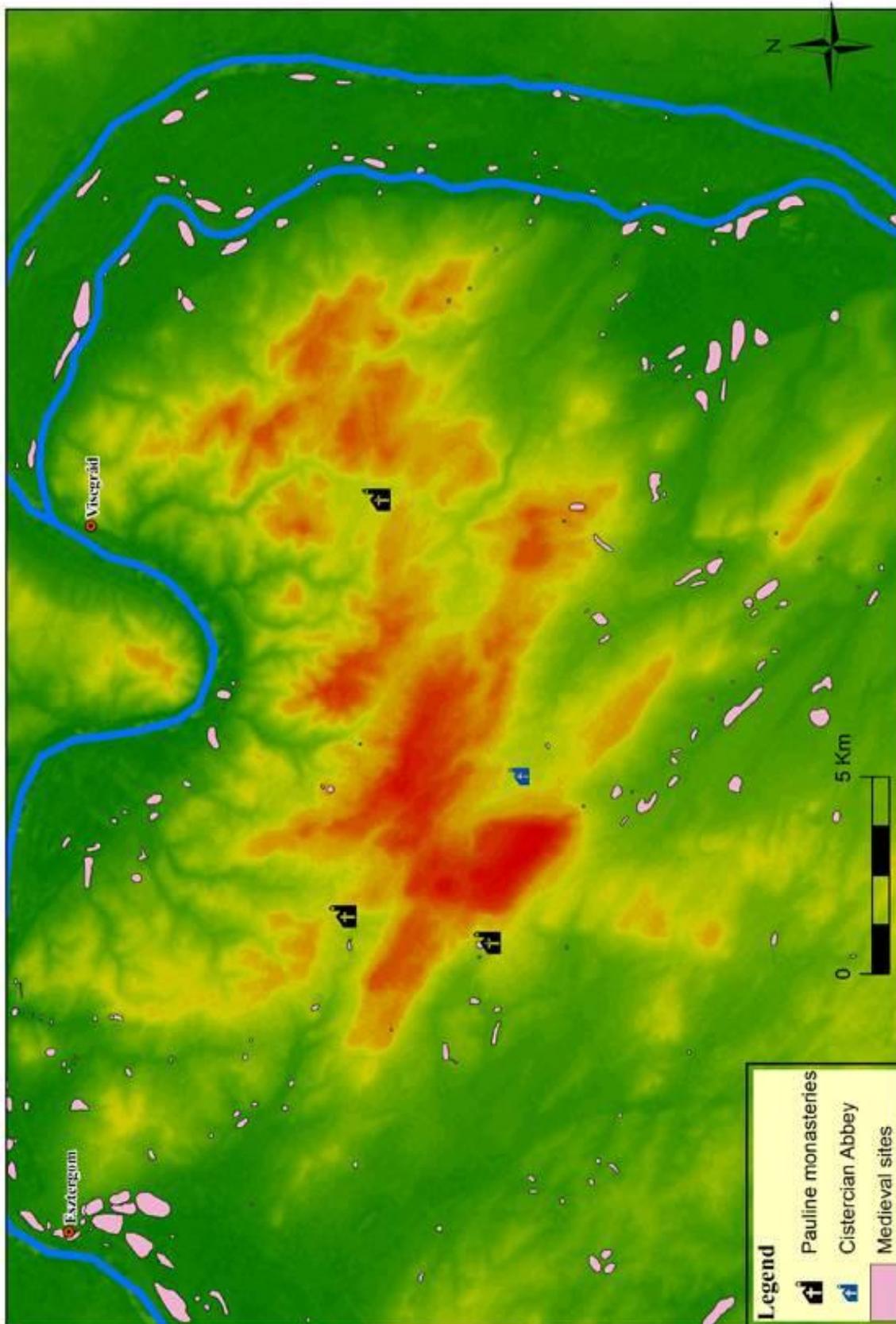


Figure 1-2. The known medieval sites from archaeological field surveys in the Pilis region. Map based on the digitization of all medieval sites from *MRT 5* and *MRT 7*, based on an ASTER GDEM cut.



Figure 1-3. A cut from *Tabula Hungariae* by Lazarus, showing the Pilis. Online source, “Solmyár történelme” [The History of Solymár], accessed March 4, 2014, http://www.solymar.hu/hu/turista - solymar_tortenelme

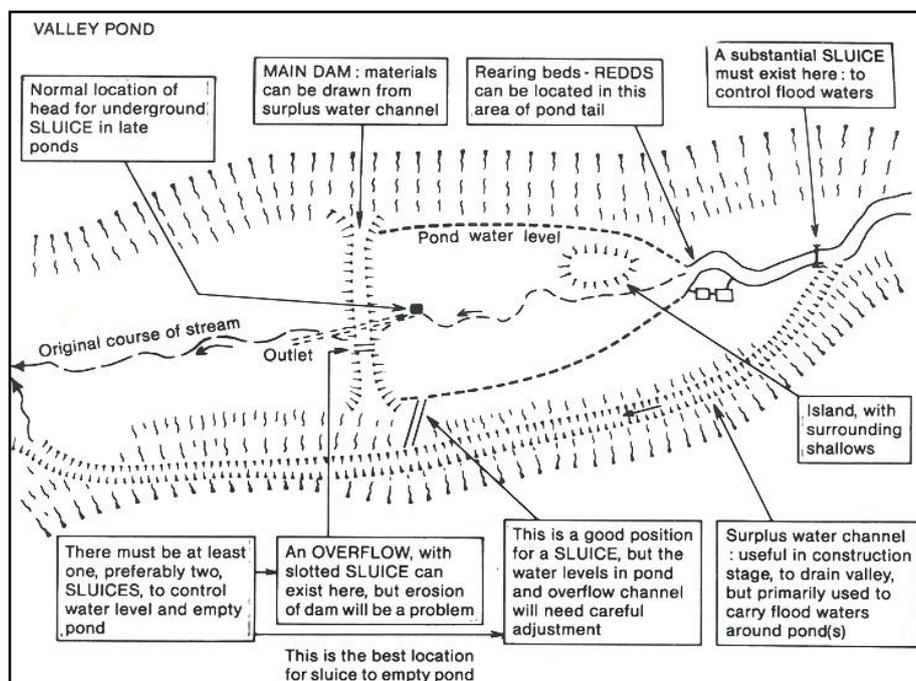


Figure 1-4. The valley pond. B. K. Roberts, “The Re-discovery of fishponds”, in *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*, ed. Mick Aston (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988), 11.

Spatial Level	Original Source	Digitized Features	Analysis (based on ASTER GDEM)
Pilis (Level 5) - Road-network ²⁸⁹ - Medieval settlement pattern ²⁹⁰ - Terrain - Hydrology	Archaeological Topography of Hungary ²⁹¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Archaeological features of the land (medieval settlements, cloisters, roads, boundary marks, etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>pdd</i> (potential drain density) • LCP (Least Cost Path)
	First Military Survey of Hungary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main roads • Control for hydrological features 	
	Second Military Survey of Hungary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Main roads] • Control for hydrological features 	
	ASTE GDEM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Digital Elevation Model (DEM) 	
	EOV/ Unified National Map System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural features (streams, caves, springs, mills) • Roads 	

Regional Topography (Level 4)	Historical Maps and Maps by Unified National Map System	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Look for spatial features 	
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Monastic Landscape (Level 3)	ASTE GDEM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Digital Elevation Model (DEM) for modelling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>pdd</i> (potential drain density)
	Digitized terrain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation, • Basis for further researches 	

²⁸⁹MRT5; MRT 7; Elek Benkő, “Via regis – via gregis. Középkori utak a Pilisben” [Via regis – via gregis. Medieval roads in the Pilis], in “Félévszázadterepen.” Tanulmánykötet Torma István tiszteletére 70. születésnapja alkalmából [“Half century in the field” – Studies on the honor of István Torma for his 70th birthday], ed. Klára Kővári and Zsuzsa Miklós (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011), 115-119; László Ferenczi – Márton Deák-Balázs Kohán – Tamás Látos, *Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben: tájrégészeti-tájtörténeti vizsgálatok térinformatikai háttérrel* [Research of historical pathways in the Pilis: landscape archaeological and landscape archaeological examinations with GIS], Manuscript. (Budapest: 2013).

²⁹⁰ The medieval (Árpáadian Era, Late Medieval, Medieval) settlement pattern was reconstructed on the basis of the digitized result of Archaeological Topography of Hungary, where the scholars gathered all the available written evidence on each site; although this happened many decades ago, there is no significant change in the identification of the medieval settlement, which could modify this picture dramatically. I corrected the information only once, concerning the grange of the Cistercian Abbey at Pomáz-Nagykovácspuszta site, where archaeological research identified the glass product workshop and a complex water management system around it, which served the Abbey.

²⁹¹MRT 5 and MRT 7.

	First Military Survey of Hungary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main roads • Control for hydrological features 	
	Second Military Survey of Hungary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main roads • Control for hydrological features 	

Figure 1-6. Used sources on digital platform on each spatial level.

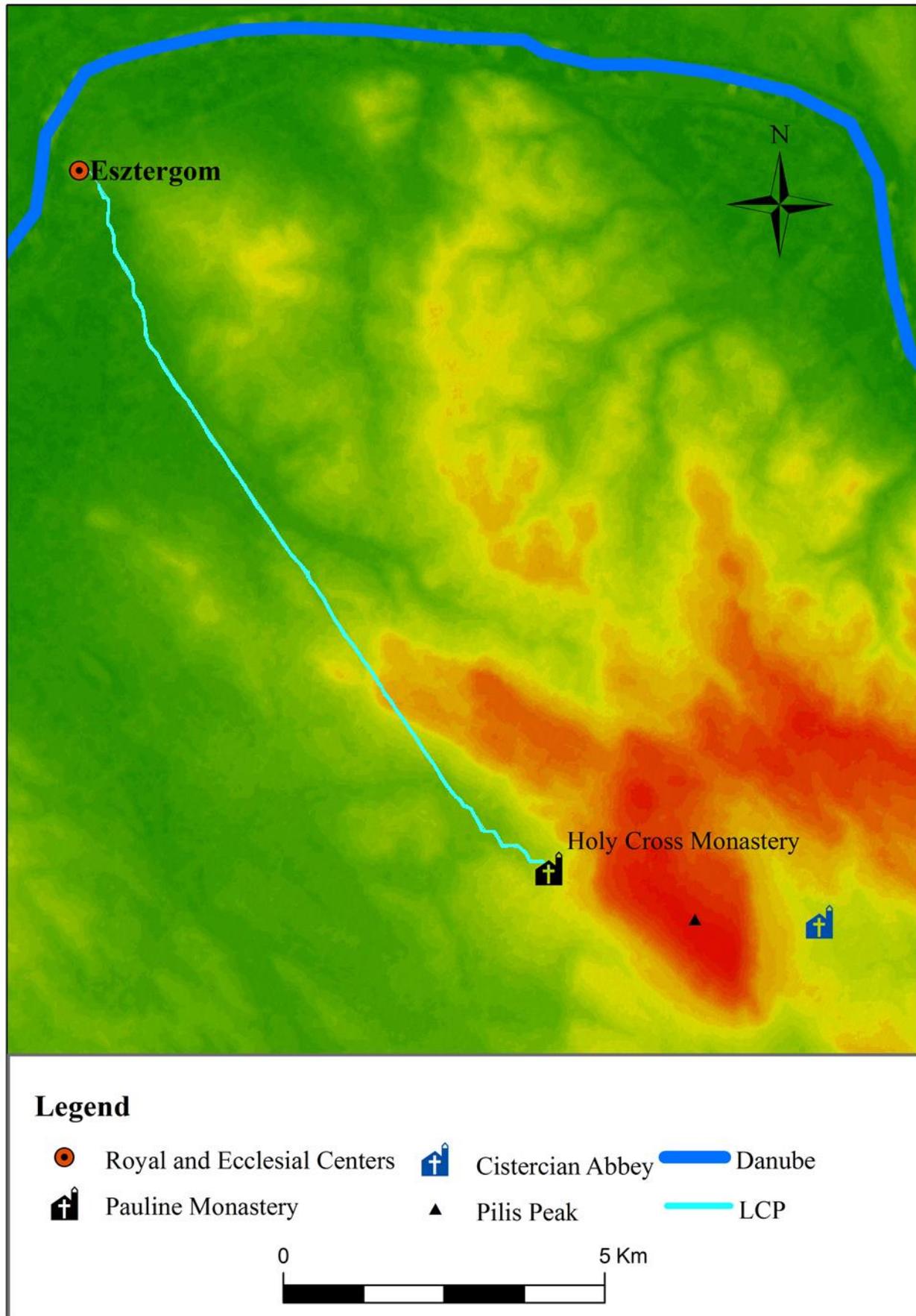


Figure. 2-1. An LCP analysis between Esztergom and Keszölc on ASTER GDEM

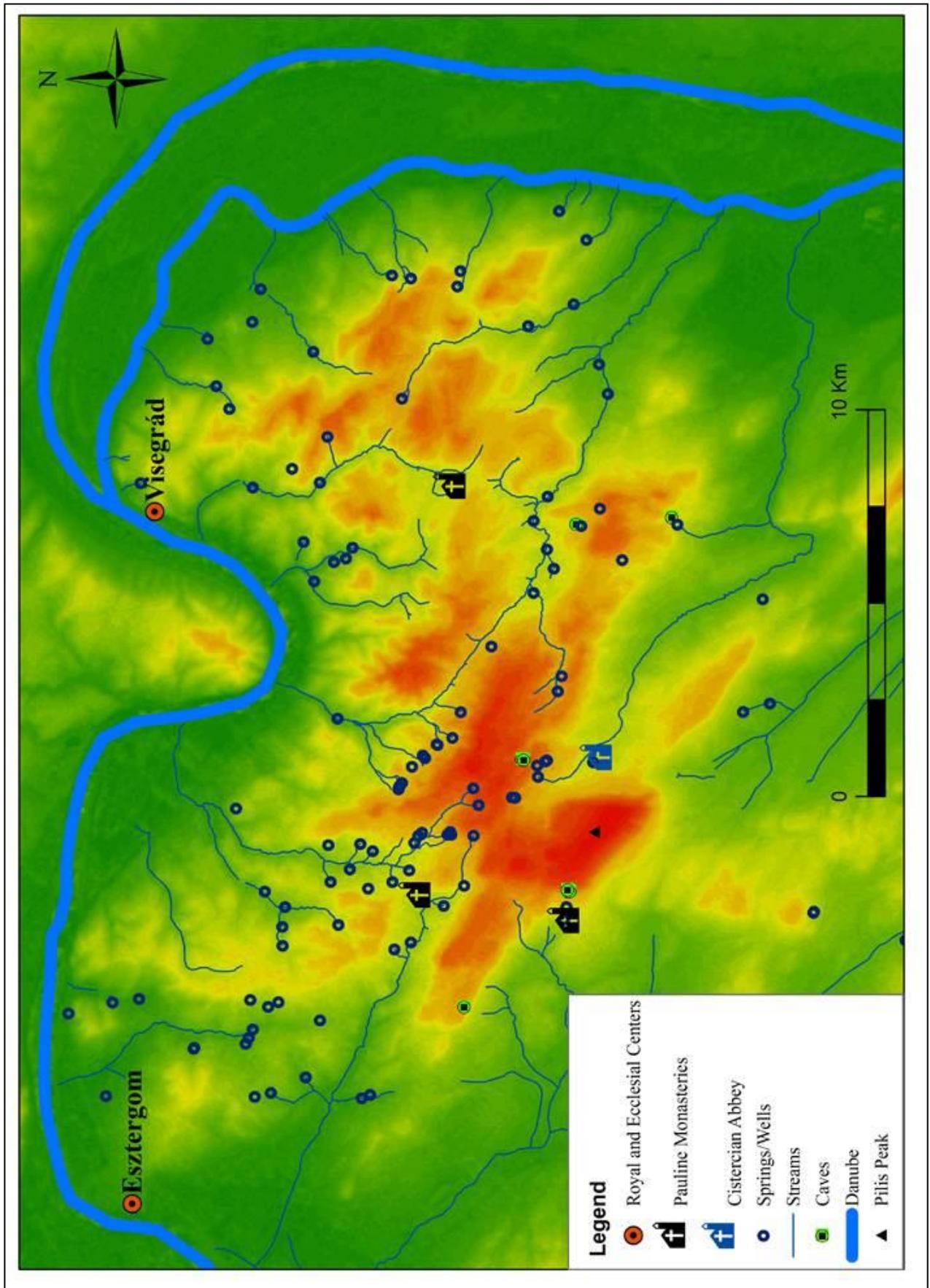


Figure 2-2. The natural features around the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis on ASTER GDEM, based on present-day natural data.

