

Doctoral Dissertation

The Hermits of the King, the Hermits of the People: Pauline Monastic Space in the Carpathian Basin until the Mid-Fifteenth Century

By: Zsuzsa E. Pető

Supervisors: Katalin Szende & József Laszlovszky

Submitted to the Medieval Studies Department, and
the Doctoral School of History
Central European University, Budapest

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval Studies,
and
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History

Budapest, Hungary
May 2024

Copyright © Zsuzsa Eszter Pető, 2024. The Hermits of the King, the Hermits of the People: Pauline Monastic Space in the Carpathian Basin until the Mid-Fifteenth Century - This work is licensed under [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike \(CC BY-NC-SA\) 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/) International license.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I regard myself very fortunate to be accepted and work in the doctoral program at Central European University, where many professors and colleagues, rather friends guided me throughout the years. Having accepted and being part of the scientific community at CEU Department of Medieval Studies is not only a true honor and privilege for me, but it is also being part of a family, whose lessons and ethos should be passed along for generations of researchers. I will cherish it for the rest of my life.

First, I want to thank my supervisors, Professor Katalin Szende and József Laszlovszky their invaluable guidance and endless, caring patience which they have always showed towards me. I want to thank all the support that Csilla Dobos, also Éva Nagy provided throughout the years. My special and distinguished gratitude goes for Beatrix F. Romhányi and Tajana Pleše for the effort and time to evaluate my work. I truly appreciate the help and navigation of the following, distinguished scholars: Piroska Biczó, Csilla Aradi, Micaela Sinibaldi, Gert Melville, James Bond, Mirko Breitenstein, Victor Lagutov and especially Gábor Tomka. I am also indebted for the past and present directors and my colleagues in the Hungarian National Museum, who were helping my work in countless ways.

From the bottom of my heart, I thank my dear friends and colleagues for their time and care: Anita Bojtos, Ünige Bencze, and Tamás Látos, who has always been there to consult the questions about space and time, Paulines and hermits, whether it was day or night. Special thanks to Szabina Merva, Annamária Bárány, Orsolya Szerdahelyi, Tímea Tamás, Tünde Komori-Fegyvári, Kyra Lyublyanovics, and Krisztina Dúzs; your friendship is invaluable. The Pauline Order in Hungary has a distinguished place in my heart: the dedication and thoughts of Róbert Antal Puskás OSPPE, Péter János Csóka OSPPE, Árpád Attila Hesz OSPPE and Tamás Szentirmay inspired me in so many ways, which all elevated the quality of my work. Finally, I dedicate this work to my family, especially for my dear parents, who have always been encouraging and inspiring me, even assisted me on field surveys. Without their support and patience this work never could have been done.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations	4
List of Figures	9
Chapter 1 – Introduction	23
The Aim of the Work – The Main Research Questions	28
Chapter 2 – The History of the Pauline order and its Spatial features.....	30
2.1. The brief history of the Pauline Order	30
2.2. Pauline monastic space and methodology	39
Chapter 3 – Previous research, sources and research methodology: a foreword about the state of medieval Pauline heritage in Hungary	58
3.1. Protecting the visible and revealing the hidden – the evolution of Pauline research	58
3.2. Written and Visual Data	88
3.3. Examining the Medieval Space and Pauline Monastic Landscape	101
3.4. Levels of Interpretation – Theoretical and Methodological Issues	107
Chapter 4 – The Balaton Uplands, Veszprém Diocese	117
4.1. Introduction	117
4.2. The natural and human-made environment of the Balaton Uplands	123
4.3. Pauline monastic space in the Balaton Uplands	149
Chapter 5 – The Pilis and Börzsöny Forests	256
5.1. Introduction	256
5.2. The Pauline cluster: historical and environmental context	258
5.3. Monasteries in the Pilis-Visegrád Hills and the Börzsöny Hills	294
Chapter 6 – The Zemplén hills, Abaúj-Hegyalja region	363
6.1. Introduction	363
6.2. The Abaúj-Zemplén region: overview of the historical environment	365
6.3. Monasteries and their individual spatial relations in the Zemplén hills	383
Chapter 7 – Conclusion on the spatial levels of Pauline monastic space	427
7.1. The Balaton Uplands	427
7.2. The Pilis and Börzsöny Forests	450
7.3. The Zemplén hills, Abaúj-Hegyalja Region	470
7.4. The medieval space of the Pauline Order: comparison of the Pilis-Börzsöny Forest, Balaton Uplands, and Abaúj-Hegyalja region	481
Bibliography.....	500
Primary Sources and Source Collections	500

Secondary Sources	502
Appendices.....	533
Appendix 1: The Balaton Uplands (Chapter 4)	533
4.3.1. Insula Pilup / Révfülöp, St. Helena Hermitage	533
4.3.2. Salföld / Köveskút, Kőkút (Salföld), St. Maria Magdalena Hermitage and Monastery	535
4.3.3. Sáska / Bakon – St. James Hermitage and Monastery	537
4.3.4. Badacsony, St. Emeric Hermitage	540
4.3.5. Tálod, St. Elizabeth Monastery	541
4.3.6. Henye, St. Margaret Monastery	543
4.3.7. Uzsa, Holy Spirit Monastery	546
4.3.8. Vállus, St. Nicholas monastery	548
4.3.9. Berény	549
Appendix 2: The Pilis and Börzsöny Forests (Chapter 5)	550
5.3.1. Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta/Szentkereszt, Holy Cross Hermitage and Monastery	550
5.3.2. Pilisszentlélek, Holy Spirit Hermitage and Monastery	560
5.3.3. Pilisszentlászló, St. Ladislaus Hermitage and Monastery	564
5.3.4. Nosztra/Nosztre/Márianosztra, Blessed Virgin Monastery	569
5.3.5. Toronyalja, St. Michael Monastery	581
Appendix 3: The Zemplén hills, Abaúj-Hegyalja region (Chapter 6)	589
6.3.1. Óhuta, St. Philip and Jacob Monastery	589
6.3.2. Középnémeti, St. Ladislaus Monastery	594
6.3.3. Göncruszka, St. Catherine Monastery	595
6.3.4. Gönc, Holy Virgin Monastery	603
6.3.5. Regéc, Holy Trinity Monastery	611
6.3.6. Telkibánya, St. Catherine hospital	612
Appendix 4.....	616
Chronology/ The Chronological History of the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit	616
Gazetteer	617

ABBREVIATIONS

AOkm.	Nagy, Imre, ed. <i>Anjoukori okmánytár</i> [Angevin-era documentary records]. Vols. I–VI. Budapest, 1878–1891.
AOkI.	Kristó, Gyula. <i>Anjou-kori oklevéltár</i> [Angevin-era charters]. Vols. I–XL. Budapest, 1990–2014
ÁMTF	Györffy, György. <i>Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza</i> [A historical geography of Hungary in the Árpadian period]. Vols. I–IV. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964–1998.
ÁÚO	Wenzel, Gustáv, ed. <i>Árpádkori új okmánytár</i> [New Árpád era document library]. Budapest, 1860–1874.
Bándi 1985	Bándi, Zsuzsa. “Északkelet-magyarországi pálos kolostorok oklevelei (regeszták)” [Charters (regesta) of the Pauline monasteries of Northeastern Hungary]. <i>Borsodi levéltári évkönyv</i> 5 (1985): 557–726.
Bártfai	Bártfai Bártfai, László Szabó. <i>Pest megye történetének okleveles emlékei 1002–1599</i> [Documentary records of the history of Pest County 1002–1599]. Budapest, 1938.
Békefi	Békefi, Remig. <i>A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban</i> [Churches and castles around Lake Balaton in the Middle Ages]. Budapest, 1907.
Belényesy 1954	Belényesy, Márta. “A földművelés fejlődésének alapvető kérdései a XIV. században” (Der Ackerbau und seine Produkte in Ungarn in XIV. Jahrhundert). <i>Ethnographia</i> 65 (1954) 387—415; 66 (1955) 57-93.
Borovszky	Borovszky, Samu. <i>Magyarország vármegyéi és városai</i> [The county centers and towns of Hungary]. Vols. 1–25, Budapest: 1896–1914.
BudMűeml. II	<i>Budapest Műemlékei</i> II. Budapest. Akadémiai Kiadó, 1962.
Cod. Dipl.	Fejér, György. <i>Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis</i> . Vols. 1–11. Buda: Regiae Universitatis Hungariae, 1829–1844
Cod. Zichy	Nagy Imre et al. <i>A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo</i> . III. Pest, 1874.
DAP	Gyéressy, Béla et al. <i>Documenta Artis Paulinorum</i> . Vols. 1–3. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1975–1978.
Engel	Engel, Pál. <i>Magyarország a középkor végén. Digitális térkép és adatbázis a középkori Magyar Királyság településeiről</i> . [Hungary in the Late Middle Ages. Digital vector map and attaching database about the settlements and landowners of medieval Hungary].

<https://abtk.hu/hirek/1713-megujult-engel-pal-adatbazisa-a-kozepkori-magyarorszag-digitalis-atlasza> (2023-08-26)

- Gyulai 2009 Gyulai, Ferenc. “Veszprém megye régészeti-növénytani leletei” [The archaeobotanical remains in Veszprém County]. In *Veszprém megye monográfiája I. Természeti viszonyok* [The monograph of Veszprém County I. Environmental factors]. Ed. István Galambos, 55-81. Veszprém: Veszprém megyei Önkormányzat, 2009.
- Hevenesi Hevenesi Collection; ELTE Egyetemi Könyvtárának Kézirattára, Collectio Hevenesiana (MS J 128)
- HO *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius*. I–VIII. Győr–Budapest, 1865–1891.
- HOkl. *Hazai Oklevéltár 1234-1536* [National Archives 1234–1536]. Budapest, 1879.
- Holler 2007 Holler, László. “A veszprémi püspök egy 1263. évi okleveléről”. In: *Decus Solitudinis – Pálos Évszázadok* [Pauline Centuries]. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 121–133. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007.
- Holler 2009 Holler, László. “Egy XIII. századi remetekápolna – Idegsýt Beatae Elizabeth – lokalizálása Nyelvészeti vizsgálatok a séd és kút szavak körében” [*Idegsýt Beatae Elizabeth* - Locating a thirteenth-century eremitic ecclesia by the linguistic examinations of *séd* and *kút*]. *Magyar Nyelv* 2009/2: 17–29.
- Holub 1933 Holub, József. *Zala megye története a középkorban III. Községek*. [The history of Zala County in the Middle Ages III. Settlements.] Manuscript. Zalaegerszeg, 1933.
- Holub 1963 Holub, József. *Zala megye középkori vízrajza* [The medieval hydrology/water space of Zala County]. Zalaegerszeg: Göcseji Múzeum, 1963.
- HNM/ HNM NIA Hungarian National Museum/ Hungarian National Museum, National Institute of Archaeology
- Inventarium* Gyöngyösi, Gregorius. *Inventarium privilegiorum omnium et singularum domorum ordinis eremitarum sancti Pauli primi heremite*. Manuscript. Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár Cod. Lat. 115 (Liber viridis) f. 1–89. 1522.
- Ila Ila, Bálint. *Gömör megye*. Vols. I–V. Budapest, 1944–1976
- Karácsonyi Karácsonyi, János. *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig*. [The Hungarian Kindreds until the mid-fourteenth century] Vols 1–3. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1900–1904.
- Kiss Kiss, Lajos. *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára. Negyedik bővített és javított kiadás* [Etymological dictionary of geographical names. Fourth enlarged and revised edition]. Vols. I–II. Budapest, 1988.

KMTL	Kristó, Gyula et al. <i>Korai magyar történeti lexikon</i> [Early Hungarian Historical Lexicon]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1994.
Lukcsics	Lukcsics, Pál. <i>XV. századi pápák oklevelei</i> [Charters of fifteenth-century popes]. Vols 1-2. Budapest: MTA, 1931-1938.
Maksa	Maksay, Ferenc. <i>Magyarország birtokviszonyai a 16. század közepén I.</i> [The estates of Hungary in the sixteenth century]. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1990.
MES	<i>Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis</i> 1-4. Ed. Knauz, Ferdinandus et al. Esztergom - Budapest, 1874–1999.
MKL	<i>Magyar Katolikus Lexikon</i> [Hungarian Catholic Lexicon]
MMT 5	<i>Magyarország Műemléki Topográfiaja V. Pest megye I.</i> Bp., 1958.
MN	<i>Magyar Néprajz</i> [Hungarian Ethnography]. chief ed. Paládi-Kovács, Attila. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1988-2002. online edition: http://mek.niif.hu/02100/02152/html/index.html (last accessed: 25-01-2024)
MNL	<i>Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon</i> [Hungarian Ethnographic Lexicon]. Vols. 1-5. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1977-1982. online edition: https://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02115/html/index.html (last accessed: 25-01-2024)
MNL OL DL/DF	Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár – Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai Levéltár/Diplomatikai Fotótár. [National Archive of Hungary, Section Q] Collection of Medieval Charters (original or photocopy) (1109–1526).
MRT 1	Bakay, Kornél, Sandor Kálicz, and Károly Sági. <i>Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiaja 1. A keszthelyi és tapolcai járás</i> [Archaeological topography of Veszprém county 1. The district of Keszthely and Tapolca]. Budapest, 1966.
MRT 2	Éri, István, ed <i>Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiaja 2. Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiaja: A veszprémi járás.</i> [The archaeological topography of Hungary 2. The archaeological topography of Veszprém County. Veszprém district]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969.
MRT 5	Torma, István et al., ed. <i>Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiaja 5. Komárom megye régészeti topográfiaja</i> [The archaeological topography of Hungary 3. The archaeological topography of Komárom County: Esztergom and Dorog districts], Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1979.
MRT 7	Torma, István et al., ed. <i>Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiaja 7. Pest megye régészeti topográfiaja: A budai és szentendrei járás</i> [The archaeological topography of Hungary 7. The archaeological topography of Pest County: Buda and Szentendre districts], Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986.

MRT 9	Torma, István et al., ed. <i>Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 9. Pest megye régészeti topográfiája: A szobi és a váci járás</i> [The archaeological topography of Hungary 7. The archaeological topography of Pest County: Szob and Vác districts], Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993.
MTA Könyvtár. Kézirattár	Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Collection of Documents.
MTT	Magyar Történelmi Tár.
MTF	Csánki, Dezső and Antal Fekete Nagy, ed. <i>Magyarország történeti földrajza a Hunyadiak korában</i> [The historical geography of Hungary in the Hunyadi era]. Vols. I–V. Budapest, 1890–1913.
OMF	Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség [Conservancy of National Heritage]
Perényi	Tringli, István. <i>A Perényi család levéltára 1222–1526</i> [The archive of the Perényi Family 1222-1526]. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008.
Pesty	Pesty, Frigyes. <i>Magyarország helységnévtára</i> [The collection of Hungarian settlement nomenclature]. Budapest, 1864.
Phalma	Dreska, Gábor. <i>A pannonhalmi konvent hiteleshelyi működésének oklevéltára I. (1244-1398)</i> . [The charter collection of the place of authentication of the chapter of Pannonhalma] Győr: Győri Egyházmegye, 2007.
Rupp	Rupp, Jakab. <i>Magyarország helyrajzi története I-III</i> . [The history of Hungarian places]. Budapest: 1870-1876.
<i>Sigismund itiner</i>	Engel, Pál and Norbert C. Tóth. <i>Királyok és királynék itineráriumai (1382-1437)</i> [The itineraries of kings and queens. Budapest: MTA, 2005.
Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i>	Vadász, Judit MáriaMagdolna. <i>A fényes kolostor: A márianosztrai pálos kolostor és templom története (1352-2012)</i> [The luminous monastery: The history of the Pauline cloister and church of Márianosztra (1352-2012)]. Budapest – Márianosztra: Ecclesia Szövetkezet – Magyar Pálos Rend Boldog Özséb Konventje, 2018.
VF	Gyöngyösi, Gregorius. <i>Vitae Fratrum Eremitarium Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae</i> . Ed. Ferenc Hervay. <i>Bibliotheca Medii Recentisque Aevorum. Series Nova IX</i> . Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1988.
Veszpr. Reg.	Kumorovitz, L. Bernát. <i>Veszprémi regeszták (1301–1387)</i> [Regestas from Veszprém]. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, 1953.
VeML	Veszprém Vármegyei Levéltár [The Archive of Veszprém County].
VÉL	Veszprémi Érseki és Főkapitányi Levéltár, Veszprém. A/7 = Veszprémi Püspöki Levéltár, Acta et fragmenta visitationis canonicae. A/44 = Veszprémi Püspöki Levéltár, Acta Dioecessana.

C/1 (cap.) = Veszprémi Káptalan Magánlevéltára, Documenta juris possessionarii.

C/1 (epp.) = Veszprémi Káptalan Magánlevéltára, Documenta ad jura episcopatus Vesprimiensis tangencia.

- VHL Ila, Bálint and József Kovacsics. *Veszprém megye helytörténeti lexikona* [Veszprém megye helytörténeti lexikona]. Vols. II. Budapest, 1988.
- VO Gutheil, Jenő, ed. *Veszprém város okmánytára. Oklevelek a veszprémi érseki és káptalani levéltárakból (1002–1523)* [The documents of Veszprém, charters from the archbishopric and chapter archive (1002–1523)]. Veszprém, 2007.
- VR Kandra, Kabos. *A váradi regestrum*. [The Regestrum of Várad]. Budapest, 1898.
- ZO. Nagy, Imre, Dezső Véghely, and Gyula Nagy, eds. *Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár*. [History of Zala County. Charters]. Vols. I–II. Budapest, 1886–1890
- Zsiray – Zsiray, Lajos–Sch. Pusztai Ilona. “A salzföldi Mária-Magdolnáról elnevezett pálos kolostor” [The Pauline monastery of Marie Magdalene of Salföld]. *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1967): 247–258.
- ZsO Mályusz, Elemér, ed. *Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár* [Charters from the Sigismund era]. Vols. I–XI. Budapest, 1951–2009.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. The Pauline monasteries (yellow dots) in the broad Carpathian Basin. The medieval (1300s) state borders (black line), today's border of Hungary (purple line), also the studied regions are indicated (1. Balaton Uplands, 2. Pilis and Börzsöny Forest, 3. Abaúj-Hegyalja regions). Basemap: Natural Earth Collection

Figure 2.1. Scenes from the lives of early hermits. Painting attributed to Mariotto di Nardo. Christian Museum, Esztergom, inv. no. 55.168. Tempera on wood, 81 × 82 cm, c. 1423–25.

Figure 2.2. The groundplan of Salföld, based on Ilone Schr. Pusztai – Miklós Zsiray, “A salfoldi Mária-Magdolnáról elnevezett pálos kolostor” [The Pauline monastery of Marie Magdalene of Salföld]. *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1967): 247–258.

Figure 2.3. The valley pond. B. K. Roberts, “The Re-discovery of fishponds”, 11.

Figure 2.4. Medieval assemblages with Acipenserid bones from Hungary. Bartosiewicz, Fish, Fig. 1.

Figure 2.5. A wheel of a mill and a man (probably the miller) on the lake. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No.29. Vulgo Germanicamol Or. s. Paulis P. Ere. Monasterü Papensis sub Prio. P. P. E. Neme.

Figure 3.1.a. The map of medieval Pauline monasteries in the Carpathian Basin. Based on Guzsik, Pálos építészet, catalogue. See the sites in Appendix 4/Gazetteer.

Fig. 3.1.b. The zoomed map of medieval Pauline monasteries in the Carpathian Basin, focused on present-day Hungary. Based on Guzsik, Pálos építészet, catalogue. See the sites in Appendix 4/Gazetteer.

Figure 3.2. Keystone illustrating Saint Paul the First Hermit. Castle Museum of the Budapest History Museum, Department of the Middle Ages, inv. no. 369.and 668.

Figure 4.1. **Balaton Uplands.** The Pauline monastic cluster at the Balaton Uplands and the settlements in the region, which are regarded as part of the Balaton Uplands. The numbers indicated in the legend refer to the number of mentions that the authors have found in specific documents about the settlements, identified their location at the Balaton Uplands. Base map: Máté–Sallai–Mikházi, “A Balaton-felvidék”, 23.

Figure 4.2. **Balaton Uplands.** The Pauline monastic cluster, the order of the hermitages in 1263 at the Balaton Uplands. The numbers indicated in the legend refer to the number of mentions that the authors have found in specific documents about the settlements, identified their location at the Balaton Uplands. Base map: Máté–Sallai–Mikházi, “A Balaton-felvidék”, 23.

Figure 4.3. **Balaton Uplands.** The Pauline monasteries in Zala and Veszprém counties, also the Diocese of Veszprém. Base maps: https://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/zml/archontologiai_adatbazis_terkepek (last accessed: 01-11-2023)

Figure 4.4. **Balaton Uplands.** The Pauline monasteries in Zala and Veszprém counties, also the Diocese of Veszprém. Base maps: https://mek.oszk.hu/09100/09175/html/images/9_nagykep.jpg (last accessed: 02-02-2023)

Figure 4.5. **Balaton Uplands.** Possessions and settlements at the Balaton Uplands in 1382. Source: Engel Maps. <https://abtk.hu/hirek/1713-megujult-engel-pal-adatbazisa-a-kozepkori-magyarorszag-digitalis-atlasza> (software accessed: 05-03-2023)

Figure 4.6. **Balaton Uplands.** The properties of the various ecclesial institutions

Figure 4.7. **Balaton Uplands.** The map of the medieval Transdanubian road network. Glaser 1929-30.

Figure 4.8. **Balaton Uplands.** Tay-paying places in the Balaton Uplands. Holub “Zala vármegye vámhelyei,” 56.

Figure 4.9. **Balaton Uplands.** The main roads, churches/settlements, ports, fortifications, Benedictine abbeys, hermitages and Pauline monasteries of the Balaton Uplands. Base map: First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.10. **Balaton Uplands.** The water-level of the Balaton since 8000 BCE until 1969. Bendefy - V.Nagy 1969, 64.

Figure 4.11. **Balaton Uplands.** The ferries and ports on the eastern half of the Balaton. Credit: the author.

Figure 4.12. **Balaton Uplands.** The list of ferries and ports in written sources.

Figure 4.13. **Balaton Uplands.** The possible ferries in the region of Révfülöp. Base map: Hungarian topographic map (EOV).

Figure 4.14. **Balaton Uplands.** The elevation at Révfülöp, the present-day wastewater treatment plant. Google Earth application.

Figure 4.15. **Balaton Uplands.** The elevation at today's Pálköve, medieval stie. Google Earth application.

Figure 4.16. **Balaton Uplands.** The elevation west of today's Pálköve, in a bay. Google Earth application.

Figure 4.17. **Balaton Uplands.** The cut of the Balaton region on the map of Sámuel Mikoviny depicting the ferry tracks (1753).

Figure 4.18. **Balaton Uplands.** Depiction of the Balaton shore on the Pauline map of Badacsony. See reference in Appendix 1, 4.3.4.

Figure 4.3.1. **Insula Pilup.** The area of present-day Révfülöp on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.2. **Insula Pilup.** The church at Révfülöp at the beginning of the twentieth century, where the island-like highlight is visible. Békefi 1907, 193; MRT 1, 133. Figure 31.

Figure 4.3.3. **Insula Pilup.** The ground plan of the past visible ruins on the Balaton shore, near the water waste management area (Hajórév?).

Figure 4.3.4. **Insula Pilup.** Mapping the list of 1263. Based on the idea of Guzsik, 2000. (1) Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae, (2) Kewkwth Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae, (3) Bohon Sancti Jacobi, (4) Idegsyt Beatae Elisabeth, (5) Bodochn Sancti Emerici, (6) Insula prope Ewrmenyes, Elek Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae, (7) Zakach Sancti Dominici.

Figure 4.3.5. **Insula Pilup.** Elevation model of the terrain, based on aerial photogrammetry. Source: Facebook/NRI (National Archaeological Institute)

Figure 4.3.6. **Insula Pilup.** The maps of 1802 and 1827. See the sources in Appendix 1/4.3.1.

Figure 4.3.7. **Insula Pilup.** A hermit's cabin drawn in an early-fourteenth-century codice. Psalter of Queen Mary. British Library, ID: Roy2.B.VII. Fol. 209r. Index of Medieval Art.

Figure 4.3.8. **Insula Pilup**. The list of properties in the first testimony of Sal comes, 1221. (Cod. Dipl. 3/1, 326.)

Figure 4.3.9. **Kőkút**. The sum of properties from the written sources of Kőkút monastery.

Figure 4.3.10. **Kőkút**. The spatial arrangement of the vineyards, based on the charters of 1307 and 1309.

Figure 4.3.11. **Kőkút**. The probable area of vineyards on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.12. **Kőkút**. The orthophotography of the area from 1979. The ruins of the church are visible Open source: fentrol.hu (Last accessed: 2023-10-23). The area hasn't changed at all until present days.

Figure 4.3.13. **Kőkút**. The surveyed area in Google Earth with its present, full coverage. (Last accessed: 2023-09-10) Figure 4.3.14. **Kőkút**. Digital terrain model based on LiDAR survey, visualized by RRIM (red relief image map). Created by Tamás Látos, HNM.

Figure 4.3.14. **Kőkút**. Digital terrain model based on LiDAR survey, visualized by RRIM (red relief image map). Created by Tamás Látos, HNM.

Figure 4.3.15. **Kőkút**. The draft of the understood monastic space.

Figure 4.3.16. **Kőkút**. The groundplan of the monastery.

Figure 4.3.17. **Kőkút**. Coloured original form of the courtyard and the cloister wings.

Figure 4.3.18. **Kőkút**. Possible track to the Lake Balaton and to the medieval village of Ábrahám (Google Earth section of terrain, accessed 2023-10-08)

Figure 4.3.19. **Kőkút**. The mill on the Second Ordnance Survey

Figure 4.3.20. **Kőkút**. The mill channel in Cholnoky, 1889.

Figure 4.3.21. **Kőkút**. Coins found at Salföld monastery. (Photos of Tamás Péterváry)

Figure 4.3.22. **Kőkút**. Medieval finds from the monastery of Salföld. Credit: Tamás Péterváry, HNM.

Figure 4.3.23. **Kőkút**. Bronze tap found at the monastery of Salföld. Tamás Péterváry, HNM NAI.

Figure 4.3.24. **Kőkút**. The local topography near modern Salföld. Base map: Second Ordnance Survey. Credit: author/mapire.

Figure 4.3.25. **Sáska**. The beginning of the Inventarium about St. James monastery. Cod. Lat. 115. ELTE University Library, paginum 43.

Figure 4.3.26. **Sáska**. Summary of the monastic properties of Sáska.

Figure 4.3.27. **Sáska**. The mills of Sáska monastery in the Balaton Uplands region.

Figure 4.3.28. **Sáska**. The best vineyards, based on modern toponyms, and the large meadow area north-northwest of the settlement on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.29. **Sáska**. The distance and landscape between the monastery of Sáska (map to the left) and the vineyard at Csobánc called Kövesmagas (map to the right), also the mills of the monastery and the medieval settlements (both maps). Basemap: Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.30. **Badacsony**. The Badacsony hill and the hermitage on the eastern slope of it, near the known medieval villages.

Figure 4.3.31. **Badacsony**. The two Tomaj villages, Lesence and Badacsony on the First Ordnance Survey and with all the known medieval spatial features.

Figure 4.3.32. **Badacsony**. Badacsony area and the documented archaeological sites on the topographical map. Felsőkolónia is the mine, west of it there is the Klastrom-forrás [Cloister spring] located.

Figure 4.3.33. **Badacsony**. The draft of the groundplan, drawn by Guzsik and Fejérváry. See Guzsik 2003.

Figure 4.3.34. **Tálod**. The family tree of the Rátót kindred, Gyulaffy family. Karácsonyi 3, 4.

Figure 4.3.35. **Tálod**. The remains of the stone-built wall of the monastic garden and the western face of the monastic church that remains of the buildings. Photocredit: <http://arpad-korifalu.mcbubu.hu/talad/talad.html> (Access: 11-26-2023)

Figure 4.3.36. **Tálod**. The western facade's interior side and the same stonewall remains in 19, April 2023. Photocredit: the author.

Figure 4.3.37. **Tálod**. The tombstone, which was found near Tálod at the manor. Rainer 2009.

Figure 4.3.38. **Tálod**. The two surveys, one conducted by Andrea Kékedi, the other by Ádám Pátkai. See Kékedi 2008, also Papp 2019.

Figure 4.3.39. Tálod. The LiDAR survey of the area, including the same and further features identified, see the numbers and the number on the previous figure. GeoCredit: Tamás Látos.

Figure 4.3.40. **Tálod**. The LiDAR survey of the area, visualized by RRIM (red relief image map). Created by Tamás Látos, Hungarian National Museum. Credit: Hungarian National Museum.

Figure 4.3.41. **Tálod**. The water reservoir (13), probably servatorium in April 19, 2023. Photocredit: the author.

Figure 4.3.42. **Tálod**. The broadened survey, the monastery is highlighted with yellow. Credit: Tamás Látos, HNM.

Figure 4.3.43. **Tálod**. The probable extension of the pond marked with blue, the dam west of it. Red shows the area of the brick kiln. Also the St. Helen parish church on the east, highlighted with yellow. The possible location of the village is not on the survey. Credit: Tamás Látos, HNM.

Figure 4.3.44. **Tálod**. Mapping the list of 1263. Based on the idea of Guzsik, 2000. (1) Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae, (2) Kewkwth Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae, (3) Bohon Sancti Jacobi, (4) Idegsyt Beatae Elisabeth, (5) Bodochn Sancti Emerici, (6) Insula prope Ewrmenyes, Elek Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae, (7) Zakach Sancti Dominic

Figure 4.3.45. **Tálod**. Possible locations of Idegsyt monastery, also Tálod (no.4.). Along the hermitages that were listed in the inventory of Paul Bishop in 1263, also later Pauline monasteries included. Base map: Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.46. **Tálod**. Hidegkút in the Archaeological Topography of Hungary. The place under no. 1. is the plateau and no. 2. is the spring and the church. (MRT 2, 107.)

Figure 4.3.47. **Tálod**. Hidegkút on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.48. **Tálod**. Mappa terreni possessionis Hidegkut [VeML XV 11 a T 330] 1779, Ferenc Kovács mapmaker. In the center the draft of a two-towered church is located where the hermitage is located by Holler. See Holler 2009, 20.

Figure 4.3.49. **Tálod**. Ex mappis de po[ssessi]one Hidegkut [VeML XV 11 a T 530]. The map depicts the church and a pond at the spring, also mills were along the stream.

Figure 4.3.50. **Tálod**. The area of Hidegkúti-dűlő, west of Váralja.

Figure 4.3.51. **Tálod**. The area of Barát-rét, Brother's/Monk's meadow north-northwest of Várkölygy.

Figure 4.3.52. **Tálod**. The area of Hidegkút north of Zalasántó. A medieval site is located there, no. 12504. Source: Official Archaeological sites Database, "IVO" (last accessed: 2023-12-12)

Figure 4.3.53. **Henye**. The summary of properties of Henye, based on written sources.

Figure 4.3.54. **Henye**. The area of Henye and Monoszló, all the possible properties in the charter of 1365, based on Google Satellite and nineteenth-century cadastral map, also on the Toponym Registry.

Figure 4.3.55. **Henye**. The ponds around Henye on the First Ordnance Survey, also the mill south of the settlement.

Figure 4.3.56. **Henye**. The ponds around Henye, the stream, mill and the vineyards, along the surroundings on the Second Ordnance Surveys, integrated some data from the nineteenth-century cadastral map of Henye.

Figure 4.3.57. **Henye**. The mill and the remains of a long dyke on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.58. **Henye**. The mill and the fishpond, which is visible on the Google Satellite image.

Figure 4.3.59. **Henye**. The monastery (red dot) and the immediate landscape on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.60. **Henye**. The hilly terrain near the mill on the Second Ordnance Survey

Figure 4.3.61. **Uzsa**. Cut from the map of archaeological sites. No. 8: medieval remains of Pabar, no. 7: the Pauline monastery, no. 6: medieval Uzsa. MRT 1, 109.

Figure 4.3.62. **Uzsa**. The probable extension and location of the three properties and landowners, mentioned in the charter in 1333. Basis Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.63. **Uzsa**. The groundplan of the monastery of Uzsa. Based on Dornay-Vigyázó 1934, 338.

Figure 4.3.64. **Uzsa**. The drawing of Iván Ádám of the (minimum) two-storey, eastern and northeastern part of the monastery, dated to 1881. See Fehérváry 1979, 206. Figure 2.

Figure 4.3.65. **Uzsa**. Photos of Uzsa, Holy Spirit monastery. Taken by the author, 25-09-2023.

Figure 4.3.66. **Uzsa**. The ground plan and the terrain (terraces) around the monastery of Uzsa, based on the drawing of Ádám Fehérváry 1979, 205. Figure 1.

Figure 4.3.67. **Uzsa**. The Balaton's probable max. water coverage in the area of Uzsa and Vállus. Beside the hermitages and monasteries (white dot), the known churches (probably settlements as well) are marked. Base map: First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.68. **Uzsa**. The mills near Diszel on the Egregy stream.

Figure 4.3.69. **Uzsa**. The area of Barát-rét, Brother's/Monk's meadow north-northwest of Zsid.

Figure 4.3.70. **Vállus**. The carved stone canal (which tap the rain from the cloister garden to the outskirts of the cloister, near the chancel) and the sedile in the cloister. Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed:20-12-2023)

Figure 4.3.71. **Vállus**. Medieval tools (hoe, scissor, knives, a bell, a hook) Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed:20-12-2023)

Figure 4.3.72. **Vállus**. Medieval book bindings, probably cross pendant, lead bulla/seal, cloth seals, gilded and inscribed panel, a cross and corpus, and a small bell. Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed:20-12-2023)

Figure 4.3.73. **Vállus**. The Bronze Age settlement features, Roman fibulae, thirteenth century coin, buildings over burials, and early medieval (?) stone structures below the sacristy. Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed:20-12-2023)

Figure 4.3.74. **Vállus**. The digital reconstruction of the monastery. Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed:20-12-2023)

Figure 4.3.75. **Vállus**. The local topography, Zsid, Vállus and [Lesence]Tomaj on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.76. **Vállus**. The forested area (coloured with dark brown) in the region of Keszthely, Zsid and Vállus on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.77. **Hermitages**. The three hermitages on the northeastern region of the Balaton Uplands

Figure 4.3.78. **Hermitages**. The Remete/hermit labelled features in the northwestern area of present-day Almádi.

Figure 4.3.79. **Hermitages**. Szentkirályszabadja on the northwest and the hermit sites at Berény at the Second Ordnance survey.

Figure 4.3.80. **Hermitages**. The most probable location of the ruins at Berény at the Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.81. **Hermitages**. The local medieval topography around Berény on the basis of the nineteenth c. cadastral map.

Figure 4.3.82. **Hermitages**. Barát-lakás, the hermitage north of Arács on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.83. **Hermitages**. The fishpond and the most probable place of the Hermit dwelling north of Arács, on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 4.3.84. **Hermitages**. Barátlakás=Hermit cave/shelter on a map, 1841. Arács helység határának rajza [VeML XV 11 a T 377].

Figure 4.3.85. **Hermitages**. The hermit dwellings at Tihany.

Figure 4.3.86. **Hermitages**. The hermit dwellings at Tihany. Photocredit: Áron Dömsödi, természetjaro.hu

Figure 5.1. **Pilis-Dunakanyar**. The Pilis-Visegrád hills and the southern area of Börzsöny hills. along with the known medieval topography, royal and ecclesial centers.

Figure 5.2. **Pilis-Dunakanyar.** A cut from Tabula Hungariae by Lazarus. National Széchényi Library, App. M. 135.

Figure 5.3. **Pilis-Dunakanyar.** The Least Cost Path on ASTER DEM between Esztergom and Keszthely.

Figure 5.4. **Pilis-Dunakanyar.** The main roads, centers, and monasteries in the Pilis on ASTER GDEM

Figure 5.5. **Pilis-Dunakanyar.** An LCP analysis between Esztergom and Óbuda (LCP1) on ASTER GDEM.

Figure 5.6. **Pilis-Dunakanyar.** An LCP analysis between Esztergom and Óbuda (LCP2) on ASTER GDEM.

Figure 5.7. **Pilis-Dunakanyar.** An LCP analysis between Visegrád and Óbuda (LCP 3) on ASTER GDEM.

Figure 5.8. **Pilis-Dunakanyar.** The Börzsöny hills in the center, also the analyzed monasteries, the Danube and on the west the Ipoly valley (flow directly to the Danube at Szob), also the royal, ecclesial centers and implant settlements on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.1. **Pilis-Holy Cross.** The reconstructed border between Keszthely village and the monastery. Reconstruction based on the charter and the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.2. **Pilis-Holy Cross.** The plan of the site at the Monastery of Holy Cross. On the basis of the work of István Méri. MRT 5, 235.

Figure 5.3.3. **Pilis-Holy Cross.** Recorded landscape features around the monastery of Holy Cross, base: Google Satellite.

Figure 5.3.4. **Pilis-Holy Cross.** The remains of the medieval vaulted stone inlet on the west-northwest. Archival photo. Méri (1959c), “Keszthely-Klastrompuszta”

Figure 5.3.5. **Pilis-Holy Cross.** The vineyard area on the First Ordnance Survey and today.

Figure 5.3.6. **Pilis-Holy Spirit.** Cut from a cadastral map on the territory of Szentlélek (1788), depicting Fekete-hegy, Black rock southwest to the settlement. National Archive, No. S 12 Div IX No. 99.

Figure 5.3.7. **Pilis-Holy Spirit.** LiDAR survey of the monastery. Credit: Tamás Látos, Zsiga Zsolt, HNM, NIA.

Figure 5.3.8. **Pilis-Holy Spirit.** 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.

Figure 5.3.9. **Pilis-Holy Spirit.** The LiDAR survey of the area around Pilisszentlélek monastery. Credit: Tamás Látos and Zsolt Zsiga, HNM- NIA

Figure 5.3.10. **Pilis-Holy Spirit.** A deep-cut road and remains of water flows near the monastery. Based on the LiDAR of Tamás Látos and Zsiga Zsolt, HNM NIA.

Figure 5.3.11. **Pilis-Holy Spirit.** The Barát-kút area northeast to the monastery, on the past property of Bajon. Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.12. **Pilis-Holy Spirit.** The vineyards northwest to the monastery on the First Ordnance Survey, also the area today deforested on Google Satellite Map.

Figure 5.3.13. **Pilis-St.Ladislaus.** The rudera of the monastery. MNL OL Collection of Maps: S 11 No. 30.

Figure 5.3.14. **Pilis-St. Ladislaus.** The ruins of the monastery (Rudera) and the vineyards (Vinea) in the southeastern vicinity of Pilisszentlászló. MNL OL Collection of Maps: S 86 No. 5

Figure 5.3.15. **Pilis-St. Ladislaus.** Historical map; the boundary between Szentlászló and Bogdány. (1760). National Archive, Collection of Maps, S 86 No.6.

Figure 5.3.16. **Pilis-St. Ladislaus.** Summary of the spatial features detected around the St. Ladislaus Monastery

Figure 5.3.17. **Pilis-St. Ladislaus.** The mills, vineyards on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.18. **Pilis-St. Ladislaus.** Outline of Jakab Szepesi's group of plots. Drawing: Orsolya Mészáros, Zsolt Réti. Mészáros, "Városi élet," 639.

Figure 5.3.19. **Pilis-St. Ladislaus.** Visegrád and Maros in the Middle Ages. Drawing: Orsolya Mészáros, after ÁMF IV. 709. Mészáros, 2015, 630. The royal town of Visegrád, the so-called magyarváros (Hungarian town) and the probable area of the houses, including the parcel of the St. Ladislaus monastery of Kékes. Orsolya Mészáros, "Városi élet a visegrádi királyi városban" [Life in the Royal Town of Visegrád] In *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások "az ország közepén"*, [Archaeological, art historical, and historical researches "in the middle of the Kingdom"], eds. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015), 633.

Figure 5.3.20. **Pilis-St. Ladislaus.** The local medieval topography of northern Buda, Castle Hill. András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza 2* [The Medieval map of Buda], vol. 2. (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2008), 347, Figure 32.; the house of Dionysios of Alag circled with red, which was partially donated to the Paulines in 1493; B: Mary Magdalene Parish church; G: Dominican monastery; A: Parish church of Blessed Virgin.

Figure 5.3.21. **Pilis-St. Ladislaus.** Known Pauline properties in the royal town of Buda. A: Virgin Mary parish church, B: St. Marie Magdalene parish church; C: Townhouse; D: Synagogue; CS: Csatka monastery; K: Kékes monastery; L: Lád monastery; Sz: Holy Cross and Holy Spirit in the Pilis; Ö: Örményes monastery; P: St. Laurence monastery; V: Veresmart monastery. Végh, *Buda 2*, 349, no. 56.

Figure 5.3.22. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The surrounding of the monastery and the locations mentioned in the present text.

Figure 5.3.23. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Archaeological sites of present-day Ipolydamásd. MRT 9, 103.

Figure 5.3.24. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The geodetic survey of Zuvár. MRT 9, 109.

Figure 5.3.25. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The groundplan of Damásd castrum. MRT 9, 104.

Figure 5.3.26. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The archaeological topography of present Márianosztra. MRT 9, 181.

Figure 5.3.27. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 11. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.28. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Hemp/hempen-garden west to the monastery in the eighteenth century. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 12/3. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.29. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The gardens in the nineteenth century. MNL Collection of Maps, S 11 No. 2004. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.30. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Vineyards north to the Calvary. MNL Collection of Maps, S86 No. 12/2 (see details in the appendix/Chapter10/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.31. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Vineyards north/northeast to the monastery on the First Ordnance survey.

Figure 5.3.32. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The mills at Csata (Čata, SK) and Gény (south of Čata) in the nineteenth century, Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.33. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The possible location of Kis-Garam, here Ho[l]t-Garam meaning oxbow Garam, next to Garam river. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 20. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.34. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The Pauline fishpond of Csata. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 21. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.35. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The fishpond and its mill on the First and Second Ordnance Surveys.

Figure 5.3.36. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The fishpond and its mill on the First and Second Ordnance Surveys.

Figure 5.3.37. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The parcels south to Csata, the border between the part of Apáti and Csata. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 22. (see details in the Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.38. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The parcels south to Csata, the border between the part of Apáti and Csata. First and Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.39. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The distance of Csata and Lekér. Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.40. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The vineyard of Csata (“Csatai szőlő”) on the Second Ordnance Survey and the area on the First Ordnance Map.

Figure 5.3.41. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The western boundary of Csata possession, depicting Kéty and the great fishpond, along its mill. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 18. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.42. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The labels explained of the latter map. *Kis-Bény and Csuda possessions were located south and north to Csata.

Figure 5.3.43. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** *Kis-Bény and Csuda possessions were located south and north to Csata. First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.44. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The woods of Gény on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.45. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Gény-valley on an eighteenth-century cadastral map. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 20. (see details details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.46. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Gény-valley on the Second and First Ordnance Surveys.

Figure 5.3.47. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Gény (Gémiense) area of Csata. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 22. (see details details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.48. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Google satellite map of present Csata (Čata, Slovakia) and Bény (Bíňa, Slovakia).

Figure 5.3.49. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Postal map, depicting Csata and Gém. MNL Collection of Maps, S 12. Div. XVIII. No. 43:1. (see details details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.50. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Orsány and Nosztra on the Google Satellite Map, today's border between Slovakia and Hungary.

Figure 5.3.51. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The First and Second Ordnance Survey, James grove.

Figure 5.3.52. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** Archaeological site of Perőcsény-Pogány-temető. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Régészeti Adatbázis [Hungarian National Museum, Archaeological Database], <https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/8360> (last accessed: 04-06-2024)

Figure 5.3.53. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The medieval butcher shops, slaughterhouses and markets at today's Budapest, medieval Buda, Óbuda and Pest. Translated labels, but map is from Benda, "Marhakereskedelem,"¹⁴¹, Figure 10.

Figure 5.3.54. **Nosztra-Holy Virgin.** The archaeological topography of Vác town. MRT 9, unnumbered page between 384-385.

Figure 5.3.55. **Toronyalja-St. Michael.** The archaeological topography of Toronyala monastery and its distance of Márianosztra. MRT 9, 181.

Figure 5.3.56. **Toronyalja-St. Michael.** The local topography, based on archaeological topography and written sources, but mostly on MRT 9, 186-195, Miklós 1997, 91, Figure 17.

Figure 5.3.57. **Toronyalja-St. Michael.** The survey of Torony/Bibervár. MRT 9, 187., Fig 19.

Figure 5.3.58. **Toronyalja-St. Michael.** "Régi malomhely", meaning old mill's place. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 14. and 16. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.59. **Toronyalja-St. Michael.** "Molendini locus, canalis mole, agger piscine". MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 15. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Figure 5.3.60. **Toronyalja-St. Michael.** The mills on the First Ordnance Survey, Szokolya.

Figure 5.3.61. **Toronyalja-St. Michael.** Kelemenhegye on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.62. **Toronyalja-St. Michael.** Bottyán village on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 5.3.63. **St. Sigismund.** The excavation and ground plan of Hévkút. Zsuzsa Miklós, "Középkori épület és kőbánya a nagymarosi Malom-völgyben" [Medieval Building and Quarry in the Malomvölgy of Nagymaros. *Studia Comitatus* 17 (1985), 493.

Figure 5.3.64. **St. Sigismund.** The local topography at The Danube bank in relation to St. Sigismund monastery

Figure 5.3.65. **St. Sigismund.** Two mills on the First Ordnance Survey, one of them was possibly the St. Sigismund mill.

Figure 5.3.66. **St. Sigismund.** 1: the Árpadian village of Hanta (11-thirteenth c.); 2: settlement remains (thirteenth c. pottery shreds); 3: Torony - medieval fortress (13-fourteenth c.); 4: Pauline

monastery of Toronyalja (13-sixteenth c.); 5: Piscina antiqua, the fishpond of the monastery; 6: Mola antiqua, the mill of the monastery; 7: settlement remains (12-thirteenth c. pottery shreds). Miklós, “Középkori épület,” 489.

Figure 5.3.67. **St. Sigismund.** The mills based on Horváth, “Zsigmond”, 283–284.

Figure 5.3.68. **St. Sigismund.** Cut from the map MNL OL Collection of Maps, S 11, No. 207. Rudera of Hévkút and a mill depicted.

Figure 6.1. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The properties around the Pauline monasteries (red: royal, purple: ecclesial, yellow: private), also the county border (marked with thick black line), while the monasteries are marked by a cross. Cut from Engel.

Figure 6.2. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The key medieval royal, ecclesial and administrative centers, significant fortifications and Pauline monasteries on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The settlements and fortifications in the Árpadian era. Cut from Wolf 1989, 8. Figure 1.

Figure 6.4. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** Cut from the map of the monastic network in the 1400s, F. Romhányi “Kolostorhálózat”, 23, Figure 9.

Figure 6.5. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The draft of medieval settlements and roads in the vicinity of the analyzed Pauline monasteries on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.6. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The presented settlements around the monasteries of Gönc and Göncruszka.

Figure 6.7. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The possible reconstruction of the boundary at Telkibánya, based on the directions and stable fixpoint of the charter and toponyms. Telkibánya and the hospital highlighted with yellow. Work in progress. (last updated: 03-20-2023).

Figure 6.8. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The so-called Radácsi-kő, Radácsi stone, the mark of miners (hammer and wedge) - medieval carving in one of the boundary stones at Telkibánya. Source: <https://akovekmeselnek.hu/2015/10/27/a-radacsi-ko-mint-banyaszattorteneti-emlek/>

(last accessed: 04-04-2023)

Figure 6.9. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The location of the St. Cathrine hospital (Szt. Katalin templom és ispotály) and the medieval parish church of Telkibánya (Középkori plébániatemplom). Pusztai, “Telkibánya”, 430, Figure 1.

Figure 6.10. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The St. Catherine hospital. Pusztai, “Telkibánya”, 432. Figure 6.

Figure 6.11. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** The elongated sanctuary and attached building, built by the Paulines in the second half of the fifteenth century (its northern part excavated). Pusztai, “Telkibánya”, 434. Figure 9.

Figure 6.12. **Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja.** Two medieval sites south of Göncruszka.

Figure 6.3.1. **Óhuta.** The surrounding of the monastery ruins (coloured pink); next to the site, the stream is flowing into the Huta-völgyi stream.

Figure 6.3.2. **Óhuta.** Óhuta and its vicinity (Horváti, Tolcsva) on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.3. **Óhuta**. The vineyards, mills around Horváti, Tolcsva and Liszka on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.4. **Óhuta**. The vineyards, mills of the monastery on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.5. **Középnémeti**. The area of the Hernád valley where the hermitage might be located.

Figure 6.3.6. **Középnémeti**. The surveyed area south to Tornyosnémeti.

Figure 6.3.7. **Göncruszka**. The LiDAR of the area and the map “Delineatio praedii Klastrom..” (Archbishopric Archive of Eger, gazd. lt. 152.) The channel from south and the place of the monastic buildings marked.

Figure 6.3.8. **Göncruszka**. The area of the monastic buildings zoomed on the LiDAR and the very same map (see Figure 6.3.7.).

Figure 6.3.9. **Göncruszka**. Summary of the known properties of the monastery.

Figure 6.3.10. **Göncruszka**. The vineyards west of the monastery of the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.11. **Göncruszka**. The Nyúlmál parcel near Szikszó on the nineteenth-century cadastral map.

Figure 6.3.12. **Göncruszka**. The area of Kenéz on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.13. **Göncruszka**. The area of Kenéz on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.14. **Göncruszka**. The mills, known from written sources, based on the First and Second Ordnance Surveys, also the nineteenth-century cadastral map.

Figure 6.3.15. **Göncruszka**. The ideal and possible area of the mill in Hejce on the topographical map

Figure 6.3.16. **Göncruszka**. The mill of Szántó (highlighted with yellow), Aranyos stream, on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.17. **Göncruszka**. Two mill channels in Szántó village (its northeastern end) on the cadastral map, nineteenth century.


Figure 6.3.18. **Göncruszka**. The mill on the middle of (Felső) Kéked () and the stream possibly called hot water (warm fluß), highlighted with yellow on the southeastern corner.

Figure 6.3.19. **Göncruszka**. The three mills depicted on the Second Ordnance survey.

Figure 6.3.20. **Gönc**. The LiDAR survey of the monastery. Yellow arrows: the possible ways to the monastery; gray square: possible fence; blue circle: pond with dam. Survey conducted and processed by Tamás Látos, Zsiga Zsolt (Hungarian National Museum)

Figure 6.3.21. **Gönc**. The nineteenth-century cadastral map, the monastery of Gönc, the hospital at Telkibánya a bath is marked; also the roads between the settlements are visible, following the valleys.

Figure 6.3.22. **Gönc**. The most valuable properties of the monastery (praedium, villa, bath, curia, hospital). Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.23. **Gönc**. Summary of the known properties of the monastery until the second half of the fifteenth century.

Figure 6.3.24. **Gönc**. Summary of the known properties of the monastery at Telkibánya, in relation to the donations of Gregorius Cuprar and Priest Matthias.

Figure 6.3.25. **Gönc**. The area between Telkibánya, Zsujta (here Szujta) and Gön, the probable area of Csecses praedium, also Vering and probably Wagner vineyard.

Figure 6.3.26. **Gönc**. The area of Vering (Vámház and Vámház alja) on the nineteenth-century cadastral map of Telkibánya.

Figure 6.3.27. **Gönc**. The topographical map between Telkibánya and Gönc today, including the settlement remains (91093) just below “Vámházalja”, medieval Vering area (highlighted with yellow).

Figure 6.3.28. **Gönc**. The meadows and arable lands of Gönc monastery. Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.29. **Gönc**. The mills mentioned in the charters.

Figure 6.3.30. **Gönc**. The mills and water-flows in the region. Base map: Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.31. **Gönc**. The vineyards of Gönc monastery. Base map: First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.32. **Gönc**. The vineyards near the monastery. First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 6.3.33. **Regéc**. The area west to Regéc, northwest to Regéc castle which was surveyed by LiDAR in 2023 and 2024. The two areas, highlighted with yellow, were registered in scholarship as the monster (the one to the west is registered in the official database, called IVO, the one to the east is the middle of Barátláz-field).

Figure 6.3.34. **Regéc**. The LiDAR survey north to Regéc, yellow is the region where the geophysical survey was made, blue circle is where Belényesy identified one of the dams on Lapu stream and proposed the existence of a small pond once here. Courtesy of Tamás Látos (Hungarian National Museum)

Figure 6.3.35. **Regéc**. The geophysical survey made in UTP. Source: Belényesy, Abaúj-Hegyalja, 34.

Figure 6.3.36. **Regéc**. The possible area of a past fishpond at the joint streams of Lapu and Huta-völgyi-patak.

Figure 7.1. The first hermitages at the Balaton Uplands in 1263 also the Benedictine Monasteries.

Figure 7.2. Scenes from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary: Anthony the Great and St. Paul the First Hermit. Index of Medieval art.

Figure 7.3. The hermitages after 1263, until the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Figure 7.4. Pauline monasteries in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Figure 7.5. The Pauline and Benedictine monasteries (Tihany and Almádi) at the Balaton Uplands in the first half of the fourteenth century.

Figure 7.6. The examined Pauline monasteries in the second half of the fifteenth century; Uzsa, Salföld and Tálod abandoned.

Figure 7.7. The table of geographical and historical data on the hermitages and monasteries at the Balaton Uplands. Yellow highlight: corrected data of aspect ratio by topographic respect.

Figure 7.8. The sum of aspect data

Figure 7.9. The generated aspect map of the Balaton Uplands and the examined sites (equal with the ones listed in Figure 7.7.)

Figure 7.10. The sum of slope data, based on DEM.

Figure 7.11. The slope map of the Balaton Uplands.

Figure 7.12. Hillshade effect of the DEM.

Figure 7.13. The summary of properties amongst the hermitages, Pauline monasteries at the Balaton Uplands

Figure 7.14. The Pilis area, medieval sites and roads in the vicinity of the Pauline monasteries. Copy of Pető, “Roman or Medieval”.

Figure 7.15. The donators of the monasteries in the Pilis and Börzsöny royal forests.

Figure 7.16. The properties of Pauline monasteries of the Pilis and Börzsöny forests.

Figure 7.17. The properties of St. Ladislaus monastery in the Pilis on the First Ordnance Survey.

Figure 7. 18. The properties of Nosztra Second Ordnance Survey.

Figure 7.19. The table of geographical and historical data on the hermitages and monasteries at the Dunakanyar region. Yellow highlight: corrected data of aspect ratio by topographic respect. Elevation color code: 1., light yellow background below 200 m, 2., blue background below 300 m, 3. green background above 300 m.

Figure 7.20. The sum of aspect data.

Figure 7. 21. The generated aspect map of the Dunakanyar region and the examined sites (equal with the ones listed in Figure 7.19.)

Figure 7.22. The sum of slope data, based on DEM.

Figure 7.23. The slope map of the Dunakanyar region.

Figure 7.24. The properties of the monasteries in the Pilis and Börzsöny forest. Based on the sources in Appendix 2/5.3.1-5.3.6.

Figure 7.25. Pauline monasteries in the vicinity of the analyzed area.

Figure 7.26. Summary of geographical and basic historical data.

Figure 7.27. Aspect of the Abaúj-Hegyalja region.

Figure 7.28. Slope categories in the Abaúj-Hegyalja region.

Figure 7.29. Summary of estates, properties in the region.

Figure 7.30. The monastic network before 1241, the Mongol Invasion. Beside Insula Pilup, Pécs-Jakabhegy on the south and Dédes in the northeastern area are marked. Based on F. Romhányi, “Kolostorhálózat”, 17, Fig. 4.

Figure 7.31. The monastic network around 1300, based on F. Romhányi, “Kolostorhálózat”, 21, Fig. 7.

Figure 7.32. The monastic network around 1400, based on F. Romhányi, “Kolostorhálózat”, 23, Fig. 9.

Figure 7.33. Summary of the analyzed written sources related to the monasteries.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

The present work aims to discuss the early history of a religious order –founded in medieval Hungary– that had specific characteristics, and which has been intensively discussed in scholarly and non-academic environment as well in the past centuries. The existence of The Order of St. Paul the First Hermit, the Paulines, is of high importance in Hungary, because it is the only Hungarian order which was founded in the Middle Ages and was officially approved by the Holy See; moreover, it still exists. Scholars in the past decades established different approaches, but usually the discussion was centered on the discoveries of their history and their religious features, their architecture or, less frequently, archaeological discoveries. However, their spatial strategy, the development of their characteristics was extremely rarely summarized through multiple sources.

As Kaspar Elm, one of the most significant ecclesial historians, referred to the Paulines, they were an ‘unmade’ mendicant order –in characteristics and in daily management as well.¹ However, as Beatrix F. Romhányi recently revealed, their estate management holds some features of the monastic orders in the late Middle Ages, in a time when a Europe-wide unification was visible regarding the economy and estate management of the various monastic religious orders.² Beyond all this mixed background, the Paulines were founded as an eremitic order and preserved many aspects of eremitism throughout the Middle Ages.

This mixed character of the Paulines was always developing and in various times, one was more appealing/significant than the other. Nevertheless, the eremitic character is not often highlighted as something that holds true value and meaning for the Paulines throughout the Middle Ages. Solitary life had a much longer established tradition in the Carpathian Basin than the appearance of the Paulines (ca. thirteenth century), although only scattered sources report on it. Since its foundation by King Saint Stephen I, the Hungarian Kingdom was a home for sole hermits, also known and unknown eremitic communities, which was the cradle of the Paulines as well. In the first half of the 1200s, small groups of hermits around Pécs and slightly earlier in Veszprém County, and also in the Pilis region gradually started to form a somewhat unified eremitic community, who were known by the name of “the hermits of the Holy Cross” after their leading/main monastery in the Pilis royal forest.