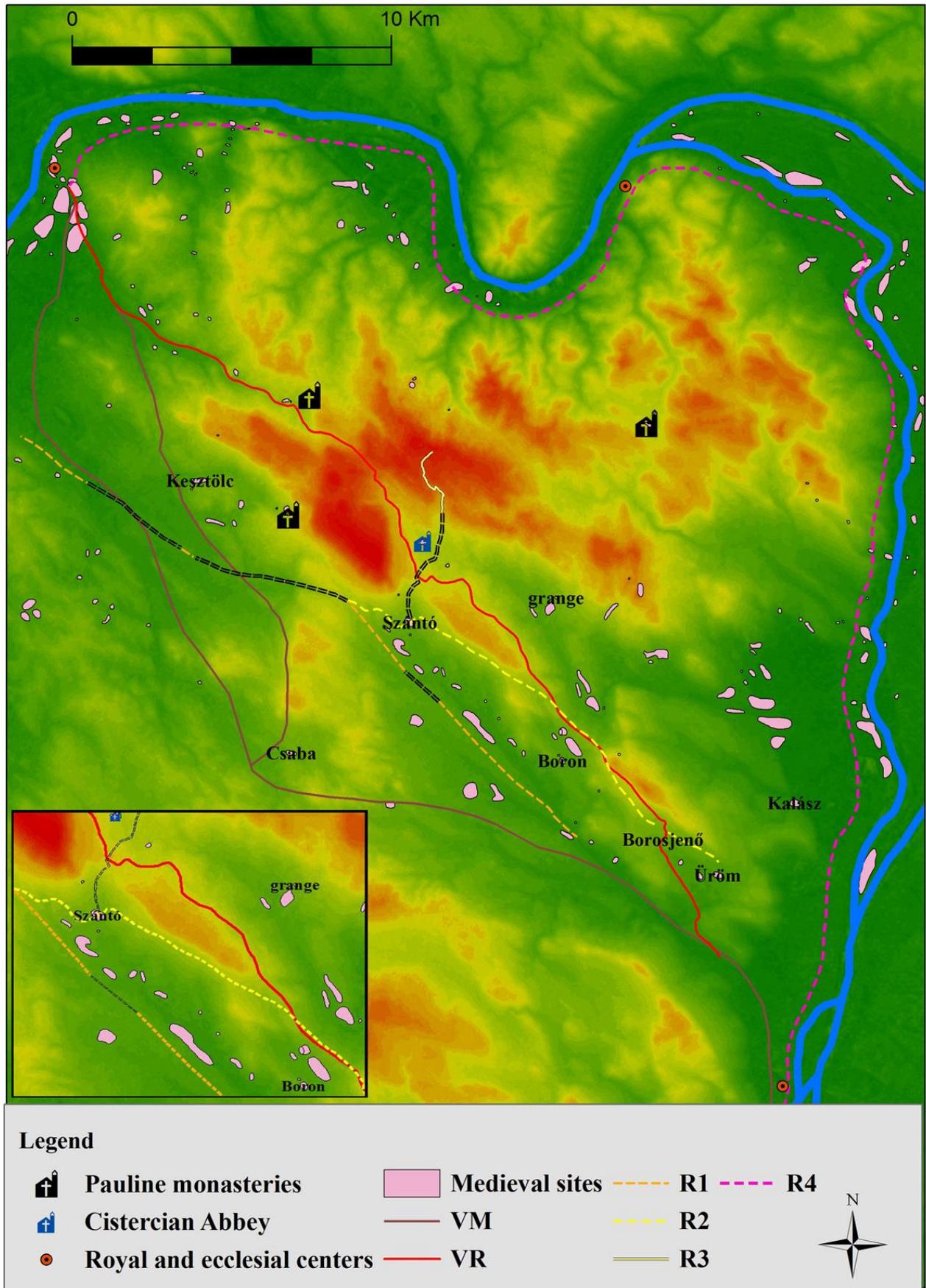


Figure 2-3. The main roads, centers, and monasteries in the Pilis on ASTER GDEM

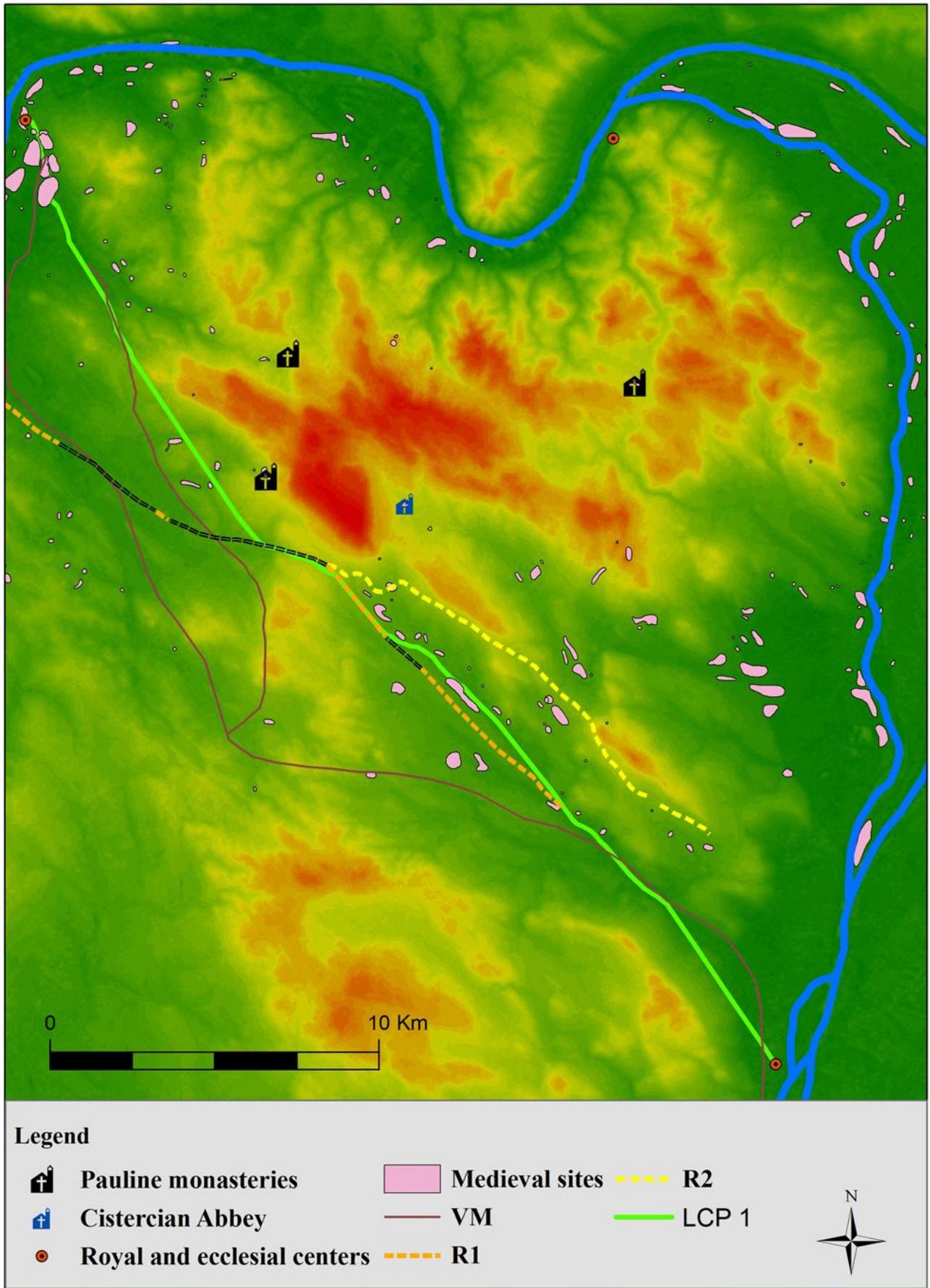


Figure 2-4. An LCP analysis between Esztergom and Óbuda on ASTER GDEM.

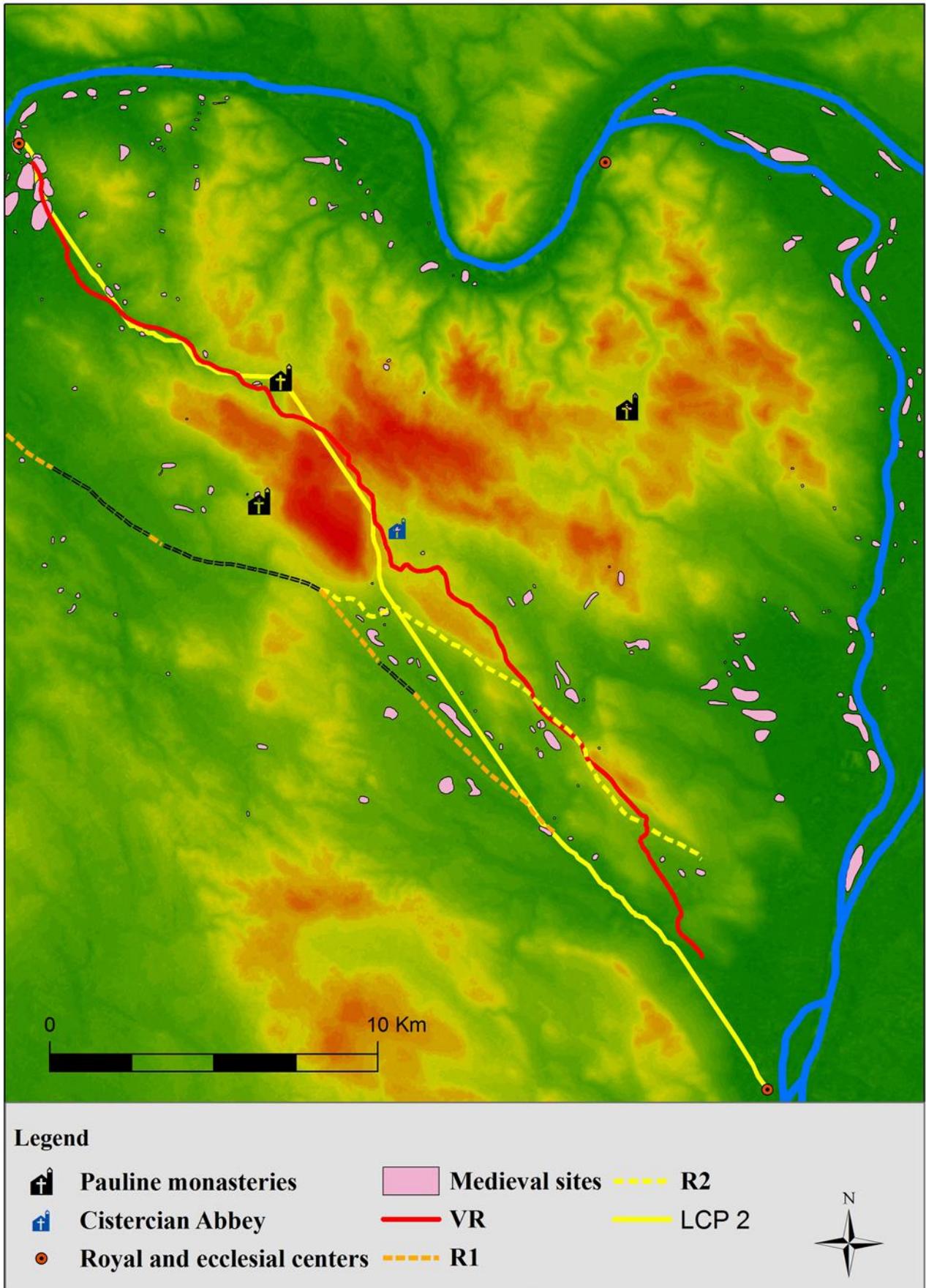


Figure 2-5. An LCP analysis between Esztergom and Óbuda (LCP2) on ASTER GDEM.

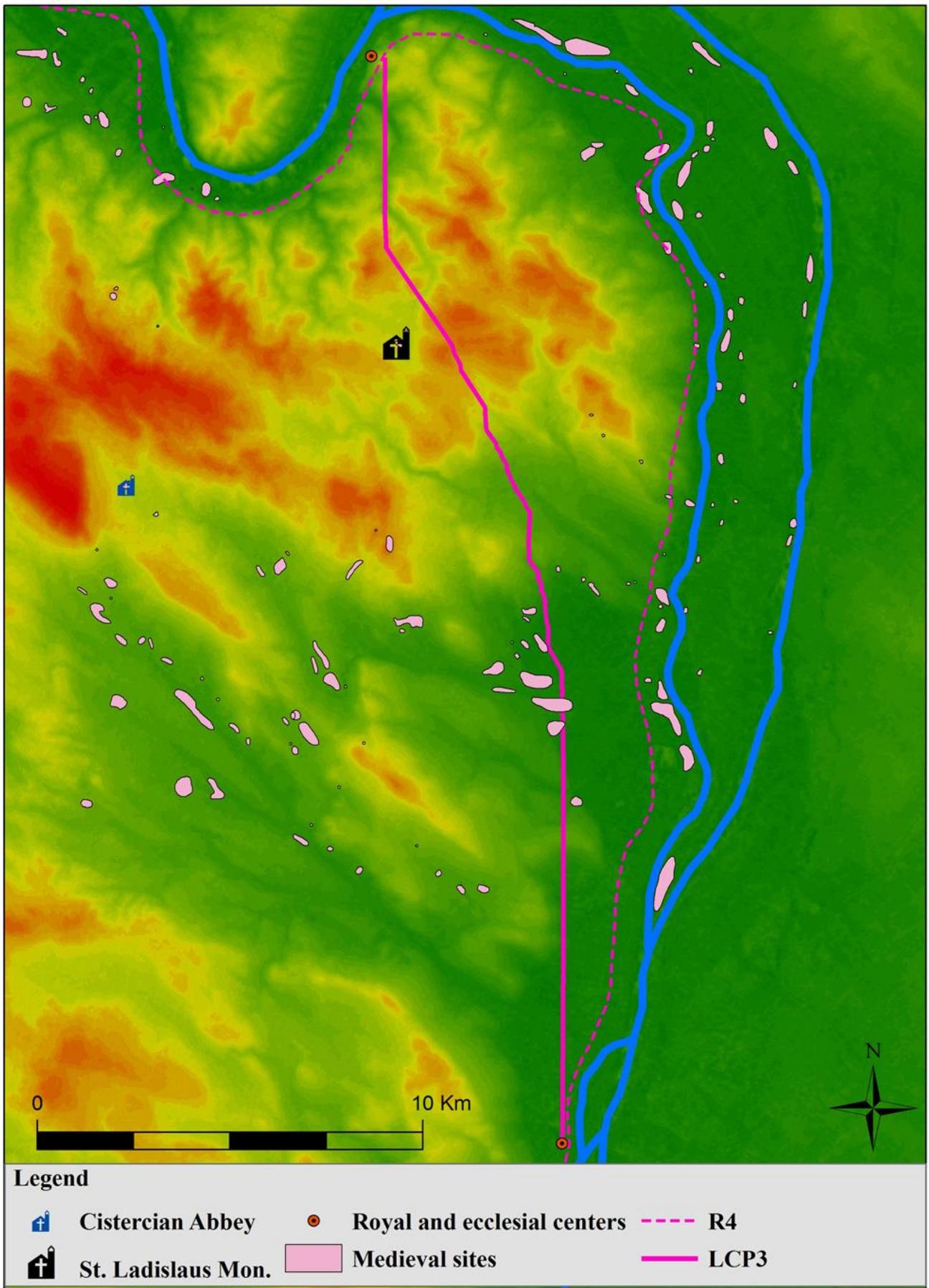


Figure 2-6. LCP analysis between Visegrád and Óbuda (LCP 3) on ASTER GDEM.

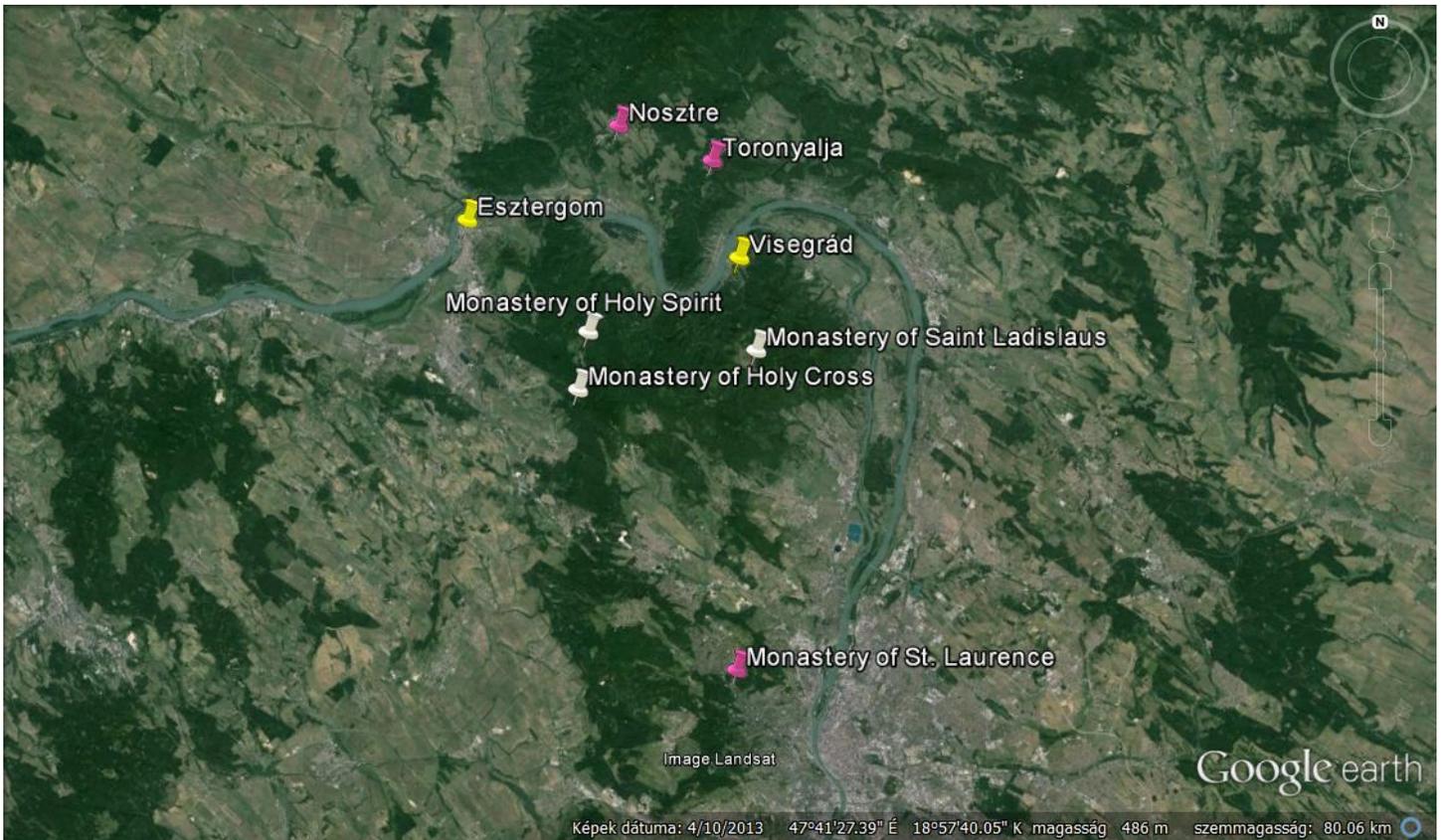


Figure 2-7. The St. Laurence, the Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, and St. Ladislaus Monasteries, also royal and ecclesial residences. Beside the monasteries in the Börzsöny region on Google Map.

CEU eTD Collection

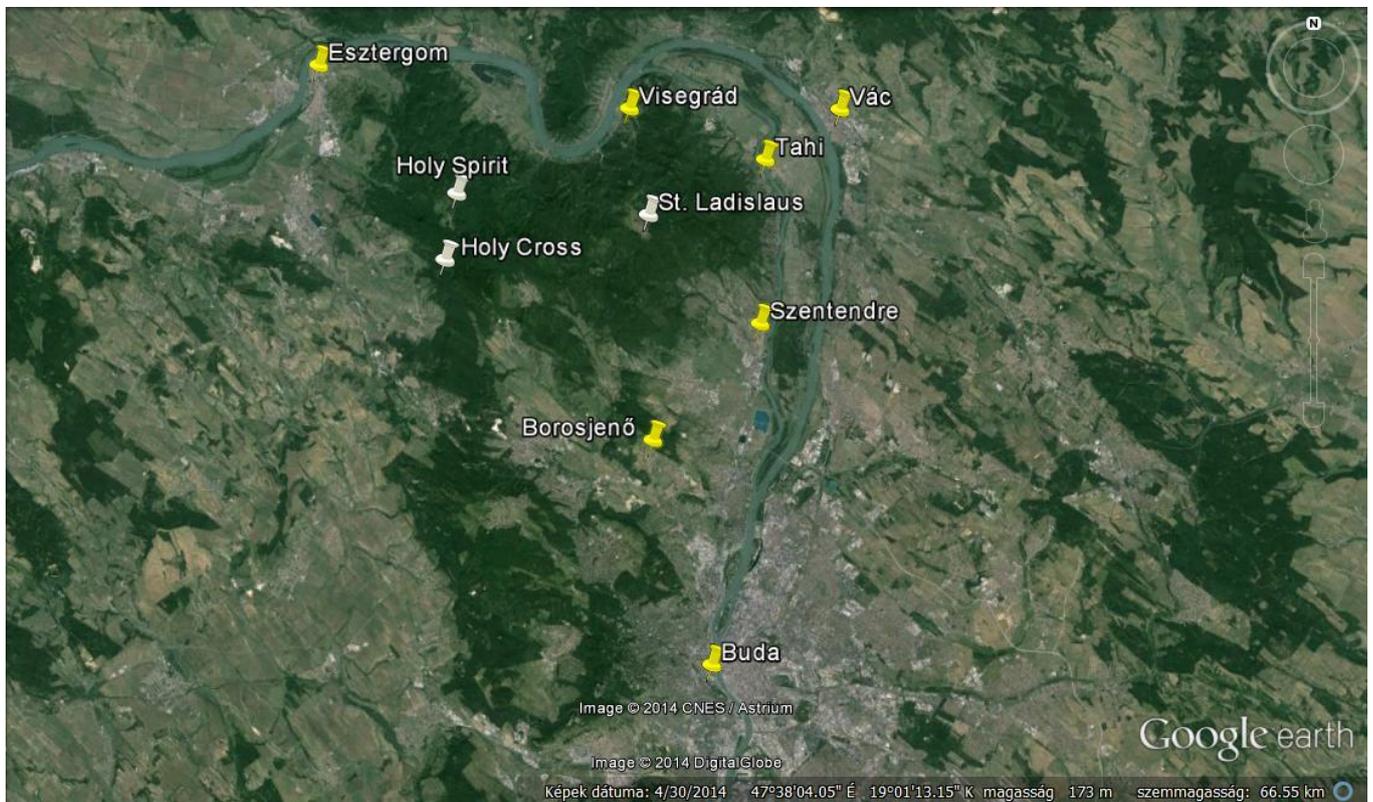


Figure 2-8. The region of Pauline properties. Google Map.

3. Catalogue of the Pauline Monasteries in the Pilis

1. Monastery of Holy Cross (Kesztölc-Klastrompuszta)

Location: A few kilometers to west from the modern village of Kesztölc, Komárom-Esztergom Co., HU

Coordinate:(WGS84) $\varphi = 47\ 42\ 01.67028$; WGS84 $\lambda = 18\ 50\ 05.39829$

Status: The monastic buildings, situated next to a group of wells, were destroyed by the Ottoman army and the ruins were abandoned. It was used as a quarry for building material until the first half of the twentieth century. Finally, it was covered by soil (erosion) until the first excavations were conducted by István Méri in 1959-1961. At this time some earthworks (a fishpond and dike) were identified nearby the monastery. The buildings were partly excavated then transformed into an open-air ruin garden; just next to the excavated church a modern road crosses the middle of the former area of the monastery.

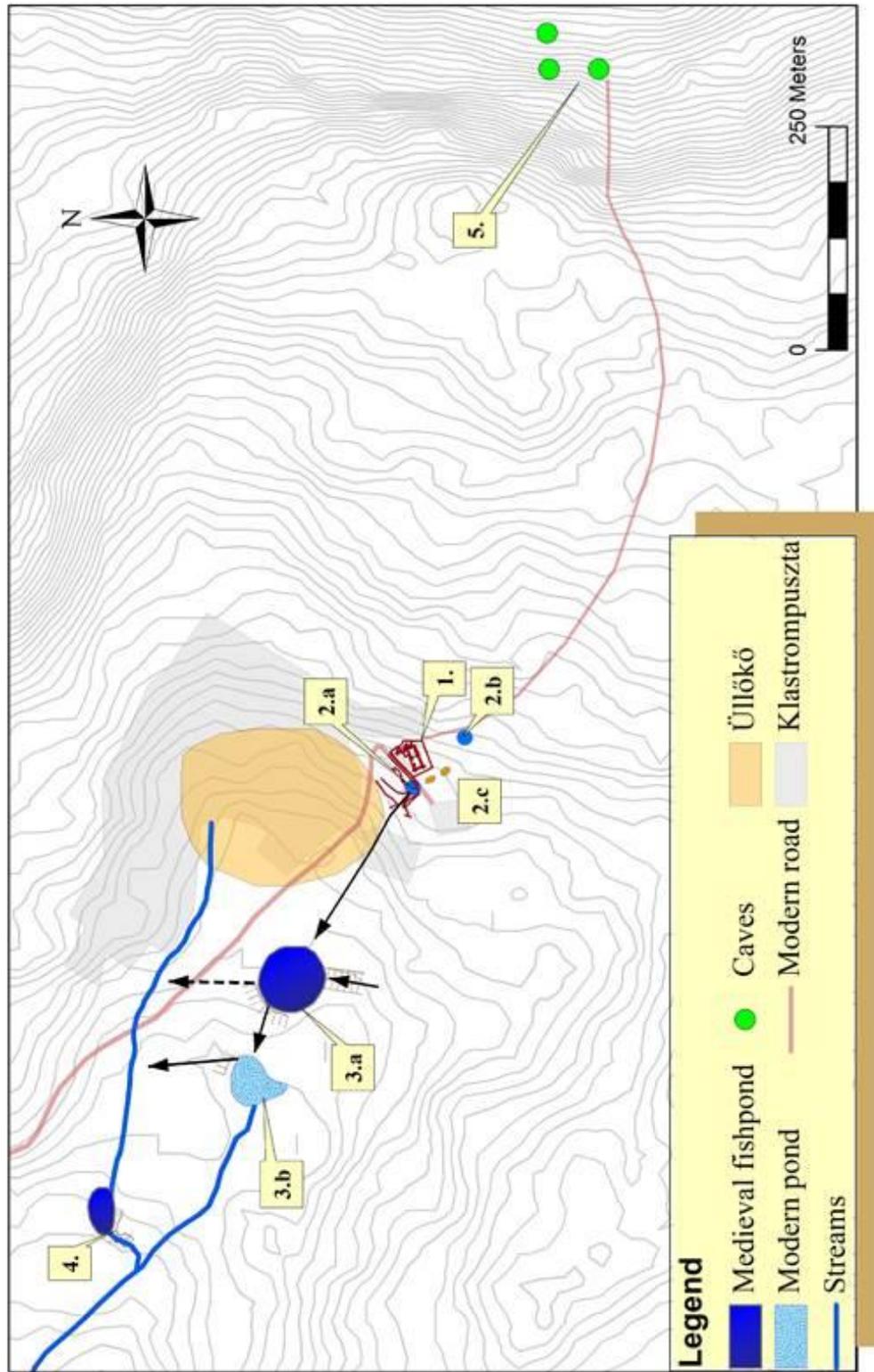


Figure 3-1-1. Summary of the spatial features detected around the Holy Cross Monastery.
The work of the author.