¹ In German: Kaspar Elm, “*Quellen zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens aus Kloster Grunwald im Hochschwarzwald in der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Paul im Lavanttal*.” (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972); Kaspar Elm, “Eremiten und Eremitenorden des 13. Jahrhunderts”, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens* (Berliner Historische Studien, Vol. 32, Ordensstudien 14.), eds. Kaspar Elm, Dieter R. Bauer, Elmar L. Kuhn, Gábor Sarbak, and Lorenz Weinrich (Berlin Duncker und Humblot, 2000), 15.

² Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Pauline Economy in the Middle Ages: The Spiritual Cannot Be Maintained without the Temporal* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 126.

This movement gained strong support from the Hungarian kings and elite, and finally by papal legislation/legitimation, they became a legitimate order and called themselves the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit after the mid-fourteenth century (from the different dates, see Chapter 3).³ However, this period and the process of development was occasionally discussed, several questions have even not been raised concerning the hermits and Paulines. This is the core period of the present work, reflecting and comparing it with a hundred years of further history of development, which means that a rough upper time limit of the work had to be drawn in the mid-fifteenth century. Beside the history of the order, its economy and estate management strategies are possible to study. Beside traditional sources, a common platform was essential for the work, which is space itself.

Besides the limited historical and archaeological, or even architectural approaches, the present thesis aims to introduce the spatial perspective (1) in the analysis of the medieval Pauline daily life, revealing new results which are strongly connected to the mixed character of estate management and relations of the different monasteries in three selected regions of present-day Hungary (2), which were the Balaton Uplands, the Pilis and Börzsöny Forests, and the Abaúj-Zemplén region (the reasoning of selection is introduced below). Reflecting the chosen areas, the further main objective is to reveal new data or modify known information on the foundation and development of the Pauline order (3), how they managed to form a homogenous community, later a proper monastic order – which process reached a significant level around the time of King Sigismund (4).

Spatial perspective (1). An order with growing political impact, but with a hermit-like spatial appearance, must have had a complex, comprehensive power structure behind it, and therefore, the study of the spatial characteristics of the monastic communities in different levels and significant areas may answer questions on a larger scale. Although in Western Europe, mostly in England landscape archaeology has its well-based place among archaeological sciences, it is a relatively new approach in the field of monastic studies in Hungary. József Laszlovszky, followed by Beatrix F. Romhányi, argued⁴ that Pauline monasteries offer a particularly good case for the study of monastic space and landscape, mostly because the genre of the written sources (containing spatial information) and the huge possibility of surviving spatial features; most Pauline monasteries were established in

³ The first, undoubtedly original data of this is from the papal bull in 1322. Ferenc Levente Hervay, “A Pálos Rend eredete” [The origins of the Pauline order], in *Decus solitudinis: Pálos évszázadok* [Pauline centuries], eds Gábor Sarbak and Sándor Őze (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), 62.

⁴ 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* [Studies for the seventeenth anniversary of András Kubinyi], ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2004), 348–49.

the wilderness, among secluded hilly lands, whose appearance has remained unchanged even today. Not only the basis of sources,⁵ but previous topographical studies have revealed some typical examples (fishponds, mills, etc.) as landscape features of monastic complexes.⁶ Therefore, adopting the concept of monastic landscape and spatial analysis to the Hungarian context has huge potentials and so far, it had already been proven by Károly Belényesy, who published the first overall study on the Pauline monasteries in the Abaúj-Hegyalja region.⁷

Selected regions (2-3). The three selected regions reflect three different monastic clusters, which are geographically defined, but probably also reflect administrative clusters as well, the so-called vicariates (see Chapter 3). Beside their distinguished spatial arrangement, these areas have different reasons to be included in the selection. *The Balaton Uplands* region is, where the very first eremitic communities (five of them) were listed in 1263; at least scholarship usually notes that. The primary reason for this is that Pauline tradition regards the area distinguished in the development history of the order. It is important to highlight that there is no mention or other written evidence on any kind of primacy amongst the hermitages or regions: various areas developed in parallel with the Balaton Uplands (like the Mecsek or areas in Northeastern-Hungary, e.g. Dédes or Újhely hermitages), but by different impetus. Amongst them, the hermits at the Balaton Uplands were significant in dynamics and most possibly in quantity as well. During my work, it was essential to analyze all sources in details and define the yet unseen layers of this period. Three of the hermitages at the Balaton Uplands made it to become part of the Pauline order, also new monasteries appeared in the area—this dynamism is also essential to be addressed now. The spatial studies can rely on fundamental written and historical studies, but previous, partial landscape studies are also available.⁸

⁵ F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*.

⁶ E.g. in the volumes of *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája* [The Archaeological Topography of Hungary],

⁷ Regarding the Pauline order, see Károly Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján* [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 monasteries in the landscape on the example of the historical landscape at Nagyvázsony] (Master’s thesis, Corvinus Egyetem: Budapest, 2008); Zsuzsa Pető, *Hermits in the Heart of the Hungarian Kingdom: Medieval Monastic Landscape of the Pauline Order in the Pilis (Series Minor)* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2018).

⁸ Primarily MRT 2; István Éri, “Veszprém megye középkori településtörténeti vázlata” [The draft of the medieval settlement structure of Veszprém County], *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1969): 199-216. Recently on the landscape of Nagyvázsony and Tálod partially, see Kékedi, “Nagyvázsony”, 2009; Attila Papp, “A tálodi Szent Erzsébet kolostor – A 2018-as kutatás előzményei és eredményei” [The St Elizabeth monastery of Tálod - the antecedents and results of the research of 2018]. BA Thesis in Archaeology-History (Pázmány Péter Catholic University: Piliscsaba, 2019).

The Pilis and Börzsöny forests,⁹ although separated by the Danube, were both part of the royal territories in the middle of the Kingdom since the Árpadian era; besides, two of the most important ecclesial seats, the bishopric of Vác and the archbishopric of Esztergom, frames it. Traditionally, the Pilis Forest itself is regarded as the birthplace of the Pauline order, specifically the Holy Cross Monastery, where Eusebius of Esztergom¹⁰ first gathered men to live in solitude. This act and its circumstances were partially examined by several distinguished scholars, like Beatrix F. Romhányi, Gábor Sarbak, Elek Benkő and Ferenc Levente Hervay. Recently, the present author published the basic spatial evaluation of the Pilis,¹¹ which was also extensively used in the present work; and during that work, it became particularly clear that the Pilis and the regional history of the Paulines cannot be unveiled without the involvement of the Börzsöny Forest.

Similarly to the Pilis forest, the Börzsöny forest has been studied by scholars individually, as a geographical and historical unit for itself;¹² the most detailed and complex research of medieval space was conducted by Zsuzsa Miklós,¹³ who also emphasized the area's importance in the late Middle Ages. As the recent research, like the royal landscape concept by József Laszlovszky¹⁴ revealed, there was a certain, consciously developed royal intention of developing the area. Although it was not a gradually evolving concept, by the Angevin era (fourteenth century) it involved Pauline monasteries as well, who were related to the monasteries in the Pilis as well. This historical coherence, which can be reconstructed from bits and pieces of evidence, suggested the spatial coherence of the two areas in terms of the Pauline research. It also proves that after many centuries, the Danube did

⁹ It is absolutely intentional to use forests here, since what history regards Pilis forest, is actually separated to two geographical areas: the Pilis-hegység and Visegrádi-hegység. Since the geographical border is not visible for most people, the area is usually referred as the Pilis-Visegrádi-hegység. To exclude this concept and further misunderstandings, I simply refer to the Pilis (royal) forest. Regarding the Börzsöny-hills, the royal forests' northern boundary is not clear, but most of the late Árpadian and late medieval sites are located in its southern region, which was mostly part of the royal forest and geographically it is distinguished from the northern part of the Börzsöny-hegység. By using the term Börzsöny forest, I particularly refer to the southern area, the royal territory.

¹⁰ In regards of Eusebius, see recently Árpád Attila Hesz, "Boldog Özséb, a pálos rend alapítója a történeti irodalom tükrében" [Blessed Eusebius, the founder of the Pauline Order, in light of the historical literature]. *Magyar Sion* (2021/1): 41-61; As Beatrix F. Romhányi highlighted, he might be a figure, created by Gyöngyösi upon the idea of the ideal Pauline monk/hermit, to set an example for the late medieval novices and monks. Beatrix F. Romhányi, "A pálos rendi 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* 50/3 (2008): 289-312.

¹¹ See all the important works cited in Pető, *Pilis*, 2018.

¹² István Torma et al. (eds.), *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája. Pest megye régészeti topográfiája, A szobi és a váci járás* [The archaeological topography of Hungary. The archaeological topography of Pest County. The districts of Szob and Vác], vol. 9. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993).

¹³ Zsuzsa Miklós, *Falvak, várak, kolostorok a Dél-Börzsönyben* [Villages, castles, monasteries in the southern Börzsöny hills] (Vác: Tragor Ignác Múzeum, 1997).

¹⁴ 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*, eds. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013), 207-218.

not separate the human landscape, it more likely connected areas locally and in Central Europe as well. The Pauline monasteries in the Börzsöny reflect on the history of the local royal landscape and can highlight the changes in spatial relations amongst the Paulines (e.g. with the Pilis Forest), but also the changes in economic strategies.

The *Abauj-Hegyalja region* in northeastern Hungary represents a control area of the previous two spaces. It was never highlighted in the process of development, although it was also involved in the thirteenth-century eremitic layer of Pauline history by (at least) one monastery. Other periods are also represented by further established monasteries in the early and late fourteenth century. Comparing the region's spatial attributions to the two previous areas, it reveals similarities and differences in Pauline spatial presence and economy as well. This area represents also a kind of territory, which reveals the processes that might have occurred in other, yet not analyzed areas of the Pauline system in the Hungarian Kingdom. The previous spatial study of the area by Károly Belényesy¹⁵ was the very first of such approach and it shed a light on some features of the individual monastic space, but a broader analysis and modeling of further, yet not studied features can reveal new correspondences in the area.

After discussing the spatial context of the work, the selected time-frame (4), given in the title should be also addressed. It is almost impossible to define a certain moment, when the Pauline order was founded, nor to precisely define the beginning of its eremitic precursors; usually, scholarship defines the beginnings sometime from the early thirteenth century, but highlights only one date, 1263, when the hermitages on the territory of Veszprém were conscribed for the reason to organize their life. These are all the key reason why the different layers of the 1200s represent the beginnings of the present study. The other end of the timeframe, the mid-fifteenth century is similarly blurry and needs a solid explanation.

The development of the Pauline order was broadly studied from economic perspective by Beatrix F. Romhányi, whose work represents arguably the fundamental basis of the present study. In her work, F. Romhányi highlights several features that define the development of the Pauline monastic network; around the end of the reign of King Sigismund (1437), a grand proportion/number of the known medieval Pauline monasteries were founded,¹⁶ even the Central European spread of the order had happened, so the monastic network can be regarded stable and something that was hardly broadened later – including a certain number of those monasteries, which were managed and founded

¹⁵ Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abauj-Hegyalján*.

¹⁶ F. Romhányi, *Pauline Economy*, 157, Diagramme 2.

by other orders until the second half of the fifteenth century, before the Paulines received and managed those.¹⁷

Other elements support this period, the mid-fifteenth century, as an era of change. For example, although after 1381, the *translatio* of the relics of St. Paul the First Hermit to Buda from Venice, pilgrimage became very important and valued for the Paulines, the real flourishing era of pilgrimage is dated from around the selected end date of the work. Not only the saint hermit's veneration, but as Máté Urbán highlighted it, the Holy Virgin also represented a key factor in the development of the Pauline pilgrim network.¹⁸ Also, as F. Romhányi highlights it, the first half of the fifteenth century is the time, when the Pauline self-sufficient and property-based economy turns to a monetary-based, partially monastic-like and partially mendicant-like economic management.¹⁹ Also, after the reign of Sigismund, the number of contemporary written sources increasingly grew, which is why including them would pull apart the frame of the dissertation –however, known written sources regarding the landscape features (which are mostly appearing in exchange-related sources!) or major changes in it, also early modern written and pictorial, even cartographic sources represent the fundamental basis of the dissertation's catalogue ([Appendices](#)). Based on individual evaluation and decisions, they frequently occur in the main discussion as well.

Achieving all the aims of the dissertation means a contribution to not only in the understanding of the foundation and early development of the Pauline order, but specific spatial connections of the fourteenth-century world would appear. I truly hope that the different type of sources, evaluated in spatial context, would add to most research fields (architecture, archaeology, even art history) and broaden the perspective of Pauline research.

The Aim of the Work – The Main Research Questions

Several layers of space help to structure the core of the dissertation and its research questions. On the level of individual monasteries, my aim is to reveal and summarize the spatial features of monastic space in the selected regions, understand the meaning of eremitic (symbolic?) space and

¹⁷ Also, the first half of the fifteenth century is the last time when the Börzsöny area of the Paulines has clear significance in the royal representation – later Pauline sources discuss the time of King Matthias of Corvinus as if he is personally related to the monastery at Buda, next to the royal hunting lodge at Nyék.

¹⁸ Máté Urbán, “Pálos zarándokhelyek a későközépkori Magyarországon” [Pauline pilgrimage sites in late medieval Hungary], *Vallástudományi Szemle* 5/1 (2009): 63–85.

¹⁹ F. Romhányi, *Paulines*, 129–130.

late medieval monastic space, reveal the fragments of land management (even using later parallels). Basically to answer the followings:

What was behind the site-selection of the Pauline monks in the different time periods and different eras? What kind of spatial features appear around the hermitages and the monasteries? How the spatial features refer to the known written sources, significantly to economy and estate management? What was the dynamic of local spatial change and development from the thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries? What regional varieties in strategy can be differentiated?

I truly hope to answer general questions or at least contribute to asking new ones. The order shifted from scattered, isolated groups of hermits to a coherent monastic order through centuries. The overall questions, which I aimed to contribute, are the followings: what was the dynamic of change and development of the Pauline Order from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries? What imprints did this process leave in medieval space? What spatial factor(s) affected the change?

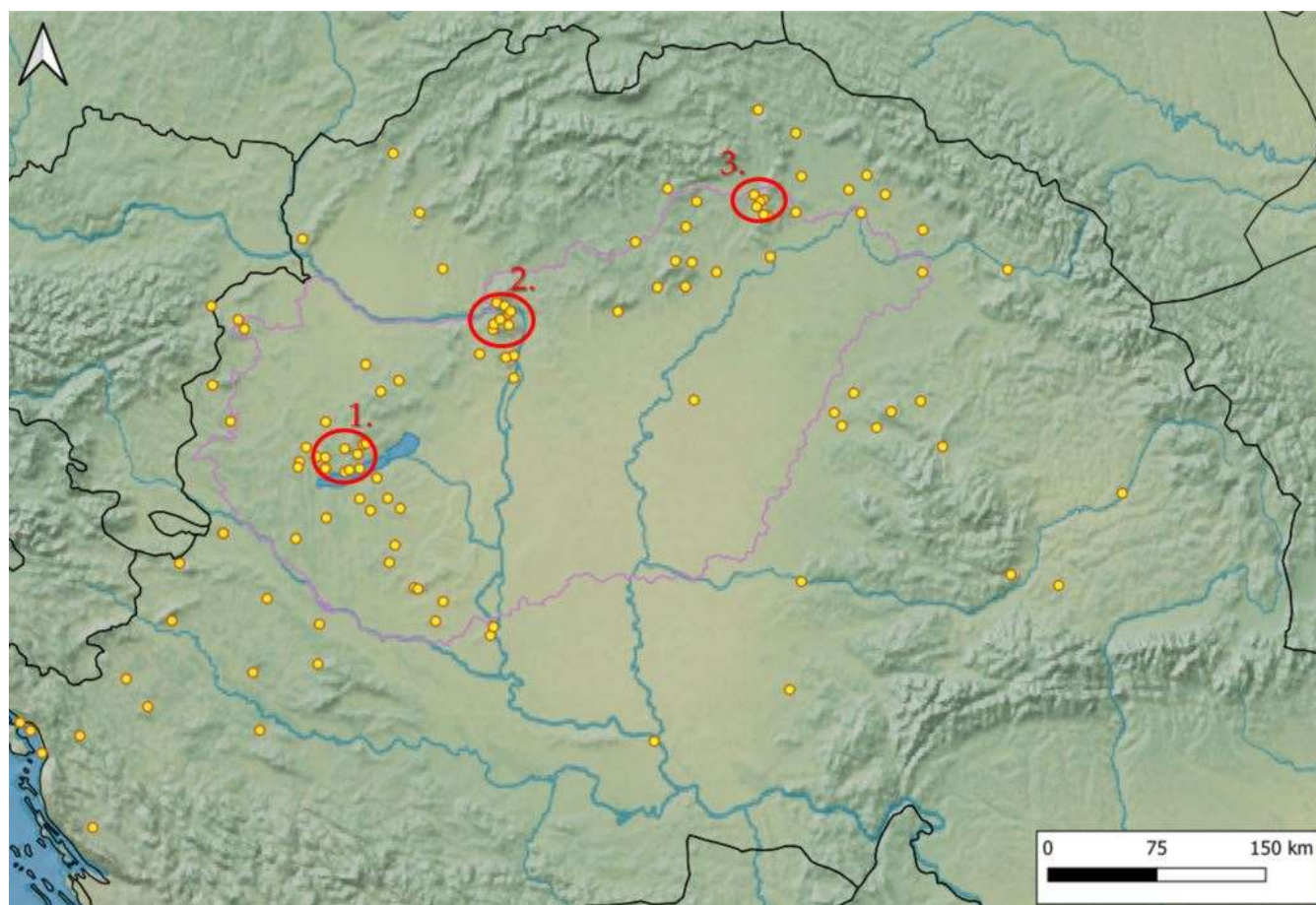


Fig. 1.1. The Pauline monasteries (yellow dots) in the broad Carpathian Basin. The medieval (1300s) stateborders (black line), today's border of Hungary (purple line), also the studied regions are indicated (1. Balaton Uplands, 2. Pilis and Börzsöny Forest, 3. Abaúj-Hegyalja regions). Basemap: Natural Earth Collection

CHAPTER 2 – THE HISTORY OF THE PAULINE ORDER AND ITS SPATIAL FEATURES

Once our fathers walking and searching the roadless forest
 Erected some small houses along the cliffs,
 And fully explored the depths of scattered caves.
 Thus, our gracious hermit and priestly man, Özséb, founds
 At last, the order's house, the holy name of the cross is its address.

Slowly the brothers leave their caves
 And together begin to live a strict holy claustral life. From here spreads
 throughout the world the Order of
 Paul the Hermit: wherein morality and garment are spotless likewise,
 Thusly will the small well become a river of great waters.

/István Varsányi: On the Establishment of the Holy Cross Monastery
 of Pilis (from the 1530s) Translated by Bálint Kormos-Mayer

2.1. The brief history of the Pauline Order

The order received its name from Paul the First Hermit, who lived to an exceptionally old age outside Thebes and is considered to be the first Christian hermit. His cult among the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit has been persistent since the fourth century; and besides Saint Paul's cult, the Order is mainly characterized by the veneration of the Virgin Mary and by atonement for the sake of the motherland. Their snow-white *habitus* (since 1341) distinguishes them from other monks. Their uniqueness sets them out from the rich history of Hungarian monasticism, given that the Pauline Fathers are the only still active medieval order of men founded in Hungary and approved of by the Pope. However, the foundation and character of the order is related to several other persons and features as well.

“One night Blessed Eusebius had a vision, and in this vision, he saw flames rising in the woods of the Pilis drawing nearer and nearer to each other and finally fusing into a huge jet of flame. He thus understood that he was the one chosen to congregate the hermits into one community.” According to the legend, the history of the Order of Saint Paul started with the vision of a hermit called Eusebius, once the Canon of Esztergom sometime the 1240s. At first, he and his fellow hermits lived in the caves of the Pilis, but following the message received through a vision he formed a

community, obtained a regulation for the Order and built the first monastery in today's Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta –according to the Pauline tradition in 1250, but rather only after 1263.²⁰

It is rarely highlighted that although Eusebius is known for founding the monastery of Holy Cross, being the first prior provincialis, but his veneration as founding father is a rather late development, he appears in the Pauline source first only in the early sixteenth century, in Gregorius Gyöngyösi's *Vitae Fratrum* (see Chapter 3.2.1.). The history of the order also recognizes that there were several other hermitages in the time of Eusebius: “although the brothers and sisters on Hungarian and Croatian soil had several monasteries and many friars living in them, the monastery of Holy Cross was the main one: it was founded by Father Eusebius [...] under favorable conditions. It was here that the grand chapels were held. The monasteries were held at the head of the chapters. All the brothers were called hermits of the Holy Cross.”²¹ –only from 1308, but in the thirteenth century, several other steps were made by the hermits along the road to become the Paulines.

The historical records and gradually growing multidisciplinary studies draw an articulated picture on the eremitic movements in the Carpathian Basin, which more and more contextualizes those processes, which led to the foundation of the Pauline order.²² As Rackham states, there is no proper forest in the middle ages without any hermits.²³ 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*²⁴), as the Pauline tradition says, secluded from the lay sphere and closely connected to nature (near caves and springs, which were always crucial), with the difficult goal of “forgetting the world and by the world.”²⁵

The functions of hermits, who typically lived in mountainous areas, gradually formed during the thirteenth century around regular frameworks with the permission and support of the church magistrate of the given area – although this supposedly improved the lives of hermits, for the Church

²⁰ VF Cap. 8. The unification of the secluded clerics was not an unusual phenomenon in those times; in other regions, such as the Mecsek or Bakony regions, hermitages were founded even before the 1250s (when the hermits founded their first community in the Pilis). Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 88.

²¹ VF Cap. 11.

²² For example, hermit in the mid-thirteenth century appeared near Zagreb as well, see Boris Mašić–Tajana Pleše, “O dijelu numizmatičkih nalaza otkrivenih uz crkvu Blažene Djevice Marije u Remetama” [On the group find of gold coins next to the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Remete]. *Numizmatičke vijesti*, 61 (2008): 223–230.

²³ Oliver Rackham, *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape*. (London: Phoenix, 1996).

²⁴ The concept of “desert-forest” was developed by Jacques Le Goff, see Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 88; and Jacques Le Goff, “Le desert-forêt dans l'Occident médiéval”, *L'imaginaire médiéval* (Paris: Édition Gallimard, 1985). For a summary on the earliest monasteries of the desert fathers and the English research, see Aston (2000), *Monasteries in the Landscape*, 29–42.

²⁵ It is also true that the location of monasteries is unpredictable, because human sanctity is spontaneous, it “erupts wherever the spiritual urge is felt.” Butler, “Archaeology of Rural Monasteries”, 1.

organizing the “stray friars,” the form of whose operation was often unclear, it also meant the stabilization of their own hierarchy.



Fig. 2.1. Scenes from the lives of early hermits. Painting attributed to Mariotto di Nardo. Christian Museum, Esztergom, inv. no. 55.168. • Wood, tempera, 81 × 82 cm, c. 1423–25.

As scholarship claims, the first communities of hermits, still living in disorderly circumstances and later joining the order, were organized by the Bishop of Pécs, Bartholomew, from Burgundy in 1225 on the Jakab Hill next to Pécs (“the hermits of Saint James”).²⁶ He laid down regulations for them and ensured their survival by raising donations. These benefices were further extended over the coming decades (see the donation letters written by Achilles, the Bishop of Pécs²⁷).

²⁶ See a recent study in the region and royal relations: Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Kálmán herceg és a pálosok” [Prince Coloman and the Paulines] *Ruscia – Hungaria – Europa: Ünnepi kötet Font Márta professzor asszony 70. születésnapjára*, eds. Dániel Bagi et al. (Pécs: Kronosz Kiadó, 2022), 529-535.

²⁷ See Zsuzsa Pető, “Charters from the thirteenth century: roots of the Pauline Order in the vicinity of the Mecsek Mountains”, in *Paulines*, 41-42.

However, it is hardly reconized that another source, the testimony of Sal comes at the Balaton Uplands refers to a certain hermitage of St. Helen (Chapter 4.3.1.), in 1221, which although had not become the part of the Pauline order later, instead it vanished, but it definitely took its part in the developing eremitic movements of the thirteenth century.

A crucial data from 1261, found by László Solymosi in 2005, lists some *ecclesias* in Zala County (not in Pilis County or elsewhere!) and on the territory of the Veszprém Diocese (!) that were intended to be occupied by the Austine order,²⁸ which was working hard on the foundation of their new province in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom in this exact year (they were founded next year, in 1262). These targeted (or voluntarily applied to join the order?²⁹) *ecclesias* were namely St. Helena, St. Jacob and St. Maria Magdalene, which are most definitely the same hermitages that were mentioned two years later.

But before it, we have to stop for a moment at this date. It is evident now that the hermits' life – just like the lives of most monastic communities – is regulated by rules that have continuously evolved and have been extended throughout the centuries, and these rules have determined the Order's character from the very beginning (until the present day). In his *Vitae*, Gyöngyösi highlights that in 1262 Eusebius visited Pope Urban IV in person to ask for a regulation and approval for his community, in the absence of which they could not legally become a monastic order. Although it is not supported by contemporary evidence, along with the charter from 1261, it calls the attention to the strong intention of the hermits to become organized and be part of a larger community.

However, a year after the trip to Rome, the hermits living in the Balaton Uplands and the Bakony, also Nagyszakácsi in Somogy, were enrolled by Paulus, the Bishop of Veszprém, in 1263,³⁰ who laid down regulations for them to follow as well as continuously expected and ensured their presence at the diocesan level.³¹ This charter survived as a copy in the *Vitae Fratrum* and it is regarded as an original and valid source by scholarship. Paul defined these hermitages as *licita collegia* as an ecclesial association/partnership.

²⁸ DL 515; Solymosi, "Pilupsziget," 18–19.

²⁹ see Chapter 3 history the order. Eusebius asked for the Austine regula from the Pope in 1262, as the *Vitae Fratrum* says, unsuccessfully. Just a year after the charter from 1261, when the Austine order tired to settle in three hermitages unsuccessfully, it was rather an attempt by Eusebius. Most probably in 1263, when the bishop stated that no other hermitages can be found and no other ones are recognized besides the listed ones, might mean that Eusebius and the hermitages in the Pilis were punished by the bishop. VFX, Holler 2007, 132.

³⁰ The charter's text survived only in the *Vitae*. VF, Cap. 11.

³¹ On the circumstances and Bishop Paul see Zsuzsa Pető, "A Copy of the seal of Bishop Pál Szécsi", in *Paulines, exhibition catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, The Hungarian Order of Saint Paul, 2022), 48–49.

The communities were in his diocese "*quorum nomina haec sunt: Insula Pilup Sancta Helenae, Kewkuwth Sanctae Maria Magdalene, Bokon Sanci Jacobi, Idegsyt Beatae Elisabeth, Bodochun Sancti Emerici, Insula prope Ewrmenes, Elek Sancta Mariae Magdalene, Zakach Sancti Dominici.*" According to László Solymosi, only Idegsyt was not identified, although it is regarded as the monastery at Tálod (Chapter 4).³²

As Levente Ferenc Hervay highlighted it,³³ these communities were not foundations, they were those hermit communities that were coming together and lived by their free will, thus, they did not have any properties or regular incomes. This is why Paul bishop did not recommend their application to use St. Augustine's *regula*, instead he gave them an individual regulation.

It should be noted that, as Beatrix F. Romhányi suggests, it is better to avoid the term "monastery" or "cloister" to define certain communities in the thirteenth century. It is better to use the terms "hermitages" and "hermits," or more precisely "Pauline hermitages" and "Pauline hermits," referring to their status in the thirteenth century, because (1) At this time, there were no Pauline monastic buildings (at most there were huts for the hermits), (2) the historiographical tradition also uses these terms, (3) and the brothers of the Holy Cross near Esztergom (*fratribus S. Crucis prope Strigonium*), according to references from the thirteenth and sometimes even the fourteenth centuries, were regarded as a community, the origin of the later Pauline Order.³⁴

Although most part of the Pilis region was integrated into the Veszprém Bishopric, Paul bishop does not mention the Holy Cross, not even other monasteries but the next inventory, written in 1291 and issued by bishop Benedict of Veszprém (afterwards archbishop Lodomer of Esztergom), does mention it, along the St. Ladislaus Monastery at Kékes. There was a long debate in the scholarship about the reason for the Holy Cross Monastery being missing from the earlier inventory, while the tradition says that the monastery had already been founded by that time. Also, the precise identification (the contemporary name) of the monastery was questioned, but finally László Solymosi disproved many of these debates and articulated the date of foundation to 1263–1270.³⁵

³² Solymosi, "Pilupsziget," 14.

³³ Hervay, "A pálos rend elterjedése", 163.

³⁴ F. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 15–17. In the present work I follow this *nomenclatura*, with the addition of pre-Pauline hermitages, especially in those cases, where the hermitages developed to monasteries; some of the hermitages were not that lucky and vanished at the end of the thirteenth century, although they are regarded as part of the Pauline history. In this sense, not every Pauline hermitage became Pauline hermitage, but every Pre-Pauline did so.

³⁵ See Solymosi, "Pilissziget vagy Fülöpsziget?", 23; also Laszlovszky, "Ciszterci vagy pálos?"

Besides the Holy Cross Monastery, the St. Ladislaus Monastery was founded by 1291 as well, as the second inventory of the Veszprém diocese (1291) mentions both of them.³⁶ More precisely, as József Laszlovszky argues—and with whom the author completely agrees—this could have been a foundation of King Ladislaus IV (1272–1290).³⁷ The Holy Spirit Monastery might have existed as a sub-cloister of the Holy Cross Monastery,³⁸ as it was founded in 1287,³⁹ but was not listed in 1291.

András, the Bishop of Eger, laid down regulations for the hermits who developed properties predominantly with the help of the local nobles (1297) in the territory of his bishopric (see Óhuta in Chapter 6.). The first (later Pauline) monasteries settled the situation of hermits living in the Valley of the River Száva and the vicinity of the Northern Medium Mountains.⁴⁰

The dynamic development of the Pauline Fathers and the recognition of their church were due to the intervention of King Charles of Anjou and papal legate Cardinal Gentile Portino da Montefiore. The *regula* of Augustine of Hippo, was approved at the turn of 1308–9, by the Gentile, who also recognized the vigorous social background of the monasteries, which stood on the eve of becoming a recognized order at around that time.⁴¹ More importantly, Gentile referred to the hermits of the Holy Cross as the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit (*fratribus S. Crucis de Heremo, Ordo S. Pauli Primi Eremite*) in 1309. This clearly states that the hermit communities, who legally followed the regulations of St. Augustine (not just the ones in the Pilis!), were called coincidentally both the brothers of the Holy Cross, and the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit. However, Hervay raised concerns about the source that refers to the hermits as Paulines; he revisited the originally sources,

³⁶ The monastery was listed in the second inventory of the Veszprém bishopric in 1291. VF, Cap. 10, also 17. Charter evidence mentioned in Györffy, “Adatok”, 285; ÁMTF 4, 700; MRT 7, 167.

³⁷ This is because 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). Also, as the sources report, King Ladislaus IV supported other eremitic communities in the Pilis by donating properties for the Holy Cross Monastery (as a compensation maybe by the reason that his army demolished their properties before). This argument is crucial because here it is clearly visible (as was just discussed) that the traditional history by Gyöngyösi, which mentions King Charles Robert I as the founder, and the data from the original documents, also used by Gyöngyösi (the list of the *Inventarium*), do not correlate with each other. Therefore, in his *Vitae Fratrum* there is a significant paradox. VF, Cap. 9, 23.

³⁸ As suggested by Beatrix F. Romhányi, see “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 225–226.

³⁹ VF, Cap. 15; Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 116, ref. 75; VF, 209.

⁴⁰ F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 12. Also see the eremitic history of the Carpathian Region in F. Romhányi, “Heremitae”.

⁴¹ The same time they were also able to formulate their own specific Pauline constitution by amending the Augustine/Austin *regula*. The subsequent commentaries to the regulation helped novices better understand monastic life. While the regulation itself – the direction principally defining the stages of monastic life – is unmodified, everyday monastic life must adapt to the requirements of the given historical era, which is why the Pauline constitution has been modified from time to time. VF, Cap. 18–19.

also the source collections, and concluded that the brothers of Saint Paul the First Hermit are first authentically mentioned in the first quarter of the fourteenth century (1322).⁴²

The new center of the approved order soon became the Budaszentlőrinc monastery. The order, which nominated itself as Brothers of St Paul the Hermit from that time, held its first general chapter there in 1309. The inventory of Ladislaus, the Archbishop of Kalocsa from 1327 mentions altogether thirty communities, at some places twelve- fifteen- twenty brothers, with enough goods to live on. In 1328, as a result of this report, Pope John XXII permitted the monks to follow the rules of St Augustin and elect general prior, who had the right to visit, discipline, and to absolve from excommunication – this was basically the confirmation of the privileges and frame of operation that Cardinal Gentile issued. However, onwards 1328, the lands of the Paulines were exempted from paying tithe, and they were excused from diocesan councils, which meant that they were separated from the local ecclesiastical organization.⁴³ From 1341, the members of the order wear white clothing.

Finally, in 1368 Pope Urban V, at the request of the Hungarian king Louis the Great approved and ratified the order. In 1371, the pope issued a *mare magnum* for the Paulines. In 1381, the relics of St Paul the Hermit were transferred to Hungary, which is considered to be one of the greatest achievements of the order. The decorative tomb, which was built for the relics at Budaszentlőrinc, soon became a popular pilgrimage center, confirming the prestige of both the site and the order. In 1401, the Paulines received all the Carthusian privileges.⁴⁴

The Pauline Fathers received numerous secular and ecclesiastical privileges; more significant donations of larger amounts are counted predominantly from during the reign of King Louis I (Louis the Great). Strong royal patronage had a definite impact on the order's history.⁴⁵ Trying to imitate the royal custom (*imitatio regni*), the elite and the local nobility were also great supporters of the order in later times.

This is noticeable and evidenced in documents (only for the high nobility) from the mid-fourteenth century, but the development of the order's monastic system (in connection with the "Pauline character"), the order's increasing power and impact, and the spread of the Paulines has not

⁴²Ferenc Levente Hervay, "A Pálos Rend eredete" [The origins of the Pauline order]. In *Decus solitudinis: Pálos évszázadok* [Pauline centuries], eds. Gábor Sarbak and Sándor Óze. (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), 57–65.

⁴³ Hervay, "A Pálos Rend eredete," 62.

⁴⁴ Hervay, "A Pálos Rend eredete," 63.

⁴⁵ It is clear that King Béla IV (1235–1270) and his grandson King Ladislaus IV (1271–1290) had a key role in the foundation and also that the Angevin kings (1308–1387) and Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) were the greatest supporters, but the gaps in time and the reasons of support are unclear in many cases.

yet been thoroughly researched in a Hungarian context. These tendencies can be traced back to the period that is proposed for analysis in the present work.

Some scattered data on the late medieval organization of the order could be gathered from written sources (Chapter 3.2.1.). Priors, who were nominated by the yearly general chapter, led the monasteries. The vicars, who led the clusters of monasteries, the so-called vicariates, worked as *diffinitores*, supporters of the general prior, and participated chapter meetings. The new leader of the order was elected from among them, who, from 1417 onwards, could only be elected at the main chapter held in Hungary. From 1439, his mandate was valid for four years. Monasteries could send independent legates to attend chapter meetings, but usually these delegates had little impact on the decisions.

The total number of the monasteries outside Hungary can be estimated around eighty. Pauline monasteries were founded in Austria, Germany, Portugal, but one of the most spectacular moments with regard to foreign expansion of the Order was being established in Italy, especially in Rome. The Order's procurator, i.e. its spokesperson and permanent representative in Rome, can be dated back to the mid-fourteenth century, moreover, a Pauline monastery was established in 1404 next to the church of San Salvatore in Onda and later at the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso. A few decades later, a significant change occurred, namely the strengthening of the presence of the Pauline Fathers in Rome: the round basilica named after Saint Stephen the martyr. It is known as Santo Stefano Rotondo at Mont Coelius, and it was given to the Order in 1454 by Pope Martin V.

The significance of the Pauline presence in Częstochowa is outstanding in even European terms. This huge pilgrimage centre has been established owing to the miraculous *Virgin Mary with her child* (also called Black Madonna) icon. The monastery was founded in 1382 by Prince Vladislaus II of Opole of the House of Piast, a relative and close associate of King Louis ruled over Poland as well since 1372. Vladislaus, among other things, was the palatine of Hungary and a voivod with an estate in fee of Halych and Lodomeria. Many scholars think that the king at least agreed to the founding of the monastery or played an even more active role therein, since he was a great patron of the Pauline Fathers in Hungary. Vladislaus donated an icon much older than his own age to the monastery. This icon was traditionally believed to be the work of Saint Luke. The current view is that the icon was made in the thirteenth century, perhaps in the area of the Balkan peninsula, and belongs to the works of the Byzantine paintings.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Pető (ed.), *Paulines*, 40.

The exact character of the Pauline Order is hard to grasp, as it continuously changed through the centuries. The significance of this change of character is understood when one considers that the hermitic Paulines, after two hundred years, were allowed to do pastoral care in their churches and Pauline hermits (monks) were present at the royal court from the beginning of the order. Moreover, the Pauline Order had strong royal support from their foundation onwards, which supposedly helped the order to become—step-by-step—a major and defining religious and political power in late medieval Hungary. In this manner, they represented the religious ideal of the isolated hermit and the locally active, or even politically powerful, monk at the same time. However, in the fourteenth century only a few main historical events reflect the late medieval significance of the order. Nevertheless, these events strengthen the impression of the Paulines as a powerful, not so hermit-like, but rather half-mendicant, half-monastic order.⁴⁷

There are some events, which are not regularly mentioned in relation to the Pauline history: although it is argued several times, the history of the order was not gradually developing; for example, throughout the fourteenth century, the hermits switched to other orders than the Paulines. In 1372, the priors of Nosztra and the St. Ladislaus monastery filed a lawsuit against the prior of the Carthusians at Lövöld since they accepted ex-Pauline monks among them, although—as the Paulines claim—they should not have done that.⁴⁸

A few researchers pointed out that even King Louis was probably attempting to inspire the Paulines to live a more pious and strict, eremitic life by the foundation of the Carthusian monastery at Lövöld – this act resulted that many of the Paulines simply wanted to be part of those communities;⁴⁹ this resulted in several restrictions, which ended in 1436, when Pope Eugene IV ordered that the monks, who leave the Paulines, cannot apply to other orders.

⁴⁷ E.g. important papal approvals, allowances, and donations in 1309, 1328, 1340, and 1401; the translation of the relics of St. Paul the First Hermit from Venice to Budaszentlőrinc in 1381; the running of the basilica Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome from 1454. For more, 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* [Studies for the seventeenth anniversary of András Kubinyi], ed. Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2004), 348–49; Károly Belényesi, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján* [Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region] (Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 2004), 87–89; Beatrix F. Romhányi, *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatóak fenn – Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban* [Spirits cannot be sustained without earthly goods – Estate management of the Pauline monks in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2010), 13–15.

⁴⁸ VF Cap. 32.; Appendix 2.

⁴⁹ Beáta Vida, “A lövöldi karthauzi monostor története” [The history of the monastery at Lövöld], in *Szerzetesrendek a veszprémi egyházmegyében* [Monastic orders in the bishopric of Veszprém], ed. Balázs Karlinszky, (Veszprém 2015), 83–108.

There are also examples of unsuccessful Pauline foundations, which probably the monastery of Holy Trinity was at Regéc, but scattered sources might appear in the future, like the one related to Lady Margaret, who wanted to support a foundation at Boldogasszonyfa in 1354.⁵⁰

2.2. Pauline monastic space and methodology

It is clear from the latter summary, that the heritage of medieval Pauline monastic space means far more now than identifying and analyzing the water management system of different monasteries. It should be noted that all of the visible features that defined Pauline monastic space have been best preserved in wooded areas. First József Laszlovszky, already in 2004 highlighted the need and the relatively good circumstances for landscape studies in monastic space.⁵¹ In his work he argued that 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.⁵² Therefore, the approach of this work adopts the idea and concept of monastic space developed in England,⁵³ its homeland, and adopts it to the Hungarian context.

Monastic space—in most of the studies—defines the smallest, local unit of monasteries. The monastic buildings –the church and the living quarters, sometimes surrounded by walls– represent the inner skirt or precinct, while the immediate surrounding (e.g. with gardens or fishponds) is the outer one. However, generally the term monastic space is more fluid, it represents the physical confines of a territory based on historical traditions and events.

⁵⁰ ZO I, 558.

⁵¹ F. Romhányi, “Egyházi épületek”, 259. See Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok a tájban”, 337–349; also F. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 11; F. Romhányi “Egyházi épületek”, 260. On the Pauline landscape see Belényesi, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*.

⁵² E.g. in the volumes of *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája*, for example MRT 2, 181.

⁵³ 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, and vineyards see Paul Meyvaert, “The Medieval Monastic Garden,” in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. E. D. Macdougall, (Washington, D.C.: Trustees for Harvard University, 1986), 23–53. On monastic landscapes in general and for the bibliography and a great list of case studies and monographs see also the monograph by James Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004). A complex collection on the perspectives of monastic archaeology is by Graham Keevill, Mick Aston, and Teresa Hall, eds., *Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001).

Monasteries were endowed from their foundation with landed properties (among other types) to establish, configure, and develop the system and conditions of their sustenance in the long run. These provided income to support the monastic community.⁵⁴ These elements (properties and holdings) and the boundary of monastic jurisdiction also define monastic space, which is certainly a complex term in the case of the development of the Pauline Order. This means that because of the limited number of sources and the specific historical context—as it has been discussed recently—a broader horizontal and vertical view can lead to a better understanding of the order’s site selection strategy, economy, and spirituality.

Based on this idea, Károly Belényesy was the first to break fresh ground with his summary on the economic strategy and hierarchical structure of the Pauline Order, presented from a spatial perspective in a small-scale pilot project in the Abaúj-Hegyalja region.⁵⁵ His research revealed that traditionally used datasets, if handled with new methods, have the potential to reveal a more detailed and complex interpretation of Pauline history, from the point of view of medieval and modern spatial contexts (including both human-made and natural features). His results reinforce the fact that various traditional approaches may yield a large amount of data, and that most of the gaps have already been recognized.

Also, the work on the Nagyvázsony monastery by Andrea Kékedi⁵⁶ represents a unique perspective since she’s background is not archaeology or history but landscape architecture, therefore features of the immediate surroundings of Nagyvázsony, as a whole landscape and its choronological changes were in her focus. Based on these two approaches and in correspondence with the landscape studies of Pilis Cistercian monasteries, the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis Forest were studied recently by the present author.⁵⁷ It was an attempt to review the possible ways of monastic spatial research in the heart of the then-Hungarian Kingdom, the Carpathian Basin in the light of typical research circumstances and involving most possible sources and methodologies. Ünige Bencze also discussed the Pauline Order in her dissertation recently, but in the examined area, in Transylvania there were only a few communities and the data are really scattered.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 12.

⁵⁵ Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*.

⁵⁶ 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 (Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, Budapest: 2008).

⁵⁷ Pető, *Hermits in the Pilis*.

⁵⁸ Bencze, “On the Border”, 45—47. Also her works in the bibliography. See on the microbotanical analysis of Marosszentkirály samplings in Benkő et al., *Marosszentkirály: egy középkori pálos kolostor és környezete* [Marosszentkirály (Sâncraiu de Mureș): a Pauline monastery and its environment in the Middle Ages], in *A Kárpát-*

The medieval history and spatial system of the Pauline Order still poses many questions and contains only preliminary, rough conclusions. Regarding the Pauline space in the examined regions, after the recent research, I intended to give a systematic overview of several layers of space—from a single monastery to the entirety of the regions—using a variety of sources on a digital platform. To achieve this, several sources and aspects should be considered.

First of all, it is crucial to briefly introduce the general attributes of the Pauline economy and its impact on the landscape, since it reveals most clearly the multifaceted character of the order. This aim indicates systematic connection of historical and spatial approaches creates a unique way of evaluating data, although—as it was discussed and will be represented—the quality and quantity of sources create the limits of this investigation. These circumstances all affect the framework and structure of the present research.

Examining historical space means that all kinds of sources have relevance, but the organization of these sources requires an individual methodological approach, which is affected by the research areas. The discipline of landscape archaeology uses a complex research method. It is based on archaeological (from finds to archaeological features of the landscape), both historical (written and pictorial) and environmental information (historical geography, climate history, geoarchaeology, etc.), utilizing direct (medieval) and indirect (early modern, modern) sources.

One has to take into consideration that there is no well-founded protocol for spatial research in Hungary, applied to regional history and the environment. Therefore, methodological solutions have to be imported at least occasionally from those areas of Europe where landscape archaeology has a long tradition. These solutions include both source types (environmental and historical) and the approach of spatial analysis as well. As was mentioned, research on the Pauline Order goes back for many centuries and a considerable amount of literature has been published on its history;⁵⁹ therefore, a critical selection and a strict ranking was essential during the working process, as using the most recent and critically evaluated material was the main intention. In the followings, the present work's specified methodological platform, the different levels of spatial data evaluation and its elements, also the most helpful types of sources (written, pictorial, topographical, and archaeological) and methods will be summarized.

medence környezettörténete a középkorban és a kora újkorban – Environmental History of the Medieval and Early Modern Carpathian Basin, eds. Csilla Zatykó and Elek Benkő (Archaeolingua Kiadó: Budapest, 2021), 331–335.

⁵⁹ See Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 88–91.

2.2.1. *The monastery complex – the inner precinct of a monastic space*

Architecture

It is rather easy and at the same time its complicated to describe “a” typical Pauline monastery. The first reason is that the architecture history of the Pauline monasteries can study the late medieval state, which are in some cases rather visible and available for to do so. (Chapter 3.1.) It is the easier part, although to understand the previous periods, further archaeological data are usually needed; not to mention the time of hermitages, which settlements can be reconstructed only by Western European pictorial sources or scattered written data (see more in the case of Insula Pilup, Chapter 4.3.1.). In the present introduction a brief summary is included about the known characteristics in general.

The thirteenth century hermitages, beside the promising site of Ilonakút (Chapter 4.3.1.), can be roughly reconstructed by written sources. The regulation, issued by Andreas bishop of Eger in 1297 states, contains some spatial references of the built structures, like a separate room was maintained for the sick, there should be also a *refectorium* for the gatherings, a chapter for the communal life (for example for discussing theological questions and decide in issues), also the monks had individual rooms (*cella*), but they had a common *dormitorium*, where the prior also had to sleep. The buildings, thus, must have been built to a certain level, which provided sufficient housing for the hermits; they were much developed than simple shelters.

However, based on architectural and archaeological data, Tamás Guzsik summarized the various phases of Pauline architecture:

1. The time of the “requisite” architecture in the thirteenth century. This is regarded as the horizon of pre-Pauline buildings, mostly religious sites (hermitages, chapels, parish churches), which were sometimes abandoned. Secular spaces (hunting lodges) were also re-used by the Pauline communities.
2. The demand for representative architecture, or more likely, functionally appropriate space, which might have been present from the first decade of the fourteenth century. Supposedly the construction of the new central monastery of the order at Budaszentlőrinc might have been the first representation of Pauline individualism. The characteristic ground plan of the Pauline monasteries evolved by the middle of the fourteenth century; the church usually stood on the southern part of the domestic area of the monastery; the quadrangle or *quadrum*, which on several occasions included a fountain and was surrounded by a simple cloister corridor. Often only two sides of the cloister were constructed, namely the eastern and northern parts, based on recent archaeological finds, but there was at least one cellar constructed under one wing.

3. Construction at originally non-Pauline sites appears in the late fifteenth century, in the time of King Matthias Corvinus. Unfortunately, these modifications or reconstructions can be barely detected or researched. Among the originally non-Pauline sites, an exception is the Premonstratensian monastery at Zsámbék, where analysis of the excavation brought some information to light.⁶⁰ However, there are some remains suggesting that Pauline monasteries were rebuilt or modified in late Gothic style.

The ground plan of the church and its design consist of characteristic Gothic features, but today we can reconstruct and complement them with more detail, mostly as a result of archaeological excavations and on the grounds of research into monumental architecture.⁶¹ The churches were made of stone or brick, while the roofs were covered with shingles. However, according to the findings, it is clear that often the roofs were covered by roof tiles that were burnt red (bullnose tiles or “monk and nun”).

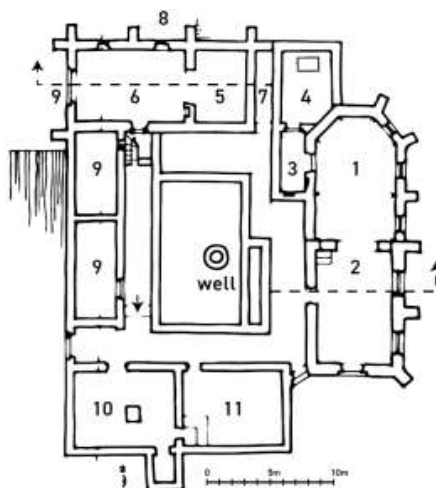


Fig. 2.2. The groundplan of Salföld, based on Ilone Schr. Pusztai – Miklós Zsiray, “A salföldi Mária-Magdolnáról elnevezett pálos kolostor” [The Pauline monastery of Marie Magdalene of Salföld]. *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1967): 247–258.

1. *Nave*. Usually, the church consisted of one nave and normally had a net vault made of stone and brick, which was hardly wider than the sanctuary. Indoors, it was separated by a narrow triumphal arch – typical of the Pauline monks – and resided with many side-altars, the number of which grew significantly in some churches when the Pauline Fathers were granted an indulgence, as only one

⁶⁰ MRT 7, 389.

⁶¹ The summary is based on the readings of excavated monasteries, especially Salföld. Summarized in Zsuzsa Pető, “The monastery complex and the monastic landscape”, in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 69–71.

priest could hold confession at the altar at a time. Therefore, as more believers arrived, more altars were founded, and more priests and space was needed. Light shone in through lancet windows on the southern sides, while the western part was illuminated by rounded rose windows placed right above the main entrance. The entrance at the northern wall to the monastery was used by the monks, while the believers used the western main entrance.

2. *Sanctuary*. The church's sanctuary joined the nave from an easterly direction, usually ending in a polygonal apse (the octagon closes with three sides); the eastern and southern sides had lancet windows with tracery and its vault was a net vault in the Late Gothic period. In the central part of the sanctuary stood the high altar: on one of its walls resided the tabernacle, while the southern part usually housed the monastic *sedilia* (deep stone niches), or the choir stalls (made of wood, most probably with misericords).

3. *Sacristy*. A door in the northern part of the sanctuary led to the sacristy or a little room, where a lavabo (wall-mounted sink) carved from stone was normally located.

Monastic buildings

The arrangement of the monasteries followed a logical and recognisable order, but the inclusion of certain rooms and the fulfilment of functions largely depended on the size, income and supplies of the given monastic community.

4. Beyond the sacristy was the prior's chapel, which served as a place for rather intimate withdrawal and prayer for the prior or high-ranking guests of the monastery.

5. This chapel or the adjacent room often served as a chapter house where the monks held their meetings.

6. The activities of larger communities included copying manuscripts and writing codices. The place for these activities was called the *scriptorium*. Its location largely depended on the ideal source of natural light but was often in the same room as the library. The monastic library – based on various medieval parallels – might have had its own room at least a cupboard (*armarium*).

7. Sometimes, researchers assume traces of a heating corridor on the monastic plans. A hole in this corridor's wall provided heating to the stove in the adjacent room so that the room requiring heating remained smokeless. Besides, researchers often assume that these small corridors were used as stairwells.

8. Above the eastern wing there was normally a floor where the monastic cells and/or the dormitory were located.

9. The housekeeping places, that is, basements, were placed in various parts of the buildings (at the Salfold building, in the north): the monks stored food and drink (mainly wine) here along with the necessary objects for life made by them, e.g. baskets and tools.

10. The kitchen was an indispensable part of the monastery because it provided one of the primary conditions of everyday life. Traces of a large open stove were also found during the excavations of the monastic kitchen in Salfold.

11. Next to the kitchen stood the dining room (*refectorium*) where the monks further broadened their knowledge by reading during their meals.

However, it should be noted that a certain generalization⁶² of the ground plan can be assessed mostly from the late fourteenth century. The precise analysis is lacking at this stage of the Pauline research since more visual (acquiring by non-destructive methods, like geophysics) and archaeological data is necessary for a comparative study. In other region of the Carpathian Basin, specifically in Slavonia, Tajana Pleše did a comparative analysis.⁶³ After more research reveals more ground plans and chronological phases of them at the monasteries, a great and broad analysis will lead further in the topic.

Water management and fish farming

One of the most characteristic features of the monastic landscape, thus the most research in Western Europe, is the complex use of water—the presence of varied forms of water management elements.⁶⁴ In his paper on water management James Bond summarizes that: “the basic requirements for the use of water were similar in all monastic establishments. In other respects, however, there are significant distinctions to be made.”⁶⁵ The practice of water management was imported from the Cistercians at Clairvaux to the English landscape, where three main points should be highlighted as the framework of water supply systems.⁶⁶ At the same time, these particular features are relevant for different types of water systems in many other 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

⁶² Of course with exceptions, like Holy Spirit monastery, see Chapter 4.3.2. and Appendix 1/ 4.3.2.

⁶³ Tajana Pleše, “Comparative ground-plan analysis of Pauline monasteries in Late Medieval Slavonia”, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis* 19 (2015): 113-130.

⁶⁴ Bond, “Water Management”, 100–101; Csilla Zatykó, “People beyond landscapes: past, present and future of Hungarian landscape archaeology”, *Antaeus* 33 (2015), 378.

⁶⁵ The Cistercians developed a complex system of pond and leat; “their regulations recommended their monasteries to be built by streams which could be harnessed to provide power for mechanization.” Bond, “Water Management”, 83–85, 93.

⁶⁶ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 198–199.

wanted. Also, the quality and volume of water were important, and sometimes it was necessary to draw water from more than one source.⁶⁷ Fishponds, dikes, streams, and springs formed a complex system in the English landscape, which has been studied intensively since the 1950s.⁶⁸ “Natural watercourses had to be diverted out of the valley bottom, dams had to be built, sluice gates made and feeder and overflow lets constructed. Small ponds sometimes were constructed immediately above larger ones to serve as silt-traps.”⁶⁹

A significant increase in the consumption of fish during fasting periods and on fasting days may be observed in European monasteries. From the history of the Paulines, we primarily know about lakes sold, received as donations or in need of restoration. Although there are some archaeological finds that point to fishing and angling, e.g. hooks and net weights, fishing lakes and dams still in use to this day can provide a more reliable picture of fish farming in some monasteries. These lakes were often accompanied by mills used to mill grain. By leasing them, these mills provided a stable income for the monks. Smithies were also a recurring sight next to lakes and more frequented creeks.

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; the results are that the acquisition of a water supply could be achieved in a variety of ways.⁷⁰ Monastic water management was a typical practice in medieval Europe, thus, it can also be studied in the context of Hungary in the Middle Ages.

However, medieval fish-keeping basically relied on two types of ponds: the *vivarium*, or breeding pond, and the *servatorium* or holding pond. The former were usually large, dammed features where fish were bred and allowed to grow. These ponds were regularly drained, which allowed the fish to be sorted for example, in England, the bishops of Winchester operated their pond on a five-year-cycle. The fish that were selected for eating were transported to the holding ponds to keep them alive until required. To fulfill such a task, *servatoria* should be close to the residences, where the fish were required.⁷¹

⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 203.

⁷⁰ Bond, “Water Management”, 85.

⁷¹ Currie, Christopher K. “Fishponds as Garden Features, c. 1550-1750”, *Garden History* 18/1 (1990), 22–23.

From the variety of ponds, the rarely discussed valley ponds (serving as reservoirs) are supposed to appear in the selected regions since the geographical characteristics are typical in the hilly zones of Hungary. In a steep-sided valley, a strong dam creates a classic reservoir pond, which demands careful provision for floodwater control (floods will produce a greater volume of water, which can result in a dangerously accelerated speed of water flow, which can then cause damages). Here the size, depth, and degree of the pond's exposure to shade or sun (therefore the average temperature of the water) basically modify the usage and the particular function of these man-made structures.⁷²

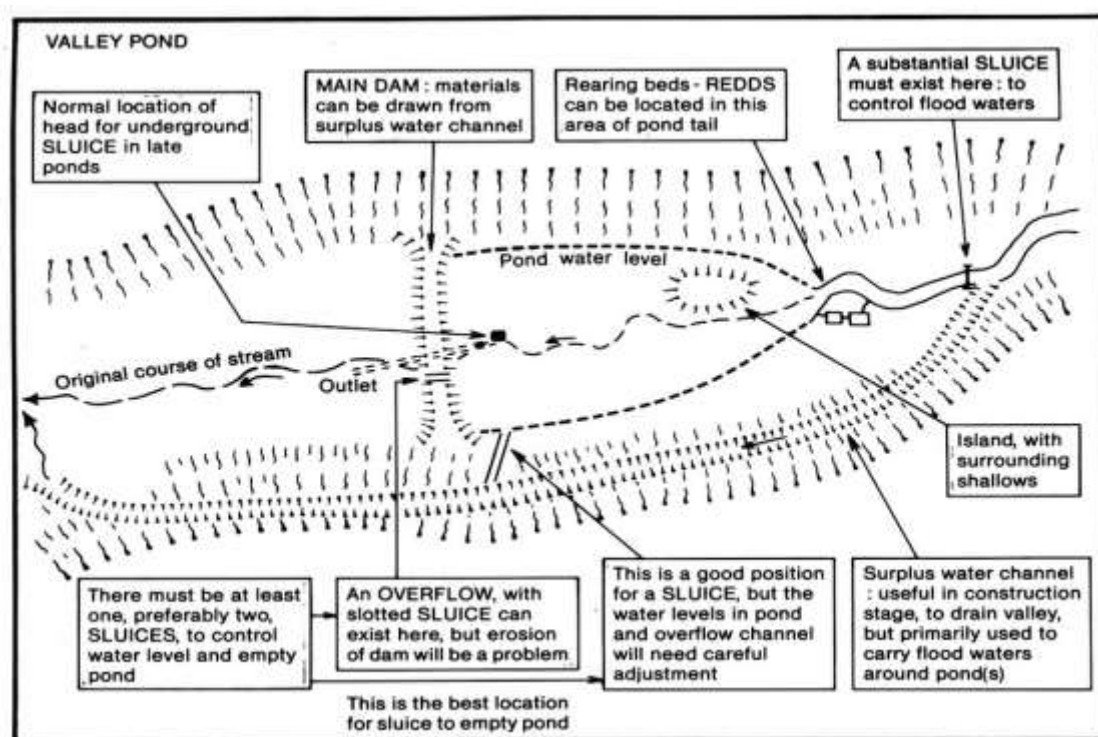


Fig. 2.3. The valley pond. B. K. Roberts (1988), "The Re-discovery of fishponds", 11.