A. SPATIAL FEATURES AND EARTHWORKS²⁹² (Fig. 3-1-1, 3-1-2, 3-1-3.)

1. Monastery (Fig. 3-1-3, 3-1-4, 3-1-5.). István Méri and his colleagues uncovered an 8 m wide by 26 m long Gothic church, the remains of the cloister attached to the north side of the church, and the apse of a chapel. The church was erected in the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, but archaeologists revealed the remains of earlier structures. The territory of the monastery (80 x 80 m) was surrounded by a precinct wall; each side of the wall, several buildings were connected, which functioned as workshops (slag, charcoal, and ovens were found there). The archaeological material covers the tenth to the sixteenth century (e.g., ceramics, fragments of ornate stone carvings, roof tiles, metal tools, pieces of a bell, simple and decorated floor tiles, fragments of a baptismal font, pieces of painted window glass, codex mounts, and a terracotta sculpture of Saint Christopher. Based on the results of the excavations and also on historical sources, the monastery must have been destroyed around 1543-45.

2. Springs/wells.

2.a. Bence well (Fig. 3-1-3, 3-1-6.). A well exists in the middle of the supposed area of the monastery. It was recorded on an archive photo; today it is covered with a concrete wrap/vestment on the north side of a modern road which crosses just next to the church. Based on its location, it is assumed to have supplied the monastery with water or even supplied the fishponds east of the monastery (see feature no. 4.). Digitized on 22 March.

2.b. Unnamed well (Fig. 3-1-3, 3-1-7.). The report on the first excavation mentions a group of wells next to the walls of the monastery on the southeast. Today there is a modern, poorly built well-house on them.

2.c. Dual well (?) (Fig. 3-1-3, 3-1-8, 3-1-9, 3-1-10.). Southwest of the church, inside the monastic area (today just after the wall of the ruin-garden), two deep holes were recorded,

²⁹²MRT 5, 234-240, 300-303; Original documents (MNM RA III/196/53, II/1960/73), and individual results.

lined with stone slabs[?]. These may be the remains of a collapsed cellar, as István Méri supposed, but also could have been used as a well in the nineteenth or twentieth century. Digitized on 22 March.

3. Fishponds and dikes.

3.a. (Fig. 3-1-3, 3-1-11, 3-1-12, 3-1-13.) The water, supposedly coming from Bence well, was deepened with a dike into a pond, which – thanks to erosion and a strong human impact – could be detected only roughly, mostly the southern part. Here an inlet channel was also recorded, which let the water in from the south hilly area. The channel or other fishponds and dikes, which may have led to the pond from the monastery, were destroyed by agriculture in the early 1960s. In present days a hotel was built on the area and a public meadow for picnickers and campers. The first scientific recording and also the digitization of the features took place during the survey, connected to the thesis (22-03-2014). Based on the digitization, the pond's diameter was about 85 meters.

3.b. (Fig. 3-1-3, 3-1-15, 3-1-16, 3-1-17.) The next pond was strongly altered around the mid-1900s. A medieval spur²⁹³ was found in 1959 during the clearing of the pond. At the same time, the intersection of the margin on the northwestern side uncovered the supposedly original vaulted drainage channel.²⁹⁴ Whether it was for drainage or not, cannot yet be decided, but the seeming route of the channel from the previous pond suggests that it was the inlet channel. In addition, a modern drainage pipe and the natural channel of the water are still visible.

4. Dike (Fig. 3-1-3, 3-1-18, 3-1-19, 3-1-20, 3-1-21, 3-1-22, 3-1-23.). West of the second fishpond the remains of a dike were recorded for the first time during the field surveys attached to the work on this thesis.²⁹⁵ Just to the northeast to the dike a wide plateau is visible

²⁹³*MRT* 5, 234, site 9/5. Catalogue number (Historical Museum, Dorog): 63.6.18.

²⁹⁴István Méri, *A klastrompusztai legendák nyomában* [On the track of legends in Klastrompuszta], (Dorog: József Attila Művelődési Ház, n.d.), 8-9.

²⁹⁵ Here I thank my supervisor, Professor József Laszlovszky, who suggested me this site for study.

in the bed of a natural stream, which was a different water supply than the fishponds. This stream originates north of the monastery nowadays, where a small settlement stands, and flows eastsoutheast. At the dike it turns sharply south and a few meters lower the stream coming from the modern fishpond (3.b.) flows into this stream. The channel of the stream at this point turns east again and flows to the valley, the end of the research area, where a modern fishpond has been made. Digitized on 22 March.

5. Caves (Fig. 3-1-24, 3-1-25, 3-1-26.). Leány (Maiden), Legény (Lead), and Bivak (Camp) caves: remains of hermit life. A great variety of archaeological material was found, dated from prehistoric times until the early modern age. In the Maiden and Lead caves the archaeologists uncovered some archaeological material from the early Arpadian Era (eleventh to thirteenth century). Therefore, the excavators connected these caves with the hermits' presence in the area.

B. HISTORY

1. Chronological data

Date	Issue	Source
ca. 1250	Eusebius and six others build the Holy Cross monastery near Esztergom, close to a spring and three caves. ²⁹⁶	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 6-7. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700.
1262	Eusebius is buried in the monastery.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 11; Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700.
After 1262 [1262 / 1263	King Béla IV donates his royal hunting lodge in the Benedek valley, near Dömös (<i>insula de Pilisio</i>) to the Prior Benedict, the successor of Eusebius at the Holy Cross monastery (<i>Nota bene</i> : this data is unclear, not verified, and sometimes understood as the date of foundation of each three monasteries of the Pilis region, Ferenc Hervay argued that this donation refers to the Holy Spirit monastery and recent research agrees with this ²⁹⁷ , and also it is the closest to Dömös of all three monasteries)	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap 14, 15; Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 83; Pázmány, <i>Acta</i> , 122, 126. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283-284. <i>DAP</i> II. 409; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 5, 299; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.
1270	The hermits held a synod and elected Benedict, the prior of the monastery as general provost .	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 11. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699; <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1274	King Ladislaus IV donates a part of the woodland in the Pilis Forest to the monastery.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Inventarium</i> , 82. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; <i>DAP</i> II. 401; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1285	The monastery is burnt down by the royal army.	Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 75. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1287	King Ladislaus IV donates the land of Bendwelgye or Benedekvölgye (again, which lies in <i>insula Pilis</i>) with a hunting lodge to the Paulines, namely, Father Peter of Hévíz (<i>Petro de Calidis Aquis</i>) and his fellows. At the same time, the king mandates Father Benedek, the prior of Holy Cross	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 15. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 701; <i>MRT</i> 5, 299.

²⁹⁶*Eusebius construe fecit monasterium Sanctae Crucis prope Strigonio anno 1250, regis Belae 4-ti 16... coadunatis sibi sex fratribus propes peluncam triplicem, quam ipse alias incoluerat, iuxta aquam vivam in honorem Sanctae Crucis... quoddam monasterium, regularis observantiae se futuram inchoavit.*

²⁹⁷Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 116.

	Monastery, to send some monks to settle at that monastery (supposedly the Holy Spirit Monastery).	
1289	King Ladislaus IV donates deserted lands (the village of Üllőkő?) to the monks at the Holy Cross monastery (a verification of an earlier donation by King Béla IV). Here the king also mentions that his predecessors founded the monastery. The donation was re-confirmed by Andrew III in 1291.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 14; Gyöngyössy, <i>Inventarium</i> , 135. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 283, 699-700; <i>DAP</i> II. 401.
1291	The monastery is listed in the second catalogue of the Pauline monasteries of Veszprém bishopric.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 10. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1307	<i>Mikocha</i> , son of Elek donated a piece of land to the monastery (Chazlow) which was previously a part of a neighboring village, Csév (1332).	Gyöngyösi, <i>Inventarium</i> , 82-83; Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1308	Lady <i>Gewnghe</i> (“weak”) donated her vineyard to the monastery.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Inventarium</i> , 82-83; Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1327	King Charles Robert confirms the properties and lands of the monastery.	Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700.
1328	Michael, the archdeacon of Komárom donates the property of Teszér to the monastery.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Inventarium</i> , 82-83. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700;
1336	The Paulines of the monastery obtained a release from paying tax on their vineyard which lay at the foothills of Kesztlöc by the chapter of Esztergom. (This was confirmed in 1396 by the chapter of Buda).	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 23; Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1358	A charter mentions the lands of the Paulines at Csév.	Bártfai, <i>Pest megye</i> , 74. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1376	John of Kesztlöc donated his vineyard at Kesztlöc to the monastery.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 33; Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1393	Perambulation describing the boundary between the village of Kesztlöc and the Monastery of Holy Cross.	DL 23 6647. (original, Archive of the Chapter of Esztergom, L. 28. f.1. n. 1.) Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.
1396	The monastery does not have to pay the decimal tax (<i>decima</i>) on their vineyard (and vines) at	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 38. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 236.

	Kesztölc).	
1425-1513	The Holy Cross (Prior Andreas) and the Holy Spirit monastery (Prior Matthias) share the ownership of a house in Buda (Mindszentutca – Allsaints St.), which they bought for 440 florins; their regular income from the rental charge is 8 florins. Later, in 1513, the two monasteries rented the house to a skinner, Sigismund Peiniczer, for 100 florins with a stipulation that he should pay 10 florins each year and keep the house in good condition.	1436, 1489: Inventarium, 82 – DAP II. 400-401. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 237; Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 47.
1455	The Paulines had a property at Csév, next to the lands of the chapter of Esztergom. Brother Jacob was present at the registration of the domain.	Bártfai, <i>Pest megye</i> , 209. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 237.
1471-72	Ambrusius of Szántó, the provost of Esztergom sponsored the construction of an arcade at the monastery.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 59. Cited: Györfly, “Adatok”, 283; <i>MRT</i> 5, 237.
1476	The Holy Cross Monastery owns a house in Esztergom , which was donated by magister Emeric Lovasi as an eternal alm; he requested regular masses for his peace in return.	<i>DAP</i> II. 401. Cited: Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 189.
1526	The monastery is destroyed by a Turkish army.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , 236, 239 (Cap. 83); Békefi, 1891, 275.
1570	<i>A defter</i> mentions and locates <i>SzentKereszt-pusztá</i> , the deserted area of the Holy Cross monastery.	Györfly, “Adatok”, 283. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 5, 237.

2. Known priors of the monastery²⁹⁸

Eusebius (1256?-1270), Benedict (1270-1290), Stephen (1290-1297?), Laurence (1297-1317?), Kilián (1336-1346), Nicolaus (1346-1353), Tristan (1368-1369), Gregory – 1376, Stephen – 1393, Giles – 1396, Lawrence – 1421, Andreas – 1425.

3. Perambulation²⁹⁹

...Primo et principaliter inciperet in proximitate declivii magni montis **Kewresmal** dicti, super dictas possessiones **Kezrewlch et Chabja** vocatas existentis, quod videlicet declivium **Kewresmalerezteje** diceretur, ubi duas metas terreas erexissent. Abhinc directe ad meridiem de eodem monte non longe descendendo et quandam viam attingendo, secus ipsam viam duas metas terreas erexissent, hinc in ipsa via ipsis partibus pro meta derelicta, modice ad occidentem reflectendo in fine quarundam terrarum arabilium unam metam terream cursilem cumulassent, abinde per easdem paulisper ad dictum meridiem pergendo et quandam aliam viam de dicta Kezrewlch. ad **clastrum dicte ecclesie Sancte Crucis** ducentem saliendo penes ipsam viam duas metas terreas fecissent, inde reflexive ad sinistram partem non multum in ascensu montis **Urdugkewehatha** dicti pergendo in latere ipsius montis unam metam terream cursilem erexissent, abhinc ulterius procedendo in cacumine ipsius montis duas metas terreas posuissent; inde ad dictum meridiem tendendo et de ipso monte in vallem **Zeketarla** dictam descendendo in ipsa valle duas metas terreas fecissent. Hinc amplius ad eandem plagam pergendo et quoddam Berch **Kezephwante** dictum attingendo circa cacuminem ipsius unam metam terream cursilem cumulassent, exhinc ulterius ad eandem plagam non longe eundo in quadam planicie prope fines quarundam terrarum arabilium **Gyurhegmegy** appellatarum duas metas terreas cumulassent, inde reflexive quasi inter occidentem et meridiem modice eundo in alia planicie **Mezewanthe** dictam secus terras arabiles unam metam terream cursilem fecissent. Exhinc ad eandem partem per ipsas terras arabiles ulterius procedendo, de ipsaque planicie **Mezewanthe** descendendo in latere ipsius descensus duas metas terreas fecissent. Abhinc ad ipsam plagam magis descensive tendendo in quandam magnam viam de Strigonio versus Budam transeuntem saliendo, et quoddam **Berch Balwanhat** dictum iuxta ipsam viam habitum attingendo in cacumine ipsius Berch unam metam terream cursilem

²⁹⁸Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, 55 (Cap. 23), 58 (Cap. 25), 72 (Cap. 33).*ÁMTF* 4, 699-700; *MRT* 5, 236-237.

fecissent. Inde de ipso Berch ad eandem plagam descendendo inter terras arabiles duas metas terreas possissent. Abhinc per easdem terras arabiles ad eandem partem usque pratum Mycheletrethe dictum eundo secus fines ipsarum terrarum arabilium et iuxta idem pratum unam metam terream cursilem fecissent. Deinde iret directe non longe ad eandem partem usque ad metas aliarum possessionum cometanearum et ibi terminarentur....

C. ANNOTATED ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH³⁰⁰

The first findings were listed in the catalogue of the Historical Museum of Dorog in 1955 by Géza Szepessy; La Tène, Roman, and medieval coins, ceramics, mainly medieval iron tools, spurs, knives, and horseshoes were founded at the site.

During the field surveys for the *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* series, after the report of Géza Szepessy and István Méri in 1959 –István Horváth published the remains of a supposedly medieval fishpond (3.b.) in 1965, where Bronze, Iron, and Árpáadian Age ceramic fragments were found. It has to be highlighted that István Méri was the only one who mentioned that a complete system was built out in the valley which leads from Kesztlőc to the Holy Cross Monastery. It is still clear in the system of the present-day terraces (Fig. 3-1-27.)