Much is known about the structure of these ponds as well; they 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, of water inlets and outlets were constructed, controlled by sub-surface sluices (made from wood). It was essential for all pond systems for rearing fish that the excess water be drawn off not from the depths of the pond, but from the surface, or if a pipe was used, that screens should be installed.⁷³ Regarding the water supply, pure fresh water (as from a spring) is best for incubation, but

⁷²Roberts, "The Re-discovery of fishponds", 10–11.

⁷³ Roberts, "The Re-discovery of fishponds", 12–13.

water rich in nutrients and washing in from fields is the best for producing fish in larger quantities in these ponds.⁷⁴ Aeration is easily achieved by small falls, especially in hilly areas. Summarizing the background of such solutions, James Bond emphasizes that “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 it was also not unusual for artificial watercourses to lead off of natural streams.⁷⁵

There are typical problems that have been recognized in the English scholarship, which are relevant in this region as well. As C. C. Taylor points out,⁷⁶ the cloudy origins and development (as well as construction and operational details) of water management systems create research problems, mostly attached to fishing. The typology should also be gathered and unified with special attention to form, siting, and complexity. Associated functions may also differ; in Hungary, mills were mostly attached to water management systems, but in England, individual millponds were often located beside fishponds.⁷⁷

Detailed and complex analyses (on topics such as the construction of fishponds through artificial watercourses, the disposal of waste with historical and archaeological approaches, and specific fishes,⁷⁸ etc.⁷⁹) 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, Mick Aston.⁸⁰

Hungarian scholarship still stands far from this kind of complex research approaches, but there are already good signs in the publication of such approaches more and more regularly. Besides water management studies, “various other ways of landscape exploitation and the monks’ impacts on the environment are among the subjects of monastic landscape studies that have been conducted only in the past decade in Hungary. Excavations, field surveys and GIS analyses have exposed several

⁷⁴ Roberts, “The Re-discovery of fishponds”, 13.

⁷⁵ Bond, “Water Management”, 91. On the use of canals and rivers see Bond, “Water Management”, 97–98.

⁷⁶ 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 that might be interesting in the context of the Paulines in Croatia or Dalmatia, namely, the question of sea-fishing. In England, he argues, river fishing, ponds, and weirs tend to obscure the importance of sea fishing.

⁷⁷ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 203.

⁷⁸ Interestingly, carp reached England only in the 1460s, coming from the Danube basin. Bond (2004), *Monastic Landscapes*, 205.

⁷⁹ Bond, “Water management”, 101–102; Ibid. *Monastic Landscapes*, 204–210.

⁸⁰ Mick Aston, ed., *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds*; also Michael Aston, Ibid., *Monasteries in the Landscape*. (London: Tempus, 2000).

fishponds, agricultural terraces and roads, and remains of industrial activities (such as evidence for glass production related to the grange of the Cistercian monastery at Pilis).⁸¹

Even in the mid-1900s, the Hungarian Archaeological Topography recorded dykes and fishponds beside other landscape features, so fortunately the recognition of such features has a few decades of history. However, features of past water management systems are usually detectable in the present-day landscape; it is more clear in the case of a recent study, in which a LiDAR survey detected the area of the Pauline monastery at Pécs-Jakabhegy (Baranya County).⁸² Here the relation between the monastery and the fishponds, as well as the roads leading to the ponds, is precisely visualized based on the produced terrain model.⁸³ Further results were expected of the ongoing LiDAR surveys.

Medieval documents frequently mention fishing ponds (*piscina*), which does not have a particular meaning. As Degré and Holub both highlighted, it could mean fishing-box, fish-weir, and of course fishpond as well. Fishponds could be made in two ways: by digging one or by a dam on a stream or river.⁸⁴ Both needed a special knowledge, in charters the name of the people who knew how to dig out a fishpond, the so-called *fossore piscinarum* survived.⁸⁵ The Tripartitum⁸⁶ differentiates those pond which have outlets, thus they are never dry out (*piscina effluens et non deficiens*) and those which do not have outlets and in dry weather there is no water in them (*piscina non effluens et tempore siccitatis deficiens*) - the former were valued to 10 Markas, while the latter only for 5 Markas.⁸⁷

In some cases the name of the ponds is known. Several charters on donations mention the name of fishponds in the late Middle Ages, but the oldest known name of a fishpond, called Swan/Swany-pond (Hungarian: Hattyas-tó) at the Danube was recorded in 1282. Ususally they are defined by the Hungarian word for fishpond: Halastó.⁸⁸ See for example Chapter 4.3.6. the monastery at Henye.

⁸¹ Zatykó, “People beyond landscapes”, 378. For further literature and references see: Laszlovszky (2004), “Középkori kolostorok a tájban”; also Laszlovszky et al. (2014) “The ‘Glass Church’”.

⁸² Gábor Bertók and Csilla Gáti, *Old Times – New Methods. Non Invasive Archaeology in Baranya County (Hungary) 2005-2013* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014), Figure IV.2.

⁸³ Even the researchers involved in *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* project from the 1970s realized the need to document at least these basic features, which (in the case of the Paulines) was carried out in today’s Komárom-Esztergom, Pest, and Veszprém Counties.

⁸⁴ For example HO 6, 28, AO, I, 165. Cited in Holub 1963, 60.

⁸⁵ Degré 1939, 78; Holub 1963, 60.

⁸⁶ Tripartitum is a manual of Hungarian customary law completed in 1514 by István Werbőczy and first published at Vienna in 1517.

⁸⁷ Holub 1963, 60–61. He also cites some other values in connection with purchase business.

⁸⁸ Holub 1963, 61.

The medieval documents on the legal context of fishing represent a massive part of charters, however they are really scattered and it was rarely studied by scholars.⁸⁹ Fish was a cheap and easily accessible food for every person of the society but it was very profitable as well.⁹⁰ This is why it was not only part of the estate assets but the landlord protected their right for fishing on different rivers, streams and lakes very fiercely. This is why most information about fishing survives in documents: most of them report on trading, exchanges or legal battles over specific sites and shares (water, money, profit or fishes).⁹¹

Fishermen (*piscatores*) formed an individual community among the people who served with their specific skillset and expertise. (Picture Balaton/Balaton2 etc.)⁹² Fishing could happen with a net, hook or with a stake-net. Fishing nets were made of specific cord or kemp and could be really expensive; some sources report that nets were rented. Hooks were not mentioned in the sources, but a specific tax was paid for the landlord/the owner of a pond, which was called in charters as *horogpénz* (Hungarian for hook's money/tax). Special baskets served for storing the fishes (*cophinus*), which were put into the boats that were driven by specific grapnels.⁹³

Although it is a cliché that Hungary, especially the Great Plain and the Kisalföld region was rich in fishes, fish remains are extremely rare in archaeozoological finds, also the sources are extremely scattered or not definite. Carp, catfish, pike, sturgeon, and perch dominate fish remains of medieval date in Central Europe, including Hungary as well.⁹⁴ By collecting data on medieval fish, Richard Hoffmann identified important tendencies in the region's "fish status".⁹⁵ Regarding the archaeozoological remains, Acipenserids were studied by László Bartosiewicz and his colleagues⁹⁶ since it has been the "Royal fish" since prehistoric times, so in the middle ages it had a great value as well.

⁸⁹ See Holub 1963, 55–63, also Degré 1939. On some legal aspects, see András Vadas, "Terminológiai és tartalmi kérdések a középkori malomhelyek körül." [Terminological and contextual questions around the medieval mill-places]. *Történelmi Szemle* (2015/4): 619–648; András Vadas, "Some Remarks on the Legal Regulations and Practice of Mill Construction in Medieval Hungary", in *Wasser in der mittelalterlichen Kultur. Water in Medieval Culture*. (Berlin De Gruyter, 2017), 290–314.

⁹⁰ Holub 1963, 55, 59–60.

⁹¹ Holub 1963, 61–63.

⁹² See some fishermen on Lake Balaton on a map, drew in 1773.

⁹³ Holub 1963, 55–56.

⁹⁴ Richard C. Hoffmann, "Fish and Man: Changing relations in Medieval Central Europe", *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 15 (1999), 188.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ László Bartosiewicz, Clive Bonsall, and Vasile Şişu, "Sturgeon Fishing in the Middle and Lower Danube Region" in *The Iron Gates in Prehistory. New perspectives*, ed. C. Bonsall–V. Boroneanţ–I. Radovanović (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International Series, 2008), 37.

The special value of great sturgeon (on average 80-100 kg, but sometimes much more) is indicated by a 1329 entry in the customs record from Zsolca, a crossing point at the Sajó river in north-east Hungary: while a toll of 2 Denarii was collected per great sturgeon, only a Denarius had to be paid for other Acipenserids[...] Meanwhile, small-bodied sterlet (not included in the maps of this study) and stell a sturgeon tended to be more highly appreciated for the quality of their meat.⁹⁷

Settlement name	Dating	Type
1. Győr-Ece	11 th -13 th c.	rural
2. Sárszentlőrinc-Birkajárás	14 th c.	manorial
3. Zirc-Cistercian Monastery, S Wing	15 th c.	monastic
4. Esztergom-Vár	11 th -13 th c.	castle
5. Pilisszentkereszt-Cistercian Abbey	14 th -15 th c.	monastic
6. Visegrád-Vár	15 th c.	castle
7. Óbuda-Clarissan Monastery	15 th c.	monastic
8. Buda-Vár	14 th -16 th c.	castle
9. Buda-Vár, Dominican Monastery	14 th -15 th c.	monastic
10. Buda-Vár, N Courtyard	14 th -15 th c.	castle
11. Buda-Teleki Palace, Well 8	14 th -15 th c.	urban
12. Buda-Vár, Csikós udvar	16 th -17 th c.	urban
13. Buda-Rác-fürdő	16 th c.	rural
14. Vác-Zeneiskola	16 th -17 th c.	urban
15. Szendrő-Upper Castle	17 th c.	castle

Fig. 2.4. Medieval assemblages with Acipenserid bones from Hungary. Bartosiewicz, 2021, Fig. 1.

A new study also proved that no luxurious or exotic fishes were usual at the table of high ecclesial classes. Fourteenth-fifteenth century remains from the archbishop's kitchen in Esztergom were recovered using water-sieving for the first (and yet only) time, which resulted the first unique assemblage in Hungary; more bones were found than at the previous 23 sites - altogether. The taxonomic distribution shows a significant increase in cyprinids, including carp while contributions to the diet by large acipenserids and pike declined. Although sturgeon were present throughout the middle ages, those recovered from ecclesiastical centers are concentrated to the fourteenth and fifteenth century.⁹⁸

⁹⁷László Bartosiewicz – Clive Bonsall, "Complementary taphonomics: Medieval sturgeons from Hungary" in *Archéologie du poisson: 30 ans d'archéo-ichtyologie au CNRS. Hommage aux travaux de Jean Desse et de Nathalie Desse-Berset, XXVIIIe rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes*, ed.P. Béarez, S. Grouard, and B. Clavel (Éditions APDCA, Antibes, 2008), 37.

⁹⁸ Bartosiewicz 2021, 463.

Early modern sources are reporting on the Pauline animal husbandry in some respect, but since today no specific information can be found on fish. The early sixteenth-century inventories report on carp, pike and catfish.⁹⁹

After examining several monastic spaces, Belényesy and Kékedi highlighted and verified some further, general characteristics concerning Pauline fishponds. They were not only always related to mills, but ponds and the monasteries were located together in a relatively small area, forming an integral unit. Local features also defined the location and the form; for example, in the Zemplén region, where the climate is relatively dry, the ponds were constructed just under a spring.

There were different types of ponds and their sizes were also diverse; the width of these ponds depended on the runoff of the supplying stream and the definition of the shore had to be managed with special attention. Belényesy examined the function of the small ponds, which usually existed right under a spring, and highlighted the existence of a special type of pond, called *vivarium*, which served for the temporary storage of fish that had been selected for cooking. (This feature possibly exists at the Monastery of St. Ladislaus as well.)

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 *clausura*. They could also be situated outside the monastery at nearby springs or streams, e.g. at Nagyvázsony. 68

Caves

In the case of the Paulines, the natural and often symbolic (ref. *desertum*¹⁰⁰) elements of hermitages (caves, stream-heads/wells) also play a unique role in the landscape,¹⁰¹ especially in the relevant archaeological findings that correlate with the timeframe of this study. These features defined not only the hermits' living-sphere, but also their symbolic meaning, as they were identified with hermits even in the late Middle Ages. Ideally, comparative spatial study could lead further in the question.

⁹⁹ Holub 1963, 59.

¹⁰⁰ The concept of "desert-forest" was developed by Jacques Le Goff, see Belényesy, Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján, 88; and Jacques Le Goff, "Le desertforêt dans l'Occident medieval," *L'imaginaire medieval* (Paris: Édition Gallimard, 1985). For a summary on the earliest monasteries of the desert fathers and the English research, see Michael Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape*. (London: Tempus, 2000), 29–42. See on this Máté Urbán, "Pusztasivatag és Paradicsomkert – Táj és természet a remeterendek és a ciszterciák középkori felfogásában" [Abandoned desert and Paradise – Landscape and nature in the understanding of hermit orders and Cistercians], *Vigilia* 75 (2010): 2–9.

¹⁰¹ see on symbolic landscape P, Fischl Klára ; F, F. Romhányi Beatrix Szimbolikus táj In Zatykó, Csilla; Szilágyi, Magdona; Szabó, Máté (szerk.) *Történeti táj – tájrégészet: eredmények és perspektívák a magyarországi tájrégészeti kutatásban. Absztrakt kötet*. Budapest, Magyarország : MTA BTK Régészeti Intézet (2017) 86 p. pp. 32-33.

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

Timber is an essential material for shelters and fire, so it is no surprise that forests are still significant. The best written sources concerning forestry are economic documents, namely account books and land registers for economic purposes. However, only a few were conducted in medieval Hungary, and they barely made any reference to forests. The most important available sources – apart from those data that randomly appear in any charter – are mapping borders (perambulations) and land descriptions.¹⁰²

Written sources provide an incomplete picture of the sites of medieval cultivation and livestock farming. However, some traces, untouched for centuries and preserved in the landscape – though definitely damaged – may still be of some help for researchers. The land and animals belonging to monks were taken care of by lay brothers living and serving in the monastery or by the inhabitants of Pauline-owned villages.

Two types of units, connected to the area of different types of lands, were mentioned in the Pauline charters (see Henye or Vállus, Chapter 4.3.6. and 4.3.8.): *iugerum* and *falcastrum*. The former, *iugerum* (“hold” in Hungarian) means acre, which is quite a challenge to be measured and defined in regards to the Middle Ages. After consulting literature, one acre (*iugerum*) in fourteenth-century Hungary was (most probably) equal to eight hundred-sixty-four royal fathom (“királyi öl” in Hungarian), which was around 8000–8500 sqm.¹⁰³

The latter, *falcastrum* or *falcatura* (“kaszaalja” in Hungarian) was the medieval unit of a hay meadow, which equals the land that can be mowed off by one person in a day. The extent of this land was different in each region or even village during the Middle Ages, so it is impossible to measure it in this case.¹⁰⁴ However, in ethnography, commonly 2880–3600 sqm is an approximate area, which can be mowed off in a day.¹⁰⁵

Arable lands were defined in charters as *terra*. These lands were parcels which were of good quality, but soon needed to be set aside for a while or were not ready to be ploughed yet.¹⁰⁶ One reason could be that these parcels were established and appointed by a relatively fresh clearing of the

¹⁰² Fortunately, many remarks had been summarized by Szabó, *Forests and Woodlands*.

¹⁰³ Hóman 1915, “b. Mértékek”. <http://mek.niif.hu/07100/07139/html/0004/0005/0014/0002-268.html> Also see Bogdán 1978, 181-183.

¹⁰⁴ Gusztáv Wenzel, *Magyarország mezőgazdaságának története* [The history of Hungarian agriculture] (Budapest, 1887), 304; MNL 1, “embervágó rét, kaszás rét (lat. falcastrum, falcatura)”

¹⁰⁵ MN online, “A kaszálás módja, teljesítménye”.

<https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/MagyarNeprajz-magyar-neprajz-2/>

¹⁰⁶ Belényes 1954, 406–407.

woods, which process was still going on at some parts at the time, as the term *terram extirpatitiam*¹⁰⁷ indicates it. This term, distinguishing such specific parcels from any other lands in the charter proves the heavy clearing and the plough of new parcels in the fourteenth-century.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, it also supports the definition of *terra* here, since they were clearly differentiated. At the Abaúj-Hegyalja region the term *funes*, meaning rope appears, which has an unknown measure since its length varied from region to region.

Those lands, which were called *sessio* (*sessiones* plur.) represent a specific property. These were complex farms, usually the remains of previously inhabited settlements with houses, farm buildings, and tenant peasants (*iobbagiones*) inhabited. In some cases these farms were owned and managed by local nobles (*sessio nobilitaris*), the latter could hold even a *curia* as well. The term *fundus* appeared at the Abaúj-Hegyalja region; it is the synonym of parcel, however, later is relevant as a house place.

Viticulture

Viticulture and the consumption of wine has long been a part of human culture, which is why vineyards were regarded as the most stable properties and provided regular income for the possessor. It was not easily transported, so it was essential to cultivate grapes to some extent in all the inhabited areas. Its tools and techniques have barely changed over the millennia and such tools are usual among the archaeological finds, just like at medieval Pauline monasteries. Vineyards were particularly important to the Pauline Order since the very beginning, because, besides supplying the monasteries, wine shops in the cities provided direct income for the communities. When they were unable to cultivate vineyards, they could choose to lease or sell them. They are regarded as the most important type of lands in a monasteries immediate property or at the geographically ideal areas, further away from the buildings.

A vineyard, as Holub states, was approximately 3110 sqm/1 acre in the Middle Ages. They provided stable income through simply by collected taxes and tolls (*census, terragium*); since 1351, King Louis I issued a law that the *nona* or ninth was to be paid for the landlord by whoever rented the vineyard. This type of tax demoted *terrarium*, although it was collected afterwards as well as a fixed amount of vine.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Arable land, which was cut from the forest and just turned into a ploughable parcel, after processing the trees and their remains, also turned it fertile and easily ploughable –most probably already cultivated once. Belényesy 1954, 397–398.

¹⁰⁸ For more analysis and tendencies, see Belényesy 1954, 395–399; on agriculture in general (including the ploughing system) see Laszlovsky 2018.

¹⁰⁹ MNL “szőlő” [vineyard]. Also Holub 1960, 123.

Cultivating grapes and preparing wine required a great amount of knowledge. The laborers working in vineyards represented a separate group in the Árpadian era (*vinitores*, *viticultures*); they were attached to the vineyards and mostly always changed their landlords with the property. The ones dealing with royal vineyards were called *vinidatores*; they had to pay tax in a certain amount of wine. By the mid-fourteenth century, these specialized social groups disappear and simply *iobbagiones* appeared who leased vineyards from noblemen.¹¹⁰

Mills

Mills, just like ponds, arables or fisheries, were an important part of the estate assets (*pertinentiae*); they were valuable and represented a stable income: no matter the owner or a lessee operated it, even the millers were paid a fair share of the profit.¹¹¹ Charter evidence confirms that mills served as rental properties from their very first appearance among the Pauline possessions; 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 livelihood of the monks. It is telling that the Pauline monasteries usually owned mills for 100–150 years; this shows how important a regular income was for them. Other financial privileges connected to mills increased the stability, regularity, and amount of income for the monks. Furthermore, donating mills was a good way of developing small and poor monasteries—this was recognized by royalty; therefore, since the reign of King Louis I, mills were donated to several monasteries.¹¹²

As medieval sources report, mills were built on most lands, even on small streams where water was seasonal. As József Holub summarized in his work on the waterscape and water use of medieval Zala county, temporary use of mills is not unusual, however, those mills that operated all year and grinded fine quality grain were favored by the inhabitants.¹¹³ Millhouses (*domus milendinaris*) were usually established on specific areas (*locus molendini*)¹¹⁴ next to rivers or lakes. They were mostly

¹¹⁰ László Szabolcs Gulyás, „A középkori szőlőművelés és borkereskedelem információ-történeti vizsgálatának lehetőségei” [The role of information flow and literacy in medieval viticulture and wine trade]. *Aetas* 27 (2012/4): 155–175.

¹¹¹ Holub 1963, 49, 51. An impressive collection on the value of mills and the profits is published in Holub 1973, 49–52.

¹¹² Based on F. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 73–83; Pető, *Pilis*, 66–67.

¹¹³ Holub 1963.

¹¹⁴ The term basically refers to a place where a mill once stood or at least to a place where some former construction work (channeldigging or millhouse construction) had been carried out once. A further group with a distinctly different meaning comprises documents that refer to plots suitable for mills. In these cases, the hydrographic and/or legal conditions provided a basis for building a mill. Recently András Vadas summarized the past results on the mill use in medieval Hungary, discussing the term in details. He argues that the increasing appearance of the term can be connected to the development of customs regarding water use. See Vadas 2015 and Vadas 2017. The size of a mill-place was one third acre in 1244, see Holub 1963, 49 and the source at HO 5, 19.

built of wood on a stone basis, wherein the grinding structure was built. Beside onland millhouses, in the Carpathian Basin shipmills might have also been present at large waters, such as the Balaton or the Danube River. In the different millhouses the wheels (rota) were moved by water in three ways, differentiating the direction of the water that rotates the wheels: undershot (on still waters), overshoot or breastshoot. The latter two was mostly used on streams; if the power of the water was not enough, they swole the water by a dam and from there, through a lock/floodgate (that served for water regulation), a mill channel directed the water with more power to the wheels from upwards (overshoot wheel). If the stream/river provided enough power to move the wheels, then the wheels were built just on the water and the water moved them from below (breastshoot wheel).¹¹⁵

The references to mill-places with a specific number of wheels are not unusual in medieval documents. Usually, the number of wheels indicates the number of grindstones¹¹⁶ (*lapides morales*), which must be made from tough stone. Such specific stones (*örvénykő*, whirlingstone) were available in specific places; three of them were in the Balaton Upland region: today's Örvényes near Tihany and Örvényes-hegy at Kehida, west to Balaton, where a Pauline monastery was also founded; the third place is at Alsóörs¹¹⁷, close to the hermitage of Vörösberény.

Building a mill required several specialists: carpenters, millers (*molendinatores*) and people who knew how to dig out a fishpond (*fossores piscinarum*). The costs varied and depended on a lot of aspects. An operating millhouse also required full time assistance. The miller had to live next to the house (*domus pro molendinatore*) and had to have a parcel for food production. Beside their specific place, sometimes individual roads led to the millhouses.

The surrounding area of the millhouse received special attention because every intervention of the natural factors could affect its performance, even block its proper operation. This is why strict legal (or even practical) action took place in those cases, where something happened, for example another mill was built near an already existing one, or a bridge was built which affected the water level of a stream. A millhouse could be built only by not harming anyone or anything.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ It was also applicable through millchannel, but usually it was used on free water. Interestingly, the value of such mills was double compared to other types. Holub 1963, 46.

¹¹⁶ Actually, in most cases, two stones were used for grinding: one stone which was rotated by the wheel and another that was the latter rotating on.

¹¹⁷ HO IV. 73. or HO III, 48. Cited in Holub 1963, 47. fn. 20.

¹¹⁸ Holub 1963, 47–49, 54. ZsO II, no. 839. "...molendina taliter debeant edificari, quod preiudicium uni per aliud non inferatur ... absque gravi preiudicio et dampno aliorum...".



Fig. 2.5. A wheel of a mill and a man (probably the miller) on the lake. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No.29. *Vulgo Germanica mol Or. s. Pauli P. Ere. Monasterii Papensis sub Prio. P. P. E. Neme.*

CHAPTER 3 – PREVIOUS RESEARCH, SOURCES AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: A FOREWORD ABOUT THE STATE OF MEDIEVAL PAULINE HERITAGE IN HUNGARY

The present chapter aims to summarize what is known on the Pauline research in present-day Hungary, focusing on all types of sources that are available and essential for their study. Therefore, all the available historical, archaeological and architectural sources, also landscape features are discussed with a brief overlook/look into the general aspects and traditions of research history. The reason behind this aim was that archaeological and architectural information can strongly add to and modify spatial connections. Also, during the field surveys and scholarship-overview of the monasteries in the selected areas, their varied visible status and condition was striking. Some are unlocated, other monasteries are visible ruins or even they are still operating buildings (for example Márianosztra). Besides, the amount and type of sources on the sites was similarly unbalanced, so an overview helped my understanding of individual locations, later on tendencies and correlations as well. Separately from the previous features, it was also important to give a detailed overview of the Hungarian archaeological and architectural research it has not been summarized before.¹¹⁹

Archival data (Chapter 3.2.) mostly contain medieval charters but besides them, a solid number of visual sources, dated to early modern and modern periods, were discussed. The introduction of Hungarian medieval landscapes, specifically monastic spaces (Chapter 3.3.) focuses on the recent foundation and evolution of the field and its significant results. Also, after discussing the sources, the levels of interpretations and the digital application of sources is introduced briefly.

3.1. Protecting the visible and revealing the hidden – the evolution of Pauline research

Regarding the medieval monasteries of present-day Hungary, a varied and complex picture is visible in terms of shape, form, and status of the buildings. The main reason is that the Ottoman wars in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries affected each of them: most of the monasteries were demolished by the different, Ottoman and Hungarian armies – sometimes those distinguished

¹¹⁹ An exceptional summary was published on the northeastern Pauline monasteries in 2000. See István Dobrossy István and Gyula Viga, eds., *A pálosok építészeti és művelődéstörténeti emlékei Borsodban* [The architectural and cultural history of the Paulines in Borsod County], (Miskolc: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár, 2000).

Hungarian nobles put the monks on the edge of the sword, who turned to the Protestant churches or were simply in need of money and land (like it happened in the Abaúj-Hegyalja region).¹²⁰

Unfortunately, less is known on the history of the order in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.¹²¹ After the Ottoman era, the Pauline monks themselves were the first ones whom tried to identify and reclaim their medieval properties. After the abolition of the order (1786),¹²² only the memory of their past, an antiquarian interest led some intellectuals to Pauline sites, whose precious drawings and descriptions still help to put scattered data into its place. In the twentieth century, archaeologists and non-professionals (e.g. teachers or priests) started individual explorations of some ruins, but only those, which were visible and located in well-known areas. The systematic research of the monasteries evolved partially from this interest, but it did not happen until the second half of the twentieth century, when not only the visible, but the still unknown, unlocated monasteries, unresearched episodes of the Pauline history gradually gained scientific attention. This background justifies that not only the physical appearance, but the research level of the monasteries is varied.

In this subchapter all the known medieval Pauline sites of Hungary are discussed in the context of the research history and by the state of the ruins (visible ruins /visible remains by excavation /not visible but excavated /not visible and not excavated /unlocated), which two, seemingly unrelated factors are strongly connected to each other: the state of the ruins defined the used research method and thus, the known type and amount of information on the sites. In other words, practically the less a monastery remain was visible or known after the Ottoman Era, the later it became the object of research interest and less in discovered about it yet.

The summary of archaeology and the written sources is also important because the aim of this study is to follow up and verify the past archaeological results in the field, select new approaches, and find additional features of the landscape around the monasteries. All the cited studies and archival data¹²³ can help to build a spatial dataset of the studied areas; however, field surveys in connection

¹²⁰ Gábor András Szörényi, “Several handfuls of nails: the chroniclers of the destruction of Pauline monasteries (an example from northeast Hungary)”, in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 178.

¹²¹ A refreshing example Anita Bojtos, *A pálos rend XVII. századi története, különös tekintettel a rend szellemiségére*. [The seventeenth-century history of the Pauline Order, with a special attention to the spirituality of the order]. PhD dissertation. (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2018).

¹²² See recently Árpád Attila Hesz, *A Pálos Rend eltörlése Magyarországon 1785-ban* [The abolition of the Pauline Order in Hungary in 1785]. PhD dissertation. (Budapest: Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2019).

¹²³ The archive of the Hungarian National Museum, which gather all of the archaeological documents of the past century. For many decades it was a legally issued purpose of the institution – after this rule’s annulling most archaeologists still send a copy of their report.

with *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* series (MRT)¹²⁴ also partly revealed ruins of these monasteries. Although it covers only particular areas of Hungary, the Pilis, Börzsöny, and most of Veszprém County was surveyed by the researchers. Besides MRT, in most cases other basic catalog references¹²⁵ helped the data collection, but where it was available, recent studies were cited. A refreshing example should be highlighted here, from art historical and historical perspective, the collection of tombstones of Pauline monasteries was recently published by Pál Lővei.¹²⁶

Summarizing, with the help of the built structures, archaeological material, and collected features in the landscape one can gather a lot of information on the daily life and spatial structure of monastic estates.

¹²⁴ See the MRT editions in the Bibliography, in the list of abbreviations.

¹²⁵ Tamás Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon* [Pauline architecture in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2003). All monasteries are listed in Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), and the series of Documenta Artis Paulinorum (DAP) represent the basis of the research. However, the last two sources gather historical written information, so they are referred in the case of the examined monasteries, in their index.

¹²⁶ Pál Lővei, “A középkori Magyar Királyság pálos kolostoraiból ismert síremlékek.” [The known tombstones in medieval Pauline monasteries of the Hungarian Kingdom], in *Középkoron innen és túl*, ed. Vilmos Katona, (Budapest: 2019), 121–147.

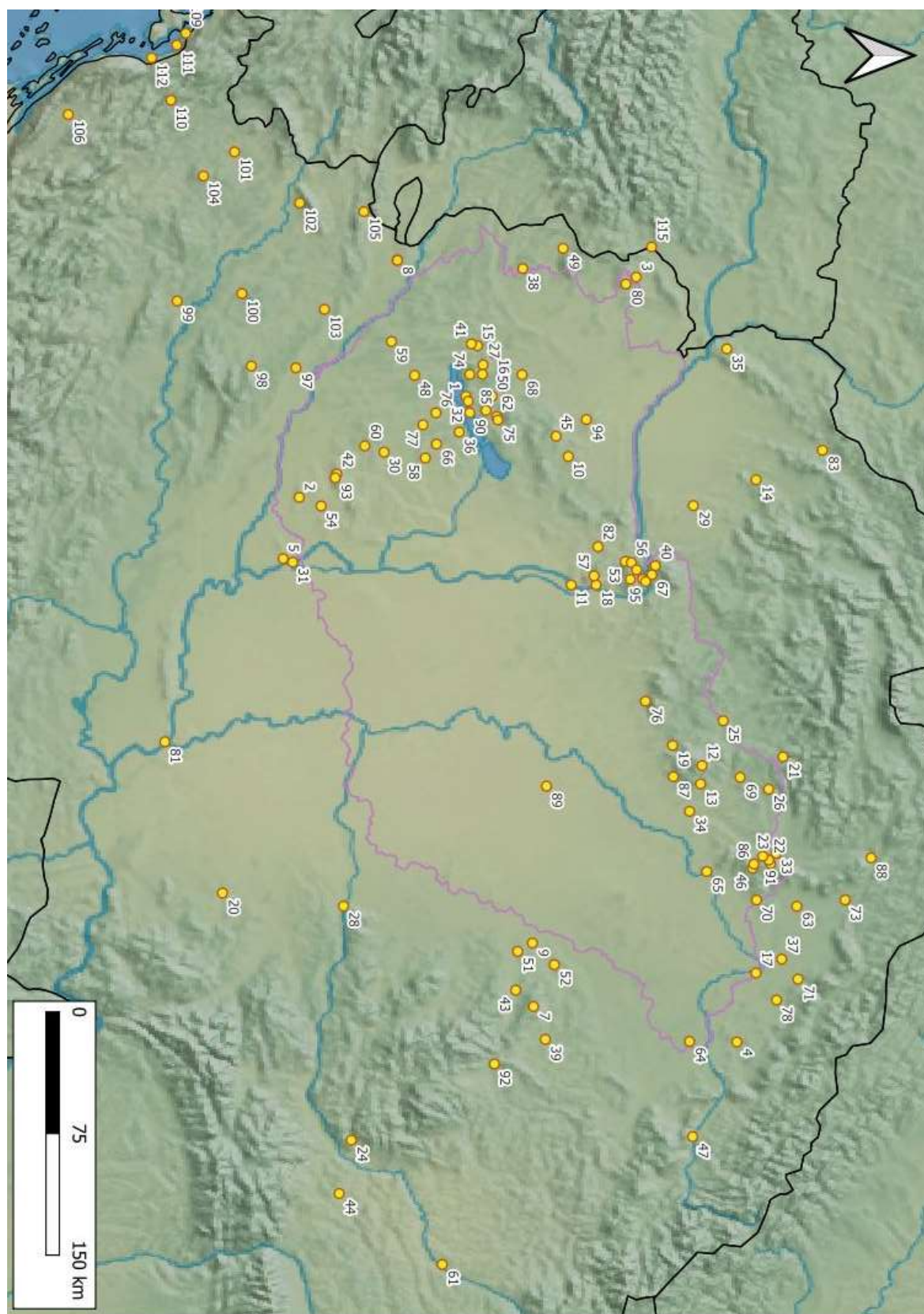


Fig. 3.1.a. The map of medieval Pauline monasteries in the Carpathian Basin. Based on Guzsik, Pálós építész, catalogue. See the sites in Appendix 4/[Gazetteer](#).

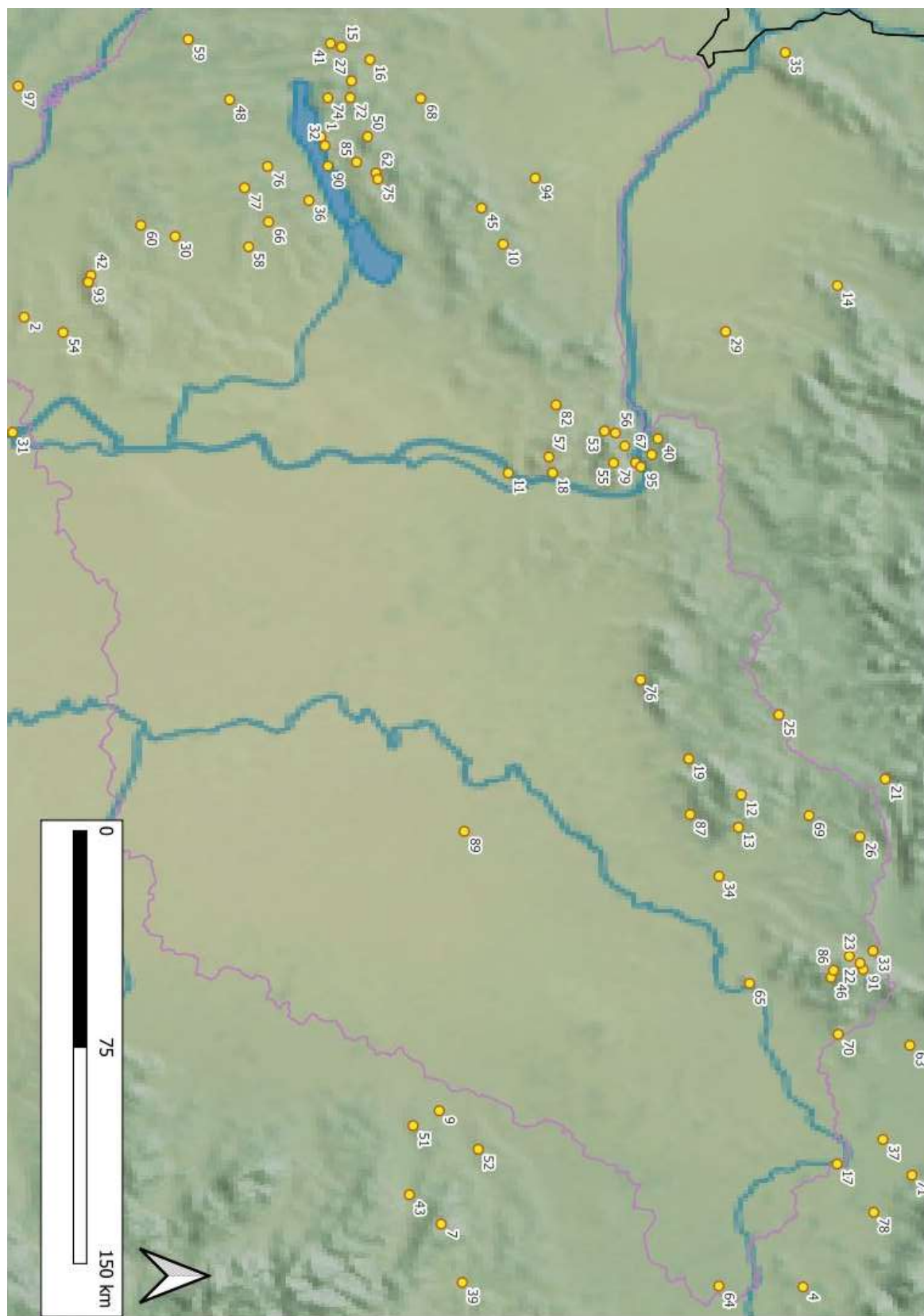


Fig. 3.1.b. The zoomed map of medieval Pauline monasteries in the Carpathian Basin, focused on present-day Hungary. Based on Guzsik, Pálos építészeti, catalogue. See the sites in Appendix 4/[Gazetteer](#).

3.1.1. *Surviving monasteries and churches*

Only a few monasteries or churches that have medieval Pauline roots are still standing, even less that are fulfilling their original purpose partially, at least by serving communities – it is really important the call the attention to this group of built heritage. Their story of survival is different, but most of them were rebuilt by the Paulines after the Ottoman period and were maintained by others the past centuries.

Two sub-categories can be made: where both the church and the monastery were rebuilt in the Baroque era, and another, where just the church was saved.

1. The monasteries at Márianosztra/Nosztra (40¹²⁷), Sopronbánfalva (80) and Sajólad (34) were regained by the Pauline Order and were repaired or rebuilt in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries (among other newly founded monasteries), also Diósgyőr (13), which was heavily modified in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries. The monasteries at Újhely (70) and Tokaj (65) also had been rebuilt at the same time, but not by the Paulines.
2. Although the medieval monasteries were ruined, the churches are still visible at Csatka (10), Porva (45) and Pilisszentlászló (55). These still serve as pilgrim sites or parish churches, which were constructed in the Middle Ages or at least the Pauline Baroque churches founded on their medieval predecessors.

Two sites, the monastery of Márianosztra/Nosztra (Chapter 5, index 5.4.) and the church at Pilisszentlászló (Chapter 5, index 5.3.) are located in one of the studied areas, in the Pilis-Börzsöny region.

Monasteries and churches, rebuilt in the Baroque Era

After the abolition of the order in 1786, the fourteenth-century monastery at Nosztra (40) in the Börzsöny¹²⁸ (founded in the mid-fourteenth century), became a state property. First, a hospital operated there for a few years, then since the nineteenth century it has been a prison. However, the

¹²⁷ The numbers after the name of the site are IDs for the map, summarizing all known medieval Pauline sites in the Carpathina Basin, covering present-day Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Austria, Serbia, the northern area of Croatia.

¹²⁸ MRT Lajos Bozóki, “‘Gótikus’ építkezés a XVIII. században Márianosztrán” [“Gothic” architecture in Márianosztra in the eighteenth century]. *Műemlékvédelem* 43/2 (2003): 128–132, also Judit Vadász, *A fényes kolostor: A márianosztrai pálos kolostor és templom története (1352-2012)* [The luminous monastery: The history of the Pauline cloister and church of Márianosztra (1352-2012)], (Budapest – Márianosztra: Ecclesia Szövetkezet – Magyar Pálos Rend Boldog Özséb Konventje, 2018).

church's original role is not disturbed now: since the 1990s, the Paulines manage ecclesiastic life there and they serve not only the community of Márianosztra, but also as prison priests.

The monastery at Sopronbánfalva (80)¹²⁹ was the earliest one to be rebuilt by the Paulines after the first Ottoman attacks in the region, in the first half of the seventeenth c. It operated as the novitiate of the Order, but after 1786, it had different functions, e.g. as a military hospital. In 1892 the Carmelite nuns of Mayerling bought the building and lived there until 1950. In the Soviet era of Hungary, it served as a social care unit, but some conservation work also took place in the 1970s. After 1990 the Carmelite order regained the buildings, which were merely available for resettlement. In 2004 it became private property and luckily the investor aspired to reconstruct what was possible of the past few centuries of the building. It has been a prospering hotel since 2015, focusing on meditative, quiet recreation of the guests. The church was a famous (Pauline) Marian pilgrimage site throughout the centuries; nowadays it is the local parish church, where the Black Madonna of Częstochowa is still venerated.

In Tokaj¹³⁰ (65), at the edge of the discussed Zemplén region, the Paulines were present before 1411 but after the Ottoman era, Order of Friars Minor Capuchin built a monastery on the ruins (maybe including those as well). Nowadays its a childcare institution and no research has been conducted there, ever. The same fate is shared by the monastery at Újhely (70)¹³¹, not far from Tokaj, at the northeastern edge of the Zemplén region. It was an early thirteenth-century hermitage, but after the sixteenth century, the Piarists built a monastery upon the medieval ruins. No research was conducted here either.

At Sajólad (34)¹³², where multiple geographical regions meet, the Paulines were present from 1387, and in the eighteenth century the church was rebuilt by the Paulines, also the surrounding building complex as well, on the medieval remains, but since there was no research conducted ever, nobody know at what extent the reconstructions define the whole building complex. However, since the abolition of the order, the church has served as the local parish church and all the buildings has been used by the bishopric. No further research has been done at the site, but accidentally, the present

¹²⁹ Tamás Balázsik, "A sopronbánfalvi karmelita kolostor kutatása" [The research of the Carmelite nunnery at Sopronbánfalva], *Soproni Szemle* (2010/2): 153–180.

¹³⁰ Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 227.

¹³¹ Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 229.

¹³² Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 124-128, 217; Tibor Joó, "A sajóladai pálos kolostor" [The monastery of Sajólad], in *A pálosok építészeti és művelődéstörténeti emlékei Borsodban* [The architectural and cultural history of the Paulines in Borsod County], eds. István Dobrossy and Gyula Viga (Miskolc: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 77–120.

author could take photos of the surrounding buildings from outside, recording some medieval carved stones built in the foundation of some space, next to the church wall.

In the northeastern region of the country, the medieval monastery of Diósgyőr (13)¹³³ was strongly rebuilt in the Baroque period by the Paulines, but in the nineteenth century and after 1940, when the local institute of forestry reshaped the building structure, the church and most parts of the medieval remains were destroyed. The Baroque parts of the monastery were reused but only the (strictly closed) Baroque main gate is still visible for visitors. In the 1970s, a residential park was planned to be built in the parcel, demolishing everything. This time Ilona Czeglédý excavated (1973) some parts of the medieval monastery, which after the plans for the park were suspended. Nothing had happened since, not even with the medieval foundations nor the Baroque parts either.

Churches rebuilt by the Paulines

One of the precisely not identified monasteries was at Pilisszentlászló/medieval Kékes (55; in Chapter 5),¹³⁴ which was only suspected to be in the present-day cemetery, below a Baroque church, which was built by the Paulines. However, it turned out recently that each time a new burial was dug in the cemetery, the local forester had been collecting every single carved stone and findings from there; so basically his many decades-long collection is the most powerful proof of that the Baroque church was built upon the ruins of the medieval monastery (maybe partially on the medieval church or including its remains) in the 1770s. Its landscape features were detected¹³⁵ and a geoarchaeological sampling of its fishpond was also analyzed¹³⁶ in the past years.

The church of the medieval Pauline monastery of Csatka (10)¹³⁷ partially survived and it is the parish of the village from 1738. It represents an almost individual groundplan and architectural details, similar to Tüskevár (68); even the eighteenth-century Pauline reconstruction could not modify it unrecognizably. Besides the monastery of Gönc (22) in the Zemplén region, this monastic church had a medieval tower on its northern side. A full conservation and reconstruction took place in the

¹³³ Melinda Miskolczi, “Pauline Monastery in Diósgyőr”, in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 87–89.

¹³⁴ MRT 7, 166–169; recently Zsuzsa Pető, *Hermits in the Heart of the Hungarian Kingdom: Medieval Monastic Landscape of the Pauline Order in the Pilis (Series Minor)* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2018), 162–167.

¹³⁵ MRT 7, 167; Pető (2018), *Hermits in the Pilis*, 164; 167–168.

¹³⁶ Pál Sümegi, Gusztáv Jakab and Elek Benkő, “A pilisi királyi erdő a középkorban” [The Pilis Royal Forest in the Middle Ages], in *A Kárpát-medence környezettörténete a középkorban és a kora újkorban – Environmental History of the Medieval and Early Modern Carpathian Basin*, eds. Csilla Zatykó and Elek Benkő (Archaeolingua Kiadó: Budapest, 2021), 287–292.

¹³⁷ Dorottya Cs. Dobrovits, “A csatkai volt pálos templom építészettörténeti problémái” [The architectural problems of the pauline church at Csatka], *Építés-Építészettudomány* 5/3–4 (1974): 305–313.

1960s, when a renaissance tombstone (Ákos Miklós Szepeshelyi, died in 1516) was built into the chancel wall. After many decades, it is now under reconstruction again.

The monastery at Porva (45)¹³⁸ was destroyed in the sixth century, but just like Csátka (10), the church was renovated by the Paulines in the eighteenth century and in the following centuries, the local communities took good care of it. The architectural research on the church was done only in the 2000s and recently, when it was related to a complex conservation and renovation project. Several details, like the medieval doors in the northern wall of the nave and chancel, a Gothic font, the structure of the southern facade with Gothic windows, and the pillars of the chancel all prove its medieval origins, thus the later renovations did not destroy all of the old parts. Moreover, as Csaba László studied the exterior of the church in 2013, he proved that up until the Baroque-period ridge (where the roof and the walls meet), the medieval walls were renovated and reconstructed in the past centuries.

3.1.2. Visible Medieval Ruins. Archaeologists, Architects and Forestries in Action

Besides the surviving or rebuilt Pauline monuments, a sufficient number of ruined medieval monasteries have also been documented and/or excavated either partially or almost completely. Although the roots of monument research and protection go back for several decades, the recent attention on the Pauline heritage boosted the research and conservation of the medieval monasteries and involved other parties, outside of the genre of heritage protection and research.

After the nineteenth–early twentieth centuries, the casual, partially professional interest in ecclesial monuments –which were amongst the most visible thus engaging features of the landscape,– the first, long-term wave of modern interest was in the 1960–1980s; however, it was a time of a fundamental change in the daily life, including the scientific concept in all the countries that were part of the Soviet Union. This strongly affected the area of culture and historical sciences as well.

Most historical events were recontextualized and the narrative of national identity was remodeled from its roots, and as part of it, most religious practices were ridden and forbidden, or at least not welcomed/well-regarded in the Communist Era. The reason why it is interesting to highlight this fact, is that despite all the internationalist, non-religious narrative, the historic monument preservations, including ecclesial monuments (!), represented a key role in the cultural policy of the era (only after the 1960s). Moreover, this period is still regarded as an active, flourishing period of

¹³⁸ Csaba László, “A porva pálos kolostor temploma” [The church of the Pauline monastery of Porva], in *Építészettörténeti írások Guzsik Tamás emlékére. Középkoron innen és túl* [Historical architectural essays on the memory of Tamás Guzsik. Within and beyond the Middle Ages], ed. Vilmos Katona (Budapest: Holnap Kiadó, 2019), 109–120.

heritage protection (OMF /Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség - Conservancy of National Heritage).¹³⁹

The key idea behind this phenomenon is the following:

“Our monuments should be considered as values of the Hungarian and through them the universal cultural heritage, which can educate both socialist patriotism and internationalism.”¹⁴⁰

This might had been one of the reasons why Tamás Guzsik could achieve the most ambitious survey of all known Pauline monasteries since the 1970s with his colleagues and students, mostly with Rudolf Fehérvári – even their research was included in the training program of architects at the Budapest University of Technology from the late 1970s.¹⁴¹ His posthumus published book¹⁴² and many Pauline related articles before¹⁴³ are still the basis of every research, which is not only because each and every ruin was documented by him, but he put efforts in studying historical documents, so his work represents a multidisciplinary approach covered by a detailed architectural study.¹⁴⁴ He also tried to identify those monasteries which were to be unknown, like *Insula Pilup* and *Idegst.*¹⁴⁵

The archaeological research of the Pauline heritage was slowly, but gradually growing. The reason behind is that the prosperity of heritage protection improved archaeology as well, in our case medieval ecclesial archaeology. However, in several examples archaeology was only a tool, which was forced to focus on those areas where the interest was of heritage protection, i.e. the architects. Regarding monasteries, this area of interest was practically the church, which was usually the only part of a monastery that was visible beyond the surface, accordingly noticed by the architects and

¹³⁹ Melinda Harlov, “Műemlékvédelem, kapocs a világgal” [Monument protection, key to internationalism], *Múltunk* (2016): 114-135; See also Ilona Valter, “Középkori egyházi épületeink kutatása” [The research of medieval ecclesial buildings], in *Középkori régészetünk újabb eredményei és időszerű feladatai* [New Results and Current Tasks of Medieval Archaeology], eds. István Fodor and László Selmeczi, (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 1986), 317–339.

¹⁴⁰ Quotation by Ferenc Mende, an architect of cultural heritage in the second half of the 20th c. Harlov, “Műemlékvédelem”, 2016, 114.

¹⁴¹ Tamás Guzsik and Rudolf Fehérvári, “A pálos rend építészeti emlékei a középkori Magyarországon – összefoglaló és katalógus” [The architectural heritage of the Pauline Order in medieval Hungary – summary and catalogue]. University note. (Budapest: Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem, 1979).

¹⁴² Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*.

¹⁴³ See his works related to the Pauline order in the bibliography.

¹⁴⁴ On his legacy see Vilmos Katona (ed.), *Építészettörténeti írások Guzsik Tamás emlékére. Középkoron innen és túl* [Historical architectural essays on the memory of Tamás Guzsik. Within and beyond the Middle Ages], (Budapest: Holnap Kiadó, 2019).

¹⁴⁵ Tamás Guzsik, “A pálos rend "születési anyakönyvi kivonata". Az 1263-as kolostorösszeírás topográfiai és építészeti érdekessége” [The “birth certificate” of the Pauline order – the topographical and architectural curiosities of the monastery inventory of 1263], *Architectura Hungariae* 2 (2000): s.p. http://arch.et.bme.hu/arch_old/epitesz5.html#1 (last accessed 27 July 2022)

therefore excavated/researched by archaeologists. Despite the subsidiary role of archaeology, the strong cooperation with heritage management, the basis of further research has been founded for the next decades.

A rather good example was set after the fall of the Soviet Union by the forestries and national parks, whose role have risen in terms/at the fields of heritage protection and archaeological research, as most of them gradually gained trusteeship over historical monuments. This phenomenon played a key role in the past three decades of Pauline heritage protection because around the same time, the documentation and conservation of the ruins became decentralized, more and more marginalized. Nevertheless, it was not an immediate call in every organization, but since the woods, where most of the ruins lay are on national park/nature reserve parcells/territories, the institutions behind them started to gradually identify and recognize their Pauline heritage.

Although the Országos Erdészeti Egyesület [Public/National Forestry Association] was founded in the nineteenth century, it's "Erdők a közjóért szakosztály" [Woods for the common good Department] was organized only 55 years ago. In the past few years, its attention gradually turned to historical monuments, engaging people with natural and historical heritage as well.¹⁴⁶ Measurably, the ruins are regarded as tourist attractions, but many ruins regained their true purpose partially when different liturgical events are celebrated among the remaining walls of the churches. Also, sometimes the landscape is recognized around the buildings, but their true benefit for the present society and environment is merely clear in Hungary.¹⁴⁷

Several organizations find the Pauline ruins they maintain important: Aggtelek National Park, Pilis Forestry Zrt., Duna-Ipoly National Park, Duna-Dráva National Park, and the Balaton Uplands National Park. They not only help the protection of the already known monasteries, but most of the few notable Pauline ruins that were left unprotected and unknown, are now under research and conservation.

Civil organizations also have raised attention to the research of Pauline monasteries; the key role being played by Civil Régészeti Alap [Civil Archaeology Foundation], led by Attila Papp and

¹⁴⁶ On the 40th anniversary of the Department, a summary was published on the ongoing projects, national and international best practices. István Dobó and Zoltán Zétényi (eds.), *Erdők a közjóért* [Woods for the common good] (Budapest: Országos Erdészeti Egyesület, 2007). In the past 15 years, the attention shed more light on the historical monuments.

¹⁴⁷ However, the examination of the historical water management systems (from their natural background to human management) should be of interest; if only the water resources and fishponds may help locally narrow down the extreme effects of the drastically changing climate of the Earth. For example, as a result of climate change, forecasts indicate an overall decline in food production. Local fisheries also will have a huge role increasing seafood, i.e. fish production in the future. <https://climefish.eu/about-us/>

Teofil Rétfalvi amongst others. They helped the research of several archaeological sites, amongst them were two areas: the monastery of Szemes and Pogányszentpéter. In these two cases local governments were also partners of archaeologists, but beside them, several other settlements, local majors find their Pauline heritage as of value.

This phenomenon is strongly supported by the Pauline Order itself, because they founded the “Pálos települések”, a group of “Pauline settlements”, gathering small villages and huge towns, which have a huge meeting every year at a different settlement (Pálos települések találkozója). The Paulines usually invite the representatives of most fields, not only of science, but the state institutions, stake holders, and universities as well, which helps to connect people whom take actions in saving the Pauline heritage. In the past years Pécs, Martonyi, Füzér or Nagyvázsony were organizers, but several other councils play important role in the researched regions of the present work as well, like in the Zemplén region Gönc and Óhuta, or in the Pilis region Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta, or recently Kóspallag in the Börzsöny.

This broad social alliance behind the recent Pauline research also encouraged the number of scientific archaeology projects as well.¹⁴⁸ In the following chapters all the latter, including the recent archaeology theses are listed as the clear proofs of the immediate impact of excavations of the past years. In this group of monasteries, no further division was necessary, so the examined monasteries were separated only for a practical reason.

Ruins in the Selected Regions

The Holy Virgin Monastery of Gönc (22)¹⁴⁹ is located in the Zemplén region, where the ruins of the church frame a marvelous view, shielded by the woods. The cloister and even the surrounding wall of the monastery can be located but they are all can be seen only as humps and bumps on the surface. The first conservation was organized by the Hungarian Hikers Organization’s Historical and Natural Memory Commission in 1935; the work began only in 1941 when the walls, which were in critical condition (e.g. the western facade, where the door was narrowed), were conserved. Besides a small probing excavation in 1990, the monument conservation rang the bell again in the early 2000s, thus as part of a reconstruction project, the tower on the north side of the church and the southern

¹⁴⁸ Regarding the Carpathian Basin, a raising interest towards Pauline monasteries can be detected. The archaeological and art historical research of the Slavonian monasteries intensified by the work of Tajana Pleše and her colleagues. In Slovakia, the monastery complex of Gombasek is researched in the recent years.

¹⁴⁹ Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaij-Hegyalján*, 95–99. Tamás Pusztai, “A gönci pálos kolostor 2004–2005. évi régészeti kutatása” [The archaeological research of the Pauline monastery at Gönc in 2004–2005], in *Decus Solitudinis. Pálos évszázadok* [Pauline Centuries], ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), 515–536.

walls of the cloister were excavated by Tamás Pusztai in 2004-2005. There are strong attempts by the local council nowadays to support a full excavation and conservation of the monastery, which is still in danger of destruction. Recently, Bálint Kelemen architect created a conservation and special reconstruction plan, which may allow the rebirth of the monastery as a spot for hikers, a holy site for pilgrims and a quiet, historical place for everyone. (on the monastery see further in Chapter 6)

One of the very first conservation projects ever took place in the Transdanubian hills, in the magnificent Balatonfelvidék, at the monastery of Salföld (medieval Köveskút/Kőkút) (32)¹⁵⁰ in 1958-59, by the OMF, led by architect Ilona Sch. Pusztai. It was connected with a very small-scale excavation in the church, but not many years later, in 1962, Salföld became the first medieval Pauline monastery that's full cloister plan was excavated by István Éri—unfortunately it is still unpublished. The research was followed by a large-scale conservation; the ruins were renovated in 2002. (on the monastery see further in Chapter 4)

In the same region, a few kilometers to the west of another Pauline monastery (Nagyvázsony) lays Tálod (62), which although has a still standing western facade of the church, also the remains of the medieval water management system are clearly there, nothing has happened in its favor to survive besides a metal detecting survey and a recent BA Thesis by Attila Papp.¹⁵¹ The key problem behind this unconcern is that the ownership/trusteeship of the whole monastic area is unclear and seems to be unsolved in the near future. (on the monastery see further in Chapter 4)

The Bakonyerdő Zrt. Forestry, Zoltán Stubán (Head of Public Amenity Department) has a grown interest in Pauline heritage, so it improved the maintenance of Pauline sites and supported the research of the monastery of Sáska/Bakonyszentjakab (50) by ELTE University, led by Maxim Mordovin and Szabolcs Balázs Nagy with archaeology students.¹⁵² In the nineteenth century, two

¹⁵⁰ Zsiray Lajos–Sch. Pusztai Ilona: A salföldi Mária-Magdolnáról elnevezett pálos kolostor 247–258. A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 6. (Veszprém, 1967) Zsiray Lajos–Sch. Pusztai Ilona: A salföldi Mária-Magdolnáról elnevezett pálos kolostor 247–258.