The first archaeological research was organized at the monastery (church, chapel chapter, and workshops) in 1959 and in 1961 by István Méri, (the results were published only in 1993 by Júlia Kovalovszki), which was continued sixty years later, in 2013 by Elek Benkő and Balázs Major. Many questions and unclear data were present in the research until the beginning of the first excavation, even the location of the monastery was questioned.³⁰¹ Since the very first archaeological research strong destruction of landscape features has been

²⁹⁹DL 236647 – Original from 1393. DL 8014 – Copy, 1696.1 Transcription of the original charter with the kind help of Katalin Szende.

³⁰⁰ Based on original documents from the Archive of the National Museum (MNM RA III/196/53, II/1960/73); Méri, *Klastrompuszta*; *MRT* 5, 234-240, 300-303.

³⁰¹ On the research history of the monastery and the preconceptions, see *MRT* 5, 234-236.

documented, only archival photos reveal the past landscape around the monastery. (Fig. 3-1-28, 3-1-29.)

Leány (Maiden), Legény (Lead), and Bivak (Camp) caves (see 5. Caves) were excavated at different times by Lajos Bella, István Horváth, Géza Szepessy, László Vértes, and Dénes Jánossy. Besides these, less is known about another cave (Sármánka) near the monastery, where Péter Börcsök and László Vértes, Jr. uncovered archaeological material from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in 1968, which they believed was connected with the hermits of the Arpadian Era.

The fishponds and the water management system were never documented precisely until 2014, when, with the help of Katalin Tolnai and András Harmath, I digitized the territory of 3.b fishpond and 4. dike. This project was connected with the thesis research process on 21st and 22nd of March.

D. SELECTED LITERATURE

- *ÁMTF* 4, 699-700.
- *MTF* I, 15.
- DAP II. 400-407.
- Méri, *Klastrompuszta*;
- *MRT* 5, 234-240.
- *MRT* 7, 300-303.
- Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 2003;
- Kovalovszki, “A pálosremeték”, 1992;
- Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok”, 2012;
- Solymosi, “Insula Pilup”, 2005.

E. ILLUSTRATIONS

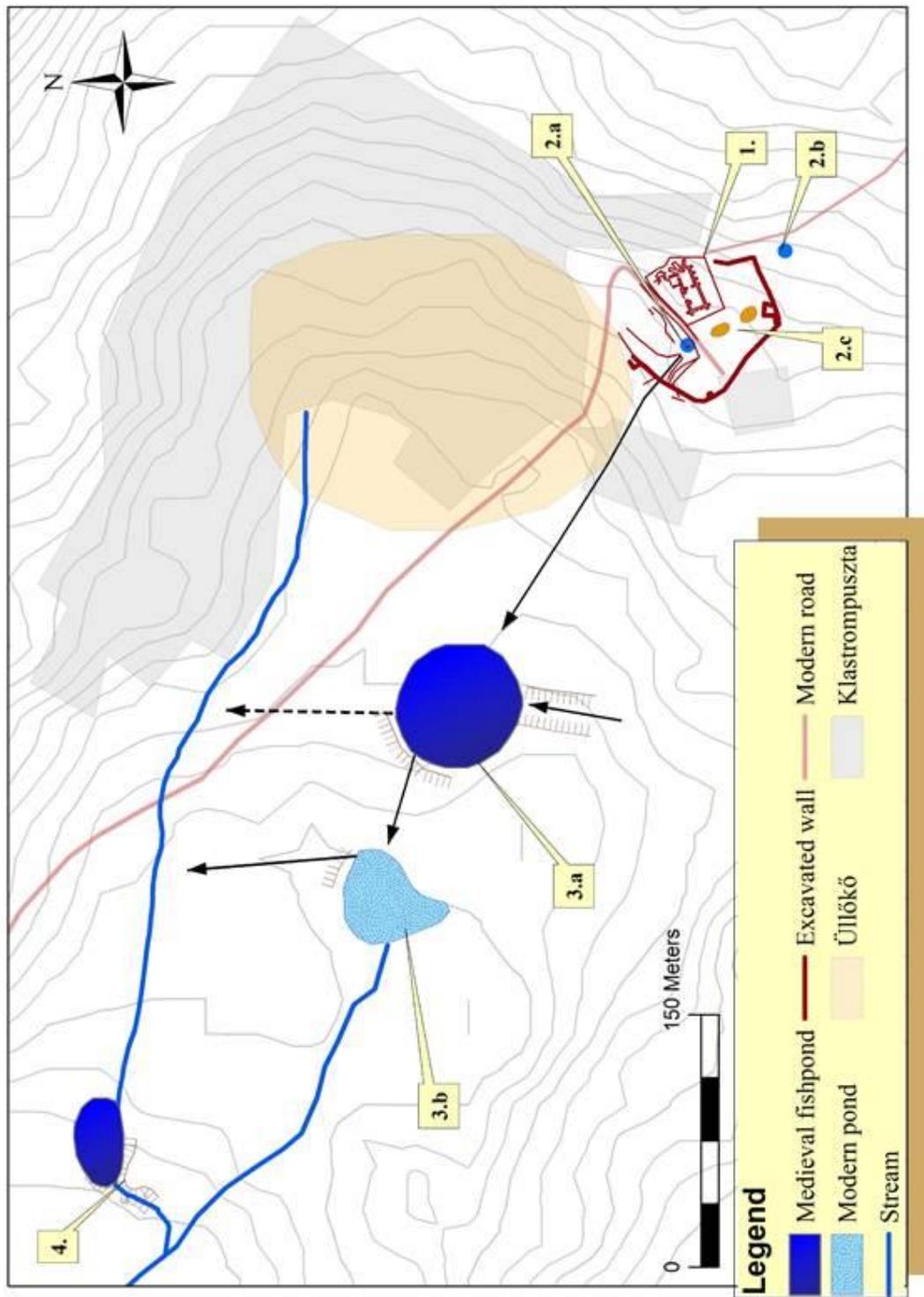


Figure 3-1-2. Summary of the detected spatial features, except the caves. Created by the author in ArcGIS.



Figure 3-1-3. The ruin garden at Kesztlöc nowadays, behind the rocky hills to northeast.
Photo by the author (22-03-2014).

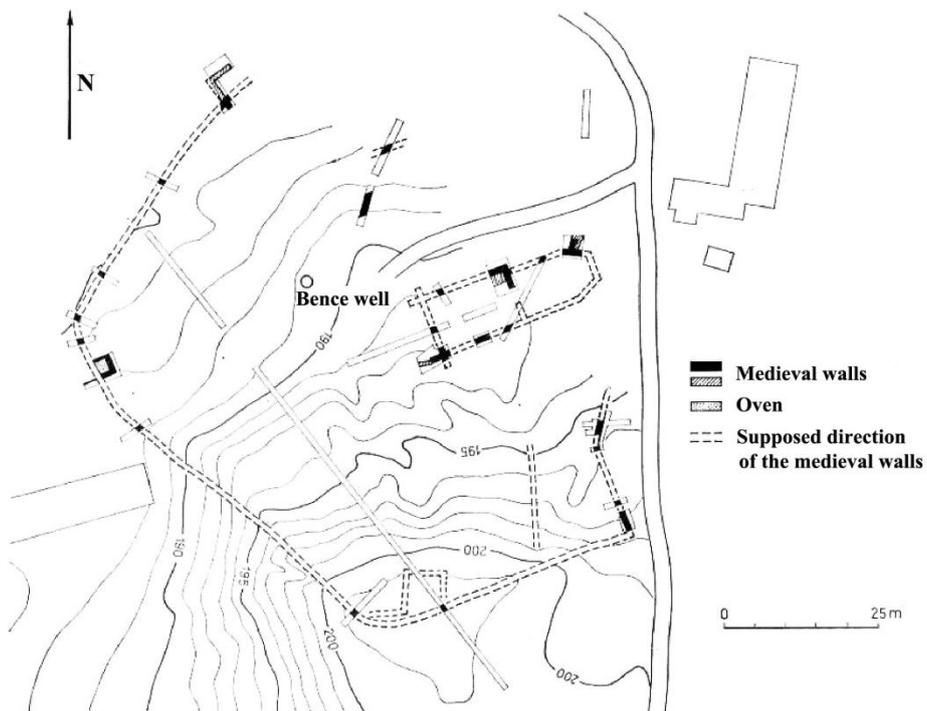


Figure 3-1-4. The plan of the site at the Monastery of Holy Cross. After the work of István Méri. *MRT* 5, 235.



Figure 3-1-5. The Bence well from the north. Archive photo by István Méri. *MNM RA* III/196/53.



Figure 3-1-6. An unnamed double well, southeast of the ruins. Archive photo, taken by István Méri. *MNM RA* III/196/53.



Figure 3-1-7. Archive photo of the collapsed cellar/double well, from northeast. *MNM RA* III/196/53.



Figure 3-1-8. Present-day photo of the collapsed cellar/double well, from north. Photo by the author (22-03-2014).

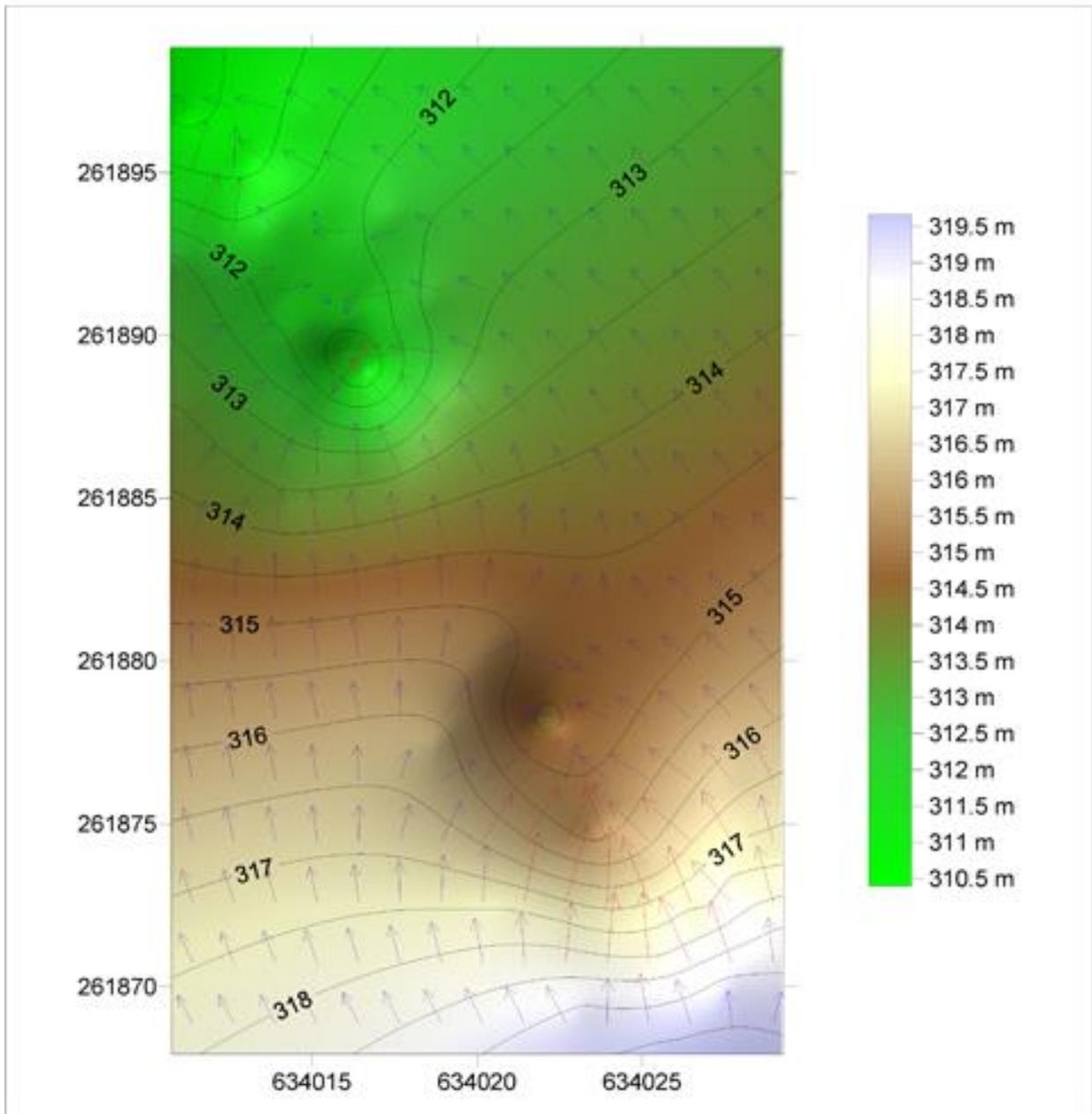


Figure 3-1-9. The digitized terrain with the supposed double well/cellar. Digitization (22-03-2014) and model: András Harmath and Katalin Tolnai.



Figure 3-1-10. Fishpond 3.a nowadays. Photo taken from east, by the author (22-03-2014).

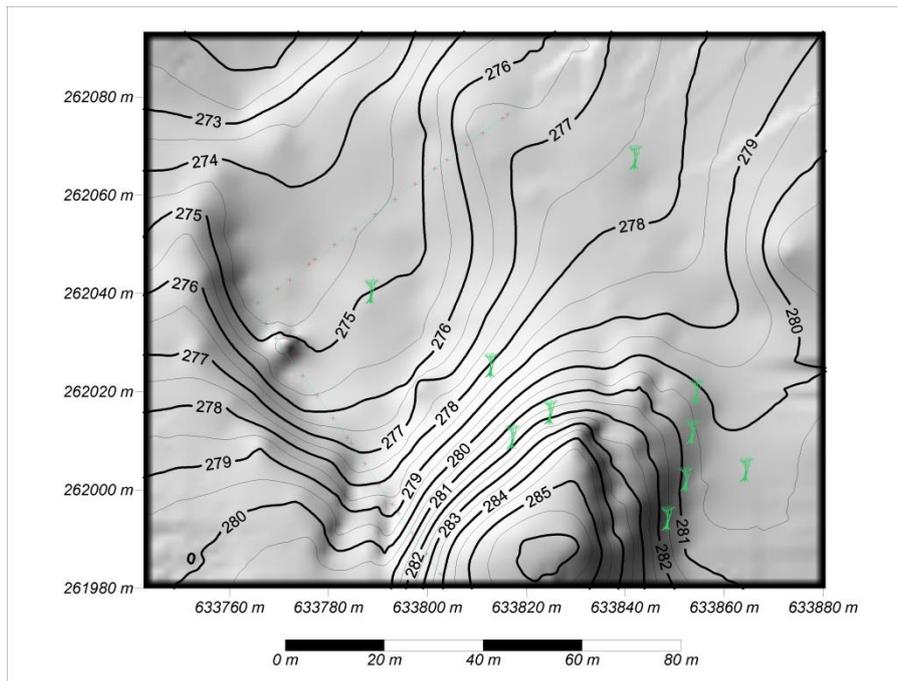


Figure 3-1-11. The digitized terrain model of Fishpond 3.a. Digitization (22-03-2014) and model: András Harmath and Katalin Tolnai.

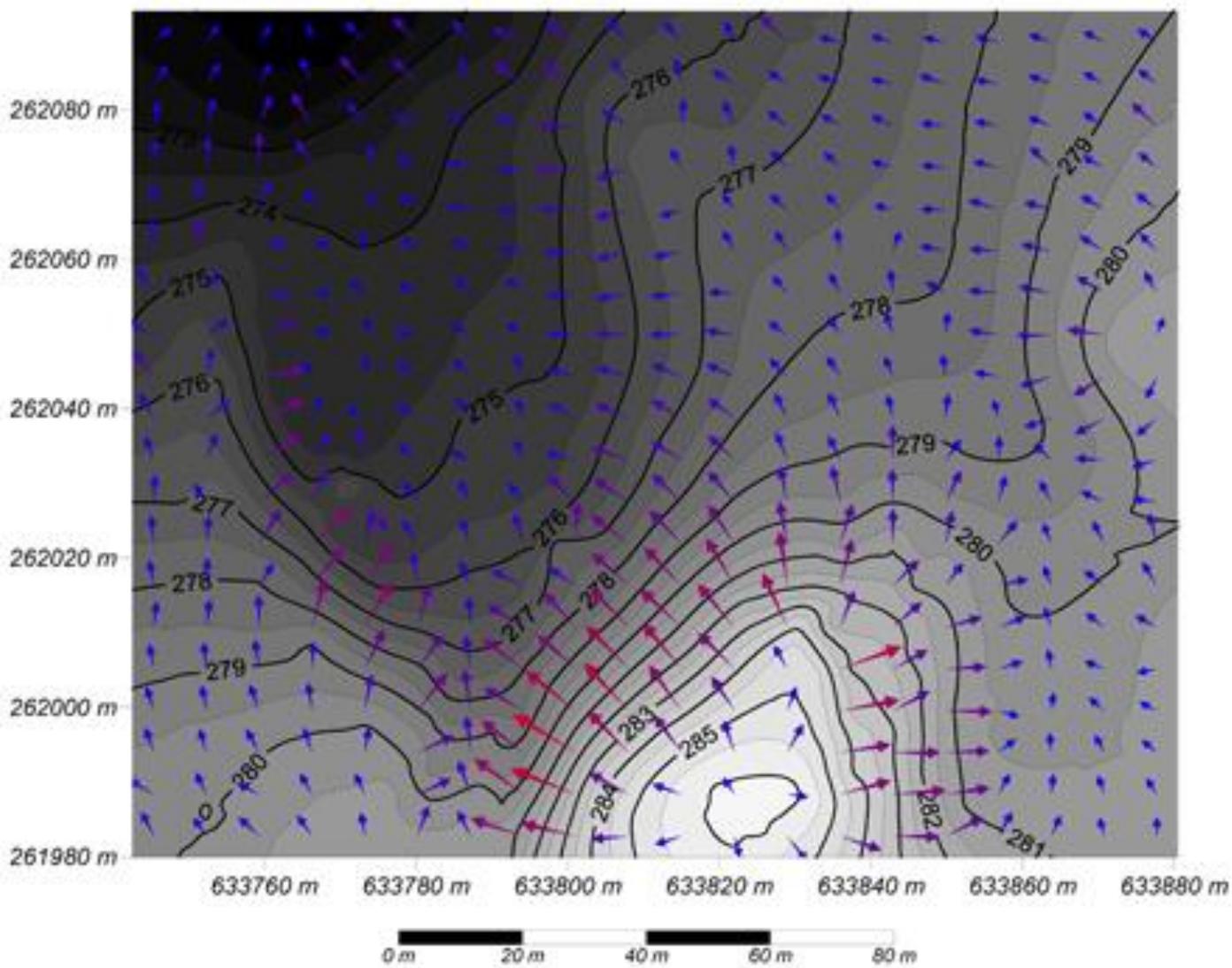


Figure 3-1-12. A digitized terrain model of Fishpond 3.a., showing the elevation with arrows, which emphasizes the channel on the south. Digitization (22-03-2014) and model: András Harmath and Katalin Tolnai.



Figure 3-1-13. The probable remains of the dike between Fishponds 3.a. and 3.b., photo from the northwest by the author.



Figure 3-1-14. Fishpond 3.b. nowadays. Photo by the author (22-04-2014).



Figure 3-1-15. The remains of the medieval vaulted stone drainage outlet on the westnorthwest. *MNM RA II/1960/73*



Figure 3-1-16. The channel of the dike for the fishpond 3.b nowadays. Photo taken from the southeasteast by the author. (22-03-2014)



Figure 3-1-17. The fishpond just above the dike (4.) to the north, which lies in the bushy area, in the lower part of the picture. The fishpond (blue oval) and the direction of the stream (red arrow) just before the dike were marked on the picture. The photo by the author (23-1-2014).



Figure 3-1-18. The dike (4.) below the stream's turn to the south; photographed from south by the author (21-03-2014).

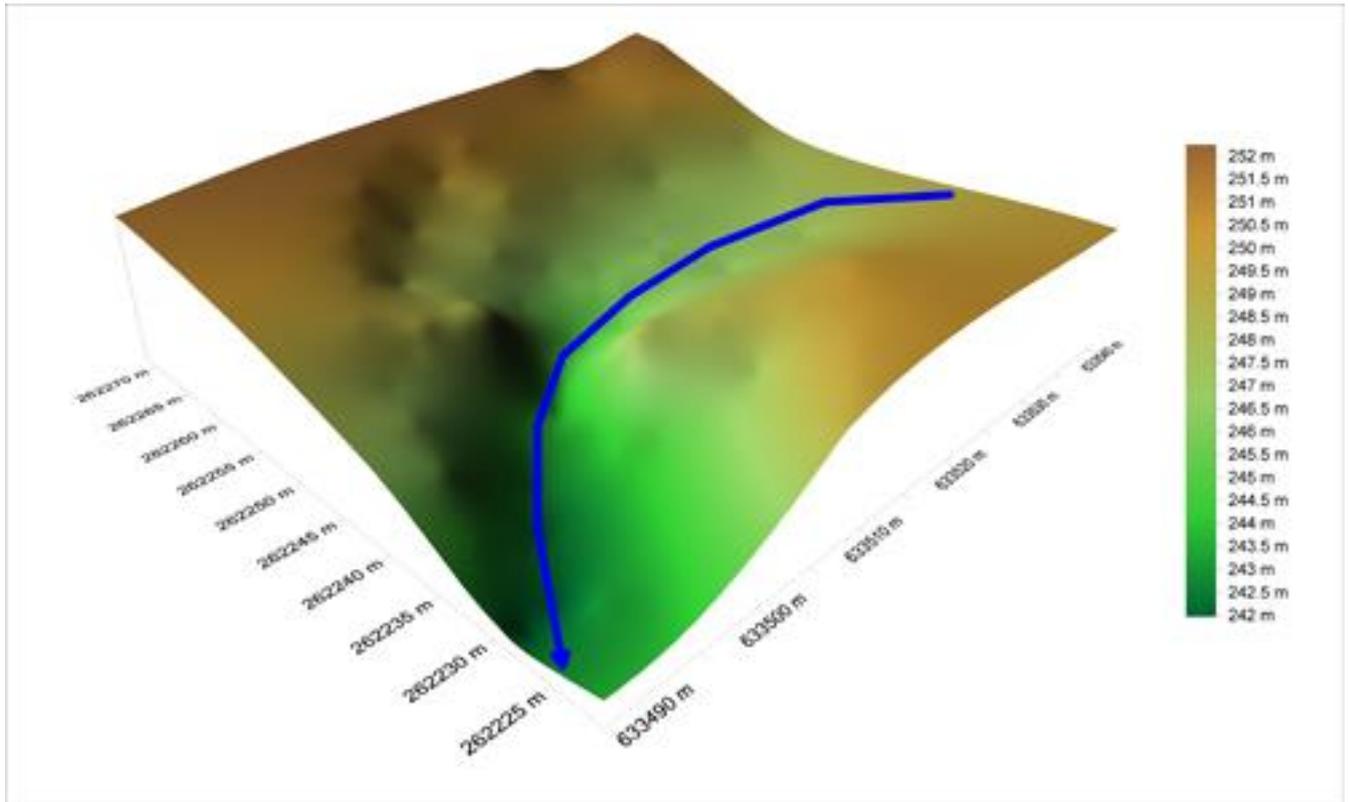


Figure 3-1-19. The digitized terrain of the dike (4.); a view from south. Digitization (22-03-2014) and model by András Harmath and Katalin Tolnai.

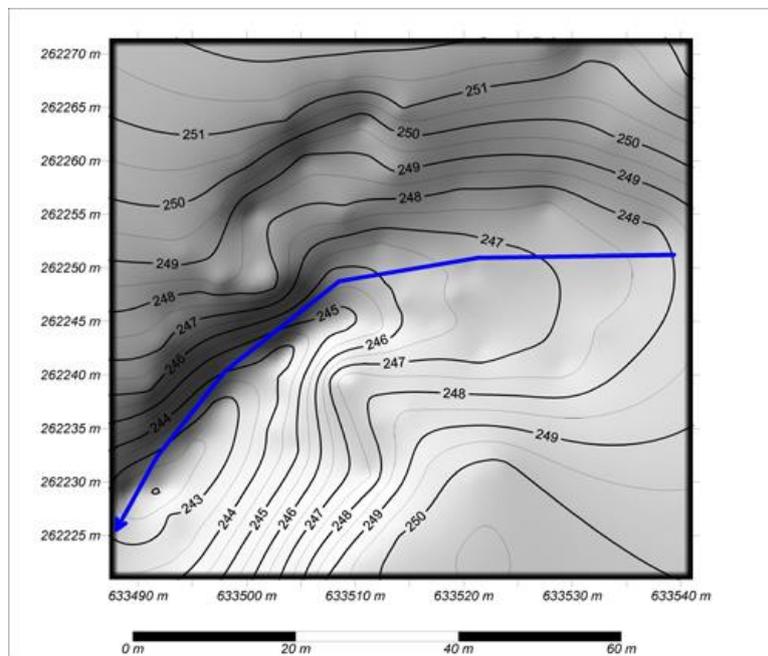


Figure 3-1-.20. The digitized terrain model of the dike (4) with highpoints, directed to the north. Digitization (22-03-2014) and model: András Harmath and Katalin Tolnai.



Figure 3-1-21. The southern part of the dike (4.), documented from north by the author (21-03-2014).



Figure 3-1-22. A view to the east to the area after the dike. Documented from the west by the author (22-03-2014).

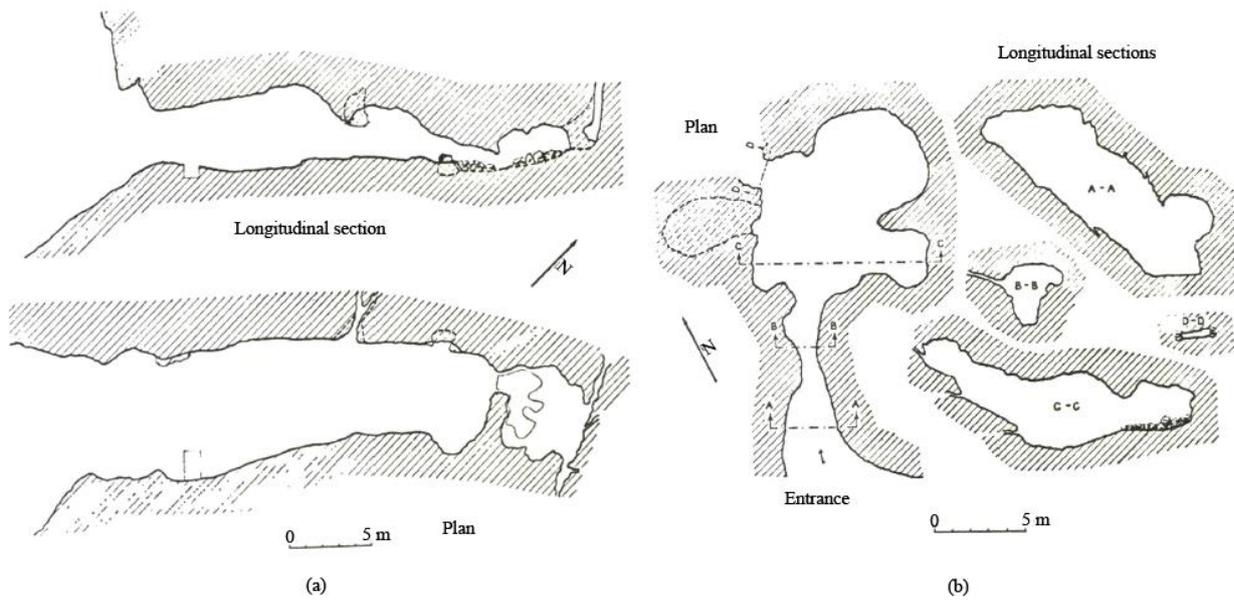


Figure 3-1-23. The vertical and horizontal cut of Lead (a) and Maiden (b) Caves. *MRT 5*, 302.



Figure 3-1-24. The entrance of Lead cave, documented by the author (22-03-2014).



Figure 3-1-25. The view from Lead cave to the west. Documented by the author (22-03-2014).



Figure 3-1-26. Branches in the landscape from Fishpond 3.b. to the west, the direction of present-day Kesztlöc. They may be part of a complex water management system of past centuries. Documented by the author (22-03-2014).



Figure 3-1-27. Archive photo of the surroundings of the ruins, photo taken from the east by István Méri. *MNM RA III/196/53*.



Figure3-1-28. Archive photo of the terrain around the monastery, photo taken from southwest by István Méri. *MNM RA III/196/53*.

2. Monastery of Holy Spirit (Pilisszentlélek)

Location: Over to the north the modern village of Pilisszentlélek, Pest Co., HU.

Coordinate: (WGS84) $\varphi = 47\ 44\ 04.96190$; $\lambda = 18\ 50\ 36.75423$

Status: Medieval monastic buildings were abandoned during the Ottoman period and the ruins were used as a quarry for building material. Almost completely excavated (1985-1992) by Sarolta Lázár, transformed into an open-air ruin garden, with some identified earthwork features (fishpond) nearby.