¹⁵¹ Attila Papp, “A tálodi Szent Erzsébet kolostor – A 2018-as kutatás előzményei és eredményei” [The St Elizabeth monastery of Tálod - the precidings and results of the research of 2018]. BA Thesis in Archaeology-History (Pázmány Péter Catholic University: Piliscsaba, 2019); András Krizsán DLA, the head of MÉSZ (Magyar Építőművészek Szövetsége - Association of Hungarian Architects), Master Architect of the municipality of Pula (in which municipality the ruins are) wrote studies and gave a speech on its conservation and its surroundings planning, “Tálod - A Pálos rend bölcsője.” [Tálod - the bassinet/cradle of the Pauline Order], Ars Sacra Conference on Pauline built heritage, XIV. Szakrális Építészeti Konferencia Pálosok építésze tegnap és ma - 750 éves a Pálos Rend 2020. szeptember 15. Sapientia Szerzetesi Hittudományi Főiskola Auditorium Maximum

¹⁵² Excavations by Eötvös Loránd University, led by Maxim Mordovin and Szabolcs Balázs Nagy. See more on this in Szabolcs Balázs Nagy, “A bakonyszentjakabi pálos kolostor feltárásának első eredményei [The first results of the excavation at the Pauline monastery of Bakonyszentjakab], in *Várak, kastélyok, templomok* [Forts, castles, churches]. Annual Studies, ed. Pál Kósa. (Pécs: Talma Kiadó, 2014), 56-59. Also a BA Thesis was written on the bronze finds by Zsófia Majer at ELTE University, Zsófia Majer “A bakonyszentjakabi pálos kolostor fémleletei” [Metal finds from the Pauline friary in Bakonyszentjakab]. *A Laczkó Dezső Múzeum Közleményei* 30 (2022): 195–214.

great researchers documented the ruins: Flóris Rómer, the exquisite polihistor Benedictine monk and teacher, the “father/founder of Hungarian archaeology” and Iván Ádám¹⁵³, a Canon of Veszprém, a talented artist and teacher drew sketches and took notes on the ruins. Albeit just before the modern excavations, only the 2-3 m high southern pillar’s stub of the chancel arch was visible. In 2014, the church and the sacristy (with a *lavabo*) was excavated and conserved as well, so it has become a nice spot for hikers and for liturgical events as well. (on the monastery see further in Chapter 4)

A mine was established at the location of Uzsaszentlélek (72)¹⁵⁴ monastery in the Keszthelyi hills. Here large parts of the church and the monastery were still standing in the nineteenth century, when Iván Ádám documented the ruins (1881). Many parts were visible even in the beginning of the twentieth century, but after the mine started to operate, a 4 m thick waste was put upon the ruins. Guzsik and Fehérvári documented what they could find in 1970. Surprisingly, there were still visible walls on the surface, even in the 1990s. Decidedly, the conservation of the ruins was the goal in 2000 when László Thúry conducted a small excavation as well and could identify the plan of the church and some parts of the cloister buildings as well. Since then the ruins are unharmed but can be visited only by the permission of the mine. (on the monastery see further in Chapter 4.)

In southern Hungary, in the Mecsek hills the monastery at Jakabhegy (42)¹⁵⁵ originates from the very first known medieval eremitic community [“the hermits at Jacob’s hill”] that was granted a *regula* by the bishop of Pécs in 1225 and later became part of the Pauline order. The ruins of the medieval church and cloister were partially used in the eighteenth century by the bishopric of Pécs and they even rebuilt the monastic complex on the basis of the medieval walls. The buildings were slowly demolished from the end of the eighteenth century; nowadays a newly built chapel and the Baroque-age-walls are seen at the site; however, a recent LiDAR analysis revealed that several (medieval and later) ponds and the presumed medieval-baroque wall of the monastery are still can be recognized. Gábor Kárpáti led the excavations of the monastery from 1976 onwards 1988 that revealed an Árpadian era settlement with its parish church, which actually became the church of the

¹⁵³ Iván Ádám, “Románkori pálos épületmaradvány Bakony-Szent-Jakabon” [A Romanesque ruin at Bakonyszentjakab], *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 8 (1888): 151–155.

¹⁵⁴ Rudolf Fehérvári, “Az uzsaszentléleki pálos monostor” [The Pauline monastery at Uzsaszentlélek], *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (1979): 203–213; László Thúry, “Az uzsai pálos kolostorrom kutatása” [The research of the Pauline monastery ruin of Uzsai], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 11/1–2 (2001): 262–264.

¹⁵⁵ Gábor Kárpáti, “A jakabhegyi pálos kolostor” [The Pauline Monastery at Jakab-hegy], in *Kővágószőlős*, ed. Füzes, Miklós (Kővágószőlős: Önkormányzat, 2001), 51–60; Gergely Buzás, “A Jakab-hegyi pálos kolostor” [The Pauline Monastery at Jakab-hegy], in *Várak, templomok, kastélyok* 3 (August 2007)/4, 8–11; Gábor Bertók and Csilla Gáti, *Old Times – New Methods. Non Invasive Archaeology in Baranya County (Hungary) 2005–2013*. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014); Ákos Pető – Csilla Gáti, “Data on the geoarchaeological and topographical research at Pécs-Jakab-hegy – A Summary”, *Hungarian Archaeology*, 2016 autumn: 14–23.

Paulines, many times rebuilt. Nowadays the Duna-Dráva National Park protects and handles the monastic area, just like the enormous Iron Age fortress around it. (on the monastery see further in Chapter 4)

In the Pilis area the monastery of Pilisszentlélek (56)¹⁵⁶ was also well-known throughout the centuries; along with some walls, the church's southwestern and western walls has been visible ever since. A small research was conducted in 1928-33, when the local vicar and the shirra (*supremus iudex nobilium*) of Esztergom focused on the documentation of the monasteries's plan. After many decades, in the 1980s, hikers and locals raised their voice and took actions for the ruin. They were supported by professional interest as well, so as a result in 1985, Sarolta Lázár conducted the excavations and organized the conservation of the ruins, exclusively with the help of locals, but consulting with the OMF. Based on the excavated carved stones, the vault of the church and the sacristy were reconstructed by Gergely Buzás.¹⁵⁷ Landscape features were collected in 2014¹⁵⁸ and a sampling of a fishpond was also analyzed¹⁵⁹ in the past years. (on the monastery see further in Chapter 5).

Further Pauline Monuments

Regarding the Pauline monasteries, Dédes/Bükkszentlélek (12)¹⁶⁰ in northeastern Hungary was one of the first monastic churches that was documented by architects (1940s/1954). The ruins were well-known in the country, so several attempts were made by non-professionals to discover different parts

¹⁵⁶ MRT 5, 297–303; Sarolta Lázár, “A pilisszentléleki pálos kolostortemplom kutatása” [Archaeological investigation of the Pauline Monastery at Pilisszentlélek], in *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok*. Vol. 1. (Csorna: Private Edition of Árva Vince, 1994), 177-180; Sarolta Lázár, “A pilisszentléleki volt pálos kolostortemplom kutatása 1985-86” [Archaeological investigation of the Pauline Monastery at Pilisszentlélek, 1985-1986], *A Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 5 (1997): 493-518; 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; 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* [Studies for the seventeenth birthday of István Horváth], ed. Edit Tari (Esztergom: Balassi Bálint Múzeum, 2012), 213-222; Pető (2018), *Hermits in the Pilis*, 152–162.

¹⁵⁷ Gergely Buzás, “A pilisszentléleki pálos kolostor kőfaragványai” [Stone fragments of the Pauline monastery of Pilisszentlélek], in *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies on the history of the Pauline Order]. Vol. 1., ed. Gábor Sarbak (Csorna: Private Edition of Vince Árva, 1994), 181–183, 267, 280-283.

¹⁵⁸ MRT 5, 297–303; Pető (2018), *Hermits in the Pilis*, 153–154, 160–162.

¹⁵⁹ Sümeti et al. (2021), “A pilisi királyi erdő”, 280–287.

¹⁶⁰ Melinda Miskolczi and Gábor Szörényi, “A miskolc-szentléleki pálos kolostor 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 [Study Volume of the 4th Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists. Studies of the 4th Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists, 22–24 November 2012, Kaposvár], ed. Máté Varga (Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Múzeum, 2013), 83–89; Gábor András Szörényi and Melinda Miskolczi, “Pauline Monastery in Dédes/Bükkszentlélek”, in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 92–94.

of the monastery by digging there. Professional archaeologists were present from 1960, but the first proper excavation focusing on the church was conducted by Ilona Czeglédý a few years later. After the work, Károly Ferenczy architect planned the conservations. In the next forty years the monastery became a famous spot for hikers, but no further research of the cloister or further conservation at the church took place. Due to its poor state, civilians (individuals and civil organization) urged the renewal of research, renovation, and conservation after 2011; their attempt succeeded and the work is still on-going, led by the archaeologists of Herman Ottó Museum, Melinda Miskolczi and Gábor Szörényi.

The memory of a sacred place, particularly when ruins are visible, still inclines/motivates people to bury their dead there; this has happened in the eighteenth-twentieth centuries at the ruins of the Pauline church at Kurityán (medieval Újháza) (69)¹⁶¹, where several rescue excavations were conducted from 1952. Emese Nagy, Géza Megay, later (from 1969) Ilona Czeglédý took part in the research. By this time, a huge coal mine (state) company owned the surrounding area and the monastery's territory as well, who wanted to sub-mine the area of ruins, which had happened at the time of the last excavation and after it. Based on the contemporary documentation, only the southeastern part of the cloister and the church itself had been visible and sometime later the northern and western parts of the monastery were partially destroyed by newly erected buildings (for the miners most probably). Nowadays just humps and bumps and some concrete groundings are here besides the ruined church, that (beside Gönc and Tálod monasteries) is in a really bad condition and can collapse anytime. There were some attempts by architects to require state fundings for conservation and urged the need of excavations, but yet no efforts were made by archeologists, nor any other institutions concerned.

The monastic church ruin at Zsámbék (82)¹⁶² is an iconic monument of medieval Hungary. The monastery was originally founded by the Premonstratensians; however in the fifteenth century the monastery and the church burnt down and soon after the Paulines took the ownership of it by the order of King Matthias I. The Paulines conducted a huge late Gothic construction, which strongly shaped the church's shape – just like the twentieth-century conservation marks, which left many traces in different fashions on the ruin's now visible state. The first conservations took place in the

¹⁶¹ Ilona Czeglédý, "A kurityáni pálos kolostor" [The Pauline monastery of Kurityán], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 25–26 (1988): 211–228.

¹⁶² MRT 7, 155; Ilona Valtér, "Újabb régészeti kutatások a zsámbéki premontrei prépostsági romban 1986-1991 [Recent archaeological researches in the Premonstratensian ruin at Zsámbék], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* (1991/2): 24–28.

early 1900-1930s, but its proper excavation and conservation happened only in 1986–1991, led by Ilona Valter archaeologist and János Sedlmayer architect.

Among the several Pauline monasteries of the Balatonfelvidék, Nagyvázsony (75)¹⁶³ represents a special place, because along with the castle there, both were established and supported by Pál Kinizsi, the famous war lord of King Matthias I, in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Pauline order was in its most flourishing period at the time, so the wealth and influence, also the size of Nagyvázsony monastery is regarded significant. Béla Weszelowsky was the first one who documented the monument in 1933, including the church and the northern part of the cloister; its conservation happened almost in parallel with the castle's research and renovation in 1959. The latter was led by János Sedlmayr, the archaeologist was István Éri. As a result of this project, the plan of the church and the fortified (!) cloister was documented. Besides, the revealed archaeological material represents a very narrow period of time, the last few decades of the fifteenth century-first decades of the sixteenth century, so this monastery is an important time capsule for researchers. This material only has recently been studied by Anna Nagy in her MA Thesis.¹⁶⁴

In northeastern Hungary, the ruins in the woods near Martonyi (26)¹⁶⁵ are in the trusteeship of Aggtelek National Park since 1997. In several campaigns, archaeological research by Zoltán Simon, Juan Cabello and Csaba László revealed most of the church and its immediate cloister buildings, (1998-2005), and after a short break, heritage conservation and further excavations (2008-2015) saved the monastery: its church got a medieval-style roof and the remained walls of the cloister were at least partly conserved by the plan of Róbert Fülöp architect. Sándor Rózsa, the chief ranger of the National Park is the keeper of the monastery and the booster of conservation projects as well.

3.1.3. *Becoming visible, revealing the unseen—Medieval ruins disclosed by archaeological research*

The Pilis is regarded as the founding place of the Pauline order; Keszthely-Klastrompuszta (53)¹⁶⁶ was one of the very first researched Pauline monasteries. István Méri identified the location of the

¹⁶³ István Éri, "A nagyvázsonyi pálos kolostor leletei" [The finds of the Pauline monastery of Nagyvázsony], *Magyar Műemlékvédelem* 1959-1960 (1964): 85–94; Ádám Pátkai, "Pauline Monastery in Nagyvázsony", in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 96–105.

¹⁶⁴ Anna Nagy MA THESIS Pázmány Catholic University.

¹⁶⁵ Juan Cabello, Csaba László, and Zoltán Simon, "A Háromhegyi Boldogságos Szűz Mária Pálos kolostor régészeti kutatása" [The archaeological investigation of the Pauline monastery dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary of Háromhegy], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 47 (2008): 147–168.

¹⁶⁶ Júlia Kovalovszki, "A pálos remeték 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. Later excavations were conducted by Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Balázs Major, and

monastery at a poultry-farm in 1958, where it was almost totally demolished and covered by soil caused by erosion. The location became the target of interest for Méri because of an absolutely non-scientific reason/circumstance: a large-scale construction was carried out at Klastrompuszta to build a holiday resort for the miners of the neighboring settlement of Dorog, which construction included a pond bath as well, using an old pond, as they called “the bath of the queens” – which happened to be the remaining medieval fishpond of the Paulines.¹⁶⁷ Méri took as many photos at the site as he could, but the landscape features were almost totally destroyed at that time and since. The remaining walls of the monastery were conserved, the material is kept in the Hungarian National Museum, partially published by Júlia Kovalovszki.¹⁶⁸ Recently, the carved stones of the interior were examined by Gergely Szoboszlay and Olivér Gillich.¹⁶⁹ Its landscape features were digitized¹⁷⁰ and a coring/sampling was analyzed of its fishpond¹⁷¹ recently as well. (on the monastery see further in Chapter 5)

In the Börzsöny hills, besides Márianosztra, another Pauline monastery is located. The monastery at Toronyalja (67)¹⁷² is a small-sized one, and except for some tracks and stone mounds, nothing has been visible for people. Tamás Guzsik and Rudolf Fehérvári identified the location of the monastery in 1979, which after the architectural and archaeological interest have risen: Endre Egyed, later Zsuzsa Miklós researched the area; as a result, the whole plan of this site is documented, but not totally excavated. Only the church and a 19,9 meters deep well on the cloister courtyard (containing unique finds, mostly made of wood) was revealed, the latter conserved and partially reconstructed. (on the monastery see further in Chapter 5)

Elek Benkő. See Elek Benkő, “In medio regni Hungariae,” in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén”* [Archaeological, art historical, and historical researches “in the middle of the Kingdom”], ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015), 11–27; Elek Benkő, “A Szent Kereszt remetéinek korai kolostorai a Pilisben” [The early cloisters of the hermits of the Holy Cross in the Pilis], in *Pálosaink és Pécs* [Our Paulines and the town of Pécs], ed. Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2016), 25–40; Pető (2018), *Hermits in the Pilis*, 128–151; Zsuzsa Pető, “Pauline monastery in Keszthely,” in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 71–81.

¹⁶⁷ István Méri, *A klastrompusztai legendák nyomában* [On the track of legends in Klastrompuszta] (Dorog: József Attila Művelődési Ház, 1961).

¹⁶⁸ Kovalovszki, “A pálos remeték Szent Kereszt-kolostora.”

¹⁶⁹ To be published in the forthcoming volume of *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (2020–2022). I am grateful to them for letting me have their manuscript for my thesis.

¹⁷⁰ Pető, *Pilis*, 128–130.

¹⁷¹ Sümegi et al., “A pilis királyi erdő”, 278–280.

¹⁷² The most complete publication is Zsuzsa Miklós, *Falvak, várak, kolostorok a Dél-Börzsönyben* [Villages, castles, monasteries in the southern Börzsöny hills] (Vác: Tragor Ignác Múzeum, 1997). Recent publication: Hella Mag, “The well of Toronyalja Monastery and its finds”, in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 106–119.

The example of Toronyalja demonstrates, which has been stated before, that the architectural interest of the 1970s had a huge role to call/turn the attention of archaeologists to the Pauline ruins and even hidden, invisible Pauline locations as well (as for the latter, there are other, more well-known examples of this process of recent times, see the next sub-chapter). A few years back the Duna–Ipoly National Park, along with other organizations, placed a sacristy installation above the medieval church, so it is a more and more known hiking site and place of seasonal/occasional liturgic events.

Not a monastery, but a hospital at Telkibánya (22a) was also given to the Paulines by King Matthias I. Here, as the archaeological results suggest, the building was reconstructed in the fashion of the urban mendicant style of the Pauline order. The chancel was elongated, stalls were placed into it, and a small sized vestry was attached to the northern part of the chancel; its ruins are conserved and still can be seen.¹⁷³ (see data in Chapter 6)

In the Buda Hills lays Budaszentlőrinc monastery (57),¹⁷⁴ which was the main monastery of the Pauline order throughout the Middle Ages, so its research has always been important for scholarship from many aspects. It was demolished by the Ottoman army, the Paulines in the winter of 1689 could not find it.¹⁷⁵ However, its memory has never faded that much, so it was obvious that its research started in the very first wave of scholarly interest, in the nineteenth c. After Imre Henszlmann, others, like Sándor Garády, excavated the ruins but the real, systematic archaeological research is dated from the 1970s, led by László Zolnay. The excavations were followed by conservation, but after two decades, the dynamism of research and enthusiasm behind started to decline and since the mid-1990s, totally stopped. Now the Pilis Parkerdő Zrt. protects the area.

3.1.4. On the way of becoming visible: located sites but invisible ruins, ongoing archaeological research.

In the middle of the Keszthelyi hills, on the western area of the Upper Balaton region, hides the monastery of Vállus (74)¹⁷⁶. It was demolished without any surface trails,¹⁷⁷ only the spring of St.

¹⁷³ Belényesy, Pálos kolostorok Abauj-Hegyalján, 99.

¹⁷⁴ Zoltán Bencze and György Székér, *A budaszentlőrinci pálos kolostor* [The Pauline monastery at Budaszentlőrinc] (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 1993). On the research history see pp. 11–17.

¹⁷⁵ I hereby thank Anita Bojtos for the data.

¹⁷⁶ The St. Nicholas Monastery at Vállus (South-West Hungary) was excavated for the very first time by Livia Simmer recently, see “Pálos rendi kolostor romjai Zalában,” *National Geographic Hungary*, (Last accessed: March 23, 2018), <http://www.ng.hu/Civilizacio/2016/09/06/Palos-rendi-kolostor-romjai-Zalaban>

¹⁷⁷ However, in the 1970s Tamás Guzsik could identify some traces on the surface and sketch the groundplan of the monastery. Tamás Guzsik and Rudolf Fehérváry, “Eltűntnek hitt pálos kolostorhelyek Zala megyében” [Pauline monasteries believed to be lost in Zala Co.], in *Közlemények Zala megye közgyűjteményeinek kutatásaiából, 1980-1981*, ed. Degré Alajos, (Zalaegerszeg: Zala megyei Levéltár, 1981), 44–45.

Nicolaus (which name is inherited from the monastery's *patrocinium*) indicated the memory of something holy there, until archaeologists arrived to the site in 2016. Supported by locals, the Bakonyerdő Zrt. and two museums (Balatoni Museum and Göcseji Museum), Livia Simmer and Bálint Havasi archaeologists are still managing the excavations at the site, year after year as a community archaeological project, including archaeology students and volunteers from all over the country.

By their work not only the ground plan had been surveyed and revealed, but the sacristy and partially the nave of the church is excavated. This spot has been a resting place for hikers for some time and known of its spring. The excavated ruins are covered back with soil each year because a full conservation is planned for the whole building at the same time, when everything is excavated – until it happens, the walls remains protected by soil. (see data in Chapter 4)

Locals support the excavation of the monastic site at Zalacsány-Örvényeshegy (41), where only bushes and the remains of the destroyed cellar were visible until Livia Simmer started investigating the ruins in 2018. The local council and the Touristic Association of Zalacsány-Örvényeshegy, by the support of the Pauline Order, founded a Pauline memorial site at the location of the monastery in 2017, which after the research has begun. After a detailed geosurvey of the terrain, the first season of excavation took place in 2021. The recent results are under publication. (see data in Chapter 4)

Local investors saw potential in the non-visible and unexcavated ruins at Óhuta (46),¹⁷⁸ which is usually called the monastery of Regéc in the scholarship.¹⁷⁹ Here the research started in 2016, led by Gábor Szörényi and not only the chancel is fully revealed (including the remains of *sedile*), but they continued the documentation and excavation of the cloister as well; however the conservation plans are yet still very flexible. (see data in Chapter 6.)

Smithworks are rare finds of Pauline monasteries; from Eger-Almárvölgy (19)¹⁸⁰ a late–fourteenth — fifteenth-century pyxis was found. Only locals remembered that in the woods

¹⁷⁸ Latest summary on the monastery in Belényes, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 90–93. See a short report on the excavations of St. Philip and James Monastery at Óhuta (North-East Hungary), conducted by Gábor Szörényi, “Eltűntnek hitt pálos kolostorok - Óhuta, Szent Fülöp és Jakab kolostor,” *A pálos rend építészeti emlékei*, (Last accessed: March 25, 2018), http://palosepiteszet.blog.hu/2017/12/17/eltuntnek_hitt_palos_kolostorok_ohuta_szent_fulop_es_jakab_kolostor Also Szörényi, “Several handfuls of nails”, 178.

¹⁷⁹ There were two monasteries on the estate of Regéc Castle, the one at present-day Óhuta, the other is a yet unidentified location.

¹⁸⁰ László Fodor, “A Felnémet-Almárvölgyi Mária Magdolna kolostor feltárásának eredményei” [The results of the excavation of the Marie Magdalene monastery in Felnémet-Almárvölgy], in *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendtörténeti*

somewhere a monastery was hidden, some humps and bumps were visible, but nothing was known until 1922, when a railway road was under construction in the lands: some fragments were found, but proper excavations were conducted in the 1980s by László Fodor. Most of the monastery was excavated but after they buried the ruins and nowadays only an information board is visible at the site.¹⁸¹

Just like Zsámbék, other monasteries were given to the Paulines in the second half of the fifteenth century, mostly by King Matthias Corvinus I. Beside Csút (11), Kács (87), Fehéregyháza (18) and Dömös (84), but one of the earliest monasteries at Visegrád (79) was also ran by the White Friars. Visegrád, the eleventh-century royal foundation of the eastern christian monastery¹⁸² was totally demolished. It was partially excavated in the nineteenth century, when a villa was built of its stones. What is left of the monastery *in situ* was excavated in 2001-2003 by Gergely Buzás. The ruins are not visible yet but noticed by hikers since it became a spot of the Pauline route in the Pilis very recently.

Dömös (84)¹⁸³, close to Visegrád is a well-known early royal provostry (founded in 1108 by Prince Álmos, younger brother of King Coloman I), and was never physically ran by the Paulines, there were legal debates about the issue in the 1440s. The ruins are located and the crypt is excavated (represents a highly important building in Hungary), but other parts are still unknown.

Recently, enthusiastic locals, including civilians and local governmental support are behind a few research projects. At the absolutely demolished monastery of Balatonszemes (36)¹⁸⁴ András Végh

Tanulmányok [Studies on the history of the Pauline Order] vol. 1., ed. Gábor Sarbak (Csorna: Private Edition of Vince Árva, 1994), 165–170.

¹⁸¹ Beside other medieval ruins including Pauline monasteries, a reconstruction is available online of Almárvölgy, made by Gyula Sümeg, retired soldier, amateur 3D-designer.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8WDqJa_Brjk

¹⁸² Buzás, Gergely, and Bernadett Eszes (2007). “XI. századi görög monostor Visegrádon” [Eleventh-century Greek monastery in Visegrád]. *Altum Castrum*, archaeological e-magazine. Last accessed December 6, 2017.

<http://archeologia.hu/xi-szazadi-gorog-monostor-visegradon>

or In *Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben (Arhitectura religioasă medievală din Transilvania)* [Medieval ecclesial architecture in Transylvania]. Vol. 4. Eds. Péter Levente Szöcs and Adrian Andrei Rusu, 49–93. Satu Mare: Szatmárnémeti Múzeum.

¹⁸³ László Gerevich, “The Royal Court (Curia), the Provost’s Residence and the Village at Dömös. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 35 (1983): 385–409; László Gerevich, “Dömös” *Műemlékvédelem* 36 (1992): 73–80.

¹⁸⁴ Aradi, Csilla, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerkezetének rekonstrukciója. Somogy megye középkori templomainak adattára* [The reconstruction of Árpadian and medieval ecclesial system of Somogy County. The catalog of medieval churches of Somogy County]. Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Megyei Hatókörű Városi Múzeum, 2016), 174–176; On the recent results see: “Megfejtésre vár a négy pálos betű,” [The four Pauline characters still need to be solved] *műemlékem.hu*, (Last accessed February 10, 2018),

http://www.muemlekem.hu/magazin/balatonszemes_palos_kolostor_feltaras_alapko .

See also a documentary on the excavations:

<https://www.balatonszemes.hu/a-balatonszemesi-mindszent-kolostor-feltarasa/>

and his archaeology students (Pázmány Péter Catholic University) have been excavating in each summer since 2013. Since, undoubtedly unique finds were revealed, like a foundation stone – located in the outer side of the apse, deep below the surface, built into its foundation, – on which “O.S.O.P.” abbreviation was carved/inscribed.¹⁸⁵ An MA thesis by Anna Balatincz was written on the finds of the monastery¹⁸⁶ and there is an ongoing dissertation about the monastic landscape of the close area by Teofil Rétfalvi.

The monastery of Pogányszentpéter (59)¹⁸⁷ was well-known since the local government requested archaeological research and artifacts to be presented in the village in the 1960s. Róbert Müller opened a few probe pits, where he found a very exciting pocket sundial and identified some parts of the northern cloister buildings and the courtyard – although no overall ground plan of the monastery could be revealed. Anyhow, just as well as at other sites, the marks of a preceding settlement were traceable (i.e. some burials that must have been around a church, which indicates that a deserted Árpadian village must have been very close to the Pauline monastery). The material of the monastery was examined by Anna Váradi in her BA Thesis¹⁸⁸, including some parts of a new research that was conducted in 2017 by the present author. As a new level of research, a LiDAR survey has already been done here in April, 2022 by my specialist colleagues, Tamás Látos and Zsolt Zsiga (Hungarian National Museum).

3.1.5. *Invisible but located monasteries, still waiting for excavation*

There are some monasteries, which are totally ruined but their location is known albeit no traditional archaeological research was conducted there ever or in the last several decades. The monastery at Balatonhenye (85)¹⁸⁹ in Veszprém County is among the very first monasteries mentioned in 1263; the place which is recognized as its location (Margit kert) is just next to a stream that washed away the remains of the buildings. Beside two ruined walls, a few late medieval pottery was collected at the site (see data in Chapter 4).

¹⁸⁵ The article about it is under publication in the next volume of *Decus Solitudinis*.

¹⁸⁶ Balatincz Anna MA Thesis

¹⁸⁷ Róbert Müller, “A pogányszentpéteri ásítás” [The excavation at Pogányszentpéter], in *A Thúry György Múzeum jubileumi emlékkönyve (1919-1969)* [The Jubilee Volume of the Thúry György Museum (1919-1969)], ed. Gyula Kiss (Nagykanizsa: Thúry György Múzeum, 1972), 265–282; Aradi (2016), *Somogy megye*, 184–185. On the very recent excavations, led by Zsuzsa Pető, see, “Eltűntnek hitt pálos kolostorok – Pogányszentpéter,” A pálos rend építészeti emlékei, (Last accessed: March 25, 2018),

http://palosepiteszet.blog.hu/2018/01/01/eltuntnek_hitt_palos_kolostorok_poganyzentpeter.

¹⁸⁸ Anna Váradi BA Thesis

¹⁸⁹ MRT 1, 41; Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 234.

At the monastery of Göncruszka (23)¹⁹⁰ a significant amount of medieval potteries and large shreds of mortar were visible, but Károly Belényesy could not detect any particular remains of walls. However, near the ruins was a remain of a large fishpond, which is also an indicator on the broader location of the monastery (see data in Chapter 6)

A small monastery is located at Hangony (25)¹⁹¹, on the present border of Slovakia and Hungary in Borsod County, dedicated to St. Anne. Its location was known for many decades before, but besides local treasure hunters, no research was done here. A geophysical survey is planned and the excavations are likely to begin soon by the HNM.

Many had searched for the monastery of Bajcs (02, in the outskirts of Vokány and Nagytótfalu settlements),¹⁹² whilst Béla Németh and recently Gábor Patton published a summary on the history of the monastery and his assumptions regarding its location. Concerning the latter, the local archaeologist officer, Éva Szajcsán helped me a lot by offering a report that identified ruins in a previously unknown location. After a metal detecting survey, the detectorist Tibor Nagy and myself could confirm the medieval origins of the location, originally shown by the helvetian priest of Vokány to the officer and us. Also, in part of a regional project, led by the Hungarian National Museum, project leader archaeologist András Markó and Nicklas Larsson made the geodesy of the site, which showed a huge destruction of a building, why no plan could be revealed. Thus only the finds of the metal detection survey (a medieval gold ring and a few coins, roman and medieval) and humps of bricks support the localization yet.

In the nineteenth century the monastery of Tüskevár (in medieval sources Thorna or Jenő monastery)¹⁹³ (68) was still standing, since the demolished medieval monastery was rebuilt in the Baroque era by the Paulines (and left after the order's abolition); nevertheless, locals demolished the ruin and used its stones as building material all over in the area. However, in the past centuries a few

¹⁹⁰ Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abauj-Hegyalján*, 93–95.

¹⁹¹ Tamás Látos and Zsuzsa Pető, “Fehér barátok nyomában a gömöri erdők mélyén – a hangonyi pálos kolostor” [On the track of white fathers in the woods of Gömör - the Pauline monastery of Hangony], *Hungarian National Museum Blog*, 02-02-2022. (Last accessed: July 25, 2022), <https://mnm.hu/hu/cikk/feher-baratok-nyomaban-gomori-erdok-melyen-hangonyi-palos-kolostor>

¹⁹² The latest summary Gábor Patton, “A bajcsi pálos kolostor Baranya megyében” [The monastery of Bajcs in Baranya County], *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 10 (2009): 43–55.

¹⁹³ Iván Ádám, “A tüskevári pálos templom” [The Pauline church of Tüskevár], *Archaeológiai Közlemények* 12 (1878): 24–44; Ernő Molnár, *A nagyjenő-tüskevári pálos kolostor* [The Pauline monastery of Nagyjenő-Tüskevár] (Budapest: Egyházmegyei Könyvnyomda, 1936).

number of baroque artifacts¹⁹⁴ and medieval finds¹⁹⁵ related to Tüskevár were collected from the site and the surrounding churches. Its locations is known since the Hungarian topographical surveys.¹⁹⁶

The monastery at Gálosfa-Szerdahely (60) was located on a private land by Péter Timár in 1995¹⁹⁷, after Csilla Aradi led an excavation just next to the monastery, where she had most probably found the manor house of the Szerdahelyi Family. As the terrain and some finds suggest, the monastery might be to the west of the curia.¹⁹⁸ The area has been a plain pasture since.

In Somogy County, near the settlement of Karád (66)¹⁹⁹, a nineteenth-century curia (military house, later farming building) is standing near a few small cottages; this, nowadays ruined but soon-to-be-prepared house's cellar might be partially of medieval origins. Sources and oral tradition reports on a hermit, who lived in the upper level of the ruined bell tower of the monastic church after the Ottoman raid destroyed the rest of the buildings and the brothers left the area. The remains of the monastery were visible until the nineteenth century.

South of Somogydöröcske (58)²⁰⁰, on a plateau near a stream (with the remains of a fishpond) the toponym of the area (Kisklószer, Klószterbrunne, Klószteri dűlő) preserved the memory of the Pauline monastery of St. Paul, that was first documented and surveyed by Guzsik. A late Gothic Pauline monastic groundplan was visible at his time, but in the past few years the surrounding area is protected by a high fence and the ruins were recovered by a private priest community, who bought the whole area and erected a new monastery/built new living quarters based upon the medieval walls/remains. No survey or documentation could be done since.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁴ E.g. baroque pulpit in the collection of the Museum of Applied Arts, see

<https://gyujtemeny.imm.hu/gyujtemeny/szoszek-az-egykori-tuskevari-palos-kolostor-refektoriumabol/8817>

¹⁹⁵ Pál Rainer (ed.), *Veszprém megye egyházi élete a középkorban* [Ecclesial life in Veszprém County in the Middle Ages] (Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, 2009), 112.

¹⁹⁶ MRT 3, 242–247.

¹⁹⁷ Péter Timár, “A szerdahelyiek Somogy megyei birtokai. 1. rész: Szerdahely” [The properties of the Szerdahelyi Family in Somogy Co. Part 1. Szerdahely], *Somogy megye múltjából* 27 (1996): 69–85. Tamás Guzsik searched for this monastery in another settlement, Kaposszerdahely. See Tamás Guzsik, “Eltűntnek hitt pálos építészet Somogy megyében (Die verschollen gedachte Architektur der Paulinerorden im Komitat Somogy)”, *Somogy megye múltjából* 17 (1986): 17–19. Recent evaluation: Aradi (2016), *Somogy megye*, 187–188.

¹⁹⁸ Csilla Aradi, “Előzetes beszámoló jelentés az 1999. évi Gálosfa-Kistótvárosi ásatásokról” [Preliminary report on the excavation at Gálosfa-Kistótváros in 1999], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (2000): 269–273.

¹⁹⁹ Guzsik (1986), “Eltűntnek hitt pálos építészet Somogy megyében”, 20–21; Tibor Tóth, “A legismertebb somogyi kolostor” [The most well-known Pauline monastery], *Tabi Kilátó* (1996–1997), online edition https://www.sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/telepulesek_ertekei/tab/tabi_kilato_1996_1997/index.htm

Recently Aradi (2016), *Somogy megye*, 194–195.

²⁰⁰ Guzsik (1986), “Eltűntnek hitt pálos építészet Somogy megyében”, 14–16; Aradi (2016), *Somogy megye*, 183.

²⁰¹ By the account of Csilla Aradi and Máté Varga, archaeologists of Somogy County, 2015.

The Benedictine abbey of Kács²⁰² dedicated to St Peter was – as historical and archaeological sources suggest – in place of and around the current parish church on top of the hill in the northern part of the village, once the central lands of the Örsúr clan in the twelfth–thirteenth century. Paulines might have lived here in the first third of the fourteenth century, but a few years later the Benedictines reclaimed their original property.

Fehéregyháza²⁰³ was a provostry (just like Dömös) at Óbuda, but King Matthias I gave it to the Paulines, and in the time of Vladislaus II, the Paulines built a new monastery next to the church. This building still receives high attention since in the medieval chronicles it is said to be close to the burial of Grand Prince of the Magyar tribes, Árpád, who managed the Conquest of the Carpathian Basin by the Magyar tribes. The burial is still not located, nor the monastery. However, it seems that in the nineteenth century it was destroyed by the construction of a brick field and at the time excavated by Imre Henszlmann, and several after him, so a brief documentation is survived on the monastery.²⁰⁴

3.1.6. Status: Unlocated

There are several monasteries, which are not precisely located, but a certain area can be drawn where it might have existed, or there are a few, different sites that can be Pauline locations. Mostly the early communities are in this group, founded and/or mentioned in the second half of the thirteenth – first half of the fourteenth century.

One of the very first (Pauline) hermit communities lived near Badacsony (1),²⁰⁵ where a probe excavation aimed to validate what was regarded to be the site of the monastery at the eastern slope of the iconic landscape feature Badacsony hill. Iván Ádám, the Canon of Esztergom, who documented many ruins before, led a small research there, identifying objects in the ground that he identified as small remains of poor wall-foundations.²⁰⁶ Ádám Pátkai and Zsombor Györffy-Villám and archaeology students dug some probe trenches and tried to identify where Iván Ádám excavated.

Their task was very difficult since the area was under mining from the beginning of the 1900s and only the description of Iván Ádám was available for them. Now there is a shrine for Mary at the

²⁰² Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 235; Krisztina Havasi, “A kácsi bencés apátság román kori kőfaragványai” [The Romanesque carved stones of the Benedictine Abbey of Kács], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 64/1 (2015): 5–43.

²⁰³ Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 211.

²⁰⁴ The history of the excavations and the interpretations of the results, see Frenc Kanyó, “Elméletek az Árpád-kori királyi Magyarország székvárosairól (fikció, és valóság)” [Theories on the centers of the Árpadian Hungarian Kingdom (fiction and reality)], MA Thesis in History, (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University of Science, 2010), 33–40. The summary of the excavations until 1962 in BudMűem. II, 499–500.

²⁰⁵ see the information of Ádám Pátkai in Zsuzsa Pető, “Feltárul a pálos múlt – régészeti kutatások 2019-ben” [The past revealed – archaeological researches in 2019], *A Fehér Barát* 21/3 (2019): 4–6.

²⁰⁶ Iván Ádám, “A badacsonyi pálos kolostor romjairól” [On the ruins of the Pauline monastery of Badacsony]. *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 8 (1888): 64–66.

supposed site of the monastery, just next to a spring, which seems to be an ideal location for an eremitic community. Although they found scattered data on the monastery, its precise location is still unsure; albeit some finds indicate that an Árpadian age settlement was very near the present shrine. (see data in Chapter 4.).

Besides Badacsony among the very first communities, two other unidentified sites were surrounded by great enthusiasm and excitement of scholars: *Insula Pilup* (*Sanctae Helenae*) and *Idegysyt* (*Beatae Elisabeth*). The former site was misinterpreted by scholars;²⁰⁷ Tamás Guzsik identified as *Insula Pilis*, a parcel in the woods of the Pilis. He recognized the medieval ruins at Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-puszta as the monastery, which turned out to be the glass workshop *grangia* of the Cistercians, excavated and analyzed by József Laszlovszky.²⁰⁸ Beside this, László Solymosi²⁰⁹ proved that *Insula Pilup* means simply Philip(?s) Island and its St. Helen community must have been at present-day Révfülöp (90), which was an island along the north shore of Lake Balaton. Recent scholarship – just as well as present author – adapts this identification without any reservation, although the best evidence would be an excavation of the ruins. No written evidence is known of the “church” itself; it was documented by Flóris Rómer and Károly Bergh in 1860. The OMF conducted the conservation by the plans of László Gerő²¹⁰ (see Chapter 4)

The monastery of *Idegysyt*, based on previous scholarship²¹¹, most probably it refers to the monastery of Tálod (62), though its localization on linguistic basis, done by László Holler, proved that this connection is not valid. He analyzed every option of the scholarship and localized the monastery near the present-day settlement of Hidegkút (a few kms east to Nagyvázsony).²¹² (see Chapter 4)

²⁰⁷ See the introduction of the *Holy Cross Monastery* by Levente Hervay in DAP 2, 400.

²⁰⁸ Guzsik (2000), “A pálos rend "születési anyakönyvi kivonata"; József Laszlovszky, “Ciszterci vagy pálos? A Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-pusztán található középkori épületmaradványok azonosítása.” [Cistercian or Pauline? Interpretation of the medieval architectural remains at Nagykovácsi-puszta, Pomáz], in *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában*, vol. 5., ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 191–208; Laszlovszky et al., “The ‘Glass Church’ in the Pilis Mountains”, *Hungarian Archaeology* 2014 Winter. Last accessed August 3, 2017.

http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/?page_id=279#post-5582

²⁰⁹ László Solymosi, “Pilissziget 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*, eds. János Angi and János Barta, Jr., (Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2005), 11–23.

²¹⁰ Tibor Koppány, “A Balaton-Felvidék románkori templomai” [The Romanesque churches of Balatonfelvidék], *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 1 (1963): 102–103.

²¹¹ Guzsik, “A pálos rend "születési anyakönyvi kivonata".

²¹² László Holler, “Egy XIII. századi remetekápolna – Idégysyt Beatae Elizabeth – lokalizálása Nyelvészeti vizsgálatok a séd és kút szavak körében” [*Idégysyt Beatae Elizabeth* - Locating a thirteenth-century eremitic ecclesia by the linguistic examinations of *séd* and *kút*], *Magyar Nyelv* (2009/2): 188–202.

The deserted medieval Pauline monastery of Enyere (16)²¹³ was founded in the first half of the fourteenth century, located near Óhíd in Zala County, in a vineyard area, where are some interesting sports. Livia Simmer could locate several medieval carved stones, most probably from the monastery, built in a small house's cellar at the area. (see Chapter 4)

Near Lake Balaton, still in Zala County, Elek/Elek-szigete²¹⁴ (15) was an early community, mentioned in the first inventory of (later) Pauline communities in 1263, which is still unlocated; Guzsik and Fehérváry were the ones who attempted to locate it along the river Zala since it might had been an island-like community, as Révfülöp or Középnémeti and most probably Berek (see data in Chapter 4.).

An exceptional early foundation was at Nagyszakácsi (48)²¹⁵ in Somogy County. This monastery was not only mentioned as early as the previous ones, in the mid-thirteenth-century, but it was thriving until the end of the late Middle Ages. It certainly should be somewhere northeast to the present-day settlement. Its bricks and stones were demolished and reused by the locals in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, but its location is still debated. Along with my LiDAR specialist colleagues, there are ongoing investigations by the HNM to locate the site after several assumptions and attempts of it in the past decades. (see data in Chapter 4.)

The monks of Jakabhegy had to leave their monastery in 1334 because of the series of violent robberies. The bishop erected a new monastery for them near the Virgin Mary church at Patacs.²¹⁶ There is a Baroque style parish church now at Patacs, run by the Paulines because of their connection to the site. However, it is really hard to separate the archival data of Patacs or Ürög, because these are two settlements close to Jakabhegy monastery and both refer to the Paulines in the charters (see data in Chapter 4.).

An Árpáadian age monastery was located at Csút (11),²¹⁷ on the southernmost part of the present-day Buda-side of the Danube, on Háros-sziget. The Paulines took it over from the Premonstratensian Order, just like in other cases, in the time of King Matthias I (actually the same time with Zsámbék, not long before 1479). László Zolnay attempted to identify the ruins in the 1960s: he found a well that could have been in the courtyard of the monastery, but no traces of walls were

²¹³ On the first topographical research see Guzsik–Fehérváry, “Eltűntnek hitt pálos kolostorhelyek Zala megyében”, 42–43.

²¹⁴ Guzsik–Fehérváry, “Eltűntnek hitt pálos kolostorhelyek Zala megyében”, 37–39.

²¹⁵ Zatykó, Csilla, “Reconstruction of the settlement structure of the medieval Nagyszakácsi (Somogy county).” *Antaeus* 28: 367–431; Guzsik, “Eltűntnek hitt pálos építészet Somogy megyében”, 8–9.

²¹⁶ DAP 2, 149; Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 220.

²¹⁷ László Mezey, “Csút (11)monostor alapítástörténete és első oklevelei, 1264–1271” [The history of foundation and the first charters of Csút (11) monastery, 1264–1271], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 15 (1963): 7–42;

documented at that time. Unfortunately, most of the targeted area became a strictly protected military zone until the 1990s. However, since then several field surveys, probe excavations tried to identify the monastery, recently geophysical surveys and even sonar surveys on the Danube shore were conducted. No groundplan, but a lot of medieval architectural remain, carved stones (mostly broad-stone) was found in the summer of 2022.²¹⁸

At the border of Birján and Olasz villages (but on the territory of Birján) lays somewhere the ruin of St. Ladislaus monastery (54).²¹⁹ The buildings were visible in the eighteenth century when a few hermits inhabited it. Nowadays nothing can be seen at the site, however, the fishponds in the area might hide some medieval-originated parts. Unfortunately, the site is not under official protection yet. A LiDAR survey is planned by HNM to locate the monastery and to apply the data into the official registry of archaeological sites, thus the area can be protected by law.

Even less is known on the monastery of Vetahida (77_1/ 77_2)²²⁰ where three or four possible, but two most probable locations are known, but a detailed re-contextualization of written sources may help on the present issue.

Veresmart (76)²²¹ is well documented in the Middle Ages, several properties were managed by the Paulines in the surrounding area of the present-day settlement of Pálosveresmart. Although the ruins were visible even in 1659, only the properties were managed by the Franciscans by this time. There are still debates concerning its location, just like in the case of Wetahida.

Low Chance of Successful Locating

There are also such unidentified Pauline locations, where the chance of identification by our present knowledge is extremely low. Most of such monasteries are mentioned once or a few times in medieval written sources, but after the Middle Ages, no precise geolocation data could be recovered about them. In most cases I indicated the last known location of the monastery, which was recognized by scholarship, onto the map.

²¹⁸ A conference paper gave an insight on the recent results by János Attila Tóth (Árpád Museum) and György Terei (Budapest History Museum), “Újabb víz alatti régészeti kutatások Budapesten” [Recent underwater researches in Budapest]. *Ásatási beszámolók 2021 - válogatás a regionális eredményekből (Dunántúl)* [Archaeological reports 2021 - a selection of the regional results (Transdanubia)]. 21 June 2021).

²¹⁹ Gábor Patton, “A szentlászlói pálos kolostor a baranyai Olasz község határában” [The Pauline monastery of Szentlászló in the boundary of Olasz village in Baranya], *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 15 (2013/3): 8–21.

²²⁰ Guzsik (1986), “Eltűntnek hitt pálos építészet Somogy megyében”, 9–13; Aradi (2016), Somogy megye, 199–200.

²²¹ Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 231; Recently Dorina Dudás and Zoltán Tóth, “Pálosok gazdálkodása Heves megyében – Agricultural activities of members of the Pauline order in Heves County” *Agria* 52 (2019): 306–323.

Although the monastery at Középnémeti²²² (33) is one of the earliest communities, it may have not served throughout the Middle Ages. It was founded by an Austin (?) hermit before 1319 honoring King St. Ladislaus I by his relic (a middle phalanx), which was brought to the monastery of Regéc (this data indicates the brief operation of Középnémeti community), wherefrom it was transferred to Tállya parish church, where it is still kept. The location of the community is still unknown, must be around the present-day Slovakian-Hungarian border, along the river of Hernád. (see data in Chapter 6.)

In the case of the Holy Trinity monastery at Regéc²²³ (86), several, yet unsuccessful attempts were made to identify its ruins; however, it could be a temporary kysérlet to settle the Paulines there and even if it succeeded, they might not have been built as a proper building. József Laszlovszky,²²⁴ later Károly Belényesy tried to identify the location through landscape elements and toponyms, however, the monastery still remains un-located. (see data in Chapter 6)

A rather unknown community of the Paulines lived at Berek (Tiszaberek)²²⁵ (64), which is only known by the properties paying tax, not even its patron saint is documented. The monastery is proposed to be located north to Berek, in the way to Sonkád settlement, near the river Túr. However, by the research of Attila Jakab, it has been founded and surveyed in 2023.²²⁶

On the southwestern side of the country, two other early, but soon-to-be-ceased communities are mentioned in the written sources that must have been given up shortly after their foundation. In Somogy County, the monastery at Baté²²⁷ (30) “Kys-Bathe alio nomine Gierczen vocatoum” was named King St. Ladislaus and St. Sigismund and the Paulines lived here until 1384, when a new monastery was founded at Told/Karád for them. This indicates that Baté should be located near Karád, however, scholarship refers to it as it was at present-day Baté settlement.

3.1.7. Conclusion

Altogether 57 monasteries or other buildings, related to the medieval history of the Pauline order can be traced in modern Hungary. Regarding their status and the level of research, our knowledge is varied, but the efforts of the past decades hold a great role and value for the present and future of Pauline research.

²²² Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 93.

²²³ Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 99–100.

²²⁴ Upper Tisza Project E-Book and Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 11, 34, 92.

²²⁵ Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete*, 227.

²²⁶ I hereby thank Attila Jakab for the information.

²²⁷ Guzsik, “Eltűntnek hitt pálos építészet Somogy megyében”, 22–23.

Still visible buildings are those that were rebuilt in the eighteenth century, mostly by Paulines (except Tokaj and Újhely, there are 7 of such monasteries, see Chapter 2.1.1.), but very small amount of research, almost nothing has been done in the twentieth century. What has been done is small-scale architectural research or revised archival data. Complex programs can help to broaden our knowledge on such type of monasteries, where not only the medieval parts, but the scale of its demolition and the later constructions, the total history of the building can be revealed. Regarding the churches, most of them are currently in the need of renovations, which is a great opportunity for researchers – the engagement of local communities and priests can reinforce the need of architectural and archaeological involvement.

A high number of ruins (12 sites, see Chapter 2.1.2. and 4 sites in Chapter 2.1.3.) are mostly hidden in the woods and represent unique relics of medieval Pauline history. All of them were the objects of archaeological and historical, in most cases art historical and architectural research, since these were visible in the past hundred years and gained the attention of the pioneer researchers.

However, only four of the ruins (Salföld, Nagyvázsony, Pilisszentlélek, Dédes) were excavated in a broader range, including most parts of the monastic buildings – three of them lay in the analyzed regions, – but in the case of the rest, mostly the churches were excavated. Another issue is their protection: most of the ruins are in bad shape thus need to receive more attention than before. Some of them are highly endangered of destruction, especially at Tálod, Gönc, and Kurityán.

In the case of ongoing researches (8 sites in Chapter 2.1.4.), it is important to see the final aim of the practical side of the work: in some cases, like at Vállus, the protection of the uncovered ruins are discussed and solved at the earliest stage of planning. However, this usually means that they are covered back after the excavations campaigns, because they are usually planned, scientific excavations, which are mostly underfinanced. Sometimes after one or two annual campaigns (meaning ca. 1 month work / year) the dynamism decreases and no further information is known about the monastic buildings. Some of the non-destructive research methods would shed a light on the yet unknown remains of the medieval monasteries. Also, a lot of should be done concerning public engagement, how people can relate to the Pauline heritage and how these ruins and their history, their landscape can contribute to our times and the future.

A whole new list of questions are related to the last two group of monasteries (see Chapter 2.1.5-6.). Regarding the located but not researched monasteries (10 sites), not to mention the unlocated sites (14 sites), they represent almost the half of the medieval Pauline monasteries in

Hungary. There are a lot of questions regarding even their locations, which might be solved by a structured, interdisciplinary research project, at least including or excluding some questionable areas.

In some cases, where the targeted area can be drawn into a reasonable and surveyable territory, one of the easiest and quickest additional techniques is using LiDAR. Such surveys can reveal what is hidden in the lands, which is an absolute necessity in the case of those monasteries, which lay in the woods, probably along with all the landmarks and landscape features. In some cases, it was possible to use such surveys at different targeted areas, but still, there are dozens of possible target areas.

Regarding the possibilities of spatial studies, most areas are expected and known to hold valuable features at the field, except the survived monasteries and churches (Chapter 2.1.1.); here the chances are less since most of these ruins are in densely inhabited areas. In most other areas, where ruins or identified and researched monasteries were (Chapter 2.1.2–2.1.4.), the spatial features preserved, so these monasteries are absolutely in favor of the complex spatial analyses. In the case of located, but not researched (2.1.5.) monasteries the main goal is to identify new data. Those monasteries, which lack precise location, are also hold value from a spatial perspective as well, since the re-evaluation of the known datasets can trace them or at least include/exclude certain areas. The chances are might be good for this since the distribution of not authenticated or unlocated monasteries is even in those regions where monasteries were founded and only four of them cannot be located within a reasonable (approx. 5–10 km²) radius.

Finally, data uncovered by archaeology and architecture can be a throwback sometimes, because usually they reveal the late medieval period of the monasteries (i.e., the fifteenth century), thus, Pauline research sometimes suffers from our limited understanding of previous periods—let alone the era of hermitages. In addition, archaeological results are usually not contextualized in local or broader medieval history. To resolve or at least ease this problem, other perspectives should be involved into the research.

3.2. Written and Visual Data

Medieval written sources and early modern maps represent the core of Pauline research. Although a great deal of research has been done since the nineteenth century and the quantity and quality of the sources is presently regarded as adequate (ca. 5000 charters and ca. 200 maps), the number of

medieval sources surviving in Hungary is much smaller compared to the Western European countries in general, and for the Pauline monasteries in German territories and Rome in particular.²²⁸

In Hungary, research must face this problem since the documents, the oral history and physical remains of the Middle Ages have been destroyed or forgotten in the last four or five hundred years. Therefore, modern historical and archaeological research should use all efforts to reveal, uncover, collect, and interpret the documents and material remnants of the Middle Ages. Besides charters, a few other kinds of works (history of the order, inventories of monasteries, formulae), written in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, represent the essence of sources, which are although dated later of our time scope, but they all help to nuance the picture of the present research, regarding the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. These were mostly written by the members of the Paulines, which was a regular trend in other religious orders of the time. It is a fortunate for the research, but all these should be regarded through a critical lense, since some sort of biased attitude can be traced, which resulted sometimes compilations, questionable citations of sources.²²⁹ Gergely or in latin Gregorius Gyöngyösi, one of the most important Pauline monks of the late Middle Ages wrote a rich number and varied type of works in the early 1500s.

There are also other types of works that are not strictly related to the studied types of sources, although some of them are reflected in the dissertation. Around the early fourteenth century, they were able to formulate their regulations by amending the Augustine *regula*.²³⁰ On earlier periods, some regulations issued by several bishops were cited in *Vitae Fratrum* (about the work see the following chapters) by Gyöngyösi,²³¹ which reflect on the thirteenth-century life of the Paulines. While the regulation itself – the direction principally defining the stages of monastic life – is unmodified, everyday monastic life must adapt to the requirements of the given historical era, which is why the Pauline constitution has been modified from time to time.²³²

²²⁸ For the Roman monasteries, see Lorenz Weinrich, *Hungarici monasterii ordinis sancti Pauli primi heremitae de Urbe Roma instrumenta et priorum regesta* (Rome-Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Rome, 1999).

²²⁹ Just like Mályusz expresses his doubts on the origins of some charters, cited in *Vitae Fratrum*, like the first regula that was given to the Paulines by the Bishop of Pécs in 1225 or he even questioned the reality of the founder, Blessed Eusebius's character. See Elemér Mályusz, "Remeterendek" [Hermit Orders], in *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*, [Ecclesial society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 257–58.

²³⁰ Commentaries to the regulation became regular in the middle ages, which helped novices better understand monastic life.

²³¹ See previous reference, no. 124.//regularly checking the ref. no.

²³² The earliest preserved exemplary of the constitutions was dated by Kaspar Elm between 1365 and 1381. See Elm, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens aus Kloster Grünwald im Hochschwarzwald in der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Paul im Lavanttal*. See also Mirko Breitenstein, "Der 'Liber, qui dicitur informacio religiosi' aus dem Paulinerkloster Grünwald: Eine bisher unbekannte Redaktion der 'Formula novitiorum' des David von Augsburg", in *Der Paulinerorden. Geschichte – Geist – Kultur*, Hg. Gábor Sarbak, (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010), 307-315. For a comparative study see Enikő Spekner, "Pálosok és domonkosok Szent Ágoston regulája és a konstitúciók tükrében" [Paulines and

The relics of St. Paul the First Hermit were translated to Budaszentlőrinc monastery in 1381, whereafter miracles happened and which became a busy pilgrimage site. It was Bálint Hadnagy or Valentinus Ungarus, Prior General between 1532 and 1536, who edited many manuscripts to create the biography of Saint Paul the First Hermit and collected the miracles related to him between 1422 and 1505.²³³ The book has other values as well: eight woodcuts, some of them depicting ancient mythical creatures. The work also contains some sporadic Hungarian words. The most spectacular of his woodcuts depicts the author himself in battle armour, indicating that the monastic life is a military service for Christ. The meaning of the inscription is: “Do not spoil my work”.²³⁴ Some details in the description of the miracles hold information on the spatial features, i.e. on the monastery complex of Budaszentlőrinc, which was the center of the Pauline order from 1308 until the end of the Middle Ages.

3.2.1. Sources of the Present Work

Charters

Traditionally, Pauline history has been assessed by economic, cultural, social, and political approaches, but less is known about the monastic space itself, although the basic sources are generally the same - these are primarily the medieval charters.²³⁵ Contemporary charters (altogether ca. 5000 charters, only ca. 1500 of these before the 1440s) contain chiefly legal data—perambulations, contracts, and other financial documents; therefore, the questions that scholarship posed were usually limited to estate and financial aspects until recently.²³⁶ However, the nature of this information also makes it the basic source in landscape studies and among the several types of financial data one can find a considerable amount of thus far unassessed, direct and indirect spatial information (different types of properties, prices, locations of properties, and objects like mills, fishponds, roads, bridges, etc.). Moreover, it provides information about the daily routines of the friaries and monasteries of

Dominicans as reflected in the Augustinian rule and the constitutions], in *Decus solitudinis. Pálos évszázadok* [Pauline Centuries], eds. Sándor Őze and Gábor Sarbak (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007), 313—326.

²³³ Bálint Hadnagy, *Vita divi Pauli primi heremite*. (Venitiae: Matthias Milcher, 1511). Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, Budapest Collection, warehouse note: B 0941/271, inv. no. B/29752.

²³⁴ Published edition: Gábor Sarbak (ed.), *Miracula Sancti Pauli primi heremite. Hadnagy Bálint pálos rendi kézikönyve, 1511* [The Pauline handbook of Bálint Hadnagy], (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2003). See recently Tibor Sándor, “Collection of processed miracles of Saint Paul the First Hermit by Bálint Hadnagy, Venice, 1511”, in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 135.

²³⁵ Beatrix F. Romhányi was the last to highlight this, see her work F. Romhányi (2010), *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 11; F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 15.