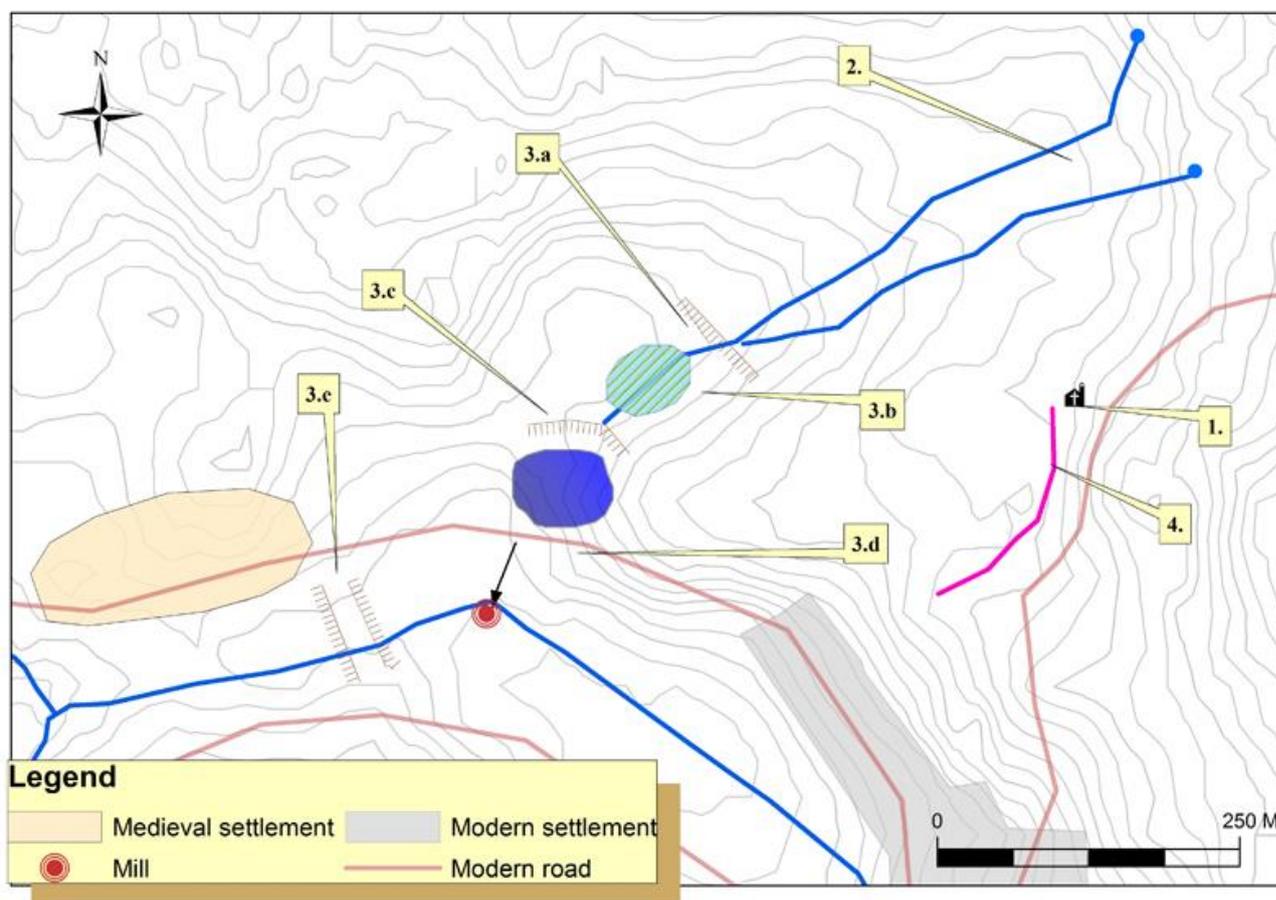


Figure 3-2-1. Summary of the spatial features detected around the Holy Spirit Monastery. By the author.

A. SPATIAL FEATURES AND EARTHWORKS (Fig.3-2-1)³⁰²

1. Monastery³⁰³ (Fig. 3-2-1,3-2-2, 3-2-3.). The church has one nave, a straight apse end, and three altars (20,5 x 10,7 m). A chapter/vestry is connected to the north side of the church. On the eastern side of the cloister excavations revealed the remains of the corridor to the church, the stairway to the upper floors (where the archaeologist supposed the individual sleeping-quarters were), the chapter, and the refectory. The main entrance was on the eastern part of the cloister. A one-story building was erected to the north side of the eastern cloister body. Some workshops must have operated in the southern buildings of the monastery. A reconstruction of the vault-system was made.

2. Spring and streams (Fig. 3-2-1, 3-2-5, 3-2-6.). Near the monastery, around 200 meters to the northnortheast, a temporary spring was recorded in August 2013. Later surveys (22-03-2014) revealed another one in the bushy area about 50 meters to northwest.³⁰⁴ Following the stream channels, a complex natural system was revealed; the two stream beds, going southwest-west, after ca. 250 m continuing in one bed, where an earthwork seems to have existed.

3. Pond and dikes.

3.a. Supposed dike (Fig. 3-2-1, 3-2-7.). Just before the two streams unite, a natural, narrow valley was recorded by recent field surveys (22-03-2014, 12-04-2014) on the southeastern stream. This may be the remains of a half human-made, half-natural dike. Length: ca. 50 m. Direction: NW-SE.

3.b. Supposed fishpond (Fig. 3-2-1.). As the dike was detected, a wet area reflects the past existence of a pond, but no certain boundaries of this feature could be detected. Diameter: ca. 80 m.

³⁰²*MRT 5*, 297-303. and new results.

³⁰³ It should be mentioned that there was no available plan on a digital platform or any opportunity to gather precise spatial data.

3.c. Supposed dike (Fig. 3-2-1.). A shallow hump indicates the beginning of a lower layer which might have functioned as a dike in the past (most likely strong erosion destroyed the earthwork). In connection with the previous earthwork, this system is rather a suggested than a clear record. Length: ca. 70 m. Direction: SE-NW, than to W.

3.d. Fishpond (Fig. 3-2-1, 3-2-8). At the end of the valley where the intermittent streams run, a large wet area exists, full of reed. It was not documented officially before the field surveys in this year. Diameter: ca. 75 m.

3.e. Dike (Fig. 3-2-1, 3-2-9). The highest point of it was almost 4 m in the 1960s; it was recorded in the deepest point of the valley by the field surveys connected to *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* series. It was clear at that time that the dike had a floodgate. On the northern end there was a shoulder dike (of the same height) with a drainage channel cut into the upper edge. The channel went on to the east. Supposedly it was the channel of a medieval mill.

4. Pathway to the monastery. Next to the modern road, which lead to the ruin garden, an old road runs to the south. This might have been used in the Middle Ages because the entrance to the monastery was at the point where the old road reaches the ruins.

B. HISTORY

1. Chronological data

Date	Issue	Source
After 1262 [1262 / 1263]	King Béla IV donates his royal hunting lodge in the Benedek valley, near Dömös (<i>insula de Pilisio</i>) to Prior Benedict, the successor of Eusebius at the Holy Cross monastery (<i>Nota bene</i> : this data is unclear, not verified, and sometimes understood as the date of foundation of each of the three monasteries of the Pilis region, Ferenc Hervay argued that this donation	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 14, 15; Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 83; Pázmány, <i>Acta</i> , 122, 126. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283-284. DAP II. 409; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 5, 299; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.

³⁰⁴ Also, it is supposed that the origin of the springs should be researched further to the northeast; some dry, shallow ditches in the landscape suggest this direction. A LiDAR record would surely help in this question.

	refers to the Holy Spirit Monastery and recent research agrees with this ³⁰⁵ ; also it is the closest to Dömös of all three monasteries)	
1287	King Ladislaus IV donated the land of Bendwelgye or Benedekvölgye (again, which lies in <i>insula</i> Pilis) with a hunting lodge to the Paulines, namely, Father Peter of Hévíz (<i>Petro de Calidis Aquis</i>) and his fellows. At the same time the king mandates Father Benedek, the prior of Holy Cross Monastery, to send some monks to settle that monastery (supposedly the Holy Spirit Monastery).	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 15. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 701; <i>MRT</i> 5, 299.
1323	Charles Robert stays here and confirms the document on the foundation of the monastery in the presence of Nicolaus and Prichtold monks.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 20; Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 113. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 701; <i>MRT</i> 5, 299.
1378	King Louis I spends Easter Passion week in the monastery, where he confirms the boundary of the monastery (the first perambulation) and donates new lands for the Paulines.	DL 6521 [Acta Paulinorum F. 5.N.2]; Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 34. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 299.
1409	Pál Csupor erected an altar to the Holy Virgin and donates a property to support it.	Kürucz, <i>Pálos</i> , 115. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 299.
1425-[1443]-	The Holy Cross (Prior Andreas) and the Holy Spirit monastery (Prior Matthias) share the ownership of a house in Buda (Mindszent utca – Allsaints St.), which they bought for 440 florins; their regular income from the rental charge was 8 florins (the house was mentioned again in 1443). Later, in 1513, the two monasteries rented the house to a skinner, Sigismund Peiniczer, for 100 florins and with a stipulation that he should pay 10 florins each year and keep the house in good condition.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Inventarium</i> , 82 – DAP II. 400-401. Cited: Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 47.
1443	The monastery gets some properties from the wife of Konrad Krusovecz.	Kürucz, <i>Pálos</i> , 115; Kisbán, <i>Pálos</i> , 113. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 299.
1467	At an installation to on the property of Bajon , the monastery of Holy Spirit was represented as a neighbor by Father Nicolaus in person.	Bártfai, <i>Pest megye</i> , 955. regesta. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 5, 299.

³⁰⁵Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 116, ref. 75. Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, 209.

2. Known priors of the monastery³⁰⁶

Peter of Hévíz – 1287, Anthony – 1336, Nicolaus– 1342, Colomanus–1376, Matthias – 1425, Lawrence –1512.

3. Perambulation³⁰⁷

Quod prima meta incipit in monte Kyrállesse vocato a parte Aquilonari et deinde paululum in cacumine ad partem tendentur Orientalem, venit ad aciem ejusdem montis, a quo descenditur vadit ad quandam viam, per quam transitur ad villam Marotis, juxta quam est meta Terrea, abhinc versus eandem plagam gradientur jungitur cuidam loco Oh Remethe-Hely appellato, secus rivulum Örümes Patak nuncupatum et penes eundem in bono spatio directe transeundo, ac postmodum contra partem declinando meridionalem venit ad fines jugerum, seu terrarum arabilium Fratrum praedictorum, et tandem paulisper girando, tendit ad radicem montis Soklós nominati, ab hincque transeundo quasdam alias particulas Terrarum actualium eorundem Fratrum ambiendo quendam alium rivulum salientur versus partem occidentalem, venit ad radicem alterius Montis Fekete-Keõ nominati, et ad quandam stratam sub eodem existentem, juxta quam habet(ur?) quidam grandis lapis de predicto monte ruptus, a quo circulariter vergendo in latere ejusdem longi montis versus Strigonium adjacentis, penes viam in latere ejusdem Montis existentur immediate sunt erectae quatuor metae terreae; a quibus directe procedendo venit ad montem Fejér-Keõ nuncupatum, juxta viam prenominatam, ab hincque transiens jungitur cuidam. Cuidam Valli Vodnyoló nominate: item abinde contra predictam plagam Aquilonarem flectens tendit ad quendam Monticulum, in cuius vertice habetur similis Meta Terreae et de ipso procedendo vadit rursus in predictum Montem Király-Lesse appellantum, ibique terminatur.

³⁰⁶Based on MRT 5, 299.

³⁰⁷DL 6521 (*Acta Paulinorum*). Transcription of the copy.

C. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH³⁰⁸

The first excavations were held in between 1928 and 1933, when amateur archaeologists clarified the main plan of the monastery. Research excavations took place from 1985 to 1992, by Sarolta Lázár, when the church, the cloister, the eastern part of the surrounding wall, and the southern outbuildings (workshops) were researched (the gate and the northern building are still not researched). As in the case of the Holy Cross monastery, here also earlier walls and foundations were discovered by Tamás Guzsik pointed out that the plan has many unsure parts. In his theory it is acceptable that the center and origin of the whole church was the 13 x 13 m square shaped “tower”, where the apse and the connected vestry/chapter were formed.

The *Archaeological Topography of Hungary* mentions a dike on the Szentlélek stream (3.c.). Nowadays, after the regulation of the stream, it cannot be identified clearly. Recently, field surveys (22 March and 12 April, 2014) revealed another dike (3.c.) and a fishpond (3.d.), but the earthworks are just slightly visible because of the great erosion (mostly 3.a. and 3.b. earthworks, which were also revealed). The route of the water can be followed to the springs on the hill side near the monastery.

D. LITERATURE

- *ÁMTF* 4, 701;
- *MTF* 1, 16;
- *DAP* II. 411-413.
- *MRT* 5, 297-303;
- Lázár, “Pilisszentlélek kutatása”, 1994;
- Lázár, “Pilisszentlélek kutatása 1985-86”, 1997;
- Lázár, “Pilisszentléleki kályhacsempe”, 2001;
- Buzás, “Pilisszentléleki kőfaragvány”, 1994;
- Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 2003;
- Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok”, 2012.

³⁰⁸ Based on *MRT* 5, 299; Lázár, “Pilisszentlélek kutatása”, 177-180; Guzsik, *Pálos rend építészete*, 59.