²³⁶ Most of these sources from economy historical perspective are well-researched, so during the work it was possible to find reference points regarding tendencies economy and estate management. See F. Romhányi (2020), *Pauline Economy*.

various orders, which, in turn, helps us to understand their roles and interactions in different situations.

Altogether about five thousand charters concerning the Pauline Order are available for research, but the chronological and geographical distributions, as well as the quality of these documents, are not balanced.²³⁷ Additionally, not all of the data has been collected or interpreted, partly because there is no complete catalogue of the documents. Although a great number of medieval charters (mostly from the *Acta Paulinorum* collection of the National Archive) were collected in the volumes of *Documenta Artis Paulinorum* (DAP),²³⁸ but usually with special attention to art historical information, which has resulted in a lot of the data still being unknown. Source collections were also published in the past decades, recollecting, re-evaluating the charters, e.g. Elemér Mályusz on the Slovenian monasteries²³⁹ or Zsuzsanna Bándi on the northeastern Paulines (which is very useful for the present work as well).²⁴⁰ However, the basis of each monastery in the present work's index was Beatrix F. Romhányi's crucial collection of monasteries, where she gave a brief description on each known monastic site (and chapters) in the Hungarian Kingdom with further references of literature.²⁴¹

Ferenc Levente Hervay, philologist and ecclesial historian, published great summaries about the Paulines as well. He highlighted in his work²⁴² that how important are to revise and re-evaluate the medieval charters because they always can contribute to research in new possible ways; for example four monasteries can only be found in charters hence/whereas no mentions are known from other late medieval works.

Beside charters, other types of late medieval sources had been revealed data (e.g. copied charter evidence) about the order in the late medieval, and even more from the early modern (sixteenth century) period. Such are the order of the history, the *Vitae Fratrum* and the inventory of medieval charters, the so-called *Inventarium*, written and collected (!) already in the early sixteenth century.

²³⁷ Most of these documents are published, moreover, these source collections or the digital copies of the original charters are usually available online. See primary sources in 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 or *Database of the Hungarian National Archive*. <http://mol.arcanum.hu/>.

²³⁸ DAP

²³⁹ See his eleven publications in the bibliography.

²⁴⁰ Zsuzsanna Bándi, "Északkelet-magyarországi pálos kolostorok oklevelei" [Written evidence about the Pauline monasteries in the friaries of Northern Hungary] *Borsodi Levéltári Évkönyv* 5 (1986): 586–602.

²⁴¹ F. Romhányi (2000), *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*.

²⁴² Ferenc Hervay, "A pálos rend elterjedése a középkori Magyarországon" [The expansion/development of the Pauline Order in Medieval Hungary, in *Mályusz Elemér emlékkönyv. Társadalom és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* [Honoring Elemér Mályusz. Social and cultural historical studies], eds. Éva. H. Balázs, Erik Fügedi Erik and Ferenc Maksay (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984), 159.

Gergely Gyöngyösi and the late medieval heritage of the Pauline written sources

(1) The historical work of Prior General Gregorius Gyöngyösi²⁴³, called *Vitae Fratrum*,²⁴⁴ is the best-known of these documents since his *vitae* was the first overall work on the history of the Pauline Order, based on original charters, legendaries, and breviaries – and most probably a bit of oral tradition as well. Because of his early death, Gyöngyösi could recount the Order's history only until 1496. His literary work was continued by Bálint Hadnagy (among others) in the 1530s.

It reflects on Pauline history from an the internal viewpoint, which means that besides important chronological data and some anecdotes, the ancestors of the order (mainly prior generals) are the focus, whom Gyöngyösi marked as ideal monks for his contemporaries.²⁴⁵ It is notable that the *Vitae Fratrum* of the Paulines had been written at the same era, when a few other distinguished monks decided to write the history of their order – like Ambrogio dei Massari humanist theologian, general provost of the Austin order (1476—1485) did in 1481²⁴⁶ or the Carthusian Petrus Dorlandus did it sometime before 1507, but it was only printed in 1608 by Theodor Petrejus.²⁴⁷

This personal approach of Gyöngyösi indicates two major problems with the source. First, the earlier biographies in the work are schematic and sometimes idealized, but even more problematic from the present perspective is that the reliability of the information decreases as Gyöngyösi describes

²⁴³ Several studies analyzed his works by different approaches, see Elemér Mályusz, “A Pálos rend a középkor végén” [The Pauline order at the end of the Middle Ages], *Egyháztörténet* 3 (1945): 1-53; Mályusz, “Remeterendek”, 258—274. Recently see Gábor Sarbak, “Prior General Gregory Gyöngyösi and the History of the Pauline Fathers in the Early sixteenth Century”, in *Infima Aetas Pannonica: Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. Péter E. Kovács and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 2009), 250–260. n.v.; Sarbak, “Gyöngyösi Gergely”, in Ghesaurus. Tanulmányok Szentmártoni Szabó Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára [Studies honouring the 60 years old Géza Szentmártoni Szabó], ed. István Csörsz Rumen (Budapest: rec.iti, 2010), 115–122.

²⁴⁴ Original book in ELTE University Library and Archives, University Library, Budapest, Ab 151/c. Paper, written in Latin. Gergely Gyöngyösi's original manuscript is yet undiscovered, the only known copy was made ca. 1600 and was entered into the library catalogue of the Csáktornya monastery in 1603. In 1743 it arrived at Lepoglava, from where it arrived to its present locality in 1786. See more: Gábor Sarbak, “Gyöngyösi: Vitae Fratrum”, in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 15—16. The first published, Latin edition of the book: Gyöngyösi (1988), *Vitae Fratrum*. The translation of Ferenc Hervay, see Gregorius Gyöngyösi, *Arcok a magyar középkorból* [Faces from the Middle Ages], ed. Ferenc Hervay (Budapest: Szépirodalmi könyvkiadó, 1983). On the analysis as a source on Pauline history, see Hervay (1984), “A pálos rend elterjedése”, 163—165; Hervay (2007), “A Pálos Rend eredete”.

²⁴⁵ Since there is no medieval evidence for the existence of Eusebius, at least not about his leading role in the foundation, except for in the *Vitae Fratrum*, Elemér Mályusz and recently in details Beatrix F. Romhányi argues that the character of Eusebius in the Pauline tradition is more likely a model of the ideal Pauline hermit. Mályusz (1971), “Remeterendek”, 257; F. Romhányi, “A pálos rendi hagyomány”. The life of an ideal monk should be valued in terms of *devotio moderna*. Still, Eusebius, the canon of Esztergom, and his role is essential in the understanding of Pauline history.

²⁴⁶ Ambrose de Cori, *Chronica Ordinis*. (Roma: s.n., 1481). Cited and the simultaneous events highlighted in Hervay (2007), “A Pálos Rend eredete”, 57.

²⁴⁷ Petrus Dorlandus, *Chronicon Cartusiense... notis illustratus*. Coloniae: s.n., 1608); Hervay (2007), “A Pálos Rend eredete”, 57.

earlier periods in the history of the Paulines.²⁴⁸ Fortunately, there are other contemporary sources, both listed and not listed in the *Vitae Fratrum*, to validate some of the information. In addition, it is important to note that some of the medieval charters and some other documents that Gyöngyösi used to compile his history of the order are only known from his text.

Such sources are e.g. the charter of Bishop Paul from 1263, which lists all the known eremitic communities on the land of Veszprém Diocese (*Kőút*, Marie Magdalen, *Insula Pilup* St. Helen, *Bakony* St. Jacob/James, *Idegst* St. Elizabeth, *Badacsony* St. Emericus, [next to] *Örményes*, *Elekszigete* Szent Mária Magdolna, and *Szakácsi* St. Dominic).²⁴⁹ Regarding the monasteries of the examined regions, all the information is collected from *Vitae Fratrum* and included into the indexes.

(2) The *Inventarium*, an inventory of the medieval charters²⁵⁰ also compiled by Prior General Gyöngyösi,²⁵¹ was mostly published in the *Documenta Artis Paulinorum* series. In this collection, Gyöngyösi highlights only those aspects that are important from the Pauline Order's perspective and mentions information only about already known properties. Therefore, he only listed charters that recorded real, existing properties of (both existing and abandoned) monasteries or the order in general in his time.²⁵²

Comparing the surviving charters, the *Inventarium*, and *Vitae Fratrum*, historians have concluded that Gyöngyösi took many original documents in his hands, but that he also sometimes recorded false copies²⁵³ of charters, e.g., Slavsko Polje in Croatia.²⁵⁴ As Gábor Sarbak summarizes,²⁵⁵ Gergely Gyöngyösi mentions the *Inventarium* in the prologue to *Vitae fratrum*, which includes extracts from the charters of 68 Pauline monasteries in the first part of the codice (pp. 1–88);²⁵⁶ those

²⁴⁸ Some historians (lay and cleric) have 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 Ibid. “Remeterendek”, 254–274. Also see one of the most recent and detailed summaries of early modern Pauline sources: Beatrix F. 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.

²⁴⁹ VF, Cap 10. *Insula Pilup sanctae Helenae, Kewkuth sanctae Mariae Magdalенаe, Bokon sancti Iacobi, Idegst beatae Elisabeth, Bodochun sancti Emerici, Insula prope Ermenyes, Elek sanctae Mariae Magdalенаe, Zakach sancti Dominici.*

²⁵⁰ Gergely Gyöngyösi, *Inventarium Paulinorum conventum chartarum regesta et bullarium continens*, (Manuscript. 1520–1522); also known as *Liber viridis*, meaning “The Green Book”, named after the colour of the book's binding. ELTE University Library and Archives, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 115, pp. 1–88.

²⁵¹ Since the notes were an important source for the *Vitae Fratrum*, this collection can be linked to Gergely Gyöngyösi. However, the identity of the scribe cannot be established. Gábor Sarbak, “Inventarium”, in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 51.

²⁵² F. Romhányi, “Pálos élet forrásai”, 323.

²⁵³ Unintentionally mostly, since most of the false copies were revealed by modern scholarship.

²⁵⁴ F. Romhányi, “Pálos élet forrásai”, 324.

²⁵⁵ Sarbak, “Inventarium”, 51.

²⁵⁶ In the second part of the manuscript, the copies of the bulls and privileges issued in favour of the Order between 1308 and 1525 can be read, together with some later additions.

communities that were on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom.²⁵⁷ Copies of the inventory could be distributed within the Order, which offered the Paulines an opportunity to prove their right to their old estates and monasteries in the country, after the Ottoman era.

Based on an impressive, detailed analysis of Ferenc Hervay, he claimed that Gyöngyösi had a certain order in the inventory: not chronological, not alphabetical, but the list of the monasteries represents a geographical order, most probably the sequence as Gyöngyösi visited them. He must have travelled four times, each time the track can be traced.

First, he visited 33 monasteries: Nosztra (he did not list Toronyalja at this time), Család (Bars County), Elefánt, Thal, Ranna and Bécsújhely/Wiener Neustadt (left out Wondorf). After he went to Monyorókerék, Csáktornya, and the 6 Slavonian houses were visited. After he travelled back to the north and continued the visitation in Baranya County: Bajcs, Szentlászló, S. Salvator at Kiskőszeg, Bodrogsziget, St. James/Jacob at Pécs. After he travelled still to the north, in the way back to Buda, and visited Somogy County, Szerdahely, Szentpál (Somgydöröcske), Told, Mindszent (Balatonszemes), Vetahida, Nagyszaácsi, Pogányszentpéter. Afterwards he turned to the Balaton region: Örményes, Enyere-Óhíd, Tüskevár, Sáska-St. Jacob, Vázsony, Porva and Csatka.

His second trip was short: he covered a certain area around Eger. First he visited Veresmart, after Felnémet-Almárvölgy. The third group (maybe he travelled immediately after Eger) is impressive: he covered all of the eastern, mostly Transylvanian and the northeastern regions. Present-day Slovakia, Romania and Ukraine: Kalova, Szentmihálykő, Székelyháza, Fugyivásárhely, Kápolna, Szenjobb, Nagyfalu, Tiszaberek, Remete, Bereg, Villye, Eszény, Ungvár, Terebes, afterwards Újhely, Gönc, Göncruszka, Tokaj, Óhuta, Sajólad, Diósgyőr, Szentlélek, Újháza, Gombaszeg, Martonyi.

He later visited the monasteries around Buda: Szentlélek, Szentkereszt, Fehéregyháza, Csút, Zsámbék, Visegrád, Kékes. Interestingly, the monastery in northeastern Hungary, near Hangony is listed individually, although it would have been evident to visit along the monasteries in the third group. Another issue is that three monasteries are not listed that must have been operating: Szentlőrinc, the main monastery, Toronyalja near Nosztra, and Wondorf.

Gyöngyösi, as the prior of the Roman monastery near Santo Stefano Rotondo, published other works²⁵⁸, ones that were primarily intended to aid monastic leaders in the performance of their functions, describing the different monastic office holders and their duties in exact details (*Epitoma*

²⁵⁷ More or less, since 2 monasteries of Austria and 6 of Slavonia are included, so precisely 60 monasteries were listed. Hervay, "A pálos rend elterjedése", 161.

²⁵⁸ Listed in the bibliography, under primary sources. The followings were summarized from the following article: Sarbak, "Vitae Fratrum", 15–16.

and *Directorium*). Gyöngyösi's last and most voluminous work written in Rome is the *Declarationes constitutionum*, the monastic constitution published together with his own commentaries.

Gergely Gyöngyösi wrote and published his ten parables on Paul the First Hermit (*Decalogus*) in Rome in 1516. He introduced the originally Hungarian and evidently lesser-known monastic order to the Roman audience through the life and example of Paul the First Hermit. The work's second publication came out in Kraków in 1532, and the introduction of the intact copy kept in Częstochowa mentions Gergely Gyöngyösi, the book's author, as the Prior general of happy and glorious memory (felicis recordationis).

Formularium

Another important early modern document type is the letter formulary, most well-known of the Pauline ones is the great formulary, *Formularium maius*—published by Beatrix F. Romhányi and Gábor Sarbak²⁵⁹—was used from the 1530s by the secretary of the prior general, and also contains some specific information about the Pauline economy, hierarchy, and structure. A formularium is the manuscript book of samples containing the Pauline Fathers' official mailing samples, probably used in the central chancellery of the Order.

A now lost predecessor or predecessors of the *Formularium maius* were mainly used near the prior general in the main Monastery of Budaszentlőrinc during the Middle Ages. Probably some of the major monasteries also had their own book of samples, which were compiled according to their needs. Based on Gyöngyösi's *Directorium*, most probably the Pauline Monastery in Rome also held its own *formularium*. The known *Formularium maius* was probably compiled in the time of Prior General Bálint Hadnagy in the 1530s, after the partial destruction of Budaszentlőrinc in the autumn of 1526 but before the Ottoman occupation of Buda in 1541. This book of samples could replace the wornout ones used previously in Budaszentlőrinc, which were partly obsolete in terms of content. Its compilation was based on texts of the most common affairs in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, omitting names and dates (in theory) which were left in some copies.

After selecting the most suitable sample, it was easy to create the documents destined to be either within or outside the Order, for a secular or ecclesiastical addressee, by filling out names and dates. Given that the types of documents (including dispositive, exhortative, encouraging, petitionary

²⁵⁹ Beatrix F. Romhányi, and Gábor Sarbak, eds., *Formularium maius ordinis Sancti Pauli primi Heremite* (Budapest: Szent István Társulat: 2013). The text is based on Gábor Sarbak, "The more extensive book of samples of the Pauline Fathers (Formularium maius Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Heremite), 1530s", in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 244–245.

and appreciative writings for ecclesiastical and secular recipients as well as gift and sales matters) are not consistently organised in its entirety within the manuscript, the scribe from the chancellery edited an index to easily find the needed sample(s).

Through the lens of Péter Pázmány

During the office of Archbishop Péter Pázmány (1616–1637) a fifteenth-century inventory of the Pauline monasteries and vicariates was printed²⁶⁰ along with all the known monasteries of the Hungarian Kingdom (1629).²⁶¹ The original of the Pauline list, written at Marianka (present-day Slovakia; Hungarian: Máriavölgy, German: Mariathal) around 1470, lists twenty monasteries that were vicariate centers as well. Other monasteries were selected from the *Vitae Fratrum*.²⁶²

This inventory is important for many reasons, which can be understood through the context of the early modern era. The circuit of the oral tradition of the order broke when the Ottoman army not only conquered, but destroyed everything on a large area of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. Its administrative and ecclesial system, the social and economic tradition has dramatically changed, and many of the clerics, monks (and as sources report, mostly those Pauline and parish priests whom stayed in the warzone until their last breath) lives were not spared by the Ottomans or those nobles who converted to the Protestant church.²⁶³ The majority of written documents of the Middle Ages is also lost, except the previously listed documents, that are of immeasurable value for the research.

Pázmány, as the leader of the Catholic Church in Hungary, realized that collecting the values, the past properties of the monastic orders is of essence since they meant a great wealth for the Church. But his inventory – along with those documents that were kept outside the destroyed area – not only recorded something from the late medieval sources (the original list must have been written 1469 and between 1473), it also helps the present research as well. Reviewing the past vicariate system,

²⁶⁰ Today sixty issues are known in fourteen libraries.

²⁶¹ *Acta et decreta snodi diocesanea Strigoniensis, auctoritate ... Petri Pazmany, archiepiscopi Strigoniensis celebratae Tyrnaviae, anno Domini MDCXXIX die IV Octobris et sequentibus, iussa ejusdem illustrissima archiepiscopi pro commoditate parochorum typis edita. Posonii, 1629, 100-130.: Appendix Secunda. De religiosis ordinibus, qui olim in Ungaria floruerunt.*

²⁶² *Acta et decreta*, 122. Szentlőrinc, Nosztra, Diósgyőr, Gombaszeg, Lád, Újhely, Ungvár, Bereg, Kápolna, Szentmihályköve, Szentlászló (Baranya County), Told, Szentpéter, Garic, Remete (Zagreb County), Csáktornya, Gvozd, Örményes, Jenő, and Csátka (10). See the list in Péter Pázmány, *Acta et Décreta Synodi Diocesana Strigoniensis* (Bratislava: 1629) pagenumbers; the list is summarized in Ferenc Hervay, “Pálosok” [Paulines], in *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon 10. kötet* [Hungarian Catholic Lexicon, Vol. 10], ed. István Diós and János Viczián (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2005), 484–489. Also a detailed analysis was written by him, see Hervay (1984), “A pálos rend elterjedése”, 159–160, 165–171.

²⁶³ The most dangerous and devastating era was between 1560 - 1620, when only the Paulines and the Franciscans were able to manage some of the monasteries at the conquered territory from the outside and surprisingly, sometimes from the inside. Hervay (1984), “A pálos rend elterjedése”, 159.

with a critical evaluation²⁶⁴ and comparative analysis with other sources, the broad network and probably its development can be revealed, so this source has a significant role in the present work.

Visual Sources

Besides written data, in a spatial topic it is definitely crucial to use:

- modern (topographical) maps from the beginning of the twentieth century (e.g. maps of the Unified National Map System²⁶⁵)
- historical maps (especially the Habsburg Military Surveys of Hungary²⁶⁶ and cadastral maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries stored in the National Archives²⁶⁷)
- engravings of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries²⁶⁸

as basic sources. These are all referred in the monasteries' indexes. Also, the toponyms are of great importance, which are usually the keys in the identification of certain territories, for example those Pauline properties, which had specific names in the Middle Ages. Definitely, continuous toponyms are hardly available in Hungary, however, some of such were found during the present work as well.

It is equally important to take into consideration the

- geological²⁶⁹ and (historical/reconstructed)
- hydrological maps.²⁷⁰

Sadly, other kinds of medieval cartographic sources are not available for the Paulines in the Kingdom of Hungary, only one large-scale map depicting the whole country in the Middle Ages is available for my research. The scale of the Lazarus map (*Tabula Hungariae*) does not allow one to formulate

²⁶⁴ Hervay highlighted most of the misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Hervay (1984), "A pálos rend elterjedése", 159—160, 165—171.

²⁶⁵ The so-called *Egységes Országos Térképrendszer* (EOTR), projection: 1: 10 000. Digitized map, 2010.

²⁶⁶ *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/>.

²⁶⁷ During my research 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>.

²⁶⁸ Online databases, like the Hungarian National Museum, where most of the historical engravings are digitized and open source. <https://gyujtemenyek.mnm.hu/online-collection/-/results/init>

²⁶⁹ Digitized maps of the Hungarian Geological and Geophysical Institution (Magyar Földtani és Geofizikai Intézet), 2014. <https://map.mbfisz.gov.hu/>

²⁷⁰ The reconstructed hydrological map of the Carpathian Basin is based on historical maps (eighteenth to nineteenth century), which were made before the river regulations, as well as on the plans of the regulations. Budapest: Hungarian Royal Agricultural Ministry and Hydrological Institution, 1938. Available online in good resolution. <http://foldepites.files.wordpress.com/2009/12/5-karpat-medence-kesz-wo9.jpg>. Also a great summary and noteworthy analysis by Zsuzsa Harkányiné Székely, "A vízrajz térképi ábrázolásának történetéből" [On the history of mapping hydrography], in *Történeti tájak - vizes élőhelyek. Régészeti, örnezettörténet, tájvédelem* [Historical landscapes - waterscapes. Archaeology, Environmental history, Land Protection], eds. Erzsébet Jerem and József Laszlovsky, (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2017), 29—40.

a detailed image of the Pilis or Pauline monasteries, but it confirms the general landscape character of the area.²⁷¹

However, contemporary visual sources of average hermits and the legend of St. Paul the First Hermit emphasize the image of the meditating men close to nature who live absolutely secluded from inhabited areas. This is true all around Europe, including Hungary. One such example, an important image of St. Paul is connected to the Abbey of Budaszentlőrinc on a fragment of a keystone, which is dated to the fifteenth century.²⁷² One of the most well-known depictions of St. Paul the First Hermit's life is written in one of the most important codeces of the fourteenth century royal court, which is the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (Fig. 7.2.).²⁷³ It is a richly illuminated manuscript of a collection of Biblical stories, on the life of saints, whom were important in Hungary and especially to the Angevin Family. These miniatures, just like the keystone, depict the medieval understanding of eremitic life and what is more important, the contemporary concept of the eremitic landscape and symbolic elements of hermitages, the so-called *desertum*.²⁷⁴



²⁷¹ Lajos Stegena, ed., *Lazarus secretarius. The First Hungarian Mapmaker and His Work*, (Budapest: 1982). See the accepted application for UNESCO World Register (Last accessed: May 19, 2014).

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

²⁷² 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 the Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library. <http://www.fszek.hu/kiallitas/webkiallitas/tablok/palos/palos.html>

See recent description by Zoltán Bencze, "Keystone illustrating Saint Paul the First Hermit", in *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022), 31.

²⁷³ Béla Zsolt Szakács, *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Central European University Press, 2016).

²⁷⁴ See it in Chapter 2.4.2.

*Fig. 3.2. Keystone illustrating Saint Paul the First Hermit
Castle Museum of the Budapest History Museum, Department
of the Middle Ages, inv. no. 369.and 668.*

3.2.2. Previous Historical Research

In modern scholarship, the general history of the Pauline Order was summarized by Emil Kisbán²⁷⁵, who – in his impressive work – published most of the medieval and early modern sources, but without relevant source critique. However, his greatest credit is that he tried to understand the history in an analytical way and he also contextualized the different aspects of Pauline history in general (like teching or medicines and healers), so he gave a rich overview on the medieval (and early modern) world a well.

As it was mentioned in the previous subchapter, the basic data on every chapter and monastery was gathered by Beatrix F. Romhányi, which also reffered to all the known publications on each of the monasteries. Regional studies of churches and monasteries also helped the research of the Pauline history; recently Csilla Aradi collected and re-evaluated most of the ecclesial institutions in Somogy County and contributed to scholarship by revealing the local and regional ecclesial network of the studied area, thus briefly the role of Pauline monasteries as well.²⁷⁶

Regarding specifically the Paulines, the source material described previously, was mostly the target of further research by historians from different perspectives. History and philology of late medieval Pauline works were studied by Elemér Mályusz, Ferenc Hervay and recently Gábor Sarbak²⁷⁷, Pauline music by Gabriella Gilányi.²⁷⁸

Due to the nature of survived charter data, the most extensively documented area is estate management and economy. Most of the data has been gathered by Beatrix F. Romhányi in her articles and book, evaluating ca. 1000 charters.²⁷⁹ In her latest summary, she highlighted main comparative materials of Hungarian Pauline monasteries as well, referring to both other kind of monastic orders of medieval Hungary or foreign Pauline monasteries as well.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Emil Kisbán, *A magyar pálos rend története* [The history of the Hungarian Pauline Order], 2 vols. (Budapest: 1938-1940).

²⁷⁶ Csilla Aradi, *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházszerzetének rekonstrukciója. Somogy megye középkori templomainak adattára* [The reconstruction of Árpadian and medieval ecclesial system of Somogy County. The catalog of medieval churches of Somogy County] (Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Megyei Hatókörű Városi Múzeum, 2016).

²⁷⁷ see references in Chapter 2.2.1.

²⁷⁸ Gilányi Gabriella, *Retrospective or Not? Pauline Introits in the eighteenth Century Hungary*. In Sarbak Gábor (szerk.): *Der Paulinerorden: Geschichte – Geist – Kultur*. Budapest, 503–510; Gilányi Gabriella 2015. *The Processional Oct. Lat. 794 of the Budapest National Széchényi Library. A Re-identification*. In Tallián Tibor (szerk.): *Studia Musicologica of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* 56/2–3: Plainchant Studies in memoriam of László Dobszay, 257–289.

²⁷⁹ F. Romhányi, *Pauline Economy*, 10; F. Romhányi (2010), *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 11.

²⁸⁰ F. Romhányi, *Pauline Economy*, 136-137.

Comparative Material: The documents of the mendicant orders have been analysed by Beatrix F. Romhányi²⁸¹ and she recently published the comparative study of the mendicants and Paulines.²⁸² Cistercians were studied by László Ferenczi.²⁸³ The late medieval estate management of the Benedictine Abbeys of Garamszentbenedek (Hronsky Beňadik, SK) and Kolozsmonostor (Mănăştur, RO) were also recently discussed by Kristóf Keglevich²⁸⁴ and Noémi Gyöngyvér Szabó.²⁸⁵ As F. Romhányi suggests, more research would be needed, especially on the monastic orders and on the nunneries.

Foreign Historical Research of the Paulines: The Croatian²⁸⁶, also the Polish²⁸⁷ and the Roman monastery²⁸⁸ is relevant in a comparative study, but in the case of the Southern German monasteries the historical the evaluations (mostly covered by the works of Kaspar Elm and Elmar Kuhn)²⁸⁹ were not focusing on economy.

Regarding the Paulines, F. Romhányi not only shapes our knowledge on economic history for more than a decade now, but several other studies were written by her on other aspects of the unmade mendicants. Regarding the present work, a selection of her work is relevant on Pauline daily life, like

²⁸¹ Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek: Koldulórendi gazdálkodás a késő középkori Magyarországon* [Begging friars, managing monks: Mendicant economy in late medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2018).

²⁸² Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Alms, Preaching, Production and Property: Mendicant and Pauline Economy in Late Medieval Hungary”, in *Monastic Finance. Studies on the Economy of Benedictines, Military Orders, and Mendicants*, eds. Jens Röhrkasten and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Münster: LIT Verlag Münster, 2022.), 181–222. //megköszönök a tanulmányból egy pdf-et, ha szabad. Also see F. F. Romhányi Beatrix, “The Ecclesiastic Economy in Medieval Hungary”, in *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, eds. József Laszlovszky et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 307–334.

²⁸³ László Ferenczi, *Economic Management of Cistercian Estates in Medieval Hungary* (Budapest: Archaeopress, forthcoming).

²⁸⁴ Keglevich, Kristóf. A garamszentbenedeki apátság története az Árpád- és az Anjoukorban, 1075–1403 [The history of Garamszentbenedek Abbey in the age of the Árpáds and Angevins]. Capitulum 8. Szeged: STTI, 2012.

²⁸⁵ Noémi Gyöngyvér Szabó, “A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság gazdálkodása a késő középkorban” [The economy of the Benedictine Abbey of Kolozsmonostor in the later Middle Ages]. Ph.D. diss., University of Debrecen, 2013. <https://dea.lib.unideb.hu/dea/handle/2437/161252>.

²⁸⁶ Silvija Pisk, “Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije na Gariću (Moslavačka gora) i njegova uloga u regionalnoj povijesti” [Pauline monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Garić (Moslavina mountain) and its role in regional history] (PhD dissertation, University of Zagreb, 2011). See the recent summary of archaeological evaluation, Tajana Pleše, “Ordo Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae: Monasteries and the Shaping of the Late Medieval Slavonian Cultural and Historic Landscape prior to the Battle of Mohács (1526)”, in *Monastic Europe. Medieval Communities, Landscapes, and Settlements*, eds. Bhreathnach, Edel, Malgorzata Krasnodebska-D'Aughton and Keith Smith (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 383–405; Steps towards historical evaluation of the Croatian monasteries were made by Kristian Bertović, “The Pauline Pattern of Monastery Site Selection in Medieval Croatia under Frankapan Patronage.” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU / Central European University, Budapest, Departement of Medieval Studies* 21 (2015): 265–75.

²⁸⁷ Janusz Zbudniewek (ed.), *Zbiór dokumentów Zakonu Paulinów w Polsce*, vol. 2, 1464–1550 [A collection of documents of the Pauline Order in Poland] (Warsaw: Nakl. Red. “Studia Clarendoniana,” 2004).

²⁸⁸ Roman monastery were published by Lorenz Weinrich and analysed from an economic point of view by Andras Kubinyi. See Weinrich, *Roma*.

²⁸⁹ see their works in the bibliography.

education of monks and craftsmen,²⁹⁰ or the relevance of Price Coloman's role in the development of the Paulines.²⁹¹

A series of study collections (all were presented at thematic conferences on the Pauline order) were published in the last decades, all of them were the huge contributions of Gábor Sarbak.²⁹² A great study on the late medieval, kingdom-wide Pauline pilgrimage sites should be highlighted by Máté Urbán,²⁹³ and also the recently published exhibition catalogue on the Paulines might be worth to mention since many great studies discuss the material heritage of the Order.²⁹⁴

3.3. Examining the Medieval Space and Pauline Monastic Landscape

3.3.1. *Spatial Studies in Hungary and its Effect on the Present Study*

A few years ago, in 2015, Csilla Zatykó summarized the research history of spatial and landscape studies in Hungary.²⁹⁵ In her gap filling summary and evaluation, she highlighted the well-known importance of two major initiatives in historical and archaeological research, which had significant impacts on the development of the landscape approach in the 1960s and since after. Their impact is unquestionable (even so their errors) since most studies refer to them as fundamental works - just like the present work:

In the series of *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [The Historical Geography of Hungary in the Árpadian Age], the historian György Györffy aimed to collect all historical data on the medieval settlements, also their natural and cultural environment, which created a widely-used dataset of medieval landscape features mentioned in documentary sources.²⁹⁶ The very same, decisive work is the Archaeological Topography of Hungary project, whose series had been published since

²⁹⁰ Beatrix F. Romhányi, "Egyetemjáró szerzetesek a késő középkori Magyarországon (Ki, hova és miből?)", in „Mindenki vágyik a tudásra, de az árát senki sem akarja megadni” : Az oktatás finansziális háttere és haszna a középkorban és a kora újkorban, eds. Péter Szabó Haraszti Szabó, Borbála Kelényi and Zsolt Simon (Budapest: MTA ELTE Egyetemtörténeti Kutatócsoport, Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2019), 117-140. Idem. "Mesteremberek és műhelyek a kolduló rendi és pálos kolostorokban", in *Mesterségek és műhelyek a középkori és kora újkor Magyarországon: tanulmányok Holl Imre emlékére*, eds. Elek Benkő, Gyöngyi Kovács and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: MTA BTK Régészeti Intézet, 2017), 441-450.

²⁹¹ F. Romhányi, "Kálmán herceg és a pálosok".

²⁹² see these volumes in the bibliography at Sarbak. The recent two volumes are in edition yet.

²⁹³ Máté Urbán, "Pálos zarándokhelyek a késő középkori Magyarországon" [Pauline pilgrimage sites in late medieval Hungary], *Vallástudományi Szemle* 5/1 (2009): 63-84.

²⁹⁴ Zsuzsa Pető (ed.), *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue* (Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022).

²⁹⁵ Zatykó, Csilla. "People beyond landscapes: past, present and future of Hungarian landscape archaeology". *Antaeus* 33 (2015): 369-388.

²⁹⁶ ÁMTF.

1966.²⁹⁷ “The project was established to map archaeological sites through field surveys in the entire country and to collect the relevant data from the archaeological literature, archives and museum collections. From the very beginning of the several decades-long project, archaeologists recorded not only archaeological sites, but also remains of numerous fishponds, mills, abandoned riverbeds, bridges, dams and early roads.”²⁹⁸

However, only ca. 15 percent of the country has been surveyed through this project, but it is also true that since the last volume of the project, several regional surveys (usually connected to industrial projects) raised the scale of research and has an impact on the evolution of landscape archaeology. The multi-period approach of such surveys forms an ideal base for further studies, like predictive modelling.²⁹⁹

At the very same time with the documentation, the aim of economic and social data contextualization emerged as well. Based on the first results of the archaeological topography in Veszprém County, István Éri proposed the idea of reconstructing settlement patterns, road networks and hydrological conditions by analysing data obtained from the large-scale surface survey project [which was published in one of the very first series of the MRT] and the relevant historical sources.³⁰⁰ This is such a crucial research that the spatial contextualization of Pauline monasteries at Balatonfelvidék is partially based on Éri’s work. Recently ecclesial topography gained more attention from Hungarian scholars. Besides Fejér³⁰¹ and Tolna counties,³⁰² Somogy County – where a significant number of Pauline monasteries lay – is also studied.³⁰³

In the second half of the twentieth century - just like in the case of heritage protection, Hungarian archaeology remained isolated from the theoretical debates of western archaeology and followed a specific, internal development until the 1990s. Afterwards, as Zatykó summarizes, “...influences from different directions shaped the progress of Hungarian landscape archaeology, like large-scale excavations, the emergence of environmental archaeology, the increase in regional projects and the influence of the British empirical landscape school in medieval archaeology all inspired the formation of the landscape concept. As no clear boundaries between specific fields of

²⁹⁷ MRT 1–11. For a methodological summary, see Jankovich 1993; Jankovich 2011.

²⁹⁸ Zatykó, “People beyond landscapes”, 373.

²⁹⁹ Gergely Padányi-Gulyás et al., “Familiar Road, Unfamiliar Ground. Archaeological Predictive Modelling in Hungary,” in *CAA2012 Proceedings of the 40th Conference in Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, Southampton, United Kingdom, 26–30 March 2012*. (Southampton: 2012), 694–709.

³⁰⁰ Éri, “Veszprém megye középkori”.

³⁰¹ The studies of Máté Stibrányi

³⁰² András, K. Németh. *A középkori Tolna megye templomai* [The medieval churches of Tolna county] (Szekszárd: Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum, 2015).

³⁰³ Aradi, *Somogy*.

landscape research can be drawn, Hungarian landscape studies have benefited from multiple interdisciplinary approaches and methods since the very beginning.”

Although the term landscape archaeology (Hungarian: *tájrégészet*) appeared after the millennium, nothing represent better the implantation of landscape archaeology in Hungarian scholarship that in 2017 the very first specifically landscape historical conference was organized by Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Archaeolingua Foundation.³⁰⁴

Regarding medieval archaeology, several results can be highlighted:³⁰⁵ relics of arable fields and terraces in the external areas of several medieval village townships (Nagybörzsöny, Bernecebaráti, Tamási, Sarvaly,³⁰⁶ Szentmihály), vineyards in Nagymaros³⁰⁷, the different ways of woodland management in the medieval Carpathian Basin. Some studies are focusing on how medieval communities adjusted their life to the surrounding landscape, whilst explored cultivation and land use patterns in townships by using surface survey results, landscape archaeological observations and data from historical sources (maps, written sources, archive aerial photos).³⁰⁸

Landscape features such as boundary stones, boundary mounds and road networks provide insights into the spatial organisation of the landscape and shed some light on how past communities perceived the landscape. Amongst the past complex features and patterns, one of the key elements is the road system. After the early studies that were based on historical maps and written sources, archaeological investigations into roads concentrated on unearthed sections of roads in Hungary and contextualized other examined spatial features (like settlements, central palces) via the road system; on medieval roads the most detailed and recent studies were published by Magdolna Szilágyi.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁴ Csilla Zatykó, Magdolna Szilágyi and Máté Szabó (eds.), *Történeti táj – tájrégészet: eredmények és perspektívák a magyarországi tájrégészeti kutatásban. Absztrakt kötet. [Historical landscape – landscape archaeology: results and perspectives in Hungarian landscape archaeology]* (Budapest: MTA BTK Régészeti Intézet, 2017).

³⁰⁵ Summarized in Zatykó, “People beyond landscapes”, 376-378.

³⁰⁶ Imre Holl and Nándor Parádi, *Das mittelalterliche Dorf Sarvaly, Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae*. (Budapest, 1982).

³⁰⁷ Kiss et al. 2005.

³⁰⁸ Zatykó 1997; Zatykó 2004; Zatykó 2013; Ferenczi – Laszlovszky 2014; Pálóczi Horváth 2002.

³⁰⁹ Magdolna Szilágyi, “Medieval Roads in Transdanubia – The methods and potentials of their historical and archaeological investigations. *Hungarian Archaeology e-magazine*, 2012/Summer http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/?page_id=279#post-2651 [22.10.2015]; Magdolna Szilágyi, *On the Road: The History and Archaeology of Medieval Communication Networks in East-Central Europe* (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014); Magdolna Szilágyi, “Római utak a középkori Dunántúlon. Az utak nevei és szerepük a középkori térszervezésben” [Roman roads in Medieval Transdanubia. The names of Roman roads and their role in Medieval space organization]. *Történelmi Szemle* 56/1 (2014) 1–25. See also Zatykó 2004; Stibrányi 2008; Benkő 2011; Bődöcs 2013; Borhy – Czajlik – Bődöcs 2013; Sárosi 2013; Pető 2014a; Pető 2014b; Máté 2014; Ferenczi et al. 2014; Ferenczi – Laszlovszky 2014; Pető 2018.

A few years back, a flourishing environmental historical approach gained broad attention in Hungary, like the Transdanubian researches of Csilla Zatykó.³¹⁰ A recent, significant project, led by Elek Benkő and his colleagues of different research fields aimed to give an overview on the medieval flora and fauna in specific regions of the Carpathian Basin, covering such places like the Pilis Forest, which is one of the targeted areas of the present research as well.³¹¹

Another significant area of Hungarian landscape studies is reconstructing past hydrology and water management strategies. This was inherited by the fact that before river regulation and land reclamation works changed the natural hydrology of Hungary in the nineteenth century, large areas of the Carpathian Basin were perennially or temporarily inundated. From around the 1970s, several canals, dams, abandoned fishponds and dikes have been identified during field surveys, which belonged to royal and monastic estates, or were elements of the landscape around rural settlements.³¹²

The complex use of watercourses and springs (along with fishponds and watermills) is mostly associated with monastic orders, especially Cistercians and Paulines. These features are usually located in the monasteries' immediate surrounding, which automatically led to be the main research aspect of the monastic space, in the Abaúj region and near Nagyvázsöny and Tálod, later in the Pilis region.³¹³

However, regarding the spatial research of monasteries, five years before Zatykó's summary, Beatrix F. Romhányi summarizes the historiography of monastic studies highlighting other aspects of the research field.³¹⁴ She argued that some pioneer, but brief publications were using environmental archaeological perspective that founded the monastic spatial attitude in Hungarian monastic studies.

³¹⁰ Csilla Zatykó, "Természeti Táj – Emberformálta Táj: A Középkori Környezet Rekonstrukciójának Lehetőségei." [Natural Landscape – Man-made Landscape: Possibilities for reconstructing the medieval environment], in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon 2.* [The archaeology of the middle ages and the post middle ages in Hungary], vol. 2, eds. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2010), 839–852.; also Csilla Zatykó, István Juhász and Pál Sümegi (eds.), *Environmental Archaeology in Transdanubia* (Budapest: MTA, 2007); Csilla Zatykó and Pál Sümegi, "Palaeoenvironment and documentary sources: tracing environmental changes in marginal landscapes in Hungary", in *Medieval Rural Settlement in Marginal Landscapes. Ruralia, VII.* eds. J. Klapšte – P. Sommer, (Turnhout – Brepols, 2009), 393–401.

³¹¹ Elek Benkő and Csilla Zatykó, *A Kárpát-medence környezettörténete a középkorban és a kora újkorban: Environmental history of the medieval and early modern Carpathian Basin* (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 2021).

³¹² MRT 5 1979 216–220; Miklós 1997; Takács 2003; Ferenczi 2008; Zatykó 2011b; Pető, *Pilis*. See on the pond management Jakab, Gusztáv; Sümegi, Pál; Benkő, Elek (2018). "Tógazdálkodás emlékei a középkori Magyarországon". In Jakab, Gusztáv; Tóth, Attiláné; Csengeri, Erzsébet (szerk.) *Alkalmazkodó Vízgazdálkodás : Lehetőségek és kockázatok. Víz tudományi Nemzetközi Konferencia* Szarvas, Magyarország : Szent István Egyetem Agrár- és Gazdaságtudományi Kar (2018) 326 p. pp. 61-65.

³¹³ Kékedi, *Nagyvázsöny*; Belényesi, *Abaúj-Hegyalja*; Pető, *Pilis*.

³¹⁴ On the topic see F. Romhányi, "Középkori egyházi épületek".

József Laszlovszky and Miklós Rácz published a complex study of Monostorossáp,³¹⁵ Edit Sárosi on Pálmonostora and Károly Belényesy on the Paulines of the Abaúj region.³¹⁶ More is known on the Transylvanian monasteries and monastic landuse, thanks to the work of Ünige Bencze.³¹⁷ Recently, Bencze in her dissertation summarized the monastic landscape in Transylvania, including Pauline monasteries as well, detecting and visualizing all the important features of space there.³¹⁸ Bencze and Oana Toda also studied the land-use of the Benedictine monastery of Kolozsmonostor.³¹⁹ As F. Romhányi highlights, the common value and characteristics of these studies are that the studied ecclesiastical buildings were contextualized in their immediate surrounding space, including their role in the settlement system, the natural environment and the earthworks/spatial elements were also evaluated.

F. Romhányi here also calls the attention that except the latter studies and other, former well-known monographs (Toronyalja,³²⁰ Pilisszentlélek³²¹ Pauline monasteries, Pilis³²² and Pásztó³²³ Cistercian monasteries), there are no complex studies on monastic estate management and landscape utilization – except the work of László Ferenczi on the water management system and estate management of the Cistercian order.³²⁴

³¹⁵ Laszlovszky – Rácz

³¹⁶ Belényesy 2004.

³¹⁷ Ünige Bencze, “Das Zisterzienserkloster Kerz. Neue Betrachtungen zu Gründung, dynastischen Verbindungen und Zisterzienserideale”. *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 35/2 (2012): 121-133; Ibid. “Reconstructing a Monastic Landscape: The example of the Cistercian Abbey Cârța (Kerz, Kerc)” in *Monastic Life, Art and Technology in the eleventh -sixteenth centuries*, ed. Ileana Burnichioiu. (Alba Iulia: Mega Publishing House, 2015), 29–45. Ibid. “A Medieval Pauline Monastic Landscape in the Szekler Land”. *Transylvania Nostra* 9/2 (2015): 10-17., Ibid. “The Abbey of Meszes: New Insights on the Location”. In *Genius Loci. Laszlovszky 60*, eds. Dóra Mérai et al. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2018), 68–71.

³¹⁸ Bencze, “On the Border”. Also see her previous publications in the bibliography on the land use of different estates of Cistercians and Benedictine monks.

³¹⁹ Ünige Bencze and Oana Toda, “Tájhasználat a kolozsmonostori bencés apátság Kajántó-völgyi birtokain” (Land use on the Kajántó Valley properties of Kolozsmonostor Benedictine Abbey). *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából* (New series) X-XI/2015-2016 (2019): 101-118.

³²⁰ Researched and published by Zsuzsa Miklós. See her works in the bibliography.

³²¹ See the works of Sarolta Lázár in the bibliography

³²² László Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* [The Cistercian Abbey at Pilis](Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1984).

³²³ Valtér Ilona,

³²⁴ Dissertation, also previous studies like Ferenczi, László (2006), “Estate Structure and Development of the Topusko (Toplica) Abbey. A Case Study of a Medieval Cistercian Monastery”, *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 12: 83–100. see also László Ferenczi, “Vízgazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon” [Water management in medieval Hungary], in *Gazdaság, gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon: gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet* [Economy and farming in medieval Hungary: Economic history, material culture, archaeology], ed. András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky, and Péter Szabó (Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2008), 341–361; László Ferenczi, “Észrevételek a topuszkói (toplicai) ciszterci apátság birtokstruktúrájával kapcsolatban” [Notes on the estate structure of the Cistercian abbey at Topuszkó (Toplica)], in *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában* [The Cistercian Order in Hungary and Central Europe], vol. 5, ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 277–292.

However, in the past few years the speed of research increased and the possibilities along with the scale of view could broaden, thus only five years after F. Romhányi's summary, Zatykó could conclude that besides water management systems, "various other ways of landscape exploitation and the monks' impacts on the environment are among the subjects of monastic landscape studies that have been conducted only in the past decade in Hungary."³²⁵

Field work and geoinformatical analyses exposed not only fishponds, remains of agricultural activity and roads, but special industrial activity, like the grangia and glass workshop of the Cistercian monastery in the Pilis.³²⁶ In the very same monastery, a geophysical survey revealed the complex usage of the water supply.³²⁷ Also its complex estate management was studied by József Laszlovsky and László Ferenczi recently (and since).³²⁸

Other studies conducted in the Pilis disclosed the complexity of landscape exploitation of the religious communities living in the Pilis Mountains. A study included the survey and documentation of earthworks (ponds, dykes, pathways, Least Cost Path analyses) arguing the complex historical and environmental reasons of Pauline foundations.³²⁹ A geoarchaeological investigations of fishponds broadened our knowledge in a way not only of monastic spaces, but their interaction with climatic and vegetation changes during the medieval period.³³⁰

The complex study of religious space demands a multi-disciplinary approach where historians, archaeologists, art historians, architectural historians, and other specialists have crucial roles. Isolated research and topics can produce an incomplete, or worse, a misleading picture.³³¹ Thus, there are

³²⁵ Zatykó 2015, 378, referring to Laszlovsky 2004; Pető 2014b.

³²⁶ Such studies were made on the Cistercians by József Laszlovsky and László Ferenczi recently, see László Ferenczi and József Laszlovsky, "Középkori utak és határhasználat a pilisi apátság területén" [Medieval roads and landscape management on the estate of the Pilis Abbey], *Studia Comitatus* 1 (2014): 103–124; László Ferenczi, "Molendium ad Aquas Calidas. A pilisi ciszterciek az állítólagos Fehéregyházán. Történeti, topográfiai és tájrégészeti kutatás a pilisi apátság birtokán" [The Cistercians in the Alleged Village of Fehéregyháza. Topographical and Landscape Archaeological Investigations on the Estate of the Pilis Abbey], *Studia Comitatus* 1 (2014): 145–161.

Benkő 2008; Laszlovsky 2009; Laszlovsky et al. 2014; Ferenczi – Laszlovsky 2014.

³²⁷ Hervay – Benkő – Takács 2007; Benkő 2010.

³²⁸ László Ferenczi and József Laszlovsky, "Középkori utak és határhasználat a pilisi apátság területén" [Medieval roads and landscape management on the estate of the Pilis Abbey], *Studia Comitatus* 1 (2014): 103–124; László Ferenczi, "Molendium ad Aquas Calidas. A pilisi ciszterciek az állítólagos Fehéregyházán. Történeti, topográfiai és tájrégészeti kutatás a pilisi apátság birtokán" [The Cistercians in the Alleged Village of Fehéregyháza. Topographical and Landscape Archaeological Investigations on the Estate of the Pilis Abbey], *Studia Comitatus* 1 (2014): 145–161.

³²⁹ Zsuzsa Pető, "Roman or Medieval? Historical Roads in the Pilis Forest" *Magyar Régészet / Hungarian Archaeology E-Magazine*, 2014/Autumn

http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/eng_peto_14O.pdf [22.07.2022]

³³⁰ Pál Sümegi, Gusztáv Jakab and Elek Benkő, "A pilisi királyi erdő a középkorban" [The Pilis royal forest in the medieval period], in *A Kárpát-medence környezettörténete a középkorban és a kora újkorban: Environmental history of the medieval and early modern Carpathian Basin*, eds. Elek Benkő and Csilla Zatykó, (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 2021), 249–330.

³³¹ Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, 13.

several ways to summarize all of these approaches, and further, other forms of investigation (integrating monastic landscape studies, archaeological, and new archaeometrical data) can produce significant new results by re-summarizing ideas and revealing the different aspects of Pauline monastic tradition.

3.4. Levels of Interpretation – Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Collecting data from various sources is not an easy task, therefore 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 in the next level of interpretation in Hungarian scholarship,³³² there is no strict, well-prepared protocol for documentation, however, some examples and a previous work of mine on the Pilis Forest; mostly its lessons were the foundation of the present concept.³³³

The main problem to solve is that spatial data represents various levels of everyday life (from small practical objects, e.g. a grape cutter to an entire road system of a region), and also dates to different time periods. An important methodological question has to be posed: how can such a varied and manifold dataset, containing information on different spatial levels, be managed within a unified yet flexible model?

The structure of the data—the background of the approach—starts with the smallest physical objects (archaeological material) and ends with the medieval Hungary. Archaeological and architectural sources (Level 1 and 2) are partially part of the analyses, they are represented as somewhat indirect sources in the present 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. Also, since there are not many excavated monastic buildings, except the churches,³³⁴ the detailed analysis of spatial arrangement of cloister buildings should be a future task.

The first of the focal points is on the level of the monastic space (Level 3), which includes the survey of partially the inner circle (the functions and general factors, like altitude, tájolás of the buildings) and more the outer skirts (dykes, fishponds, orchards, etc.) of the immediate space. Properties are part of monastic areas and thus part of an individual monastery's space; however, they

³³² See on this Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok a tájban”; also F. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 11.

³³³ Pető, *Pilis*, 45—48.

³³⁴ Although the need of re-evaluation and to document the already excavated building material, the carved stones seems to be due of research, unfortunately this work is not focusing on them.

can be distant from the monasteries, which means these territories (mills, villages, orchards, etc.) represent a broader spatial focus and hold important links. Thus, monastic areas are examined on a different spatial scale (Level 4), however, in almost every case they can be known only from written sources and since the properties were really small, no detailed information can be yielded on their size or precise location; moreover, sometimes they can be roughly localized on a basic level. This is the main reason why I incorporated the accounts on the monastic areas into the discussion of monastic space (Level 3) in the present introduction. Regional topography (Level 5) contextualizes the framework of monastic space through the spatial location of the group of monasteries (with their surroundings or other properties) in the light of geographic and contemporary topography.

How can one apply these approaches to find all of the discoverable and relevant features of monastic space, collect them into an appropriate database, and synthesize the information? After gathering the available historical and pictorial sources—and particularly maps—archaeologists conducting a traditional archaeological field survey explore the territory using a photo machine and GPS (Global Positioning System) and record the status and location of archaeological features. If there is an opportunity to use more precise methods in addition to the GPS-based survey of earthworks, optionally the local terrain may be digitized, or, in unique cases, other remote sensing techniques may be utilized (satellite images, LiDAR, etc.) in order to create a precise terrain model. In the Pilis, in addition to using a GPS unit on each survey, at one of the sites the digital surveying of the spatial features was done with total station (focusing on a fishpond and two dikes, as well as the eastern area of the ruins, where the downhill part of the terrain begins in the direction of the fishpond). Currently—as opposed to the first studies in this field in the 1970s³³⁵—the methodology is based on a digital platform, so all information is uploaded into a GIS (Geographical Information System) database. This process starts with recording the spatial data from primary sources (charters, descriptions, maps, and archaeological data) and uploading information on the features surrounding the sites, so the raw material's input. Afterwards, certain modellings and analyses can be done based on the possibilities and research questions, until the final outcomes are different visualizations of historical data revealed to geospatial and historical data.³³⁶ In the followings, two of the target levels are discussed, on which general information and some explanation is definitely needed.

³³⁵ The definition of landscape archaeology (within which the monastic space is interpreted) was first used by Mick Aston and David Rowley in their principle book, *Landscape Archaeology* (Newton Abbot, London, Vancouver: David & Charles, 1974). In the work they dedicated individual chapters to field techniques and to the organization and application of fieldwork.

³³⁶ The open-source QuantumGIS (3.24.) was used during the work, also the ArcGIS (ESRI) demo version..

3.4.1. Regional topography and the Pauline monasteries (Level 5)

The regional categories mostly reflect certain areas of mid-hilly regions in Hungary; however, the basis is definitely the specific distribution of the monasteries, so these regions are defined by certain groups of monasteries, ones that form a clear spatial alignment simply by their location. One of the indications is that the monastic space in a group can be defined by similar or closely related geographical characteristics. However, human-made systems and research questions also modify this unified viewpoint, which has to be attended by special attention.³³⁷

Regarding the regions, these are defined by Pauline monasteries can be handled as clusters, regional units, in which each monastery had its own status or role in the local hierarchy: according to the internal organization of the order (which is known from written sources) the most influential community of every four to six neighboring monasteries appointed a vicar who became the leader of the vicariate.³³⁸ For example, the monasteries in the Pilis were regulated by the vicar and general prior of St. Lawrence Monastery, near Buda but Nosztra in the Börzsöny was the vicar center for monasteries north and west to it. This is one aspect that can be compared to the geographically defined groups and find the similarities or more the differences, the human or natural environmental reasons behind them.

The other aspect, described in the introduction, is that each region has a closely related connection to different research questions, more likely problematics of Pauline history. Basically the northern Balaton region is related to those first communities, which later became Paulines. However, contemporary documents prove that monasteries northwest and west to the Lake Balaton were also involved into the process of development of the very same, recognized group monasteries, just like one in Somogy County. The reason behind is that they were all located in the territory of the Veszprém Diocese. Therefore this sum of monasteries should be examined together regarding many questions of the human-made spatial systems.

The eremitic communities, known from the very beginning of the thirteenth-century is related to Pécs,³³⁹ which is why the basic analysis of Pécs-Jakabhegy, also late thirteenth-century foundations at Olasz and Bajcs, are ideal to be done and incorporate to the discussion on the foundation and early development of the order in a regional scale, not by all means on other levels.

³³⁷ To not to mangle the frame of the work and the platform of clear-cut contextualizations, thus the validity of results should be unquestionable from the aspect of methodology.

³³⁸ Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaij-Hegyalján*, 104–105, based on Mályusz (1971), “Remeterendek”, 259–274.

³³⁹ However, the hermits of Dédes in the Bükk are known since the 1240s, but a valid, organized community is proved to be only at Pécs at the time.

The next area, the Pilis and Börzsöny has always been discussed separately in scholarship, although there are several reasons to examine these areas together. These all relate to the fact of permanent royal presence in the area, which is closely affected the second period of the Pauline order's development (the second half of the thirteenth century), also the fourteenth-century flourishing of the Paulines (until around the end of King Sigimund's reign).

The Abaúj-Hegyalja region is a kind of test area, where the Paulines were present from the early fourteenth century. This area was previously studied by Belényesy³⁴⁰ but since his work, some new data (archaeological and archival), also other aspects can be involved into a re-evaluation of the monastic space.

Besides the few conclusions I aim to have as a final outcome on the level of the Hungarian Kingdom (Level 6), the primer core of the dissertation is the regional understanding (Level 5) of the Pauline communities – however, the comparative analysis of such territories will definitely reflect the overall understanding of the Pauline network in the country, Level 6. Such conclusions can be contextualized in the results of several recent studies, like F. Romhányi's work on the correlation of settlement systems, monastic network and demography.³⁴¹

The basic analyses on regional (and also on a comparative) scale include the correlation of individual monasteries to the road system, to central places (other monasteries, castles, towns, nearest settlements), but if it is possible, geographical (nearest water, if possible contemporary data on flora and fauna, characteristics of elevation, like latitude or exposure to the Sun) and geological (e.g. soil, bedrock) analyses will also be included. It is also interesting to examine the spatial features of the known founders (king and nobles usually), which serves as a unique topic for comparing them on the level of regions. Although much of these are related to the location of the monasteries, the basic summary of the lower-level-analyses should be summarized on a regional level.

³⁴⁰ Belényesy, Pál *kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*,

³⁴¹ Beatrix F. Romhányi, Beatrix, "Kolostorhálózat – településhálózat – népesség. A középkori Magyar Királyság demográfiai helyzetének változásaihoz" [Monastic network – settlement system – population: on the demographic changes of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom], *Történelmi Szemle* 57 (2015): 1–49; or "Szempontok a Kárpát-medence térszervezésének változásaihoz (5–14. század)", in *Hatalmi központok az Avar Kaganátusban – Power centres of the Avar Khaganate*, eds. Csilla Balogh, József Szentpéteri and Erika Wicker (Kecskemét: Katona József Múzeum, MTA BTK Magyar Őstörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2019), 399–420; also see "Changes of the Spatial Organisation of the Carpathian Basin (5th–fourteenth Century)" *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* (2017): 1–31; "Kolostorhálózat, területfejlesztés, régiók a Borostyán-út mentén" *Soproni Szemle* 72 (2018): 119–146; or the studies on road network by Magdolna Szilágyi.

3.4.2. *Monastic Areas and Monastic Landscape (Level 3 – 4)*

The four pillars of human settlement require water, arable land and pasture (for cultivation and livestock farming), available fuel and building materials (mainly timber, stone and clay). Although these categories have not changed over the millennia, nowadays a variety of materials are available and conditions are more specialised. All current economic systems were established around these four pillars, adjusted not only to environmental but also humansocial factors – Pauline agriculture developed likewise in the Middle Ages.

Human-nature interaction has left marks and features on the landscapes that are the basis for further historical investigation into politics, economy, and culture. The common denominator in this issue is space, where each type and detail has its own role. A spatial research approach can gather all the available 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.).

In natural sciences, the most important sources are pollen analysis, dendrochronology (tree-ring dating) and archaeobotany (the study of macro-plant remains); the latter is key to unveiling the history of the plants grown. With great luck, these would give us more information about the Pauline Fathers and the medieval living space (most probably on their immediate surrounding or near their estates). Currently, we have sporadic information from the area of the Pilis Forest.³⁴²

However, according to the written sources, medieval Pauline estate management included a variety of landed estates: plough lands, meadows and pastures, vineyards, fruit-gardens, forests, fishponds, and mills. Some monasteries managed to accumulate small but contiguous estates, whose final shape and size, had been shaped either by the intentions of the donators or by the efforts of the Paulines themselves. The size of the estates was diverse: there were rather well-off monasteries, but poor ones as well which could hardly sustain themselves from their income.³⁴³ Based on the written evidence, the monasteries were eager to unify their surrounding estates and to have them close to each other, just as their arable lands, vineyards, lakes and mills.³⁴⁴

The origin of the Pauline estate management gradually developed in the thirteenth-fourteenth century until it reached its complex form. The beginnings of the order are not well known, but it is

³⁴² see Sümegi et al., “A pilis királyi erdő”, 316.

³⁴³ F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 6.

³⁴⁴ Pető, *Pilis*, summary

sure that at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the “hermit monasteries” were given small lands and properties. Vineyards had a main role since the very first donations,³⁴⁵ but depending on local facilities/availability, arable lands, meadows and pasture-lands, woods, and fisheries also had primary importance in the local Pauline economy during the Middle Ages.³⁴⁶

The spatial approach is an interpretational framework in this case. Some of the basic categories of this framework (site selection, distance, natural resources for monastic life, settlement network) were also important factors for the Pauline monastic community, therefore, the results of this perspective is closer to the perception of medieval people, and more can be understood about the features of the medieval world.

It is already discussed in scholarship that almost all Pauline monasteries were founded in marginal areas of inhabited regions, in hidden, mid-hilly lands, close to streams and stream-heads; supposedly they were built on the remains of hermitages, other buildings (deserted churches, manor houses), close to the original dwellings of hermits, or at least in regions where early hermitages were documented in charters. However, the distance of the monasteries from habitation areas does not mean that they were secluded from the lay sphere and each other.³⁴⁷

The Pauline landscape holds many important, though only partially revealed, historical features. Thus, in addition to gathering and visualizing the previous research, it is essential to find new spatial information concerning the potential and structure of the land. These existing elements are the physical remains and features of historical human-nature interactions in the medieval (and here monastic) space; most often they are so-called earthworks. These can relate to the typical monastic 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.³⁴⁸ These earthworks

³⁴⁵ Solymosi, “Pilissziget”, 11-23.

³⁴⁶ It is clear from the charters that different holdings had different values depending on the territory, which modified the basic holdings of the monasteries to some degree. E.g., in Northeastern Hungary there were more vineyards, while in Slavonia woods had more value and therefore were preferred. F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 6, 134.

³⁴⁷ As Belényesi mentions concerning the Abaúj region, “all settlements can be reached within one-hour by walking, but generally the distance is not more than one to two kilometers. This is a symbolic separation from the secular environment, to which the community is linked in numerous ways.” Belényesi, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 103. This characteristic of the order was highlighted first by Tamás Guzsik, who had drawn a sketch of the surrounding landscape. His notes are highly appreciated in contemporary research since a lot of the monasteries had been unlocated until his survey or worse, had vanished since his documentation. Guzsik, *Pálos építész*

³⁴⁸ On this topic see Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*; and Ibid., *Water management*. On medieval fisheries and ponds see Aston, *Medieval Fishponds*.

are well-preserved on many sites in our research area; especially in the wooded, uninhabited areas of the mid-hilly regions many—until recently undiscovered—earthworks exist.

In England, for example, a great wealth of evidence related to spatial features survives from all kinds of sources, therefore landscape archaeological approaches and the concept of monastic landscape highly developed in scholarly studies in the United Kingdom are particularly important. The great wealth of evidence combined with other sources (pictorial, sites with earthwork features) can produce significant new results, particularly 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 that survived there but that can also be correlated with features of the Pauline space in Hungary. The present summary starts from the monastery itself and gradually broadens the horizon of features, further from the inner precinct. A detailed summary on estate management is also attached to the comprehensive understanding of each topic

3.4.3. A Digital Application of Sources

Challenges of digitized datasets

The first step of source collecting was a huge and varied data-collection ([Appendices](#)), which was analyzed in accordance with the type of sources. In terms of analysis, written data was contextualized in contemporary space through geographical and further, indirect data concerning local historical and archaeological topography.

There are two, huge separate tasks when one attempts to digital spatial analyses. First, evidently, the database of the targeted topic should be collected and systematized, which is extremely important to be planned thoroughly. In this case, integrating the location of the monasteries was the first step, which was collected from secondary literature and then, in all cases, controlled on the ground. Not only the location, but the already-known spatial attributes were also important in each case, they are all used in the detailed analysis (Chapter 4-6), also referred in the Appendices. This part includes not only secondary sources, but archival (written and cartographic) research as well.

Beside materials related to the analyzed topic, another crucial bunch of data is essential; namely the ones related to the contemporary space. The available, open-source datasets³⁴⁹ on

³⁴⁹ See Engel (cited in details in the abbreviations and bibliography), the digital map of properties in late medieval Hungary, which is a refreshing example, but without editable datasets, it is good as an illustration only. There is an urgent need to gather scholars, who could discuss to identify challenges and create strategies to face, or rather solve them. It is

medieval Hungary are very limited, the ones that exist are made by individual colleagues, and shared out of collegiality. In this work, I had to create a full set of regional datasets, which took a huge amount of time: secondary sources, cartographic, pictorial, and written evidence are all combined in such cases.

The quality of the visual material is strongly depending on the quality and quantity of sources. In the case of the Balaton Uplands, the overview of the large amount of data was only time-consuming, but it contained a rather sufficient amount of information. This helped to create adequate maps of medieval space there. In the case of the Pilis and Börzsöny Forests, the archaeological data, namely the medieval settlements could have been analyzed even more, but it requires more targeted field surveys and archival research. The sites in the wooded area are only known from there. Here the application of digital modelling was reasonable in regards of roads, since data on historical roads was scattered and mostly based on archaeological information. The least numerous data could be mined in the case of Abaúj-Hegyalja region, where the last archaeological survey was published thirty years back, which focused only on Árpadian age sites. Here the written and cartographic evidence was also barely sufficient.

Digital survey methods, digitized data in details

Despite the recognized effectiveness of LiDAR in penetrating forest canopies, its capability for archaeological prospection can be strongly limited in areas covered by dense vegetation for the detection of subtle remains scattered over morphologically complex areas. In these cases, an important contribution to improve the identification of topographic variations of archaeological interest is provided by LiDAR-derived models (LDMs) based on relief visualization techniques.

GIS not only serves as a database of the digitized and visualized spatial data, but it is possible to develop further analytical methods and models within this system.³⁵⁰ Despite the fact that most of the valuable geostatistical methods are based on (digital) elevation/terrain maps and that the more detailed the available model is, the more successful the analysis will be, all other layers (spatial datasets, maps) also contain spatial information. With the help of different methods (digitizing, georeferencing, etc.) these layers can be overlapped with each other, helping to find new spatial connections between various maps on a digital desktop. Features, unknown earthworks, or simple

impossible to step forward without a digital, open-source historical dataset in medieval studies. A promising and informative database is GISta Hungarorum, managed by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

<https://gistory.hu/g/hu/gistory/gismaps>

³⁵⁰ For further examples see Mark Gillings and David Wheatley, *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: the archaeological applications of GIS* (CRC Press: London and New York, 2002)

spatial connections can be revealed in this way, which might also have correlating data in medieval written sources.

During this work, the spatial information was extracted from all the available modern and historical maps,³⁵¹ but the following kinds of maps are worth to be georeferenced (i.e., invested with real geospatial data) with a selection of the listed, specific data:

- tourist/hiker map from the beginning of the twentieth century³⁵² (concerning all the studied the geographical regions):
 - streams, lakes, springs (also the modern route of the Danube), caves
 - toponyms
- map of the Unified National Map System (projection 1: 10 000):
 - streams, lakes, springs, caves
 - modern roads for comparison
 - toponyms
- First and Second Ordnance Surveys of Hungary (concerning the monasteries and monastic space):
 - roads
 - some types of land management: arable lands/vineyards
 - remains of water management: mills, ponds
 - natural features: streams, lakes, wooded areas.
- maps from the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary*
- several historical maps were not drawn well enough for georeferencing, but information was extracted from some of them (the majority of examples in Chapter 5)

Additional spatial survey and data that was integrated includes:

- digitized terrain and features (total station and GPS unit) around the monastery at Kesztlőc. By Katalin Tolnai and András Harmath.
- digitized features (GPS unit and LiDAR) around several monasteries: Gönc, Göncruszka, Pilisszentlélek, Pilisszentlászló, Tálod, and finally Salföld. Conducted by Tamás LÁtos (HNM NIA).

³⁵¹ See the precise references on the correlating chapters.

³⁵² Digital version of a Reprint (1928) by Ministry of Defense, Cartographical Public company; Budapest, 2007.

Based on these layers, further (geostatistical) analyses and models can be developed, but for every analysis, a precise digital geographical and elevation map or model (DEM) is essential. The open source layers are usually accurate enough (accurate in 30 meters at best), which is sufficient for middle or large scale tests. With a DEM, slope inclination and slope aspect are measurable on the selected area, just as the landscape units and slope classes can be identified. The potential sources of water supply and 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 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 the present accuracy of the terrain model can be used successfully in flat and hilly regions.

In the mid-hilly area of the Pilis, a Least Cost Path (LCP) analysis, which measures the shortest and easiest way between two points, was used successfully. It is based on a cost distance analysis, on the basis of the distance and the energy that is needed to take the path (calculated on a 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.

Lastly, the digitization of the terrain has to be emphasized. This gives us a unique opportunity to examine some of the geographical conditions and circumstances of establishment, development, and approximate capacity of these fishponds and dikes. However, if this method stands alone it can mislead the results, because simply measuring and recording the condition of the earthworks in their present-day form cannot be valid for medieval times. Geodesy and digitization are just the first step to further research, mainly with geoarchaeological approaches, which are, moreover, essential regarding heritage preservation and management of these lands.³⁵³ All these new landscape approaches, which have a short-term tradition in Hungary,³⁵⁴ can influence the image of the Pauline Order and can reveal many new elements concerning the connection between the Pauline political role, character, and economic traditions.

³⁵³ On the topic see József Laszlovszky, *Az Európai Táj Egyezményés a hazai tájrégészet*. [The European Landscape Convention and the national landscape archaeology], *Műemlékvédelmi és Építészettörténeti Szemle* 52/2 (2008): 101–104.

³⁵⁴ See Laszlovszky, “Középkori kolostorok a tájban.”

CHAPTER 4 – THE BALATON UPLANDS, VESZPRÉM DIOCESE

4.1. Introduction³⁵⁵

The prosperity (in terms of settlements, ecclesial institutions, etc.) of the Balaton Uplands, along with the bishopric of Veszprém and the local environmental sets all that affected the foundation and life of the local Pauline monasteries, moreover, in some regards the beginning of the history of the order as well. Although there were other eremitic communities all over the Carpathian Basin (see Chapter 7.4. figures), several reasons might be behind the fact that the Balaton Uplands, the Veszprém Diocese was the first area where these hermitages were documented in a large number by arranging their daily life and boundaries.

These reasons are all because most probably the Transdanubian area (most of all Zala county) was densely populated and regarded as precious land, also the secular and ecclesial administration was well-developed slightly before other areas (even the first Benedictine monastery at Pannonhalma was founded here in 996 by Grand Prince Géza). Not only the natural environment but the Roman presence (*Pannonia provincia*) also had a huge impact on medieval Transdanubia. The impact and continuity of the Roman cultural landscape was studied by scholarship and many fragments were revealed in regards to population, civilization, also the built environment.³⁵⁶ For example, it is argued that the tradition of vine cultivation in medieval times originated from Roman times, also the developed Roman road system helped the civilization and development of the territory.³⁵⁷

All these and some further features justify that several interesting questions can be addressed about the eremitic and Pauline monasteries on multiple spatial levels and time periods in this region, therefore the addressing of a few characteristics of the Balaton Uplands, beyond the present analysis, is unavoidable: not only geographical and historical, but practical reasons also formed my work, mostly in regards to region and site selection.

³⁵⁵ See the map in Chapter 1. Introduction, Fig. 1.1.

³⁵⁶ Attila Kiss, “Pannonia római kori lakossága népvándorlaskori helybenmaradásának kérdéséhez” [Contribution to the Problem of the Survival of the Roman-age Population of Pannonia in the Period of Migrations] *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 10 (1966): 85–94.; Endre Tóth, “Bemerkungen zur Kontinuität der römischen Provinzialbevölkerung in Transdanubien (Nordpannonien)”, in *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert. Hrsg. Bernhard Hänsel. Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft-Seminar für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Freien Universität (München–Berlin, 1987)*, 251–264; Neil Christie, “The survival of Roman settlement along the Middle Danube: Pannonia from the fourth to the tenth century AD”, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 11 (1992): 317–339; Tivadar Vida, “Late Roman territorial organization and the settlement of the barbarian gentes in Pannonia” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 13. (2007): 319–331.

³⁵⁷ See the recent studies of Magdolna Szilágyi in the bibliography, also her bibliography, for example László Gyula László, György Székely or Endre Tóth; also KMTL 702.

Although all the examined monasteries are located in the territory of the Veszprém Diocese, the geographical impoundment and definition of the Balaton Uplands was a challenge at first: the geographical area is part of an extended scientific evaluation from different perspectives and different extensions, but in most cases the geographical micro landscapes of Hungary represent the basis. A recent, broad analysis³⁵⁸ aimed to study a variety of aspects (scientific, legal regulations, development documentation, frequency of mentions) in the Balaton Uplands. Among these, at least four scientific approaches were divided: re-evaluated geographical micro landscapes, Balaton Uplands' Basinal micro region, architectural and ethnographic, also archaeological and landscape architectural perspectives. Since most of these aspects have relevance in the research, the summarizing map of them served as the basis and impoundment for the present study.

The covered medieval monasteries are the followings: Révfülöp/Insula Pilup (Chapter 4.3.1.), Salföld/Kőkút (Chapter 4.3.2.), Badacsony (Chapter 4.3.4.), Tálod/Pula (Chapter 4.3.5.), Henye (Chapter 4.3.6.), Uzsa (4.3.7.), Vállus (Chapter 4.3.8.), Vázsony and Berény (Chapter 4.3.9.), (see Fig. 4.1.). However, this list is not the basis of the evaluated hermitages and monasteries. Berény hermitage is usually not regarded by scholarship, although written sources mention the friars of the Holy Cross there, so it is discussed in the present work. Not like Vázsony, which was founded in the 1470s, decades after the reign of King Sigismund I, so it is excluded from the study. Beside these decisions, there were still other, historical and methodological aspects that were considered and which affected the extension of the work and the list of the analyzed monasteries.

³⁵⁸ Máté, Klaudia, – Sallay, Ágnes, - Mikházi, Zsuzsanna (2017). "A Balaton-felvidék lehatárolásai" [The bordering of the Balaton Uplands] *Tájökológiai Lapok* 15/2: 99– 114.

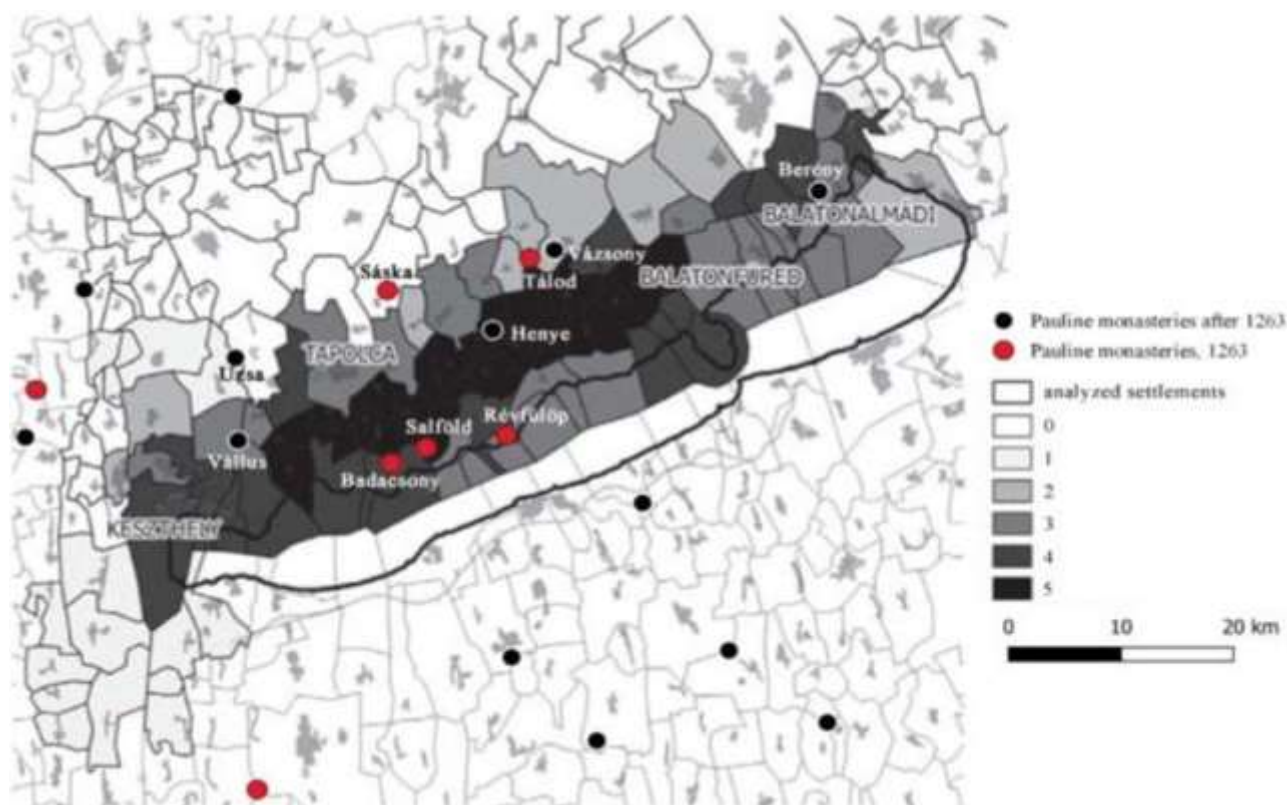


Fig. 4.1. **Balaton Uplands.** The Pauline monastic cluster at the Balaton Uplands and the settlements in the region, which are regarded as part of the Balaton Uplands. The numbers indicated in the legend refer to the number of mentions that the authors have found in specific documents about the settlements, identified their location at the Balaton Uplands. Base map: Máté–Sallai–Mikházi, “A Balaton-felvidék”, 23.

One of the pillars of the present chapter is the whole environment at the Balaton Uplands at the time of foundation of the order, or even earlier at the appearance of the first hermitages in the thirteenth century. The very first known group of hermitages, which were considered later as Pauline monasteries,³⁵⁹ were the ones listed in 1263 by Bishop Paulus Szécsi. They were founded on the lands of Veszprém Diocese, moreover, most of them are located at the discussed geographical region. This is why the present chapter aims to add new understandings of the circumstances around the foundation of the hermitages and also the later Pauline communities, revealing the differences between their daily life, research methods and possible understandings.

First of all, the Balaton Uplands is the region, which helps to understand the history of the hermitages, how, where, by whom they were founded? Who were the donators and what type of lands they received? How did they cultivate them, how far were these lands of their properties? In regards

³⁵⁹ When, it is still a question. The *Vitae Fratrum* preserved the charter and the list, which was written in the early sixteenth century. Since Frater Gregorius used those documents which were stored in the archive and library of the monasteries, the fact that Paul's charter was there suggests that these hermitages were considered as Paulines (maybe because of the ones that survived and joined the Pauline order).

to the scattered data, it seems to be an idea divorced from reality to understand the changes of the eremitic lifestyle within the thirteenth century; however, some indirect data and the circumstances of foundations would also give some hints on the topic.

Not only the thirteenth, but the fourteenth and the fifteenth century is an unaddressed phase in Pauline history at the Balaton Uplands; just like in other regions, the total chronological scope and the tendencies of the era were never studied in detail. At the Balaton Uplands, it is unclear why some hermitages disappeared, while others survived somehow? What happened with the flourishing and supporting background of the hermits and why did some monasteries become improper for the Paulines in the fifteenth century? Why has the focus shifted to other regions since the early 1300s? If there were changes in the estate management, what were these? What kind of social and economic relations represented the daily life of the Paulines monks here?

Many other questions can be raised, however, the key question here is: how and to what extent is following this process possible? The problem lies in multiple facts and layers of the traditional Pauline history. The first of them is the list of Bishop Paul, which mentions the following hermitages that were regarded as the origins of the Pauline order (the numbers refer to the ones on Fig. 4.2.): *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae* [now Révfülöp] (1), *Kewkwth Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae* [now Salföld] (2), *Bohon Sancti Jacobi* [near the village of Sáska] (3), *Idegst Beatae Elisabeth* [unidentified, maybe the monastery at Tálod, present-day Pula] (4), *Bodochun Sancti Emerici* [now northwest of Badacsonytomaj] (5), *Insula prope Ewrmenyes Elek Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae* [unlocated, maybe at Barátság, north of Kehidakustány] (6), *Zakach Sancti Dominici* [northeast of present Nagyszakácsi] (7).³⁶⁰

³⁶⁰ VF, Cap. 10.

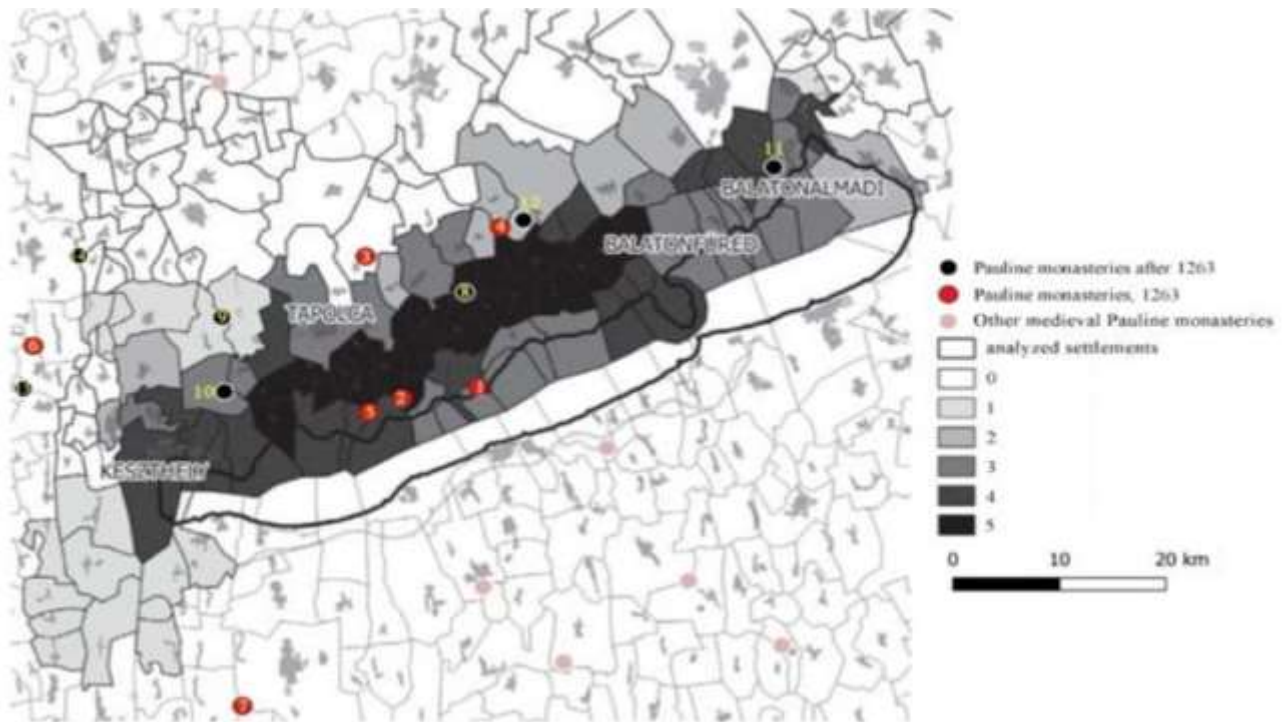


Fig. 4.2. **Balaton Uplands.** The Pauline monastic cluster, the order of the hermitages in 1263 at the Balaton Uplands. The numbers indicated in the legend refer to the number of mentions that the authors have found in specific documents about the settlements, identified their location at the Balaton Uplands. Base map: Máté–Sallai–Mikházi, “A Balaton-felvidék”, 23.

Three of the seven communities are not located at the Balaton Uplands, namely Kehidakustány (6), and Nagyszakácsi (7), so these are not to be discussed and analyzed individually, only in a broad regional perspective.³⁶¹ Neither the monastery of Sáska (3) is located in the geographical region, however, it lays just at the border of the Balaton Uplands and during the time of research it became clear that it should be also regarded individually for multiple reasons:

(a) last year, in 2022 new data emerged on the monastery of St. Helena of Pilup, which indicates that the two communities were neighbors at some point in time – the context of this integrity and understanding of the hermitages, their foundation or purpose might be clearer by adding Sáska to the list.

(b) The specific features of Pauline daily life at the Balaton Uplands could be toned without any close comparisons – Sáska is the northernmost of the monasteries in the Diocese in the Bakony forest.

³⁶¹ Just like two other monasteries in the broad region: Enyere or Örményes, founded after 1263 but before 1437. These two are not located in the present understanding of the Balaton Uplands and they are also part of the ongoing PhD research of Livia Simmer, along with Kehidakustány and to my recent knowledge, probably Vállus as well, which I study in regards of the present area.

(c) It was founded by the Rátót and probably the Keszi kindreds, just like the hermitage at Tálod, which creates such an excellent basis to compare the history of the two foundations.

(d) At this point it is noteworthy to mention that from these seven eremitic communities only four converted to a Pauline monastery: Salföld, Sáska, Tálod and outside the Balaton Uplands, Nagyszakácsi. Besides, the gradual development of hermitages into monasteries might be apparent from the study area if a kind of hermitage is included, which later turned to a Pauline monastery and it is extremely close to the discussed area, thus the history of the community at Sáska contributes to the understanding of the time period, when this transformation had happened, around the end of the thirteenth-first decades of the fourteenth century; it unveils the answer for the question: why some hermitages survived and some why not? ³⁶²

Some other monasteries, Henye (8), Uzsa (9), Vállus (10) and Berény (11) are located at the Uplands, which were founded between 1291³⁶³-1437, thus they were part of the detailed individual analysis that has a role in the understanding of the differences (if there are any) between the earlier hermitages that became Pauline monasteries and these ones, which were most probably founded intentionally in the frame of a somewhat organized and prospering monastic community.³⁶⁴

It is noteworthy to highlight the status of the other monasteries and early hermitages in the broader region. An early fourteenth-century monastery at Enyere (14), along with Örményes (13) and Elek (6), also Vállus (10) are part of an ongoing research program, led by the Museum of Göcsej at Zalaegerszeg and studied by Livia Simmer archaeologist in the frame of her PhD studies at Pázmány Catholic University. The results I am using of Vállus in the present work are all the published ones.

The history of the area, primarily the Balaton Uplands has always been in the focus of medievalists and archaeologists, therefore the literature is broad and detailed in many topics. In the introduction of the environment of the Uplands, I've focused on those specific topics, which seemed to be key factors in the understanding of the eremitic communities and the Pauline monasteries. At first sight, this discussion might be overwhelming/too broad and pointless, but it was an inevitable task/assignment during the research since the regional studies on the Paulines were always lacking

³⁶² Although it is still a question which monasteries were part of the growing and appearing order. The intention of clustering among the hermitages (at least in Veszprém county) was definitely present in the second half of the thirteenth century. Three main events indicate this: first, the inventory of Paul in 1263, which happened to arrange the lives of the hermitages and hermits all as one, together. Also, the list of the hermitages gathered by Benedict, the Bishop of Veszprém in 1291, recounted two more communities, which were located in the Pilis indicate that these communities might have regarded themselves as a kind of eremitic community. A few years later these communities at least were called the brothers of the Holy Cross and in 1308 the first general chapter was organized and a general prior was elected.

³⁶³ The second list of communities on the territory of the Veszprém Diocese, see Chapter 3.

³⁶⁴ See the earlier note on the transformation period between the eremitic communities and the Pauline period.

such information: the contemporary context of the surrounding area and the invisible human-made environment, the summary of the tangible and intangible world – what little is still accessible of it.

Fortunately, there is sufficient available information on the flora and fauna of the medieval region, also the historical geography of the selected area is well described. Historical data is also rich, concerning studies and source material as well, but in regards to digitization, there were some serious limitations: most of the data had to be collected, corrected at some level, and digitized. This is why ecclesial space is represented by limited data: the monasteries of other orders, the local parishes and also the deanery and diocese centers. Settlements are represented by the parish system again (which results in the chronological not periodized medieval space) and the archaeological topography provided information. Castles also represent part of the historical data, just like ferry sites along the Balaton shore.

This chapter intends to document all those features that have relevance in the medieval surroundings of the selected hermitages and monasteries and reveal some features on a regional level as well. It also uncovers all the available data on the medieval Pauline spaces, the recontextualized and digitized data, which is sometimes dramatically scarce. Anyhow, I aim to shed some light on the difference between hermits, hermitages and later Pauline monks and monasteries, their daily life and challenges at the Balaton Uplands.

4.2. The natural and human-made environment of the Balaton Uplands

Despite the long-lasting county border between Zala and Veszprém, the immediate northern shore area had strong connections with the lands that are located to the north, up until the northern slopes of the Bakony Forest (or even further to the north), in terms of properties, economy and environment.³⁶⁵ This area, thanks to the climate of the lake Balaton, which is the largest lake in Central Europe, the northern shore has a mediterranean climate and has been cultivated for many centuries.³⁶⁶

Accordingly, a variety of economic strategies, different structures of daily life were possible to be developed in the broad region, as a result of the different environmental factors: the lake and

³⁶⁵ Éri “Veszprém megye középkori,” 199.

³⁶⁶ Janus Pannonius, the famous Hungarian renaissance polyhistor, member of the Church, and a prominent member of King Matthias I's court had written an epigram on an almond tree at Transanubia, *De amygdalo in Pannonia Nata*, using the almond tree as a symbol of him, the educated renaissance man and his art, which is a rarity in the Carpathian Basin - just like the delicate almond tree. Although there are a few areas where it is still cultivated: on the southern slopes of Mecsek (near Pécs), the Káli valley in the Balaton Uplands.

the immediate shore was the location of fishing and viticulture, the Bakony Forest was ideal for life that is based on hunting and forestry (enclosed forested mid-hills, covered mostly with different type of oak-tree), and in between the two lands, the fertile lowlands (steppe) were ideal for stock raising (even in winter times) and agriculture or harvesting reed. It is of utmost importance to highlight that all these factors were really close to each other in distance, which represents the essence and strong value of the region. This was the key to intensive regional economic relations and also the deep interest of the secular and religious elites in these lands as prospering properties.³⁶⁷

4.2.1. Boundaries and properties

Several characteristics should be highlighted in regards to the administrative, ecclesial and natural background and impoundment of the area, which partly shaped the history of the examined monasteries as well. Most of the Upper Balaton area was part of the historical Zala County, only the eastern quarter, a few settlements of the northern shore of Lake Balaton were part of Veszprém County (Fig. 4.2). This only changed in the mid-twentieth century (1950-1979), when almost the whole of the northern shore was attached to Veszprém County, just as it is nowadays. (Fig. 4.3.).

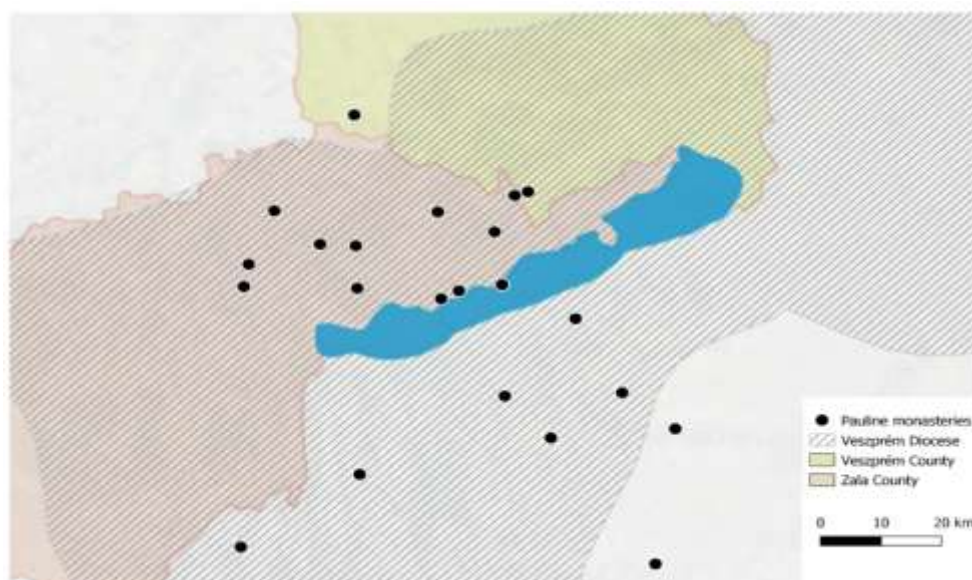


Fig. 4.3. **Balaton Uplands.** The Pauline monasteries in Zala and Veszprém counties, also the Diocese of Veszprém.
Base maps: https://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/zml/archontologiai_adatbazis_terkepek (last accessed: 01-11-2023)

This change advanced the coherency of natural and the administrative zones, since the Balaton Upland area is the most northeastern, seemingly enclosed area of the county, meaning it represents a

³⁶⁷ Éri "Veszprém megye középkori," 199–200; Gyulai 2009, 87.

different environment and living sphere than it was present at other parts of Zala. The most obtrusive difference is that the Balaton Uplands as a natural unit, had mostly been formed by volcanic activity, which resulted in many differences compared to the surrounding areas. For example, a small difference is that while in most areas of Zala the most appropriate building material was brick, at the Balaton Uplands it was stone.³⁶⁸

Not only the environmental, but the human-made, administrative zones are suggesting the detachment of the area: the most important centers in the road network of Zala (Tapolca, Nagykanizsa, Csáktornya) seemingly exclude the Balaton Uplands.³⁶⁹ Also, mostly noblemen possessed lands in Zala, while at the Balaton Uplands was dominated by royal lands, but most significantly by the Benedictine Abbey of Tihany and the Chapter and the Bishop of Veszprém – although amongst the dioceses, the latter governed most of Zala County. Such differences implied that at the beginning, the limitation of the present study must have had a specific background or backgrounds, which are now obviously ecclesial and geographical perspectives.

The Diocese of Veszprém, which was founded by King Stephen I in 1009, had jurisdiction over a large area that includes the examined group of hermitages (Fig. 4.4.) that were listed in 1263 by the Bishop Paul and recognized later as the second earliest Pauline monasteries, not so long after the foundation of the eremitic community of St. James at Pécs - however, some consideration should be taken since the earliest hermitage at the Balaton Uplands is mentioned around 1221 (see Chapter 4.3.1. *Insula Pilup*).

³⁶⁸ Despite being the center of the County, Zalavár was almost halfway between the northeastern and southwestern corner of the county.

³⁶⁹ István Békefi, *Zalai utak* [Roads of Zala] (Zalaegerszeg, 1978), 13.

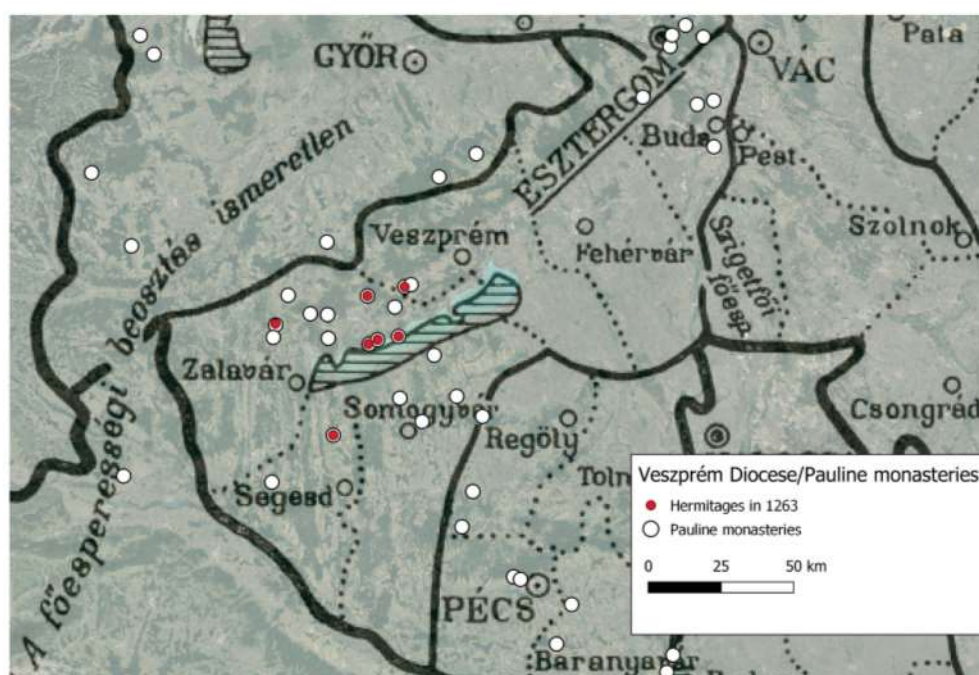


Fig. 4.4. **Balaton Uplands.** The Pauline monasteries in Zala and Veszprém counties, also the Diocese of Veszprém.
Base maps: https://mek.oszk.hu/09100/09175/html/images/9_nagykep.jpg (last accessed: 02-02-2023)

The settlement system of the Balaton Uplands had already been developed in the Árpadian period, the settlements were founded on those areas where the environmental characteristics were the most ideal, which were mostly on top of previously inhabited territories.³⁷⁰ Regarding the secular properties, very important lands were possessed by the king and the queen since the earliest Árpadian period. The inhabitants of the royal properties were in charge of different specialized services, like in the Kál-völgy, or at Ábrahám (royal fruit garden provisors) Füred, Gyulakeszi, Alsóörs (royal cooks), Badacsonytomaj, Káptalan-tóti, Vászoly, Balatonszőlős, Szepezd or Igrice (royal bard). These were governed by courtiers (*familiaris aulae regiae*) who resided in or near the local, royal manors (*curia/curtis*). (Fig. 4.5)

³⁷⁰ Éri, “Veszprém megye középkori,” 199–200. Although the medieval topography has never been compared to previous settlements, like the Roman system.

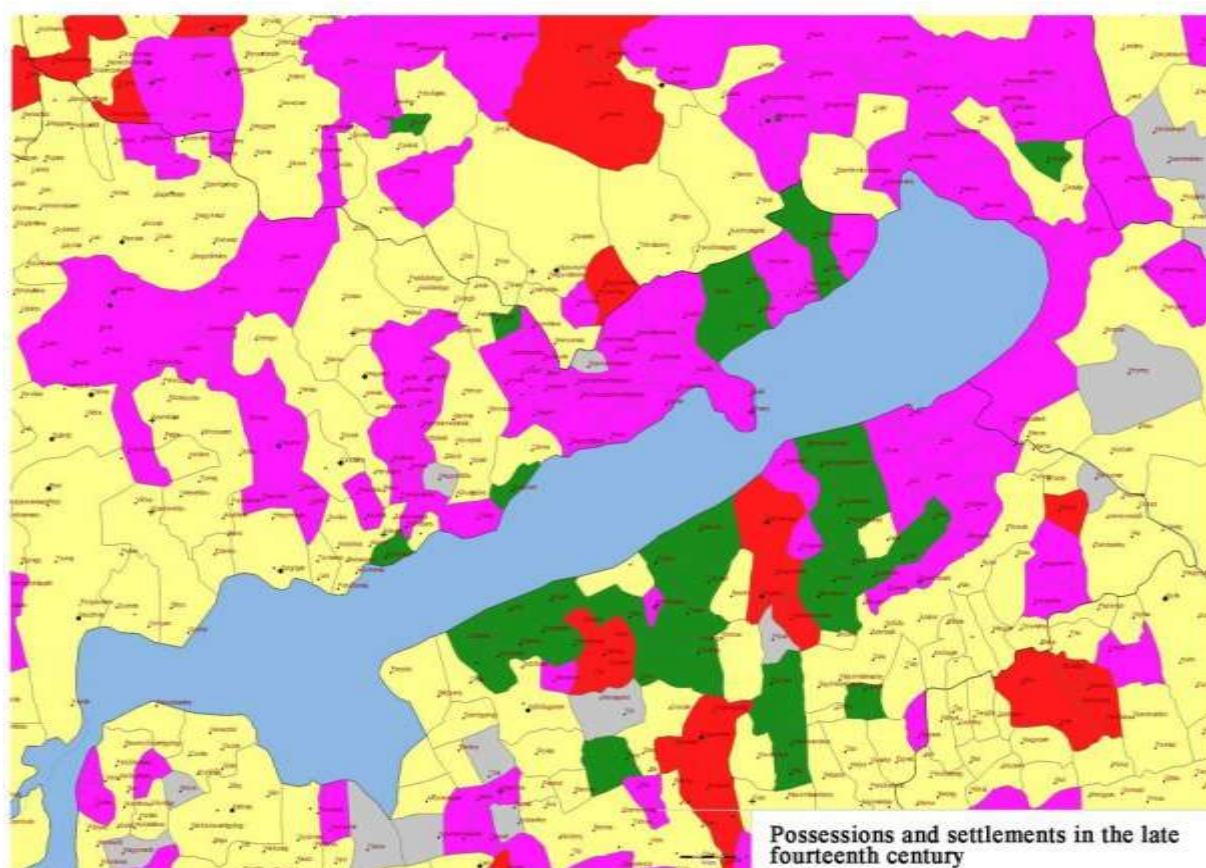


Fig. 4.5. *Balaton Uplands. Possessions and settlements at the Balaton Uplands in 1382.* Source: Engel Maps. <https://abtk.hu/hirek/1713-megujult-engel-pal-adatbazisa-a-kozepkori-magyarorszag-digitalis-atlasza> (software accessed: 05-03-2023)

Such manors were the foundations of different monasteries, like in the Pilis the Paulines, or here the Abbey of Tihany was probably also founded on top of such buildings or the monastery near Sáska (see Chapter 4.3.3.).³⁷¹ The Balaton Uplands and today's mid-Transdanubia (including most of Veszprém County and parts of Győr-Moson-Sopron County) were those areas where the very first Christian monastic communities settled in the Hungarian Kingdom. The Abbey of Pannonhalma was founded in 996, six decades later the Abbey of Tihany (1055) and later (1117/1121) the abbey of Almádi. These Benedictine monasteries had huge bodies of properties, in most cases they were located in their surroundings.

Huge lands were possessed (cut off from the royal properties) by the Bishop and Chapter of Veszprém³⁷² since its foundation (1009); sources report that the Chapter gained possession at most of

³⁷¹ Zsoldos 1996b, 39.

³⁷² The priests and the canons were insignificant legal battles over different possessions, see Solymosi, "Pilupsziget," 18; summary Mályusz 1971, 49–53.

the aforementioned royal lands, also in Aszófő, Csopak, Dörgicse, Balatonudvari.³⁷³ By the fourteenth century, the diocese and the chapter owned a significant number of lands in the region. The estate of Tátika was exchanged by the Diocese with the royal lands of King Charles at Kál-völgy in 1341, which after the Diocese owned ca. 40 villages through several estates in the Balaton Uplands, the chapter of Veszprém owned properties in ca. 30 villages (mostly around Aszófő, Füred, Alsóörs, while the center of the estate was elsewhere.).³⁷⁴

At the end of the fourteenth century, there were no royal lands in Zala county, most of them became ecclesial lands or noble properties – only some partial possessions were part of the royal estates at the Balaton Uplands, mainly as part of the queen's household.³⁷⁵ Rather the ecclesiastic institutions had a stable presence and power in the region. The reason behind is not only the unquestioned dominance of the institutions, but since not real/living persons were the owners of the lands, rather the patron saint of the institution, these lands were not part of legal battles over inheritance issues; only part of various businesses or in some cases unlawful or forced occupation, done usually by the neighboring landlords.³⁷⁶

The different ecclesiastic institutions and monasteries owned the following properties in the Balaton Uplands

name	properties
The Benedictine Abbey of Tihany	Tihany, Apáti, Arács, Aszófő, Alsó- and Felső-Dörgicse, Füred, Kék, Kis-Pécsely, Kövesd, Örvényes, Siske, Szöllős, Vászoly, Apátúr/Apátlaka, Keszi, Örs, Örs-Kál, Papsoka, Szentbenedek-Kál, Tóti ³⁷⁷
The Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma	Hegymagas, Kis-Apáti ³⁷⁸
The Benedictine Abbey of Bakonybél (founded before 1023 by King St. Stephen)	Csepely, Szőlős ³⁷⁹ , Henye, Felsőörs, Kővágóörs, Kapolcs, Lovas, Paloznak, Tagyon, Vászoly and Sümeg (besides some unidentified lands). ³⁸⁰

³⁷³ Zsoldos 1996b, 39. The monastery possessed lands at Arács, Aszófő, Dörgicse, Balatonfüred, Révfülöp, Kövesd, Örményes, Balatonszőlős, Udvari and Vászoly.

³⁷⁴ Rácz 1996, 46, 48. Only one village was an exception, Nyirád, which had a weekly fair.

³⁷⁵ Rácz 1996, 48.

³⁷⁶ Rácz 1996, 48.

³⁷⁷ Békefi 1907, 218.

³⁷⁸ Békefi 1907, 190.

³⁷⁹ it is unsure if it is Balatonszőlős in Zala County.

³⁸⁰ Békefi 1907, 190.

The Benedictine Abbey of Almád (founded ca. 1121 by the Atyusz kindred)	Monostorapáti, had properties at Vállus (1256), Vöröstó (1284), Szöllős (1324), Gyulakeszi (1468), also in Kapolcs valley. ³⁸¹
The Benedictine Abbey of Somogyvár (founded in 1091 by King St. Ladislaus)	Szepezd ³⁸²
The Cistercians at Zirc	Balatonszőlős ³⁸³
The Premonstratensian monastery of Rátót (founded ca. 1239 by the Archbishop Mátyás of Rátót kindred)	Kék and Füred (1349). ³⁸⁴
The Carthusians of Lövöld (founded ca. 1364 by King Louis I)	<i>oppidum</i> of Tapolca. ³⁸⁵
The Chapter at Győr	Tóti ³⁸⁶
The Chapter of Fehérvár	Szöllős ³⁸⁷
The Nuns of Somlyó (next to Tüskevár Pauline monastery, founded before 1270)	Lovas ³⁸⁸
The nuns of Veszprémvölgy (founded by King St. Stephen around 1010)	many small properties, besides Berény, Máma, Sándor and Kenese, later Alsó-Örs (with fishing approval, <i>usu dolabri</i> , arables and forests, etc.), Lovas, Vámos. ³⁸⁹
Dominican nuns and monks of Veszprém	received some vine from Kál and Paloznak regularly. ³⁹⁰

Fig. 4.6. *Balaton Uplands. The properties of the various ecclesial institutions*

³⁸¹ Békefi 1907, 211.

³⁸² Békefi 1907, 223.

³⁸³ Békefi 1907, 223.

³⁸⁴ 1349 . . . „possessionarias porciones monasterii ipsorum de Rátold in dicta possessione Keyk et Fyred vocatis habitas. (Veszpr. kápt. házi lev. 1349. Epp. : Keék. 4.) Békefi 1907, 223.

³⁸⁵ Fejér: Cod. Dipl. IX/V. 241 —242. — 1451 possessionem . . . „fratrum Ardolewewld vocatam“ (Hazai Okin. II. 313.), cited in Békedi 1913, 227.

³⁸⁶ Békefi 1907, 250.

³⁸⁷ Békefi 1907, 250.

³⁸⁸ Békefi 1907, 250.

³⁸⁹ Békefi 1907, 57–59.

³⁹⁰ Békefi 1907, 60.

Huge lands were possessed by the noble families and kindreds in County Zala since the Árpadian ages, which is documented in written sources mostly from the thirteenth century but the development had already started in the eleventh century. The most significant kindred in the Balaton Uplands was the Atyusz kindred,³⁹¹ but the Rátót, Túrje and Tomaj kindred (who were originally possessing lands on the northeastern part of the Kingdom!) had a strong presence and valuable possessions there.³⁹²

The Atyusz kindred owned the most lands at the Balaton Uplands, Vállus, Haláp, Szigliget, Monostorapáti, Kál-völgy, Fülöp, Zánka, Vászoly, Udvari, Szöllős, and most probably at Kövesd and Kőkút (see 4.3.2. Kőkút/Salföld). Their high status and significance is proved by the fact that they could found the Benedictine Abbey at Almádi at the beginning of the twelfth century, when nobles just started to do so, also they supported most of those eremitic communities, which are the subject of the present study. The Tomaj kindred owned the surrounding territory of the Badacsony hill and Czerszegtomaj, while the Rátót and Túrje kindred mostly possessed lands around today's Tapolca and west of the aforementioned lands.³⁹³

Along with the tendency in the Kingdom, in the thirteenth century, when most of the eremitic communities appear in the sources, the noble families and the ecclesial institutions, here mainly the huge Benedictine abbeys, possessed the majority of the lands.³⁹⁴ By the appearance of estates, some fortifications were also built in the region (see Fig. 4.9): the Diocese of Veszprém at Tátika and Sümeg built fortifications, the Abbey of Pannonhalma at Szigliget, while Csobánc was built by the Rátót kindred, Hegyesd by the Atyusz, Szentgrót by the Túrje kindred and Rezi by Apor of Péc kindred.

By the fourteenth century, Szigliget and Tátika were owned by the oligarch Kőszegi family and the private lands by their allied families. until 1321, when King Charles I of Anjou stabilized his royal power in the region as well as in the rest of the country. Amongst the great kindreds and families, the Hahót kindred was the only who survived all political events and preserved their existence, even some of their significance.³⁹⁵

³⁹¹ The origins of the kindred is unknown, most probably they gained lands when King Saint Stephen I defeated Koppány duke, (the member of the Árpád dynasty who claimed the throne against Stephen, his nephew). Most probably the Atyusz kindred was amongst those who received the lands of Koppány and his followers (in the Balaton Uplands the kindred of Bulcsú chieftain). Zsoldos 1996b, 39–40.

³⁹² Zsoldos 1996b, 40.

³⁹³ Zsoldos 1996b, 40.

³⁹⁴ Zsoldos 1996b, 41.

³⁹⁵ Rácz 1996, 43, 44.

New families and power centers rose in the fourteenth century and remained important in the fifteenth century, the Lackfi, Kanizsai, later Bánffy families, who had main significance in not only in the Balaton Uplands, but in Zala County and in the broader region as well. The rest of the villages and castles were possessed by the mid-class nobility, like the Szécsi or Gyulaffy families.³⁹⁶

4.2.2. Roads and settlement network

Inland roads were also an important part of the medieval space in the region.³⁹⁷ However, only written data and partial archaeological and even less cartographic data help the research in the reconstruction of the historical road network. Beside a few overall studies on the main roads of the Carpathian Basin, which were written many decades ago, Magdolna Szilágyi made a huge regional progress recently by studying a part of the Transdanubian region. The conclusions of regional studies summarize the main trends in the western part of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. It is commonly known that mostly Roman roads were used in the Middle Ages. One of the most important results of the studies is that such ancient roads were usually mentioned in medieval charters as great roads (“nagy út”), military roads (“hadiút”), or market roads (“vásáros út”).³⁹⁸

The Roman road network is actually used even nowadays not only at the Balaton Uplands, but in all Transdanubia. This means that not only the Roman engineers understood the geomorphological characteristics of the environment but also the requirements of it. Besides, the way of transport and the types of carriages had not been changed for many centuries, which was not escalating the change of the system - as far as it can be seen from the comparison of present-day and the reconstructed medieval road-system, only the change in the settlement network modified some pathways. Medieval road construction itself, as Lajos Glaser, the founder of road-research in Hungary summarized, (Fig. 4.7.) was obtained by bridging waters, filling-up muddy areas and settling tax points there for passing through.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁶ Rácz 1996, 44–47.

³⁹⁷ Individual horizontal (spatial or geographical) was usually closely correlated with vertical (social) mobility: people from villages migrating to towns often became more respected and wealthier before, also could become official citizens. See more on mobility in Kubinyi András: *Költözés, helyváltoztatás, utazás a késő középkori Magyarországon. (A horizontális mobilitás kérdései).* A Tapolcai Városi Múzeum Közleményei 2. (1991) 230. See also Szilágyi 2016.

³⁹⁸ The most recent summary was published by Magdolna Szilágyi, see Szilágyi 2014a.

³⁹⁹ On the legal history of such ferries and tax places see József Holub “Zala vármegye vámhelyei és úthálózata a középkorban” [The toll paying places in Zala county in the Middle Ages]. *Századok* 51/ 7–8 (1917): 45–60; Glaser 1929–30.

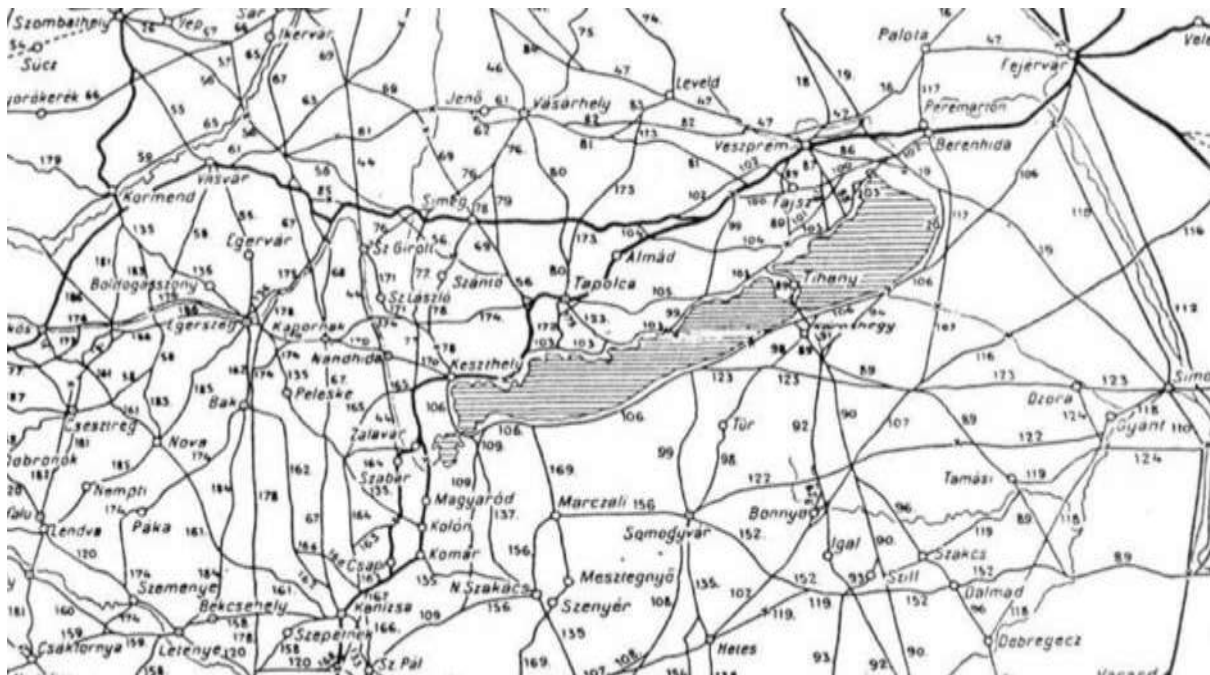


Fig. 4.7. *Balaton Uplands. The map of the medieval Transdanubian road network. Glaser 1929-30.*

First Gyula Pauler, later József Holub and Lajos Glaser also highlighted that the Roman road between Aquincum (Óbuda, Hungary) and Poetovio (Ptuj, Croatia) must have been the most important road in medieval Transdanubia, the so-called *Hadiút* or *Hadinagyút*, the military or great military road.⁴⁰⁰ This road, based on Glaser, ran along the following route: today's Óbuda – Martonvásár – Velence – Székesfehérvár – Berhida (Berénhida) – Peremarton – Veszprém – Monostorapáti (Almád) – Tapolca – Keszthely – Zalavár – Magyarod – Balatonmagyarod (medieval Kolon, deserted today) – Komár – Kanizsa – Zákány. Three royal seats (Óbuda, Székesfehérvár, Veszprém) are included on this track, also two main Benedictine monasteries were founded along this road: Almádi and Zalavár, the former was a private foundation of the Atyusz kindred, the latter was a royal foundation. The Balaton Uplands area in between Veszprém and Keszthely.

The most precise medieval road reconstruction, published by József Holub, is not only based on the Roman road network, but the regional geomorphology, especially the map drawn by János Tomasich in 1792,⁴⁰¹ also the tax-paying places of Zala County and some scattered data from the medieval written sources. Holub published the following sites (Fig. 4.8) as tax-paying places (from the east of the west): Füred, which was the property of Tihany Abbey. Györök, which was part of

⁴⁰⁰ Holub "Zala vármegye vámhelyei," 56.; Glaser Lajos: A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben. Magyar Nyelv 27. (1931) 317–319. In 1345 the great military road is also mentioned at Tapolca, while at the same time a neighboring road between Tapolca and the neighbor village of Diszel. Holub, "Zala vármegye vámhelyei," 56.