E. ILLUSTRATIONS

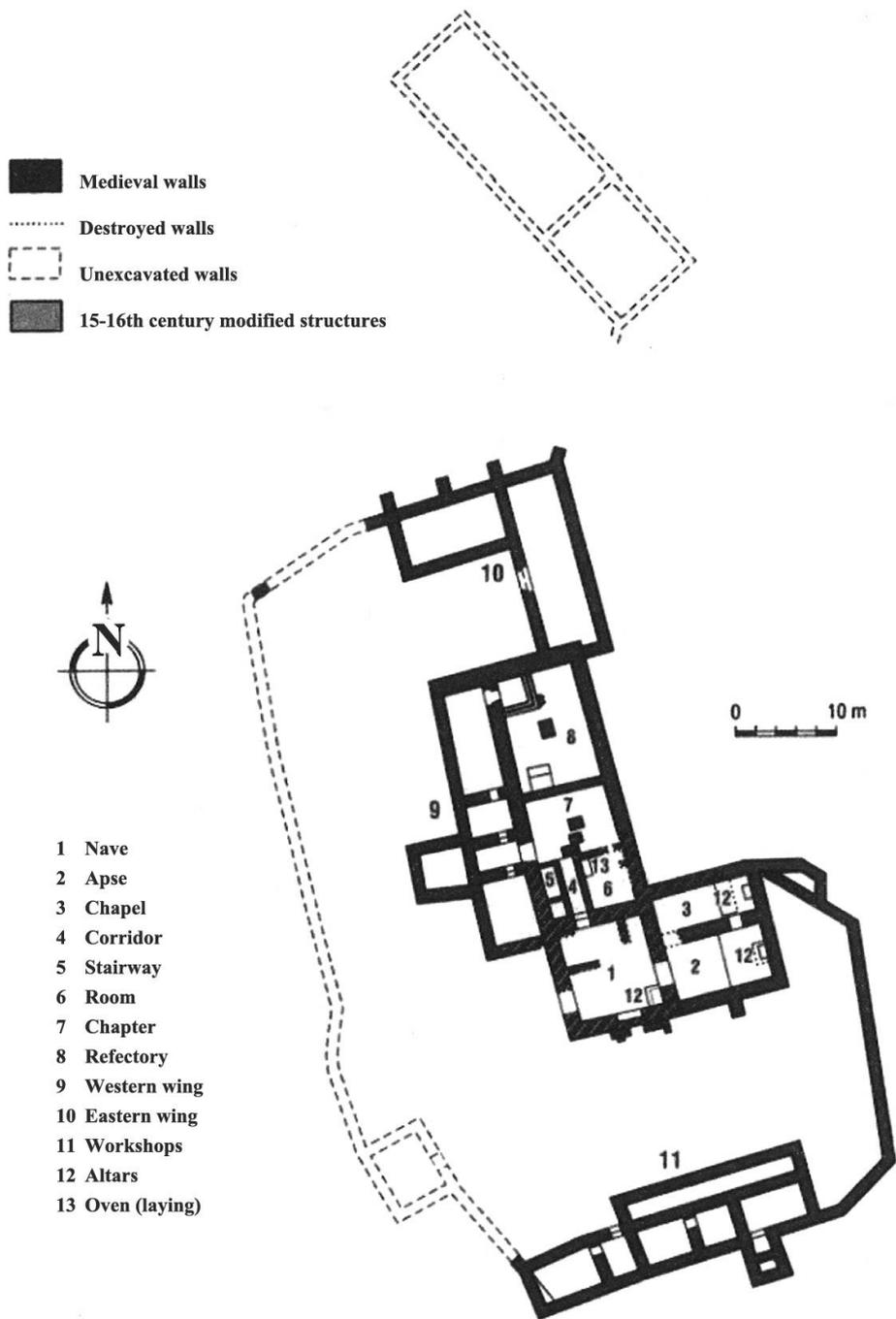


Figure 3-2-2. The plan of the Holy Spirit Monastery. After Lázár “Pilisszentlélek műhelyház”, 218.

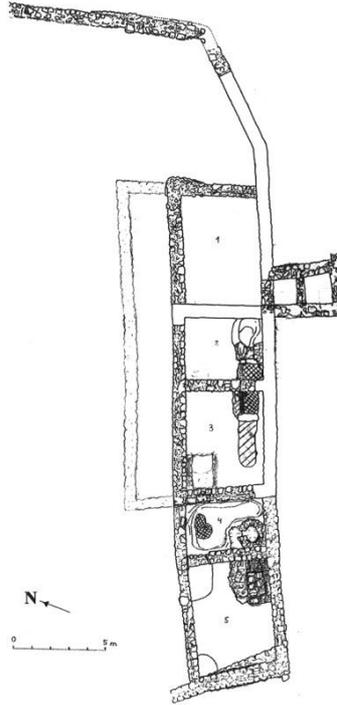


Figure 3-2-3. The excavated workshops in the Holy Spirit Monastery. Lázár “Pilisszentlélek műhelyház”, 219.



Figure 3-2-4. The spring (?) of the southern stream, just next to the hiking path. Documented by the author (12-4-2014).



Figure 3-2-5. The northern bed of the intermittent stream. Photo by the author (22-03-2014).



Figure 3-2-6. The probable dike 3.a., photo taken from southwest by the author (22-03-2014).



Figure 3-2-7. The second, probably – in the past – existing fishpond, photo taken from northwest by the author (22-03-2014).



Figure 3-2-8. Dike of a medieval fishpond in the 1960s(?) on Szentlélek (Holy Spirit) stream.
MRT 5, 443 (Table 69, Picture 1).

3. Monastery of Saint Ladislaus (Kékes/Pilisszentlászló)

Location: Unidentified. The monastery is presumed to have stood on the hill over the modern village of Pilisszentlászló, Pest Co., HU.

Coordinate: (WGS84) $\varphi = 47\ 43\ 36.39339$; $\lambda = 18\ 59\ 03.69130$

Status: The medieval monastic buildings were abandoned during the Ottoman period, but the ruins are still not identified convincingly; arguments can be advanced to support the medieval origins of present-day parish church on the top of the hill and identify it as the church of the monastery.

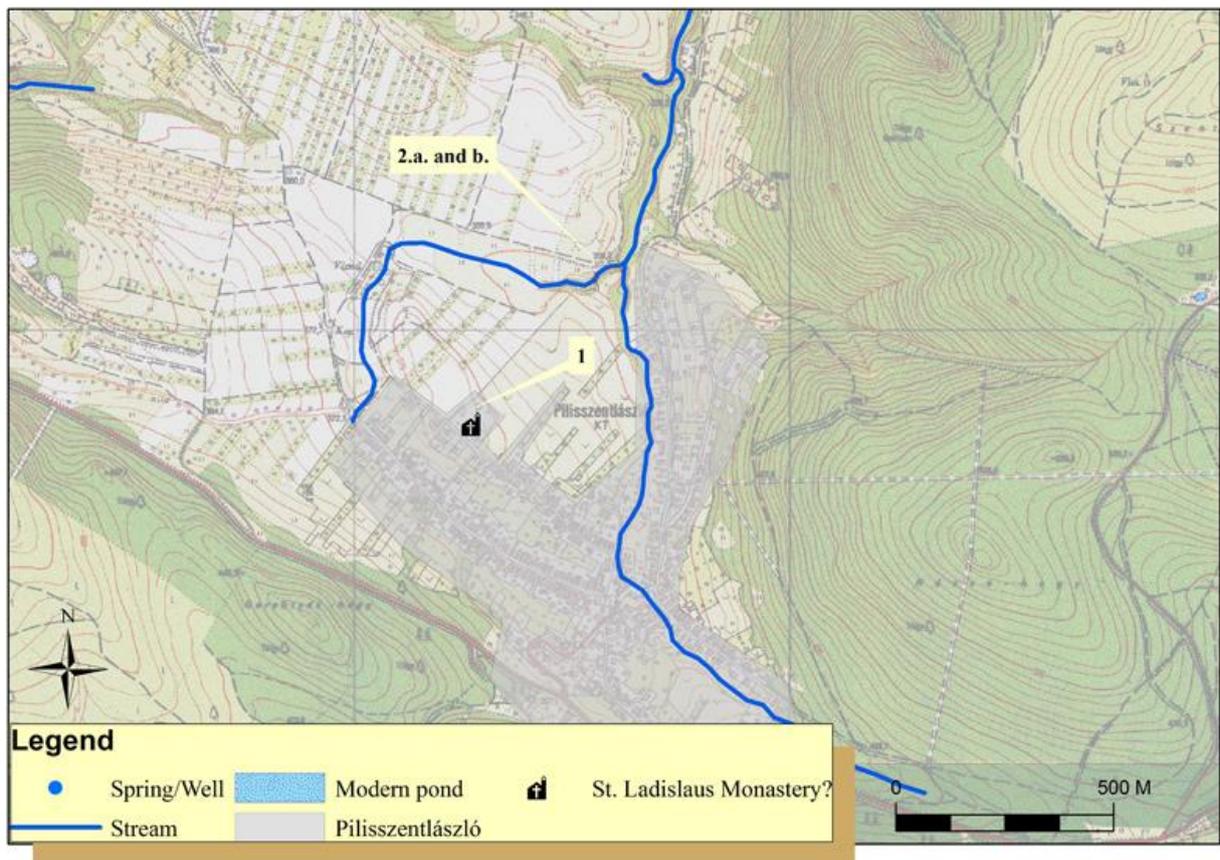


Figure 3-3-1. Summary of the spatial features detected around the St. Ladislaus Monastery on the cut of National Topographic Map.

A. SPATIAL FEATURES AND EARTHWORKS³⁰⁹ (Fig. 3-3-1, 3-3-2.)

1. Monastery. The remains of the medieval monastery supposedly lie under the present baroque church (built in the 1770s) on the top of the hill above the village. The ruins were noted in 1725 and they are marked on some maps from the eighteenth century.

2. Dikes, fishponds

2.a. (Fig. 3-3-1, 3-3-2). From the settlement to north, around 400 m, where a small stream falls into Apát-patak (Abbey stream), just before the mouth, a destroyed, 0,5-0,8m high, 15 m wide, and 30 m long dike closes the valley of the stream.

2.b. (Fig. 3-3-1, 3-3-2.). Further to the west about 60-70 m, another dike was documented in the 1960s, it was 1.5-2.0 m high, 40-45 m long to the north, and 20-25 m long to South.

B. HISTORY

1. Chronological data

Date	Issue	Source
1046-1060	King Andrew I donates his hunting lodge (built of stone) for religious purposes. Not verified data.	Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 83; Pázmány, <i>Acta</i> , 122, 126. Györffy, “Adatok”, 283-284. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.
After 1262 [1262 / 1263	King Béla IV donates his royal hunting lodge in the Benedek valley near Dömös (<i>insula de Pilisio</i>) to Prior Benedict prior, the successor of Eusebius at the Holy Cross monastery (<i>Nota bene</i> : this data is unclear, not verified, and sometimes understand as the date of foundation in each three monasteries of the Pilis region, Ferenc Hervay argued that this donation refers to the Holy Cross monastery and recent research also agrees ³¹⁰ , and also it is the closest to Dömös of all three monasteries)	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap 14; Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 83; Pázmány, <i>Acta</i> , 122, 126. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283-284. <i>DAP</i> II. 409; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; <i>MRT</i> 5, 299; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.
1291	The monastery is listed as a clarified Pauline monastery by Benedict, the bishop of Veszprém.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 9, 16. Cited: Györffy,

³⁰⁹*MRT* 7, 166-168.

³¹⁰Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 116

	<i>(In Pilisio ecclesiae ... Sancti Ladislai in Kekes).</i>	“Adatok”, 285; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 700; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.
1294	The monastery becomes an <i>exempt</i> ecclesiastical center; therefore it is regulated directly by the archbishop of Esztergom.	DAP II. 409. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 700; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.
1301	Before this year the archbishop of Veszprem argues that Trausulus, the castellan of Visegrád, settled the hospeses of Kékes on his properties at Szentendre. After the pope ordered them to move but they were still there, the archbishop of Kalocsa excommunicated the settlers.	DF 200 075. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 700.
1308	Matthew Csák had the first political talk with Cardinal Gentile, papal legate, on the return of Visegrád and the homage of Charles Robert.	Cod. Dipl. VIII/7, 62. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 700; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167; Bakács, <i>Iratok</i> , 313. reg.
1342	Georgius Gyöngyösi mentions Charles Robert as the founder of the church .	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 27. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 284; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 700; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.
1351	The Paulines sell their vineyard at “Barathkazelo”, “Sumulmal” hill (Pilisborosjenő) to the nuns of Óbuda for 14 marks. With a <i>locus torcularis</i> , a wine press.	DL 4230, 4231. Cited: Bakács, <i>Iratok</i> , 656-657; <i>MRT</i> 7, 142, 167.
1353	The church is consecrated by Peter, general prior.	<i>DAP</i> II. 409.
1358 [1473]	King Louis I donates a ruined mill to the St. Ladislaus monastery at Szentendre, <i>Kékes pataka</i> (the stream of Kékes) and also another upstream place for a mill.	DL 7121, (copy: DL 15116) Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 700; <i>DAP</i> II. 410; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167, 269; Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 75, 147.
-1412	The St. Ladislaus monastery owns a parcel in Visegrád. In 1412 Gregorius, the provost of St. Ladislaus Monastery (with the permission of Ladislaus, Pauline general provost) sells the parcel to Nicolaus Póré of Bogdány for 13 florins.	MOL DL 10021. Cited: Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 50, 145.
1456	Denis, the archbishop of Esztergom, donates a mill on Rákos stream and a parcel (both parts of the property of Sződ) to the monastery.	Cited: <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.
1457	Péter Decan, citizen of Vác donates a vineyard called Bakos and located at “Pychewelgh” to the monastery,.	<i>DAP</i> II. 408. Cited: <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.
1458	The St. Ladislaus monastery exchanged a	DL 15203. Cited: <i>DAP</i> II.

	vineyard for a mill (with semi-wheels) at Sződ, on Rákos stream (the owner was originally Thomas Cristel; the value of the vineyard: 100 florins, the value of the mill: 114 florins)	408, 410; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167; Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 75, 147.
1460	Elisabeth, mother of King Matthias I, charges John of <i>Nysa</i> to give the mill at Sződ back to the Paulines, which he took from them by force.	DL 15513 (23th October).
1473	Peter of Tahi leaves 100 florins to recondition the larger pond and 50 florins to the repair the mill on the Kékes stream.	DL 17454 (14 th May). Cited: <i>MRT</i> 7, 167; Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 75, 150.
1488	Father Michael Futó bequeaths a book (a copy of the speeches of Saint John) to the monastery.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> , Cap. 67. Cited: <i>DAP</i> II. 409; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167.
[1493]-1498	János Fügedi, the prior of the St. Ladislaus monastery, sells the Pauline house in Buda (<i>Olaszutca</i> – Italian St.) for 150 florins with the stipulation that the purchaser should pay extra 10 florins yearly rent to the Paulines.	DL 20034; Gyöngyösi, <i>Inventarium</i> 87, Cited: <i>DAP</i> II, 408; <i>MRT</i> 7, 167; Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 45.
1515	For the other house of the monastery in Buda (donated by Ladislaus of Szentpéter, next to the tight passage <i>/Schüler Gasse/</i> which leads to <i>Olaszutca</i> – Italian St.) 6 florins is the yearly amount of rent.	Gyöngyösi, <i>Inventarium</i> 87, <i>DAP</i> II, 409. Cited: Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 45.

2. Known priors of the monastery

Weyce – after 1300³¹¹; Gregorius – 1412³¹²

C. ARCHAEOLOGY

There have been no proper excavations. Around the baroque church, in the graveyard, local people often find the remains of some built structures. Inside the church Tamás Guzsik recorded some features of gothic style.

³¹¹ *ÁMTF* 4, 700.

³¹² DL 10021; cited Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 50.

D. LITERATURE

- *ÁMTF* 4, 700-701;
- *MTF* 1, 11-12;
- *DAP* II. 408-410.
- *MRT* 7, 166-168;
- Guzsik, *Apálos rend építésze*, 2003.

E. ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 3-3-2. Summary of the spatial features detected around the St. Ladislaus Monastery. Created by the author on a Google Earth cut.