⁴⁰¹ Holub highlighted its usefulness in Holub, "Zala vármegye vámhelyei," 56. See the map

https://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/zml/tomasich_janos_megysterkepe_1792

Hegyesház castle's estate. Hidegkút, south of Sümeg, which was part of Tátika estate. Tomaj, north of Keszthely, mentioned in the fifteenth century as a tax-paying place. With the help of the latter and also the scattered medieval sources, the medieval tracks in the region could be drafted, which has its starting point at Veszprém, a significant crossing at Tapolca and it is possible to follow up until Keszthely. (Fig. 4.9.)

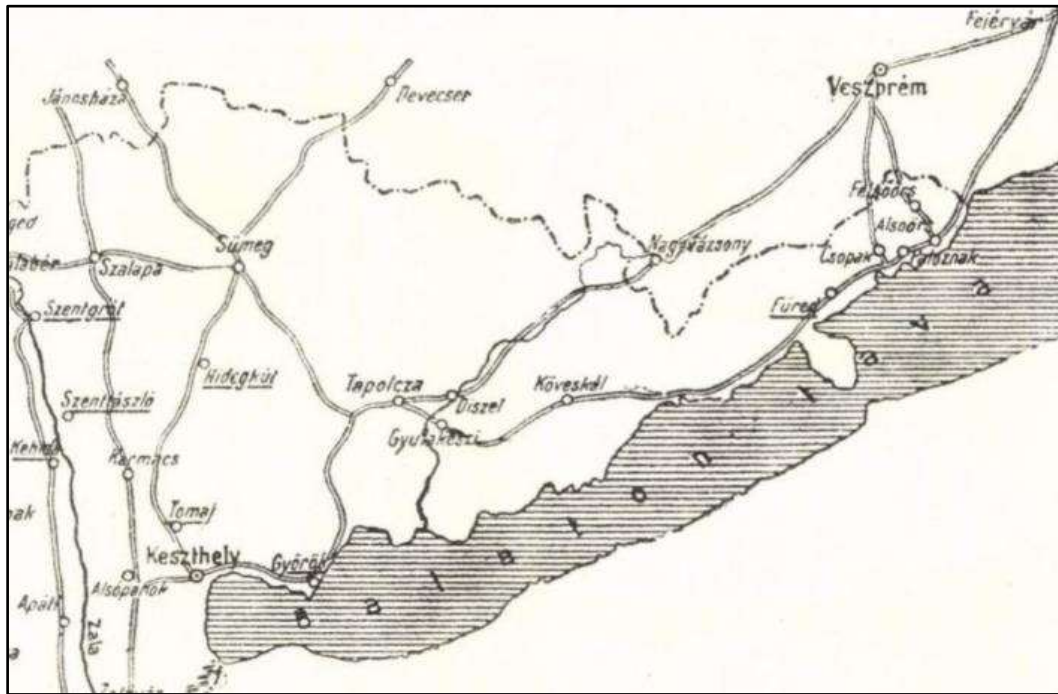


Fig. 4.8. *Balaton Uplands. Tax-paying places in the Balaton Uplands. Holub "Zala vármegye vámhelyei," 56.*

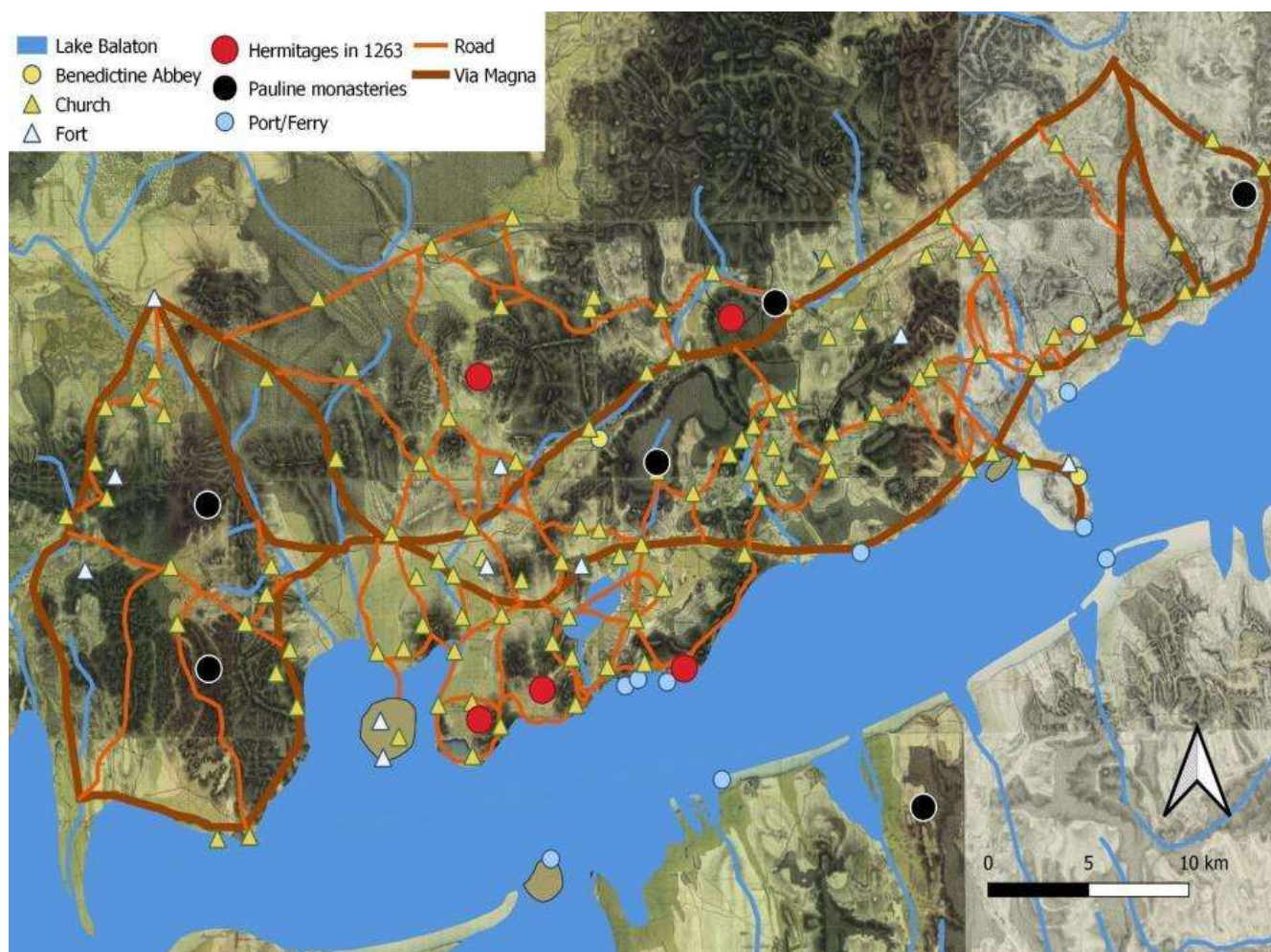


Fig. 4.9. **Balaton Uplands.** The main roads, churches/settlements, ports, fortifications, Benedictine abbeys, hermitages and Pauline monasteries of the Balaton Uplands. Base map: First Ordnance Survey.

The first main center at the eastern end of the discussed region was the *civitas* of Veszprém, the *civitas* of the queens of Hungary since Queen Gisela, the wife of King Saint Stephen I, which developed and became important ecclesial seat by its geolocation: it lays in the crossing of several pathways, which of two led to the Balaton Uplands. One is following the Roman road until Keszthely, the other runs at the shore of the Balaton.⁴⁰² As Dezső Laczkó and József Holub proposed, the latter was also originated from the Roman times, which is reasonable regarding the environment, the Roman settlements that are located along the shore, and also the medieval charters: this road is mentioned in the sources as “*via magna Vasarusuth dicta*” in 1344 at Tomaj, at Ábrahám in 1380 it is mentioned

⁴⁰² As Lajos Glázer suggested, the road on the northern shore of the Balaton set off even east of Veszprém, at Berhida, not even reaching Veszprém. Tamás Ikits, *Veszprém megyei közutak története* [The history of roads in Veszprém County], Veszprém: Veszprémi Közúti Igazgatóság, 1990, 21.

as “via publica”, also at Arács and Csopak in the 1308 and 1383.⁴⁰³ A reference for the vineyard of the hermits of Kőkút at Ábrahám (see Chapter 4.3.2. Salföld) states that it was located north of the great road (“magna via”) in 1309.⁴⁰⁴

From Veszprém the road reached the shore of the lake from two directions: from Örs (via magna: 1238⁴⁰⁵, 1269, 1320, 1323, 1383) and from the village of Csopak (1384).⁴⁰⁶ However, another data from 1414 indicates “magna via vulgo zalayut”, the great road called the road of/to Zala at Berény,⁴⁰⁷ which is definitely reasonable since the next settlements were part of Zala County, not Veszprém County. This road, Veszprém – Szentkirályszabadja – Berény – Almádi was also mentioned in 1243.⁴⁰⁸

This road ran along the shore until Zánka⁴⁰⁹, where it turned northwest and through Köveskál it led to Tapolca.⁴¹⁰ Here it again turned to south and southwest, on the shore of a muddy area or a bay of the Balaton, passing through Györök, until Keszthely. From Tapolca, another great road led northwest, to Sümeg.⁴¹¹ However, recently the roads at Badacsony also regarded as Roman roads in the local oral tradition, also Roman and medieval sites declare that – if not a great road, but -- some kind of track must have connected the settlements in Roman times. Bays cut the tracks to east and west on both side of the Badacsony hill,⁴¹² which is visible in the medieval settlement system: the roads must have turned to north following the great road from Zánka to Tapolca⁴¹³, and then it turned to the south again until Györök, where from Keszthely was easily accessible.

It is noteworthy to highlight that the other roads, the secondary and even lower tracks, are not precisely located and dated since the information on medieval sites is scattered. Although Veszprém County, especially the Balaton Uplands is heavily studied, it is yet unclear which of the settlements and churches were founded and inhabited in which century, not to mention the dynamism of deserted and re-founded settlements. However, a reasonable number of the deserted settlements were added, those which were marked on the map of Tomasich as praedium, or could be found in the

⁴⁰³ Holub, “Zala vármegye vámhelyei,” 56; Békefi, *Zalai utak*, 13.

⁴⁰⁴ see Appendix 1, 4.3.1., date 1309.

⁴⁰⁵ “magna via que descendit ad Zalam”, in Ikits, *Veszprém*, 24.

⁴⁰⁶ Holub, “Zala vármegye vámhelyei,” 57; Ikits, *Veszprém*, 23.

⁴⁰⁷ Ikits, *Veszprém*, 23.

⁴⁰⁸ Ikits, *Veszprém*, 23.

⁴⁰⁹ At Füred it is mentioned in 1346 as via magna, in 1386 via publica strata. Ikits, *Veszprém*, 24.

⁴¹⁰ The road at Uzsa, which leads to Tapolca, is mentioned in 1348 - great road. Ikits, *Veszprém*, 24.

⁴¹¹ Holub, “Zala vármegye vámhelyei,” 57–58. A charter from 1348 mentioned the great road (via magna) at Uzsa that leads to Tapolca. Ikits, *Veszprém*, 24.

⁴¹² Furdőszeg (*Fereduzy*) was mentioned on the border of Apáti and Gyulakeszi, see Ikits, *Veszprém*, 23.

⁴¹³ The road from Tapolca to Zalaegerszeg is mentioned in 1256 at Vállus and Lesence-Tomaj. Ikits, *Veszprém*, 24.

archaeological inventory.⁴¹⁴ As a final result all known churches are the basis of the medieval settlement system at the present map (Fig. 4.8), therefore this digital settlement reconstruction represents a full scale medieval picture. In the eleventh century it was unusual to have a church in each settlement; as an average, people were as far as 15-24 kms from the closest church - by the fifteenth century, this distance decreased to 4-5 kms, to one, one and a half hour of walk.⁴¹⁵ Some reasonable data were added to the inferior road network in those cases, where the medieval origin of a settlement/area can be proved by written and/or archaeological evidence: there the easiest and shortest path to the settlement was added.

In regards to the densely inhabited, historical Zala county, Kubinyi gathered all the available information of medieval sources on the settlements and markets, which were the basis of his reconstruction of the medieval market system of the region. In the discussed Balaton Uplands region Tapolca oppidum had an outstanding role, since it is located in the center of important road crossings. It is interesting that by the strong Benedictine presence and its geolocation, Tihany village also had an outstanding role. It not only had unique legal rights, but the ferry to Szántód was the most important crossing at the lake Balaton.⁴¹⁶

4.2.3. Lake Balaton - waters, ferries, taxes, and mills

The name Balaton appeared first in the charter of King Saint Stephen I in 1024, when he donated some islands and fishing places on “acqua Balatin” to the Benedictine Abbey of Zalavár. Most of the charters on the medieval waterscape were collected by József Holub, Béla Makay and László Bendefy. Besides, many other scattered data is known on the medieval Balaton Uplands,⁴¹⁷ which all help the reconstruction of the medieval extension of Lake Balaton.

However, the largest water coverage was reconstructed first on the basis of geological and geographical data by Jenő Cholnoky, a famous geographer (1870-1950), which still serves as the basis for most historical and archaeological studies in the region.⁴¹⁸ Some clarifications took place in

⁴¹⁴ MRT 1 and the National Archaeological Database, so-called IVO.

⁴¹⁵ Györffy György: István király és műve. Gondolat, Bp., 1983.; Szabó István: A középkori magyar falu. Akadémiai, Bp., 1969. 184–186.; such results are known from Tola county and at Sárvíz. K. Németh András: A középkori Tolna megye templomai. Wosinsky Mór Megyei Múzeum, Szekszárd, 2015. 238.; Stibrányi Máté: A Sárvíz középkori település hálózatának vázlata, avagy a templom és a hozzá vezető út. Alba Regia 37. (2008) 195. Cited all in Szilágyi 2016.

⁴¹⁶ see Kubinyi 1996.

⁴¹⁷ A less known collection was published in Bendefy - V. Nagy 1969, 34– 65.

⁴¹⁸ Cholnoky, Jenő (1916). A Balaton hidrográfiaja. A Balaton tudományos tanulmányozásának eredményei I. kötet. [The hydrography of the Balaton - The results of the scientific study of the Balaton, Vol. I.] Budapest: Franklin és Társa. Fig. 1, page 3.

the past decades, specifying the medieval water coverage and space in the Balaton region;⁴¹⁹ for example in the case of Tihany, which must have been an island in the Middle Ages, at least from time to time, when the Balaton had high water marks/level.⁴²⁰

Scholars claim that the water was not really high until the mid-1200s, but it was definitely higher than it was after the 1600s. (Fig. 4.10.) This means that most of the settlements, also the Pauline monasteries, were closer to the water and lakeshore than they are nowadays, which is a crucial geospatial feature in regards to the seclusion of the monasteries. This is a context that should be regarded in the spatial evaluation of the region. For example see Chapter 4.3.1. or this is why the distance between for example Badacsony and Salföld was more than it is nowadays), thus the lake itself should be regarded as a factor in the Pauline inhabitation strategy, or earlier in the life of the thirteenth-century eremitic communities.⁴²¹

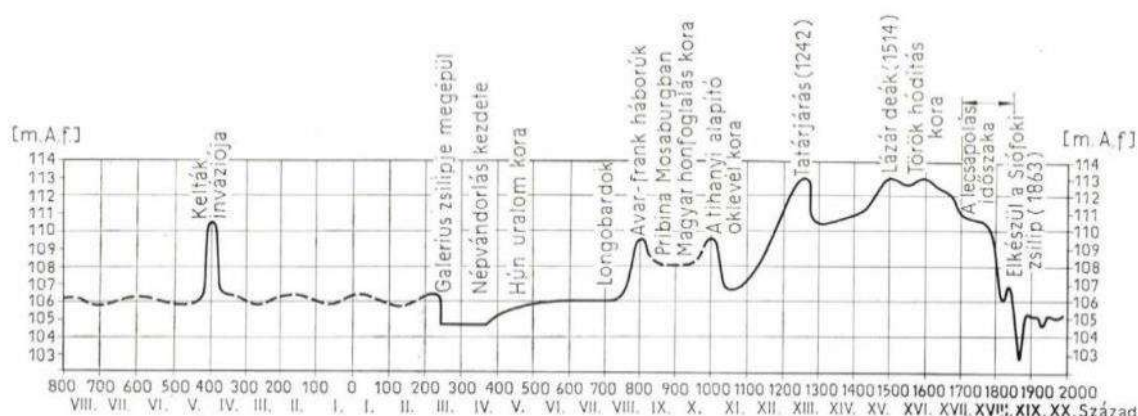


Fig. 4.10. **Balaton Uplands.** The water-level of the Balaton since 8000 BCE until 1969. Bendefy - V.Nagy 1969, 64.

As József Holub, the monographer of Zala County highlighted, there must have been an intense sailing on the lake⁴²² –although it is not proven by any direct historical evidence by him. As the shore of Balaton was marshy and muddy, huge areas of rush and reed dominated the landscape,

⁴¹⁹ Like Kálmán Magyar in his study, see Kálmán Magyar. “Fonyód története az őskortól a középkorig” [The history of Fonyód from prehistoric times to the Middle Ages], in *Fonyód története* [The history of Fonyód], ed. József Kanyar, (Fonyód, 1985).

⁴²⁰ Bendefy argues that the water level was lower before the 1250s when several islands were mentioned in written sources, including Tihany, but after the Mongol Invasion, it was only Tihany, which was mentioned. Bendefy argues that the Hungarians prepared for protecting themselves from the Mongols, which meant that most waters (like the Danube and the Balaton) became part of a frontier, at least they gave protection locally. The Benedictine monks repaired a huge dam at Mária-major which resulted in a much higher water level of the Balaton than before. Most probably they kept this level along the middle ages since many mills were built on their property at the southern shore, at Fok (near today Siófok) Bendefy - V.Nagy 1969, 64.

⁴²¹ It would be also essential to study the monasteries at Somogy county, their location in the terms of roads and natural environment.

⁴²² Based on the frequent location of ports and the charters on fishing. Holub 1963, 30.

which is why most of the settlements were founded where it was possible to establish a port or ferry – not exclusively because of transportation, but fishing on the lake. However, only scattered written and topographical (maps, toponyms) data is known on ports (Hungarian “kikötő”) and ferries (Hungarian “révkikötő”), and even less of the difference between them. The average distance between the southern and northern shore of the Balaton is ca. 5 kms, but it is unclear which ferry ports were in regular connection or ideally located from each other. The shortest distance is still between Tihany and Szántód, only 1,1 kms, see the details later.



Fig. 4.11. *Balaton Uplands. The ferries and ports on the eastern half of the Balaton. Credit: the author.*

The following, brief collection on ports and ferries is based on the online search of raw material (written data and maps), also the work and collection of József Holub (See Fig. 4.11.):

Name of the ferry place	date of source	source
<i>Tihany</i> (to <i>Szántód</i>)	1055, 1267	charter Tihany fasc. 1. n. 1; ⁴²³ Erdélyi I, 526., Holub, 1963, 30; Zákonyi 1981
ad portum Akli (<i>Akali?</i>)	1055	Holub, 1963, 30
Fok (<i>Siófok</i>)	1055	Szentpétery, II-2747 sz.; Bendefy - V. Nagy, 52.

⁴²³ http://nyelvemlekek.oszk.hu/adatlap/tihanyi_apatsag_alapitolevele

Szigetrév (Zygethrew) (<i>Révfülöp</i>)	1360	ZO I. 609 (no. 384); Holub, 1963, 30.
Hajórév (Hayorew) (<i>Balatonrendes/Révfülöp</i>)	1389	ZO II., 237; Holub, 1963, 30
Csasza (<i>Révfülöp</i>) <i>Villa Pilyp cum portu in loco Chazta</i>	1092 (fourteenth-century forgery)	ÁÚO 6, 67. (no. 30); Erdélyi 1908, 497; Holub, 1963, 30.
<i>Villa Pilip cum portu</i> [Császa?](<i>Révfülöp</i>)	1211	Charter, Tihany fasc. I. n. 5. ⁴²⁴ , Kovács 2015, 103-104.
Lovas - two mill places at the port	1436	Veszpr. Káptl. Lt. Keszi 19; Holub 1963, 30
Ferdewhel / <i>Ábrahám</i> (bathing place)	1456	Hazai okmányt. IV. 393., Holub, 1963, 30
Fyred/ <i>Füred</i> (rév-vám)	1410	ZO 1, 367; Csánki Füred; Holub, 1963, 30
“Réhely” (<i>Szigliget</i>)	fifteenth century /1420?	Ikits, <i>Veszprém</i> , 24.
Fonyód (to <i>Szigliget</i>)	eighteenth-nineteenth century descriptions and maps	Tóth 1988, 46; Planum Situations Plagae et Possessionum et inter Pontem Bát... [S 12 - Div. XI. - No. 136:2.], 1818. ⁴²⁵
Boglár	eighteenth-nineteenth century descriptions and maps	Tóth 1988, 46;
Szentgyörgy-Fenekpuszta	eighteenth-nineteenth century descriptions and maps	Tóth 1988, 46; A fenék- balatonszentgyörgyi révátkelő térképe 1769-ben. ⁴²⁶
Batthyány	eighteenth-nineteenth century descriptions and maps	Tóth 1988, 46.

Fig. 4.12. *Balaton Uplands*. The list of ferries and ports in written sources.

Owning and managing a port or ferry was a very lucrative task, which is why the most commonly used ones were mentioned in the earliest sources. The ferry of Tihany and Fok (today Siófok) were mentioned in 1055 as the properties of Tihany Abbey, but they had also been frequently mentioned in sources along with the fishermen and ferrymen of the Balaton. Moreover, Tihany and Szántód are still the most popular ferry ports at the Balaton since the lake here is the narrowest (ca. 1,1 km) between the northern and southern shores.

⁴²⁴ http://nyelvmlekek.oszk.hu/adatlap-dupla-tabla/tihanyi_apatsag_birtokoesszeirasa_1211bol

⁴²⁵ <https://maps.hungaricana.hu/en/MOLTerkeptar/4882/?list=eyJxdWVyeSI6ICJyXHUwMGU5diBmb255XHUwMGYzZCJ9>

⁴²⁶ https://mandadb.hu/tetel/613731/A_fenek_balatonszentgyorgyi_revatkelo

A brief overview of the locations of the known ports and ferries on the northern shore is necessary as the distance between them may indicate some new information on the logic/sense of the medieval role and use of the Balaton, along with the location of the eremitic communities, later Pauline monasteries. Basically, as far as scholarship could reconstruct the property borders, all ports and ferries mentioned in medieval sources were most probably in the possessions of the Tihany Abbey in the late Middle Ages.⁴²⁷ However, a detailed study could prove otherwise in some cases and even basic questions (like when were these ports founded by whom? Who were the possessors, for example in the Árpáadian ages?) cannot be answered. Révfülöp was clearly an exception at some point (most probably in the twelfth–thirteenth century) as here the Abbey of Tihany and the Atyus kindred were both possessors.

On the north shore of the lake, Füred and the most well-known and important Tihany are the easternmost ferries, located approximately 15-18 kms from the most eastern part of the lake. Akali's identification in the source is questionable yet, although if the reference is correct, its port was ca. 14 kms from the port of Tihany.



Fig. 4.13. *Balaton Uplands*. The possible ferries in the region of Révfülöp. Base map: Hungarian topographic map (EOV).

The next area, also ca. 13-14. kms from Akali is Révfülöp,⁴²⁸ where *Szigetrév*, *Csasztá*, *Hajórév* are mentioned (Fig. 4.11.). *Szigetrév* and the road leading there is mentioned in a

⁴²⁷ See the map of Engel (details in Abbreviations and Bibliography).

⁴²⁸ The name of the settlement, Révfülöp, was created in the nineteenth century from two parts. Fülöp, meaning Philip, Pilip in latin was the name of the village here while rév means ferry, which refers to the medieval ferries and ports here. See Solymosi, "Pilupsziget," 19.

perambulation close to Rendes.⁴²⁹ Today the beach of Révfülöp is called Szigeti strand in Hungarian, meaning beach at the island, which most probably can be identified with the medieval *Szigetrév*. The ferry and port for ships at Révfülöp is still one of the busiest ones at Balaton. Nota bene, this is the area where an unnamed church, probably the *Insula Pilup ecclesia* or *S. Helen hermitage*, was standing (see 4.3.1. Insula Pilup, second military survey).

Only a kilometer to the west on the shore another medieval toponym, Császtza is still used, however, no archaeological evidence is known of the area. Since Sziget and Császtza are close to each other, maybe the names refer not to two separate ferries, but to one single medieval port or ferry, which probably was called by different names in different periods, probably by different (shared?) possessors (the Atyusz kindred and the Abbey of Tihany). If they were separate ports or ferries, their close distance can be explained by the ideal environment on the shore for establishing them. Maybe one was a port for fishermen (Császtza?) the other for the ferries, or maybe they were owned by different possessors. However it was, one thing seems to be sure: in the late Middle Ages most probably the Benedictine monks were the only lords of Révfülöp,⁴³⁰ which most probably had a ferry landing on the other shore at Boglár. From Boglár, through Simontornya, one could reach the Danube by water, which makes this location even more important in regard to transportation.

This indicates that for crossing the lake, a stable ship(like) means of transport was needed, which is why Hajórév can be of particular interest, since it means ferry for ships. Its potential location would be at Szigetrév, however two other areas caught the attention in regards of medieval inhabitation at the lakeshore. West of Császtza, the present-day waste-water treatment plant, east of Pálköve and west of Révfülöp center was once an island as oral history tells and when the water level was lower (e.g. on dry summers), some remains of a building were visible (roman bath or medieval building?) in the mid-twentieth century.⁴³¹ Here the elevation section displays a high patch of land, however, it might be the result of modern land-management (Fig. 4.14.).

⁴²⁹ “via que progredieretur de Balatino de loco qui diceretur Zygethrew”. ZO I. 609 (no. 384); Holub, 1963, 30.

⁴³⁰ See the map of Engel, 1382.

⁴³¹ MRT 1, 133, site 38/1.

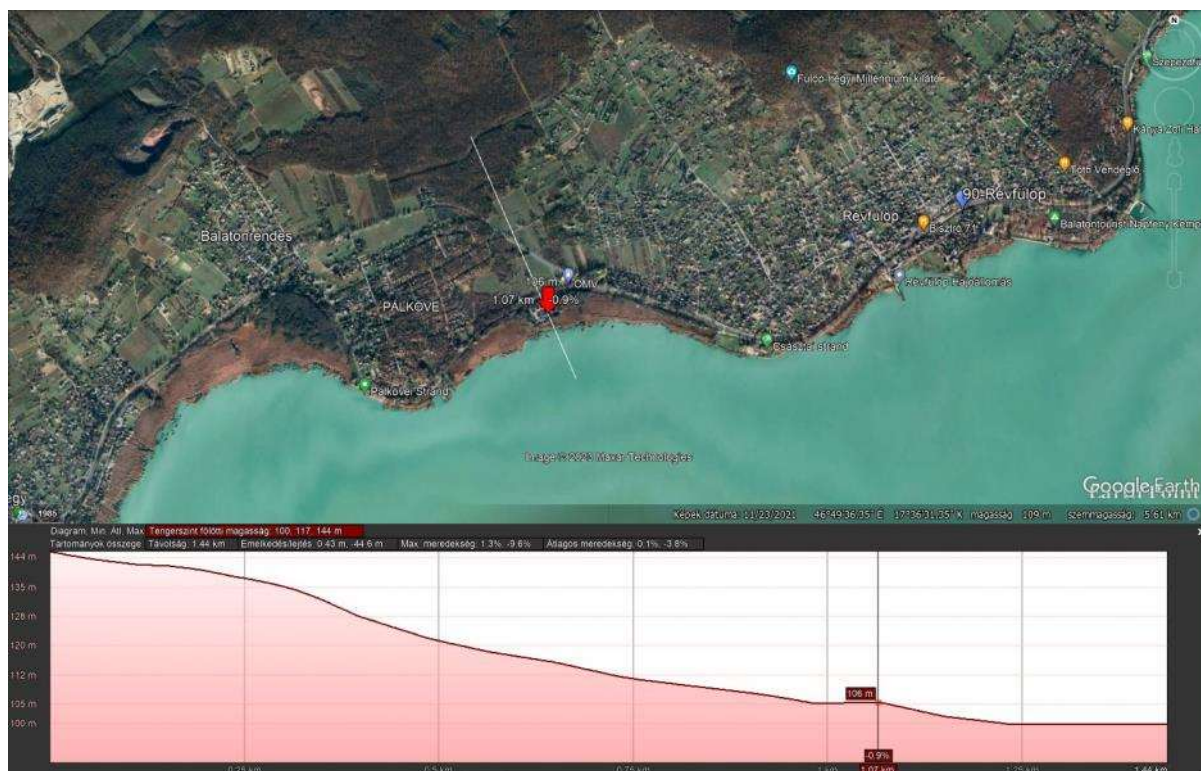


Fig. 4.14. *Balaton Uplands. The elevation at Révfülöp, the present-day wastewater treatment plant. Google Earth application.*

Medieval human presence is indicated by some medieval archaeological material near the shore at today's Pálköve, which is located between Balatonrendes and Révfülöp, west of the previous site.⁴³² However, the elevation section here does not indicate any island-like formation (Fig. 4.15.), but a light emergence is visible west of Pálköve (Fig. 4.16.). Most probably one of these sites can be identified with Hajórév or at least with some other, yet unknown ports/fishing sites at the lakeshore.

⁴³² MRT 1, 101, site 24/1.



Fig. 4.15. *Balaton Uplands. The elevation at today's Pálköve, medieval stie. Google Earth application.*

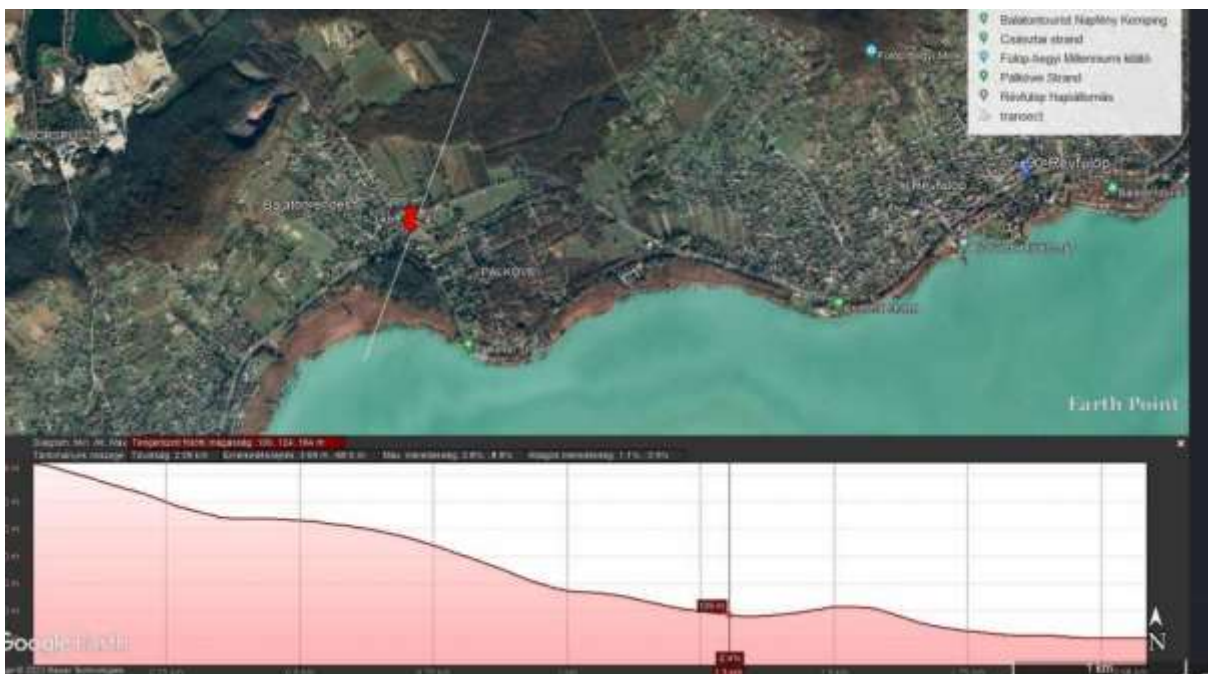


Fig. 4.16. *Balaton Uplands. The elevation west of today's Pálköve, in a bay. Google Earth application.*

The eighteenth-century data, like the map of Sámuel Mikoviny (1753), on the ports and ferries show a variety of sites on the south shore of the lake, which is in correspondence with the northern ports, moreover, the present-day ferry routes of the Balaton. On Mikoviny's map Tihany, Fonyód,

Révfülöp and Boglár are pointed which linked the interaction between the two shores of the Balaton.⁴³³ (Fig. 4.17.) An interesting map of Badacsony, drawn in 1773, shows not only fishermen, but a building defined as a castle, but I would take into consideration that it was a watchtower (or a partially remodeled church tower) which might have existed at Badacsony or Szigliget - the latter was a ferry stop since the fifteenth century (Fig. 4.18.).⁴³⁴

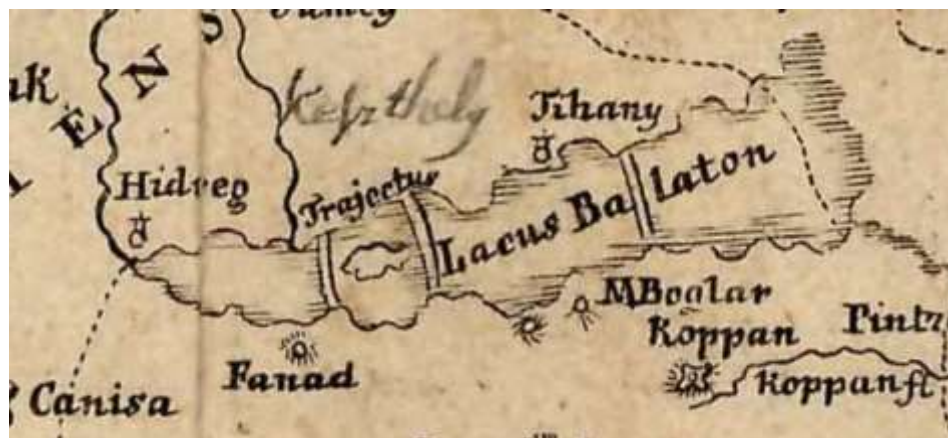


Fig. 4.17. *Balaton Uplands*. The cut of the Balaton region on the map of Sámuel Mikoviny depicting the ferry tracks (1753).

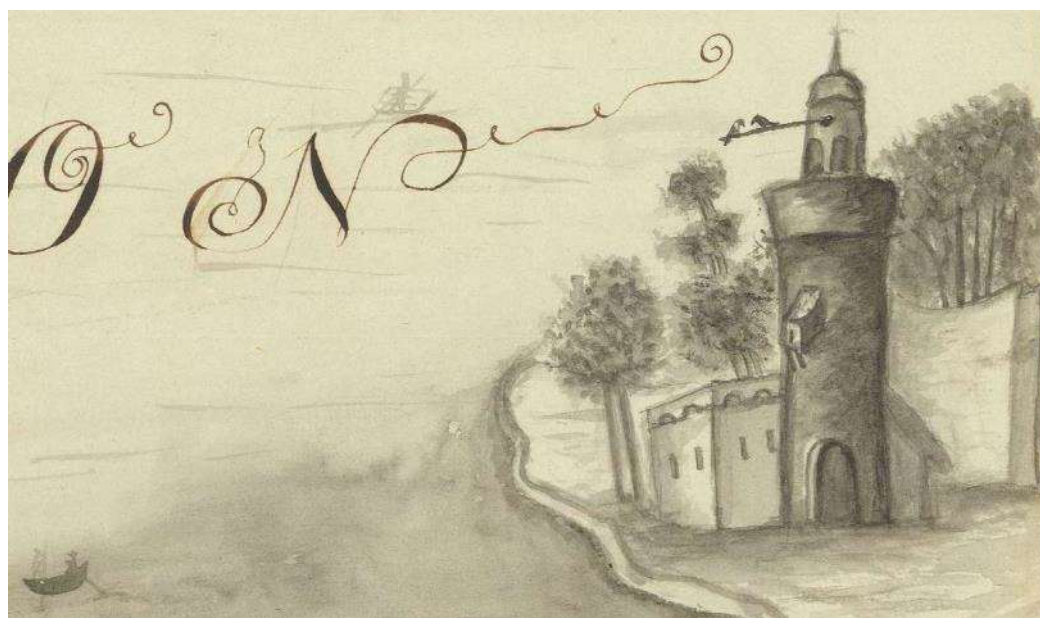


Fig. 4.18. *Balaton Uplands*. Depiction of the Balaton shore on the Pauline map of Badacsony. See reference in Appendix 1, 4.3.4.

⁴³³ Tabula nova inelyti Regni Hungariae juxta nonnullas observationes.... MNL OL Collection of Maps, S86 No.4., date: 1753. <https://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/MOLTerkeptar/10304/>

⁴³⁴ See Ikits, *Veszprém*, 24; it helped the transportation not only to the south shore, but through the bay of the Balaton from Szigliget to Lábdi. Also Map 1 in Appendix 1/ 4.3.4. Badacsony.

Not only in regards of transportation, but in terms of fishing several sites were mentioned along the Balaton in the sources. For example at Bánd, a member of the Atyusz kindred at the Balaton Uplands, donated twelve fisher families and a fishing place to the Abbey of Almádi at the Balaton shore in Somogy County, around the early 1100s.⁴³⁵ Kisberény on the south, but on the north shore Ábrahám, Alsóörs and Csopak were mentioned among the fishing sites of the Chapter of Veszprém.⁴³⁶

4.2.4. Mills and streams

József Holub studied the waterscape of medieval Zala county and published it in the form of a thin booklet⁴³⁷ – despite the small amount of expected information, Holub definitely fulfilled the task; most medieval sources that exist of the area were included and partially cited in his work, which is unnecessary to repeat here. Thus, only those data are highlighted, which are closely related to the monasteries, including the hermitages.

One of the most valued, longest and stable streams was the *Almád*, *Eger* or *Egeregy* stream, which still exists and flows along the Kapolcs valley from the Bakony to southwest of the Tapolca valley, reaching the Balaton at Lábdi-hill. Twenty mills were mentioned along it in the Middle Ages. *Tapolca* and the most considerable stream with the most number of sub-streams, *Lesence* are mentioned at Szigliget, Eredics and Hegymagas. Lesence had a streamlet, which had flown near Tomaj, called Csergetég (*Chergetgh*).

Another streamlet called Holtlesenc (*Holtlesenche*) was documented near Uzsa, between Uzsa village and Istvánd (south of Uzsa). At Pabar, just north of Uzsa there were mills on Lesence in 1223 and the border between the two villages was a crossing point on the stream as well. Aszófő and Szöllös is near *Evetes* stream in 1322, while Köveskál and Henye is also along a stream, which reaches the Balaton west of Rendes.⁴³⁸

Besides the ferry taxes and fishing sites, mills were the most beneficial parts of possessions. They were established on streams and streamlets or at notches (so-called *fok*, mostly a small part of land in lakes, derived from a large water surface) since the middle ages. In a broader comparison, the mills owned or managed by the Chapter of Veszprém or the Diocese itself, is eminent.

⁴³⁵ Holub 1963, 55.

⁴³⁶ Karlinszky 68.

⁴³⁷ Holub 1963.

⁴³⁸ Holub 1963, 31–35.

4.2.5. Flora and land management

Archaeobotanical remains have been gathered in the county since the nineteenth century, but amongst the researchers, Miklós Füzes (Frech')'s work defined what is known about the past vegetation and land management of the region. Amongst such work, he did morphological studies in different areas (for example antrachotomy, xylotomy or fibers of archaeological context). Along with Füzes, Borbála P. Hartyányi, István Skoflek, József Stieber, Katalin Kassai M. and Andrea Torma worked on the analysis of archaeobotanical remains in the county.⁴³⁹

Some of the sites are close to the Pauline monasteries in the Balaton Uplands. Twelve-fourteenth century a heap of elder (*sambucus nigra*) was found at the hermit caves of Tihany, interestingly below the head of a buried human and another heap in a room that was thought to be the kitchen.⁴⁴⁰ The village of Csepely, next to Nagyvázsony is dated to the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, where a lot of grains were found.⁴⁴¹ Barley (*Hordeum spec.*), bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum subsp. vulgare*), millet (*Panicum miliaceum*), rye (*Secale cereale*), garlic (*Allium sativum*), vetchling (*Lathyrus spec*), flax (*Linum usitatissimum*), lentil (*Lens culinaris*), broad beans (*Vici faba*), cultivated apple (*Malus pumila*) - a few shrivelled, and vine grape (*Vitis vinifera subsp. vinifera*) represented food and nutrition. But some weeds were also present in the samples: green foxtail (*Setaria glauca*), dwarf elder (*Sambucus ebulus*)⁴⁴², corncockle (*Agrostemma githago*), cleavers (*Galium aparine*), ball mustard (*Neslea paniculata*), also charlock (*Sinapis arvensis*).

Various weeds and a few of the cultivated grains, some fruits (for example walnut and peach)⁴⁴³ and some pulses (pea and lentil) were present in Sümeg-Sarvaly medieval settlement, where excavation was conducted in some of the medieval households but the remains of agricultural activity were also documented (ridge and furrow and some parcels of the arable lands).⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁹ Gyulai 2009, 55-57.

⁴⁴⁰ Gyulai 2009, 66. On the excavation see Darnay-Dornay 1942.

⁴⁴¹ Gyulai 2009, 67-68.

⁴⁴² It is one of the best known medicinal herbs since ancient times, a widely applicable phytomedicine, it is still used in folk medicine of different parts of the world. In addition to its nutritional values, dwarf elder contains different phytochemicals among which flavonoids and lectins are responsible for most of its therapeutic effects. Dwarf elder has been used for different ailments including: joint pains, cold, wounds, and infections. Although it is yet not studied in medieval *herbarium* like the one used by the Pauline monks (see Grynæus 1994), it would be a matter to be compared to flora data.

⁴⁴³ Both acclimatized by the Romans, see Gyulai 2009, 73.

⁴⁴⁴ Gyulai 2009, 68; 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.

Other palynological analysis' (for example the samples from Halimba, Keszthely, Pápa, Külsővat, Sümeg castle⁴⁴⁵) suggest that the cereal -growing increased since the tenth century, and also the growing number of settlements since the eleventh century. Goods of the forests (scrog, wild pear, blackthorn, hawthorn, strawberry, dogberry, hazelnut, or the widely popular walnut) were usually gathered by the people in the Árpáadian age; fruits and other harvests were cultivated increasingly since the thirteenth century, when the average medieval households of the peasants and the cultivation methods had developed.⁴⁴⁶

The late middle ages (fourteenth-sixteenth century) was the time of harvest growth, grains (club wheat, common oat), fruits and vegetables became part of daily diet; also the cattle and vine export had been established. Regarding the methods, only scattered written data is combined with palynological data. For example, it became usual to sow wheat and rye together (*triticum mixtum/secale cereale*) which guaranteed the harvest each year since if there was a problem with one of the grains, there was the other to be harvested. Based on the huge amount of weed seeds, it is presumed that medieval people harvested lower than it is ideal, maybe usually with a scythe. Fruit trees were grown mostly in monastic gardens, near the walls of settlements; however, a broad and calculated plantation of fruit trees was documented only since the sixteenth century. Wild fruits were used in several formats, e.g. raw, distillate, vinegar, etc. Vine cultivation was always popular since the Roman era, as the remains of grape stones and written sources suggest.⁴⁴⁷

Vine cultivation and wine production in the region is a complex feature, embodying cultural history, affecting settlement history, legal and economic history.⁴⁴⁸ Vine growing has been present all over the Balaton Uplands (proven from the Roman age), which was one of the most important areas of it. The Balaton Uplands was an ideal area of cultivation since the soil is perfect, also the insolation of the terraces is strong. Besides, the lake is really close, which blocks the emission of the soil, helping the full growth of the grapes.⁴⁴⁹

Most of the hillsides, the terraces have been used for grape cultivation but as toponyms and some charters prove, the lower levels were also used for it. New lands were mostly provided by cutting, which was a very expensive task, just like the planting of grapevine, which were just growing for a few years without any significant harvest. Unfortunately the data is scattered on the location and

⁴⁴⁵ Gyulai 2009, 66-69.

⁴⁴⁶ Gyulai 2009, 76-77.

⁴⁴⁷ Gyulai 2009, 77-79.

⁴⁴⁸ Pákay – Sági, "Szőlő", 95.

⁴⁴⁹ Holub 1960, 181-182.

development/growth of vineyards over the centuries. However, as Holub demonstrated through written data, one vineyard was about one acre (3110 sqm) large.⁴⁵⁰

4.2.6. Fauna and hunting

Regarding the fauna of the area, a broad summarizing study was written by László Bartosiewicz and István Vörös. The medieval stock raising was summarized by Vörös – the animal remains from one cemetery (tenth-eleventh century, Halimba) and five settlements (Hanta, Sarvaly, Csepely, Ugod castle, Veszprém) presented its basis, which from Ugod and Hanta are further of Balaton Uplands.⁴⁵¹

Vörös could identify some patterns among the finds: cattle, pig, sheep and poultry were the most commonly bred and slaughtered animals. The cattle and pigs were sometimes extremely large (e.g. Csepely); the former was used for sale and work, just like horses, which were present in a low number in the area. Although dogs were everywhere, cats were present only in Veszprém. Grackles were popular pets also.

Red deer, roe deer and wild boar were the most frequently hunted animals; fur-bearers (fox, hare, badger, ferret) were found only at Sarvaly and Ugod castle. Pheasants were regularly hunted or bred in pheasant gardens. Surprisingly, only a few fish remains were found, which might be explained rather by the underdeveloped excavation technique and the delicacy of the material than the lack of fish in the medieval diet.

Vörös also analyzed the rich royal, ecclesial and secular sources on medieval animal husbandry and hunting. Huge amounts of donations took place in the region, which is reflected through the rich fourteenth-century sources. Beside the listed animals found in archaeozoological remains, several other data show the variety of livestock and fauna (different studs, goats, oxes, hunted big game, like buffalos, moose, but also bears, chamois, wolf were mentioned). Hunters (*venatores*) are rarely mentioned in general, but specified hunters are known (for buffalo, beaver, hare and other furbearers).

The royal hare-hunters (*leporiferi*) were almost exclusive to the Bakony and Balaton-Upland. They were mentioned to live in the Bakony Forest, today's Nemzeti (near Herend). However, in 1279 King Ladislaus IV gave an huge, 65 hold area called *Neug* [Nevegy/Nivegy] near the Balaton to the

⁴⁵⁰ Holub 1960, 181-182.

⁴⁵¹ The summary is based on László Bartosiewicz - István Vörös, "Veszprém megye ős- és régészeti állattana" [The paleo- and archaeozoology of Veszprém County], in *Veszprém megye monográfiája I. Természeti viszonyok* [The monograph of Veszprém County I. Environmental factors], edited by István Galambos, (Veszprém: Veszprém megyei Önkormányzat, 2009), 204–216.

comes of the *leporiferri*, named *Heem*.⁴⁵² The area is still known as Nivegy-valley, including a number of settlements: Óbudavár, Balatoncsicsó, Szentjakabfa, Szentantalfa, Tagyon and on the shore Zánka.⁴⁵³ In this area (written as Nywig) other royal servants (*servientes regis*), like the royal hunting dog leaders (*caniferi*), *liciscari*⁴⁵⁴ and the vine-dressers lived as well.⁴⁵⁵

4.3. Pauline monastic space in the Balaton Uplands

Following the scattered reconstruction of the medieval space in the region, the present subchapters provide a look into the hermitages and Pauline monasteries in the region. The selected monasteries had already been listed and contextualized in the Introduction (Chapter 4.1.): the key idea was to study those monasteries, which were founded in the selected timeframe of the dissertation.

The subtopics in the discussions of each monastery or hermitage were created on the basis of the accessible sources or questions that were addressed by scholarship before, which is why the length and depth, or even the theme of such chapters are diverse. The order of discussion reflects the order of the inventory of Bishop Paul, issued in 1263. All the written sources I gathered are available in Appendix 1. After a brief introduction and the discussion of the relevant topics, the summary on the hermitages and the monasteries of the Balaton Uplands is accessible in another part of the dissertation, in specific parts of Chapter 7.

4.3.1. *Insula Pilup* / Révfülöp, St. Helena Hermitage

The hermitage of St. Helena, mentioned first place in the inventory of hermitages in 1263, is one of the most debated sites related to the thirteenth-century history of the pre-Pauline hermitages. It is among the earliest documented hermitages in the Hungarian Kingdom, however its history is full of questions and indirect evidence. Only one and early property donation is known (1221) in its history, although the identification and localization of the St. Helen hermitage is among the most discussed issues in Pauline scholarship. It is really refreshing that efforts for its localization, which seemed to be at a standstill since 2005, were again made. It became part of discussion due to a newly found site

⁴⁵² Bartosiewicz – Vörös, “Állattan,” 213.

⁴⁵³ MTF 3, 86.

⁴⁵⁴ The Greek word *lycisca* refers to a special breed of dog, a mixture of a male wolf and a female dog, which was a very strong, wolf-like dog. They might be similar to agar or vizsla dogs, most probably larger and higher than the regular hunting dogs, which were mostly some kind of hounds. Bartosiewicz – Vörös, “Állattan,” 216.

⁴⁵⁵ Previously it was donated to the St. Michael *ecclesia of Veszprém* by Sal comes in 1227 (*in villa Niqig*). In the late fourteenth-fifteenth century partially it was partially still in the possession of the Chapter of Veszprém, most probably since the donation of comes Sal; the southern area near Zánka was in the possession of the nobility - most probably after the royal servant Heem gained noble title, soon after he received Nevegy, the lands remained in private hands until the end of the middle ages (surely until 1439). DF 200626; Solymosi 1998, 202; Sörös 1903, 162.

and two maps, discovered by the members of the community archaeology program of the Hungarian National Museum.

Possible locations: Pilis, Révfülöp, or Ilonakút

The hermitage listed in Bishop Paul's inventory (1263) was most probably the oldest amongst all the eremitic communities in the Bishopric of Veszprém. The St. Helen hermitage appears in the written sources first more than four decades before the inventory, in 1221, when Sal comes, the member of the Atyusz kindred donated two vineyards for the hermitage (named *Bolcus* and *Szombat*) in his first testimony.⁴⁵⁶

The localization and identification of the hermitage has a several decade-long history in scholarship, where even recent results are adding to our understanding of the medieval space of the Hungarian Kingdom. It is useful to highlight the main points of research history in this case since some of the claims re-appear in recent argumentations as well. The key was and still is that its second mention –*Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae*– was the very first in the list of hermitages in 1263, but it was only third in the next inventory in 1291, when two new hermitages appeared, the Holy Cross in the Pilis and St. Ladislaus near Kékes (*in Pilisio ecclesia Sanctae Crucis, Sancti Ladislai in Kekes, Insula Pilup etc.*)⁴⁵⁷ At this time the charter of 1221 was not known in the Pauline context.

Since the Pauline tradition (in *Vitae Fratrum*) stated that the main monastery of the order, was founded in the Pilis, by Eusebius of Esztergom around 1250 (!), –so before the list of Bishop Paul– scholarship claimed that the Holy Cross monastery was not only the founding place of the Paulines, it was automatically regarded as the very first Pauline monastery.⁴⁵⁸ In other words, Pauline history was regarded in a linear way: somewhere a hermitage/monastery must have been first, which – according to the contextualization of the *Vitae* by scholarship– was definitely the one founded by Eusebius and therefore located in the Pilis. The discrepancy for scholars here was the fact that the inventory of 1263 was starting with Pilup, not Pilis or anything else, referring to the Holy Cross monastery. This logic of the researchers was lacking the recognition of the difference between the

⁴⁵⁶ Cod. Dipl. 3/1, 325–328. His second testimony was recorded in 1227 by his relative, the bishop of Zagreb, Stephanus. DL 133, 200626, Cod. Dipl. 3/2. 105–107; Solymosi, 1998, 201–202. In this, the hermits are not mentioned, which probably means that they received the lands which were promised for them in 1221.

⁴⁵⁷ VF, Cap. 10.

⁴⁵⁸ However, the first charter and historical events suggest that the monastery was not founded at 1250, only after 1263 and before 1291 (see Chapter 5). VF, Cap. 8. Also, Gyöngyösi refers to the Holy Cross monastery as the main monastery, not the first one.

two inventories of the Veszprém Diocese,⁴⁵⁹ namely that Pilis and the Holy Cross monastery was listed only in 1291. They were also disregarding the fact that even Gyöngyösi himself described in his *Vitae* the hermits in the Mecsek as early eremitic ancestors (later members) of the Pauline order, whose community had already existed by 1225.

However, at some point it became indispensable for scholars to somehow re-contextualize and understand the list of 1263, which was the very first proof of organization amongst the eremitic communities. Two pieces of conditions were also highly affecting the reasoning: the lists of the Diocese have been copied into the *Vitae* (the only place where they survived), besides there was still the urge for the primacy of the Pilis and the Holy Cross monastery. Therefore, a simple solution became widespread in the literature, namely that *Insula Pilup* in 1263 is a misspelled version of Pilis. Also, a rather striking connection between the Holy Cross and St. Helen was established. Due to the story of the founding of the Holy Cross by St. Helen, the two dedications were regarded as inseparable, they were interpreted simply as synonyms for the same hermitage/monastery.⁴⁶⁰

Tamás Guzsik was the first scholar who drew attention to the sharp difference of the St. Helen and the Holy Cross monasteries; he recognized that they were both listed in 1291, therefore they cannot be regarded as the very same monastery. However, Guzsik accepted the interpretation of *Pilup* as Pilis, based on an interesting argument, namely that the Pilis as a land or forest is also identified as an *insula* in the *Vitae Fratrum*.⁴⁶¹ Therefore, Guzsik claimed that there was another monastery in the Pilis, *Insula Pilup St. Helenae*, which was located at today's Kovácsipusztá archaeological site by him.⁴⁶²

However, after a few years of Guzsik's publication, the research and excavation led by Professor József Laszlovszky proved that this site was the medieval parish church of Kovácsi village, which was the *grangia* of the close Cistercian monastery since the end of the twelfth century.⁴⁶³

Simultaneously with this research, *Insula Pilup* was in the focus of other scholars: it was identified with another site, totally different from the Pilis: at today's Révfülöp by László Solymosi in 2005.⁴⁶⁴ Separately of Solymosi and on the basis of further proofs, also László Holler⁴⁶⁵ and József Laszlovszky claimed the same localization. Solymosi, just as Holler, argued that *Pilup* is a variant of

⁴⁵⁹ Pilis was missing from the list of 1263 because in contrast to the Pauline tradition, it was not already founded or at least recognized by 1263.

⁴⁶⁰ DAP 2, Keresztúr, Szentkereszt, Szent Ilona.

⁴⁶¹ See DAP 2, 400; Hervay 1984, 163; VF Cap. 15: 2–3.

⁴⁶² Guzsik 2000; Guzsik 2003, 40.

⁴⁶³ see for example Laszlovszky 2018.

⁴⁶⁴ Solymosi, "Pilupsziget,".

⁴⁶⁵ Holler 2007, 123–124.

Pilyp/Philippus=Philip.⁴⁶⁶ Also *insula* as an island⁴⁶⁷ is a key part of the nomination, thus should be searched together: an island and Pilip.

The identification of Pilis Forest as an *insula* was also surpassed in their argumentation; by not only one, but two reasons. First, Holler proved in a detailed way that a mistake that was made in the copy of the *Vitae Fratrum* turned *in silva Pilis* phrase to *in Insula Pilys* in the sixteenth century.⁴⁶⁸ Second, contemporary data from 1261, found by Solymosi, proved that *Pilup* was in Zala County, not in the Pilis. The document lists some *ecclesias* that were in Zala County (on the territory of the Veszprém Diocese) and were intended to be occupied by the Austine order.⁴⁶⁹ These churches⁴⁷⁰ were mentioned in the following order: St. Helen, St. James and St. Mary Magdalene, which are most definitely the same hermitages that were mentioned two years later, in 1263 in the list of Bishop Paul. (more on this period see Chapter 3.)

All this argumentation led the attention of the research to today's Révfülöp on the shore of Balaton, which was in Zala County until the 1950s, was and still is in the Diocese of Veszprém, and had at least one island near; moreover, some ruins are present in the area which could serve as hermitages (whatever they looked like). But the most telling proof was that Révfülöp means Ferry-Philip, referring to the name Philip with a ferry on the shore, which originates from the Middle Ages. In the following paragraphs, it's worth unfolding this line of evidence and consider the site of Révfülöp.

Villa Pilip, the village of Fülöp/Philip was mentioned first in 1211 as part of the Tihany Abbey's estate, just like in 1267 (*Pylip*).⁴⁷¹ As it was described previously in Chapter 4.2.3., Fülöp village is not precisely located yet, but it was definitely near to the port/ferry of Császtza and the so-called Szigetrév, meaning Island ferry, which is a telling medieval toponym in the search for *Insula Pilup*.

⁴⁶⁶ Solymosi, "Pilupsziget,"19; Holler 2007, 123.

⁴⁶⁷ Holler 2007, 124–126. Scholarship identified *insula* as a meadow or parcel as well, see ÁMTF 4, 700. However, Holler stated that no other use of *insula* is proved by the written sources than islands. See Holler 2007, 130, especially footnotes 42–45.

⁴⁶⁸ Holler 2007, 129–130.

⁴⁶⁹ The Austin order was working hard on the foundation of their new province in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom which happened the next year, in 1262. DL 515; Solymosi, "Pilupsziget,"18–19.

⁴⁷⁰ Or voluntarily applied to join the order? see Chapter 3 The History of the Order. Eusebius asked for the Austine regula from the Pope in 1262, as the *Vitae Fratrum* says, unsuccessfully. Just a year after the charter from 1261, when the Austine order tried to settle in three hermitages unsuccessfully, it was rather an attempt by Eusebius. Most probably in 1263, when the bishop stated that no other hermitages can be found and no other ones are recognized besides the listed ones, might mean that Eusebius and the hermitages in the Pilis were punished by the bishop. Holler 2007, 132.

⁴⁷¹ Erdélyi 1906, 42, 26; Erdélyi 1908, 239, 491. Other mentions in Csánki, Filip.

The water coverage was much larger in the Middle Ages (Chapter 4.2.3.) than it is nowadays, which means that here at Révfülöp not only the direct connection with *Pilip*, but the second important feature, the (past) existence of (at least) one island is highly possible on some parts of the shore. A telling toponym leads further the investigation: today's Sziget strand, meaning Island beach, is the very same area where an island was located in the past; the identification is based on maps and written source, also geographical data. (Fig. 4.3.1.)



Fig. 4.3.1. *Insula Pilup*. The area of present-day Révfülöp on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Here, on the northeastern corner of the ex-island a ruined church is standing still, which is dated to the thirteenth-century. Since no written data survived on the parish of *villa Pilip*, also it is located on the once island of the settlement, therefore not only Solymosi, but Holler defines it as the church of the St. Helen hermitage.⁴⁷² However, on the provided archival photo (Fig. 4.3.2.) not only the island-like environment is visible, but probably a part of the fence that enclosed the churchyard, which is regular in the case of medieval parishes. Since there is no medieval written data on the parish

⁴⁷² First described by Flóris Rómer, "Román- és átmenetkoru építmények hazánk területén" [Romaneque and transitioning buildings in our country] *Archaeologiai Közlemények* 10/2 (1876): 1-61. ; Holler 2007, 127, 131; Solymosi, "Pilupsziget,".

of Fülöp villa, it is possible that the abandoned church of the hermits was used as a parish or chapel for the villagers.⁴⁷³

Furthermore, it is likely that other islands appeared on the Balaton shore, time to time, perhaps at Császtta or at the present-day waste water treatment plant (Fig. 4.3.1. see for the latter *Hajórév?/Insula Pilup?*), where some building remains were documented before (Fig. 4.3.3.).⁴⁷⁴



Fig. 4.3.2. *Insula Pilup*. The church at Révfülöp at the beginning of the twentieth century, where the island-like highlight is visible. Békefi 1907, 193; MRT 1, 133. Fig. 31.

However, if the ferries were operating in the thirteenth century, the islands must have been densely and intensively used, which created the opposite of a silent, deserted environment for the hermits. Nevertheless, the chronological order (if there was such) of the ferries is not known, nor their actual number in the microregion, which leaves open the floor for a number of theories.⁴⁷⁵

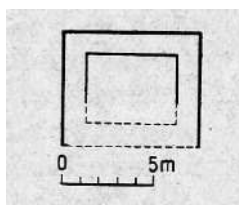


Fig. 4.3.3. *Insula Pilup*. The ground plan of the past visible ruins on the Balaton shore, near the water waste management area (*Hajórév?*).

⁴⁷³ Further archaeological research could refine data in question.

⁴⁷⁴ MRT 1, 133.

⁴⁷⁵ For example, the first ferries were not near the island, e.g. Császtta might have been founded and used primarily, located west of the village, while the hermits could live on the island, which was the perfect place for a symbolically eremitic life: next to water, on a remote island, but as it is usual in the Middle Ages, not too far from civilization. Szigetrév was probably founded later, after the disappearance of the St. Helen community and the church they left behind could serve the people of the village.

Although the precise location of the hermitage is not articulated, Révfülöp is an ideal location for another reason as well. Guzsik highlighted that the *visitor*, the deputy of the Veszprém diocese must have had a planned road to the hermitages in 1263, which Guzsik aimed to prove by simply the list itself (Fig. 4.3.4.). The inventory starts with *Insula Pilup* (1), which Guzsik identified in the Pilis; however, Révfülöp seems to be in a more valid position in this respect. It is also noteworthy to highlight that the other hermitages, which are known of scattered sources (see Chapter 4.3.9.), are also on the path from Veszprém to Lake Balaton and yet no new data is known on them.

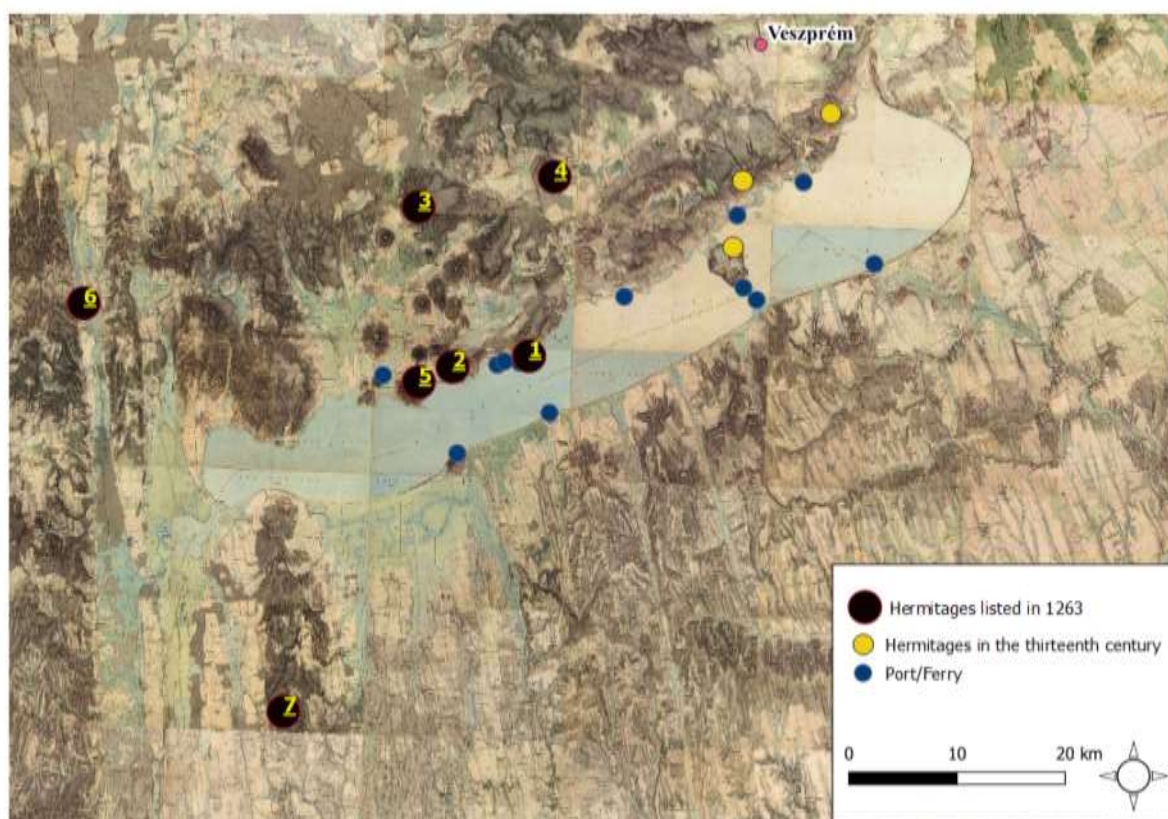


Fig. 4.3.4. *Insula Pilup*. Mapping the list of 1263. Based on the idea of Guzsik, 2000. (1) *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae*, (2) *Kewkwth Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae*, (3) *Bohon Sancti Jacobi*, (4) *Idegst Beatae Elisabeth*, (5) *Bodochun Sancti Emerici*, (6) *Insula prope Ewrmenyes, Elek Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae*, (7) *Zakach Sancti Dominici*.

Révfülöp was not only the asset of the Tihany Abbey, but the Atyusz kindred as well (Chapter 4.3.2.). One of the members of the kindred was Sal comes, who left two testaments. It was already highlighted in the introduction that the first testimony from 1221 is the earliest known mention of the St. Helena hermitage.⁴⁷⁶ The very recent theory of Zsolt Kaszás and Krisztián Sütő civilian

⁴⁷⁶ Cod. Dipl. 3/1, 325–328.

researchers and metal detectorists had returned to this source as one of the main pillars of their localization of the St. Helena hermitage.

They found a thirteenth-century, until recently unregistered site near the village of Taliándörögd in the Bakony Forest, which is near a spring now called Ilona-kút, meaning the spring of Helen, near the valley of St. Helen. This site was already known to local historians, like Joachim Tóth, who showed it to an archaeologist, namely Alán Kralovánszky, but it was not registered as a site in any databases since.

It is a small dump in the forest, argued to be surrounded by water supplied by springs, so basically it must have looked like an island (Fig. 4.3.5.), which indicates the identification of the *insula* pronome in the name of the hermitage with the site. On the tip of the island-like dump, the remains of a building were identified. A metal detector survey, (conducted by Sütő and Kaszás, supported by Attila Papp, archaeologist of the Hungarian National Museum) revealed some thirteenth-century material (amongst them a Gothic key, which was found at the neck of the so-called island), along with late fourteenth century coins. These are solid proofs of the medieval origin of the site.

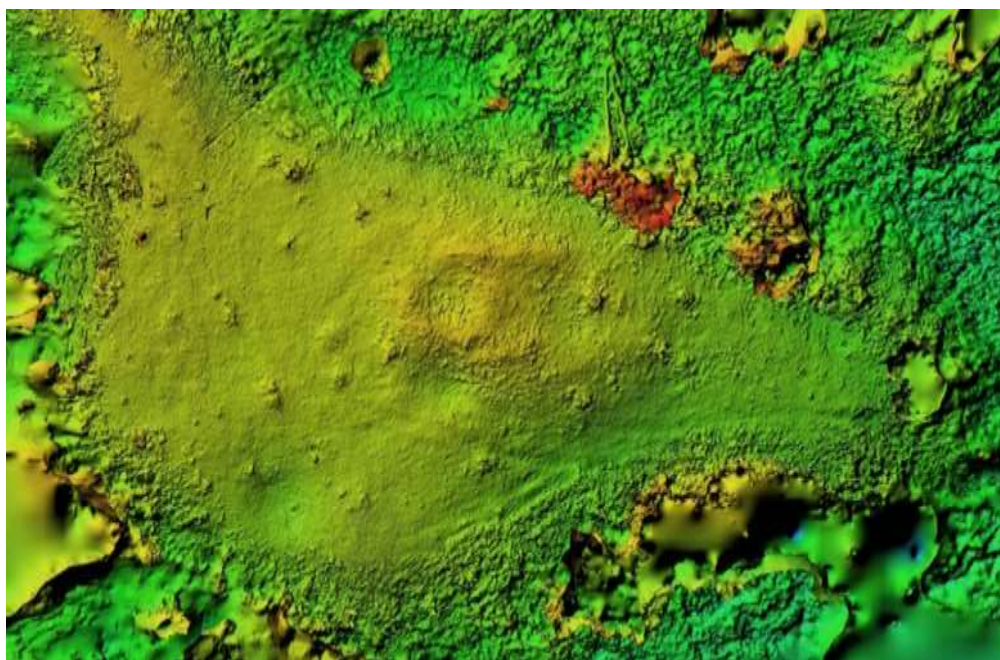


Fig. 4.3.5. *Insula Pilup*. Elevation model of the terrain, based on aerial photogrammetry. Source: Facebook/NRI (National Archaeological Institute)

Sütő and Kaszás studied the pictorial sources of the region and found two maps (1802⁴⁷⁷ and 1827⁴⁷⁸, Fig. 4.3.6.), which has *Rudera St. Helena* inscription, located at that island-like medieval site. Written sources were also analyzed by them, which – as they claim – proved that there was no other settlement or ruin in the microregion. This led them to the final conclusion that this area must be the only known St. Helena ecclesia, namely *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae*.



Fig. 4.3.6. *Insula Pilup*. The maps of 1802 and 1827. See the sources in Appendix 1/4.3.1.

However, some points should be highlighted in this narrative. Regarding the written sources, two aspects are worth to be reconsidered or rather deep-analyzed. Namely, (1) that St. Helena is although rare patron, but in the region is not singular,⁴⁷⁹ and (2) in regards to the thirteenth-century hermitages, the patron St. Helen stands inseparably with *Pilup* on the list of 1263, which precisely mentions it (*Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae*). Kaszás and Sütő, along with Attila Papp (archaeologist of the Hungarian National Museum, National Archaeological Institute) argues that it was a misinterpretation by those who made or copied the inventory. Their explanation is based on the testament of *Sal comes* (1221), where *Pilup* (*praedium*⁴⁸⁰) is mentioned just after the hermits of St. Helen, so basically it was a merging of the two pieces of information in 1263 from the testament of Sal. There are several problems with this interpretation.

First of all, the list of 1263 most probably was the result of a *visitatio*, so the deputy of the bishop was –most preferably– physically present there. If not, and the charter of Sal was used by the

⁴⁷⁷ *Mappa Praedium Dobos, cum Sáska, Szőcz, Ráskó et Szent Jakab...* MNL OL S 16. No. 197.

⁴⁷⁸ *Mappa exhibens, Ferritoria Szőcz, Raskó, Dobos et Saska ...* MNL OL S 16. No. 339.

⁴⁷⁹ St. Helena is the patron of the parish church of Tálod village, near the Pauline monastery, also there is a St. Helen spring at Vár völgy. The St. Helen valley and spring at Taliándörögd are documented only from the nineteenth century.

⁴⁸⁰ In the next testimony (1227) it is written as *praedium Pylip*.

Bishopric, there is only one context, where the documents on the properties of the hermitage were important: it is when the sustainability and maintenance of the hermitages was evaluated by the Diocese. However, it is still unclear then, why was it misread as *insula Pilup*? Is it even possible? And if yes, then does it support or even reflect on the location of the hermitage?

The charter of Sal (1221) is worth a closer look, where the discussed text goes as follows: ... *Beatae Helenae. Item in Pilup* ... If this was misread and merged then *insula* would be missing from the list of 1263, which means it was not an *insula*.⁴⁸¹ How did the “island” characteristic survive then? If *item in* was misread as *insula*, then it also should be regarded as an error, not a proof of a landscape feature in the argumentation, since there was no one to know its physical appearance at the Bishopric. If, nevertheless, *insula* form of the hermitage was known for some reason to the *visitor(es)*, the attention during writing was surely not disrupted by adding *Pilup*, they definitely knew what and where they were discussing. If the hermitage was seen and known by them as an island, then how come that *Pilup* was mistakenly added to the inventory? Anyhow, this theory in the argumentation seems to be inadequate or even farfetched, it accepts only *insula* and disregards *Pilup*.

However, this does not exclude the archaeological site of Ilonakút since its function and name is still unknown. It could also have been the parcel (*insula*) of Philip (*Pilip*, for example a hermit or the landlord) with the hermitage of St. Helen. Taking this possibility into consideration, at this stage of the research I strongly disagree with the idea of misreading *Insula Pilup* by the thirteenth-century *visitatores*, moreover, *Insula Pilip* seems to be the place of the St. Helena hermitage and they were definitely reflecting to one valid location.

Nevertheless, it is important to draw attention to further hermitages, which are either unnamed, but localized or they are known from sources, but not located precisely (see Chapter 4.3.9). Therefore, it is still unknown the physical appearance of hermitages, not to mention specifically the thirteenth-century hermitages, in Hungary. All the available data suggests now that Ilonakút might be something that is close to the recent understanding of a medieval hermitage (Fig. 4.3.7.),⁴⁸² which means that it could have been a hermitage, however, it is yet not proved, even its name is known only from nineteenth-century maps.

Georadar and a detailed LiDAR-survey might help to answer the questions around the site of Ilonakút, also an excavation would reveal more data. Until this happens, nothing is certain about the

⁴⁸¹ It is also relevant to discuss whether a ditch filled with water in the woods was defined and regarded as an island here or not in the Middle Ages.

⁴⁸² However, I am not quite convinced about its original function since such island-like appearance in the woods suggests a defensive structure, which leads the identification to some kind of fortress.

site. However, in the case of Ilonakút, the many hundred-years gap between the last written source that mentions *Insula Pilup* (1291) and the maps whereon the *rudera St. Helena* appears, it may also urge one to reconsider the validity of contextualization. It's wise to consult local settlement history from the earliest Middle Ages until modern times. For example, in the toponym collection of Frigyes Pesty, this particular site and ruin is identified as the ruined place where a certain nun, called most probably Ilona lived⁴⁸³ – a nun, just like in the case of Berény (Chapter 4.3.9.). Probably the closest nunnery at Apácatorna, in the northwestern region of the Bakony Forest, supported this oral tradition.



Fig. 4.3.7. *Insula Pilup*. A hermit's cabin drawn in an early-fourteenth-century codice. *Psalter of Queen Mary*. British Library, ID: Roy2.B.VII. Fol. 209r. *Index of Medieval Art*.

However, it is worth looking at and analyzing the testimony of Sal (1221) because more and more interesting spatial features help the research about the *fratres Beatae Helenae* and raise more questions about the location of the hermitage. The first and foremost basis of this is that the properties, mentioned in the testament, were listed in a geographical and logical order (see Fig. 4.3.8.). First, the ecclesial institutions: the Benedictine Abbey and the St. Michael Cathedral of Veszprém were doted; afterwards the wife of Sal, who after their children (four daughters, namely and most probably in the order of their birth: Eve, Ginevra, Helbrung and Agnes) were listed with the properties inherited by them (the hermits appear among the properties of Helbrung!). After his daughters, other relatives of Sal appeared and finally, many liberated servants (*libertinus*) of his were also included into the testimony.

Except for the latter group, the ecclesial institutions and members of the family received individual lands, distinguishable units of properties with nearby assets (*praedium* with vineyard or mill) that were in the Balaton Uplands. Except Egregy, which is located north of Hévíz, at the very

⁴⁸³ Pesty, 207no. Szóc.

western edge of the Uplands. But above all, there is a highly important characteristic of the properties: not any of them were in the Bakony, they were only south from the great military road that led from Veszprém to Tapolca (see Chapter 4.2.2. on the roads). The following order could be extracted from the testimony:

Property	Heir
Vöröstó <i>praedium</i> ⁴⁸⁴	Almád monastery
<i>villa Kal (in loco Ciud)</i> = Köveskál	Veszprém, St. Michael Cathedral
<i>praedium Egrug</i> (=Egregy, north of Hévíz, west Upper Balaton)	His wife
Almád and Iwank (=praedium Almád and an unlocated small village near the Monastery of Almád ⁴⁸⁵)	Eve daughter
<i>Szent-Iván praedium</i> (=Zalaszentiván??) north of Zalaegerszeg? ⁴⁸⁶	Weniver/Ginevra daughter
Vrs praedium (=Kővágóörs)	Helbrung daughter
<i>duas vineas [in Vrs!]: Bolcus, Zumbath (?)</i>	<i>fratribus Beatae Helenae</i>
<i>in Pilup, libertinos et vineas</i> (=Révfülp)	Helbrung daughter
<i>praedium Tegun</i> (=Tagyon)	Agnes daughter

⁴⁸⁴ It seems that (at a certain time) *praedium* was more like an estate, a village with properties (mills, arables, etc.), owned by private lords, inhabited by *servi*, while a *villa* was most probably inhabited by royal and/or liberated servants, whom worked and served mostly in royal or ecclesial circumstances. KMTL “praedium”, “villa”, “királyi szerviensi-serviensi regis”, “köznemes.”

⁴⁸⁵ There is an Almád and Ivan/Jank in Somogy County, close to the Balaton, Békefi 1907, 88–89. However, since many mills were mentioned in the testimony along and in the property of Almád and the nearby Eger/Egregy stream, which flew through the village, was well-known of its many mills (See Chapter 4.2.4.), it is reasonable to identify Almád as the village named Almád /Felsőalmád at today’s Monostorapáti, near the monastery of Almád, which most probably received its name from the village. However, another Almád southwest of the latter one, near Hegyesd, was also inhabited, it was called Lower or Smaller Almád (Alsó/-Kis-Almád) and it is mentioned in 1332 with its parish, dedicated to St. Peter. Békefi 1907, 121. Another small, unknown village is mentioned in the inventory of the monastery’s possessions in 1508. Békefi 1907, 211, DL 21890. Maybe it was Alsó-Almád, but it is rather useful to look at the name Iwánk(a), which has a diminutive, meaning “smaller John”, which could be this unknown village next to the monastery. It also foreshadows the existence of a “larger” village, named after John or St. John. See the next footnote. however, the next form of this praedium is Iwants, which leads to an absolutely different conclusion.

⁴⁸⁶ It was received as a complete possession, a unit, which suggests that it is probable to identify it with today’s Zalaszentiván. However, as it was described in the previous footnote, a smaller village named Iván(ka) was probably near Almád village, which means that a proper SzentIván praedium was near Almád. It is yet unlocated, however, the ruins at Ráskó, north of Almád, ad absurdum even Ilonakút could be identified as this village. The latter could be of a misread or a misshapen form of Iván.

<i>dedit terram quam in Dezlu possideat</i>	Dobuz, Iwanka, Sixto, Feltou son of Salamon
<i>molendinum Pous</i>	Dobuz
<i>molendinum Ante</i>	Iwanka
<i>Zin molendinum</i>	Sixto et Feltou, son of Salamon
<i>vineam Cun, apud Hegmogos</i>	Dobuz
<i>vineam in monte Csabant (=Csobánc)</i>	Iwanka
<i>unam vineam in Hegmogos</i>	Sixto and Feltou

Fig. 4.3.8. *Insula Pilup*. The list of properties in the first testimony of Sal comes, 1221.⁴⁸⁷

It is important to analyze the part where one of his daughters Helbrung, and the hermits are also mentioned.

Item filiae suae nomine Helbrung contulit praedium Vrs, cum vno aratro; et ibidem cum quatuor vineis. Item duas vineas, quas dicunt vineam Zumbath, et vineam Bolcus, contulit fratribus Beatae Helenae. Item in Pilup habet libertinos, et vineas sex, quas eidem filiae ad Vrs contulit.

It is interesting that the inherited properties by Helbrung were interrupted by the St. Helen hermits, which did not happen in any other cases in the charter. This means that the vineyards of *Zumbath* and *Bolcun* were located near the lands of Helbrung, they were part of *praedium Vrs*. Four of the vineyards were to be inherited by Helbrung, while two specific ones were inherited by the St. Helen hermits. This of course does not locate the hermitage,⁴⁸⁸ they could live at Ilonakút; however, it was in a day's journey to Örs (ca. 20 kms on hilly terrain), and without any laborers who could cultivate the lands,⁴⁸⁹ most probably the hermits did it by themselves. Therefore, they must have settled close to the lands they received (just like in the case of Kőkút, see Chapter 4.3.2.), which immediately excludes Ilonakút of the locations and, moreover, it supports the location of the hermitage near Révfülöp,⁴⁹⁰ where most other features are also present: insula, Pilup, a thirteenth-

⁴⁸⁷ Cod. Dipl. 3/1, 325–328.

⁴⁸⁸ Although it is less probable, but this testimony could be also understood as the hermits were settled on the lands of Sal near the mentioned properties of Helbrung and while the properties were listed for her, the hermits were simply inserted at this point because they lived in this area – they were not highlighted and as important like the Benedictine abbey of Almád or the Cathedral at Veszprém, but they were not to be forgotten.

⁴⁸⁹ Not like in any other cases in the testimony, where most land were doted with laborers.

⁴⁹⁰ It should be highlighted that Holler already noticed that *Pilup* is listed in 1221 among other settlements that are just next to Révfülöp. Holler 2007, 124. Although it seems to be less important and unproved, the present author did as well, separately of Holler.

century ruin, and the vineyards. Although without archaeological research, it still can be questioned; just like Ilonakút.

Nevertheless, the reassuring localization of *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae* is still a task of scholarship. It is sure that it was in Zala County, it had the earliest known properties among the hermitages (namely vineyards at present-day Kővágóörs), which would suggest that the hermitage was also there or in its close vicinity (ca. 1 km radius). However, the interesting new site at Ilonakút in the Bakony Forest refreshed the research and put another, valuable spot on the map that is worth for further study, but probably not only in the frame of the *Pilup* question, but generally, in regards of the thirteenth-fourteenth-century hermitages. Since there are other yet unnamed hermitages, the issue of thirteenth-century eremitic communities is something that needs to be studied by archaeological methods while the written sources need to be explored and/or re-contextualized.

4.3.2. Kőkút (Salföld), St. Maria Magdalena Hermitage and Monastery

Although the architectural remains of the monastery are one of the most complete ones in Hungary, the history of the St. Mary Magdalene monastery is lacking most written evidence, hence only specific topics can be discussed now: the circumstances of its foundation, in regards to the local settlement history and donators, also a brief evaluation of the roughly known assets (vineyard, an arable land and a mill) of the monastery (Fig. 4.3.9.), along with its final years and the donators of Salföld in common with Sáska (Chapter 4.3.3).

Gaps in the history of the monastery – written sources, properties⁴⁹¹

The Maria Magdalene monastery was the home of an early-thirteenth-century eremitic community. As Holub suggested, it was probably founded by the same *Sal comes* or one of his direct descendants, who donated two vineyards to the hermitage of St. Helen, founded on *Insula Pilup* (Chapter 4.3.1.) in 1221. The identity of the founder is claimed on the basis of its present name, Salföld [Sal's land], and also that the neighboring lands were part of his estate. The former statement is not proved since the name Salföld appeared much later than the 1200s, only in the early sixteenth century. However, it might be named after him or his descendants.⁴⁹² The name Sal might have been given to several members of the Kőkút/Köveskút family, who must have owned the area in the fourteenth and

⁴⁹¹ Based on the paper that was presented on September 22-23, 2023, at the Heritage of the White Friars Conference at Zalaegerszeg. Its written version is under press, see Pető – Látos – Péterváry 2023.

⁴⁹² One of his grandsons was named Sal and the other Atyusz. Holub 1933, 19, 82., 331.; Holub 1937. Partially cited in Zsiray–Sch. Pusztai 1967, 249–250.

sixteenth centuries.⁴⁹³ Instead of Salföld, the local hermits, later Pauline monks, are mostly mentioned in medieval sources as members of the monastery of Mary Magdalene in Kőkút or Köveskút.⁴⁹⁴

If Sal *comes* is considered the founder, or the hermits were gathered in his life at Salföld, in that case, there are some fixpoints in the chronology and the dating of the hermitage. The earliest data on the community is from 1261, the charter of Zlaudus, the bishop of Veszprém mentioned it among three hermitages in the Bishopric. The foundation of the hermitage might have taken place sometime before 1261 and after 1227, when the second testimony of Sal was dated, and where no hermits were mentioned at all. The hermitage was most probably in the early 1230s since a coin from the time was found at a metal detecting survey and Sal *comes* was dead in 1237 the latest.⁴⁹⁵ Anyhow, it is yet unknown who inhabited the place in the first half of the thirteenth century, but the late Gothic church visible today has a late Árpáadian predecessor; it could have been either the parish church of an earlier settlement or the church of the Kőkút hermitage as well.⁴⁹⁶

Two years after its first mention it is listed second among the hermitages of Veszprém Diocese in the inventory of Bishop Paul. After 1263, there is a gap in the sources, however, there must have been some properties of the hermits, because otherwise they would not have survived as a community. The first source on a donation is from 1307, when a vineyard was donated to the hermits (*...religiosis viris fratribus heremitarum ecclesie B. Marie Magdalene de KuesKut...*).⁴⁹⁷ (See Fig. 4.3.9.) It is yet impossible to precisely locate the vineyard, which was given by Coloman of Abram [nowadays Balatonrendes-Ábrahámhegy, south of Salföld, on the shore of Lake Balaton]. We only know that it was located between the vineyards of Paul (son of Laurence) and the vineyards of the Chapter of Veszprém. To approximately locate the area, another charter was of great help.

no .	type	English and its context	extracted data / basis of sum	sum
1	<i>molendinum</i>	mill	1442-87: one-wheeled mill at Egregy	1

⁴⁹³ MRT 1, 136. Salköveskút was mentioned in 1531, later Salkőkútja. First Béla Darnay-Dornyay identified it with medieval Kőkút. Béla Dornyay—Ferenc Vigyázó, *A Balaton és környéke részletes kalauza* [The detailed inventory of the Balaton and its vicinity] (Budapest, 1934), 180-182. Further nobles of the Kőkút family named Sal appeared in charters (first in 1338), see Zsiray–Sch. Pusztai 1967, 248. Probably this is the result of remembering the first Sal, maybe the one who founded the monastery. It is a possibility that the Kőkút Family descended from him.

⁴⁹⁴ For example in 1307: hermits of *B. Marie Magdalene ecclesia* at *KuesKut*, in 1475: *heremitarum de ecclesia b. m. m.* in 1442: *Kekuth*) Interestingly, in no contemporary charters were the monks mentioned as Paulines, only as the hermits of BMM monastery.

⁴⁹⁵ Holub 1937, 61.

⁴⁹⁶ Zsiray – Sch. Pusztai 1967, 254.

⁴⁹⁷ DL 8785, DL 1707 (eighteenth c. transcription); DAP 1, 215; Elenchus 1750, AOkt I, 137, no. 128.

2	<i>terra</i>	arable land, needs to be rested very soon or possibly its a set aside land, but otherwise fertile and regarded as a good quality of parcel (<i>iugerum</i>)	1482: lands at Földköz and Ábrám	1
3	<i>vinea</i>	vineyard	1307: one at Ábrám	1

Fig. 4.3.9. *Kőskút*. The sum of properties from the written sources of Kőskút monastery.

József Holub mentioned an interesting data in his manuscript about a donation, which took place in 1309⁴⁹⁸ by the Chapter of Veszprém for the benefit of Paulus, the son of Lawrence (and his son Gregorius), a distinguished military *iobagio* of the Chapter, who must have been the same Paul who was mentioned two years prior as the neighbor of the hermits.⁴⁹⁹ The Veszprém Chapter may have donated to him in 1309 the vineyard that was the other neighbor of the vineyard which was given to the hermits in 1307. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the neighbors of the vineyard given to Paul and his son in 1309 are the hermits to the east. The 1309 donation also contains further information, which is why the full text should be quoted. It goes as the following:

“...unam v[ineam ab o]riente vinee Heremitarum de ecclesia beate Marie Magdalene, Meridionali vero plaga magne vee (sic!), ab occidentali parte, vinee, Petri filij Johannis, a Septemtrione autem vinee ecclesie beati Johannis”

“...one vineyard, on the east side [there was] the vineyard of the Hermits from the church of the blessed Mary Magdalene, on the southern side: the great road, on the west side: the vineyard of Peter the son of John, and on the north side of the vineyard: the church of blessed John.”

Based on the spatial data of both charters, the following sketch can be drawn:

⁴⁹⁸ DL 200781; AOkt. 137 — 138; HO IV. 117-118, no. 91.; Holub 1933, “Köveskút”.

⁴⁹⁹ Holub 1933, “Köveskút”. MNL OL DL 200781

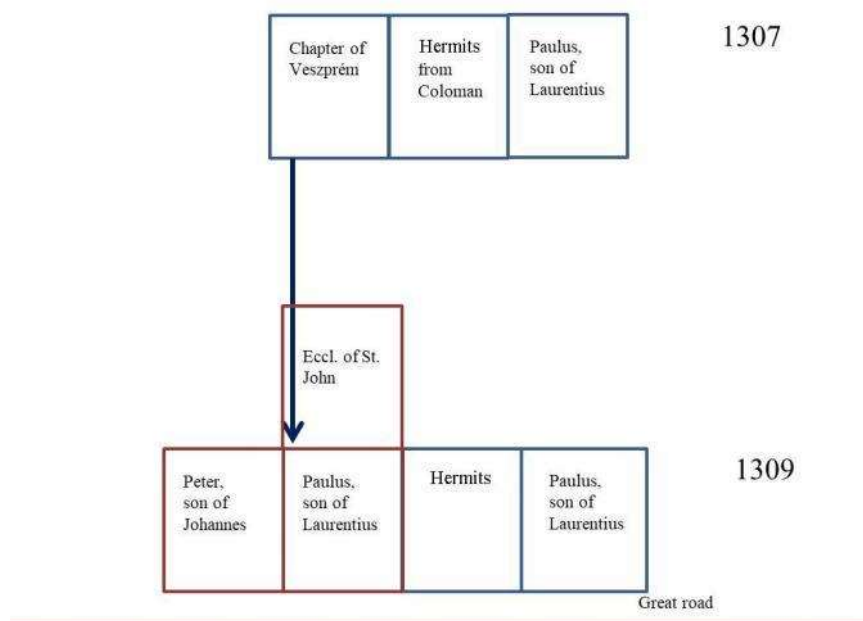


Fig. 4.3.10. *Kőlkút*. The spatial arrangement of the vineyards, based on the charters of 1307 and 1309.

The vineyard of the hermits and all the mentioned benefactors were located north of the great road and we also learn that the vineyard given to Lawrence's son Paul was bordered on the north by the vineyard of the Church of St John, and on the west side the vineyard of Peter, son of John. In fact, perhaps even his former vineyard east to the hermit's vineyard, remained in the hands of Lawrence. Although this information is not providing precise localization of the vineyards, it was possible to reconstruct a quite exceptional estate system, which lay immediately north of the great Roman road, which ran along the shores of Lake Balaton.⁵⁰⁰

To define this area, it was appropriate to turn to all the available maps: whether the historical military surveys or today's topographical map, the main road follows roughly the same track and the vineyards were mostly located north of it. The closest natural environment to the state of the Middle Ages is generally regarded to be pictured on the First Ordnance Survey. On this basis, the vineyards were possibly located west to the medieval village of Abraham and east-northeast of the former *via magna* (Fig. 4.3.10, also see on the tracks Fig. 4.3.11. Possible track to Lake Balaton and to the medieval village of Ábrahám).⁵⁰¹

⁵⁰⁰ The Romans probably built their roads in the most southerly, permanently dry area, so land suitable for vineyards could probably have been developed only north of the road. Thanks to Gábor Tomka for his insight.

⁵⁰¹ A perambulation from 1329 survived that appointed the border between Abram and Rendes (the village east of Abram, on the shore of the lake). Here the several other possessions of the chapter (including vineyards) are mentioned, but



Fig. 4.3.11. *Kőút*. The probable area of vineyards on the First Ordnance Survey.

The following appearance of the monastery in the sources is dated more than a hundred and thirty years later than the first, when it was claimed from the Paulines by the Observant Franciscan friars. General Prior Martin, after the intercession of local nobles, allowed the Franciscan Observants to occupy three of their houses in Zala county (*prope Serenne*,⁵⁰² *Uza, ac Kekuth*) in 1442, since they were no longer suitable for the Paulines but were acceptable for the Franciscans.

The reason for the abandonment is connected by earlier research to be the war between Wladislaus I and Queen Elisabeth – the mother of Ladislaus V – and the fights in the area.⁵⁰³ However, it does not seem to be very plausible; if the fighting was a real threat to everyday life, the Franciscans would not have moved into the monastery in the place of the Paulines, who feared their lives and values there – or moreover, even had abandoned the monastery. Therefore, it is highly probable that the reason for the unsuitability of the above-mentioned monasteries for the Paulines, including the house at Salföld, lies elsewhere.

unfortunately, at first sight there is no fixed point regarding the possible border or the location of any properties. ZO I. 238–239, no 171. This charter has some interesting data on the local medieval space, like the village name of Cybirenurs, (mentioned also in 1360 as Cybriani Vrs, see ZO I, 610, no. 384) that might be the deserted village of Kisörsi(pusztá). Along with other charters (HO IV. 392–395, no 280; VÉL C/1. (cap.) Ábrahám 17. / MNL OL DF 201610 and Ábrahám 18. / MNL OL DF 201615), these documents represent a good basis for further spatial reconstructions and localizations of properties. They also emphasize and prove that several properties were possessed by the Chapter of Veszprém here since 1217. See VO 35-36, no. 12., Karlinszky 131-132.

⁵⁰² It is still unidentified, although it may refer to an already known house, maybe Henye was misread in the eighteenth century since only this copy is known of the letter. DL 13698, DAP 3, 164.

⁵⁰³ Zsiray – Sch. Pusztai 1967, 251.

Unfortunately, our sources are limited, and the existing written and archaeological data allow us to investigate the changes in everyday Pauline life, and perhaps in the difficulties that may have arisen from the earliest times in the region. It is a difficult question, one that cannot be precisely resolved, since we do not know exactly what the settlement strategy of the Paulines was, how it differed from the hermitage in the thirteenth century, and especially how it differed from the hermitage in the fifteenth century.

All we know for sure is that, unlike in Uzsa and Tálod, the Franciscans did not eventually move in to Salföld, since the Paulines of Kőkút received an indulgence by Cardinal Stephen in 1475, which was also granted by Albert, the bishop of Veszprém with certain restrictions. However, as written sources attest, the monastery was abandoned shortly afterwards.

The data, quoted by József Holub, is particularly interesting: in 1482 Pál Miketincs (son of László, son of Gergely, son of Mark of Ládi) gave his lands in *Abram* and *Földköz* to the hermits of Kőkút; in case he died without an heir. On the reverse of the charter is an inscription from the late Middle Ages, stating that the Palatine monastery in Salföld was already uninhabited at that time: “Ad claustrum Kekwth pertinent, quod claustrum nunc est desolatum.”⁵⁰⁴

The monastery must have become deserted sometime between 1482 and 1487, since the *Vitae Fratrum* already mentions the departure of the Pauline brothers of Kőkút by 1487. At that time, considering that the monks left the monastery, Prior General Thomas ordered at the request of László Gyulaffy's widow that the one-wheeled mill on the Egregy stream near Diszel, which belonged to the Paulines of Kőkút (before them, to the Uzsa monastery, between 1392 and 1442), should become the property of the St. James monastery in Zala County.⁵⁰⁵

It is most likely that the Paulines at Salföld tried to revive the monastic life that had been about to disappear. Probably in 1442, when the monastery of Uzsa was dissolved, they received some of its assets – at least the mill on the Egregy stream. The Paulines could have expected an increase in their income and role from the indulgence, which probably did not bring the expected results, as only ten years later the monastery was no longer inhabited by monks.

The extent of the vineyards and other estates remains unknown to us, and we can only continue to study the remains of the buildings and the surrounding landscape. The ruins, which can be seen today, are the result of a late Gothic rebuilding and date from the second half of the fifteenth century,

⁵⁰⁴ Holub 1933 “Köveskút”, original but yet unidentified archival ID: Gr. Erdődy-cs. lev. Galgóc 104/2./.

⁵⁰⁵ VF Cap. 67; Inventarium, 43-44; DAP 2, 388–390. Holub 1933, 436.

probably between 1442 and 1487. It is possible that the indulgence they received was covering the expenses of the construction.⁵⁰⁶

This is contradicted by the results of the excavations, led by Károly Sági, and the results of the conservation work carried out and published by Lajos Zsiray and Ilona Sch. Pusztai. They date the reconstruction of the monastery and church to the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries, which suggests that either the Paulines did not abandon the buildings or the Observants did take them over – or else an unknown scenario happened. According to Károly Sági, the buildings were already empty by the time of the Ottoman raid in 1554.

Also, the possibility of a rebuilding immediately preceding the 1470s, so before the abandonment, is not excluded by the researchers; the late fifteenth century rebuilding of Salföld is explicitly mentioned as a parallel to the monastery in Nagyvázsony (built in the late 1470s-1480s).⁵⁰⁷ If this is the case, then the Paulines must have had a very strong reason for abandoning the monastery, which they had recently invested in a considerable sum of money.

The reasons for all this could be complex or even trivial, human and/or natural. Several questions and possibilities can be articulated in this context, but the easiest and most elemental reason might be answered by landscape archaeology. The most essential perspective is to study the conditions for everyday life, which are building materials, fuel, food and water. Especially water supply seemed to be something that was not clear in the immediate landscape of the monastery. In the framework of the Pauline research project at the Hungarian National Museum, along with my research partner Tamás Látos (specialist in geosciences and GIS), the first examination focused on this problem. (see it in the next subchapter)

However, just by studying the written sources, the really strong effect of the Veszprém Bishopric has been noticeable since 1263. Later, in 1307, the chapter allowed Coloman, the *iobagio* of the bishopric, to donate his vineyard to the hermits; however, the chapter set a condition, where the vineyard was to return to their ownership and use if the Paulines were not paying *decima* or not cultivating it properly. Later, in 1472 the indulgence of Stephen Cardinal was approved by the bishop of Veszprém, but further conditions were imposed by him. Most probably the lands and the whole region was dominated by the diocese's will, which left small space for the Paulines, especially

⁵⁰⁶ Zsiray–Sch. Pusztai 1967, 252.

⁵⁰⁷ The uncertainty in the publications of the researchers is not accidental: the known building complex of the monastery of Kőkút and its published sections could have been present as early as the 1470s or the early 1480s, so we undoubtedly need to re-evaluate and possibly validate the written sources and archaeological results if we want to determine the time of the construction and abandonment of the monastery, or even to periodize the building complex.

regarding their sustenance. This also might have resulted the end of the Pauline presence here, just after they started to rebuild and expand the monastic space at Salföld. However, as the LiDAR survey imposed, the natural environmental elements are just as important to explore in the area.

The study of monastic space: LiDAR and metal detecting surveys in 2023

In the Spring of 2023, the colleagues of mine at the Hungarian National Museum – Tamás Látos and Zsolt Zsiga – conducted the first LiDAR survey of the area around the monastery, which lies now in a grove forest, but the surrounding area is covered by dense wood. (see Fig. 4.3.12. and 4.3.13.)

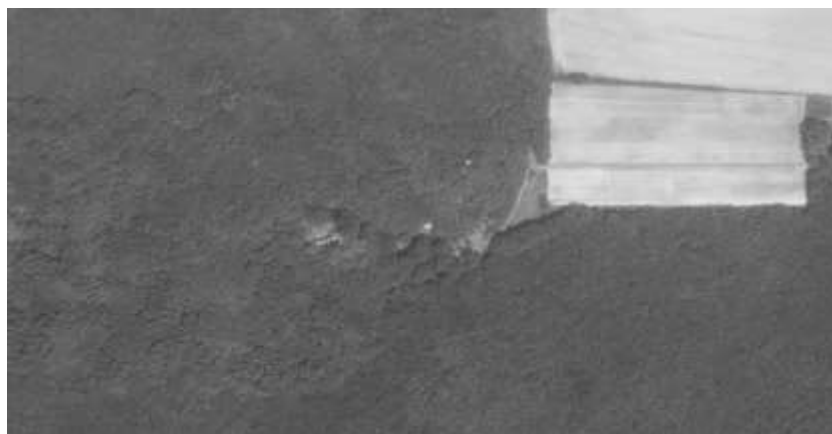


Fig. 4.3.12. **Kőkút.** The orthophotography of the area from 1979. The ruins of the church are visible Open source: fentrol.hu (Last accessed: 2023-10-23). The area hasn't changed at all until present days.



Fig. 4.3.13. **Kőkút.** The surveyed area in Google Earth with its present, full coverage. (Last accessed: 2023-09-10)



Fig. 4.3.14. **Kőkút**. Digital terrain model based on LiDAR survey, visualized by RRIM (red relief image map). Created by Tamás Látos, HNM.

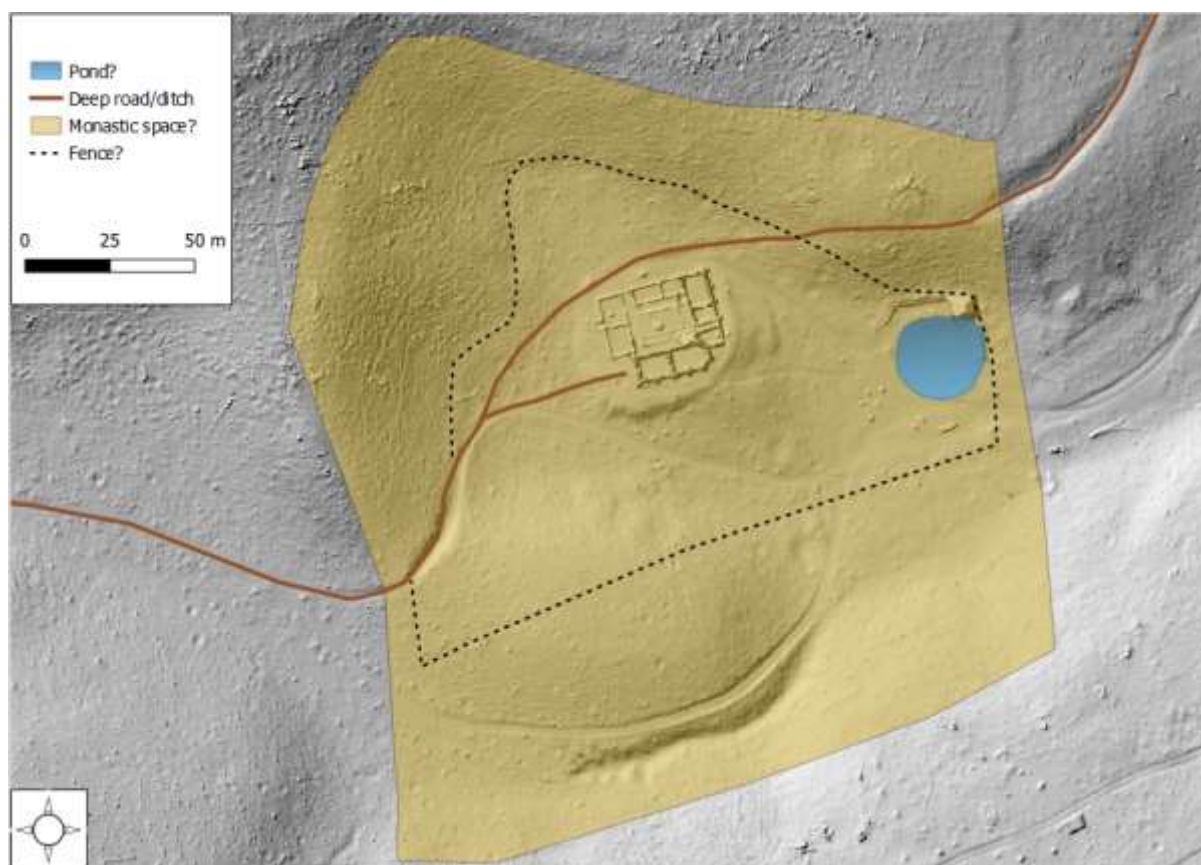


Fig. 4.3.15. *Kőkút*. The draft of the understood monastic space.

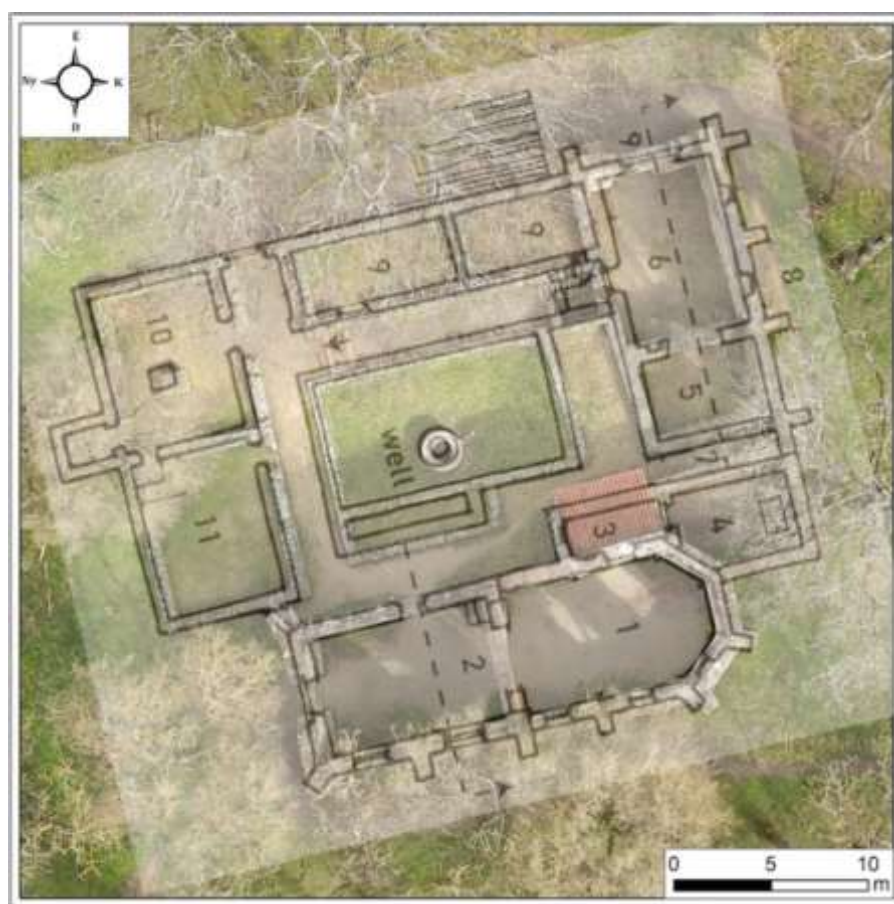
Several interesting features are to be observed on the model (Fig. 4.3.14. also 4.3.15.). Starting from the buildings, it seems that the monastery was built upon a human-made plateau in the enclosed valley. This is something that is clearly visible at other Pauline sites as well (for example our recent, yet unpublished LiDAR survey at Hangony monastery proves this), representing the huge muscle work that the past builders had to put in as a first step of the construction.

Maybe the deep cut road, which is visible from the northeastern area and goes along the monastery to the west/southwest, is something that intentionally crossed the monastic area and excluded the valley on the east. Along this road was the most accessible entrance of the church from the west and those parts of the monastery, which were ideally not enclosed from an easy-access; these were namely the kitchen, other storage rooms (proved by the proposed entrance between room 9 and 10, see Fig. 4.3.16. ground plan) and also the cellars on the northeastern part of the cloister (Below no. 5 and 6 rooms, see Fig. 4.3.17. ground plan).

However, the cellars were also accessible from the valley from the east, where a pond (a *servatorium* or perhaps a larger *vivarium*) might have existed. The roads from this direction most

probably existed, but their track is not as clear-cut as the deep tracks on the north and southwest area of the monastery.

The natural boundaries of the valley could give a hint on the past inner precinct of the monastery: it was enclosed from most directions, except for East. Although nothing is shown on the LiDAR about a fence or barrier around the inner precinct of the monastery, based on the few known examples where a proper stonewall existed as a fence, it was most probably constructed in regards to the local geomorphology and most probably enclosed a ca. 25000 sqm, ca. 6 acres.



1. Nave; 2. Sanctuary; 3. Sacristy; 4. Prior's chapel; 5. Chapter house; 6. Scriptorium/ armarium; 7. Corridor; 8. 1st Floor, cells, dormitorium; 9. Housekeeping rooms, storage rooms; 10. Kitchen; 11. Refectory

Fig. 4.3.16. Kőkút. The groundplan of the monastery.

The steep hills around also would certainly help in collecting water, but after analyzing the LiDAR survey, no traces of freshwater springs or reservoirs appeared. The reason behind was solved by Tamás Látos, who studied the geology and hydrology of the area.⁵⁰⁸ As Látos stated, the Permian

⁵⁰⁸ See Pető–Látos–Péterváry 2023.

red sandstone at the surface is an extremely hard, resistant rock. This explains why there are no signs of surface watercourses in the area around the monastery or in the valley itself, besides the size of the mountain itself is not sufficient for the formation of a large water network. A single deep ditch, a gully can be seen to the south of the monastery and its plateau, which may have formed in an older geological period, during a drier, vegetation-free period (Fig. 4.3.14.). No permanent watercourse has developed in it, either now or during the Middle Ages. It still plays a role in rainwater drainage, allowing the periodic higher rainfall to run off from the upper part of the valley, which might have (periodically) supplied the pond at the eastern area. This is probably the reason why the road here was diverted to the north, cutting into the hillside.

Not only are there no watercourses in the hill area, but there are no natural springs, which raises the question of how the monks' daily water supply was managed in the Middle Ages; whether there were fish ponds, or at least a *servatorium* among the monastery's other facilities. (Fig. 4.3.15. The draft of the understood monastic space). The only water supply that the monastery had was the cistern in the cloister courtyard. Károly Sági excavated it in 1963 and documented a 5,6 m deep cistern, which was 115 cm wide in diameter, with a wall 40 cm thick, and a plastered inner surface.⁵⁰⁹ At the bottom, a 50 cm thick clay dike had blocked the water's path. Underneath was natural sand.⁵¹⁰ The structure described during the excavation, the 50 cm thick clay and the lime plaster, confirm that this was not a borehole but a rainwater catchment.

Based on the parameters of the cistern, if it was full to the brim, it would have been able to store about 5,8 cbm of water. The reservoir capacity could be more than sufficient to meet the community's daily water needs. The question that Látos raised was: how rainwater was collected into the cistern? When studying the layout of the monastery, it is striking that the cistern is not located in the middle of the courtyard, but is significantly offset to the south and relatively close to the southern wall of the cloister, more specifically to the narrow part of the building (staircase?) attached to it (Fig. 4.3.16. The ground plan of the monastery.). It seems logical to assume that the cistern collected the water from the northern half of the church roof structure and the cloister below, as well as the roof of the staircase. These provided the largest surface area towards the interior of the courtyard, where most of the rainwater could be collected and drained to the reservoir.

⁵⁰⁹ It is unclear that how the plaster could survive and be seen in the cistern, it was more likely mortar which contained a high amount of whitewash, which was most probably used to keep the water clean.

⁵¹⁰ Sági 1963.

However, this is only the late medieval ground plan of the monastery; the cistern must have been older and existed previously since it was not easy to collect water here. Originally, it might have been in the center of a previous courtyard. It is equally far from the eastern facade of the western building and the original western facade of the eastern building,⁵¹¹ also it is located midway between the northern building and the church. The courtyard was most probably oblong shaped originally, most probably the construction of the sacristy and the staircase corridor shaped its late medieval form. (see Fig. 4.3.17. coloured groundplan)

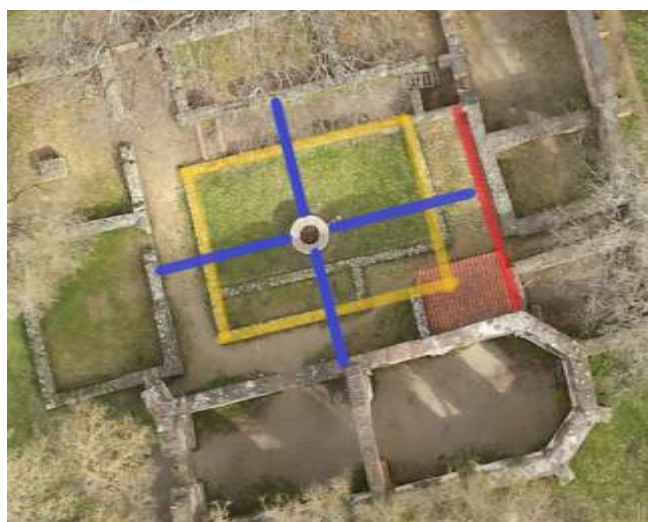


Fig. 4.3.17. *Kőkkút*. Coloured original form of the courtyard and the cloister wings.

The issue of fish ponds is a matter for reflection in several respects. As mentioned above in the description of the geological conditions, there is no permanent watercourse in the area around the monastery suitable for the creation of such structures. The existence of a regular fresh-water-supplied fishpond in the immediate vicinity of the monastery can therefore be ruled out. There is also no trace of a small pond (*servatorium*) in the wider area of the monastery; neither in the field nor in the LiDAR survey that has been carried out. The site where it would be logical and practical to construct such a reservoir is in the foreground of the monastery to the east (Fig. 4.3.15.), which has been heavily modified. If there (or elsewhere in the vicinity of the monastery) were any ponds, its water supply

⁵¹¹ Based only on the shape of the ground plan, the eastern corridor of the cloister courtyard seems wider than the other corridors. The reason behind is unknown, however, the sacristy's eastern wall suggests that there might have been an earlier facade of the eastern buildings that was a bit west of the late medieval one. Maybe the building of the sacristy urged the Paulines to modify the groundplan of the cloister. The Prior's chapter and the sacristy have a rather unusual arrangement next to the church. Maybe the chapter – as we identify it nowadays because of its altar inside – was originally used as the sacristy and the monks were able to reach it from the cloister's corridor. The new addition just next to the door to the church not only provided privacy of the cloister but also could serve as a sacristy, while the earlier and eastern room could be used as a chapter only.

would have run into a similar problem to that seen in the case of the monks' daily water consumption, and could only be solved by rainwater harvesting. No evidence of this has been found in the area at present, and further geophysical surveys may help to clarify the issue in the eastern foothills of the monastery.

However, the question arises as to whether the construction of an artificial pond was necessary in the present geographical situation of the monastery, which is only a 20-30 minute walk from Lake Balaton (Fig. 4.3.18.).



Fig. 4.3.18. *Kőút*. Possible track to the Lake Balaton and to the medieval village of Ábrahám (Google Earth section of terrain, accessed 2023-10-08)

The nearest permanent watercourse that could be suitable for a fishpond is at a similar distance, east of Örsi hill. The Burnót stream is an important rainwater drainage watercourse in the Káli basin, leaving the basin south of Salföld. However, its water flow is highly variable and it is far from being a wide river.⁵¹²

The Burnót stream has a highly variable flow rate, with very low flows in the drier seasons. Nevertheless, between Salföld and Ábrahám Hill there is a lake dammed by an artificial dam and an associated mill, which was destroyed in the twentieth century. The dam and its sluice system allowed the fluctuating and sometimes low water flow to be regulated in order to ensure the proper functioning of the mill. The mill, situated in the St Stephen's Valley (Fig. 4.3.19.), was regarded by local tradition

⁵¹² Cholnoky 1918.

which 61 were of archaeological date.⁵¹⁵ The Roman period is represented by a fragment of a *fibula*, probably once belonging to an onion-headed *fibula*, and a bronze coin. The coin, although its poor preservation makes its identification uncertain, appears to be a follis struck during the reign of Licinius I (304-328). Both objects were found near the monastery (Southwest of it, 40-70 meters from the buildings). Five coins were dated to the Middle Ages; two coins from Árpadian period and three from the late Middle Ages. All five medieval coins were found near the monastery building, no further than 15 meters from it. The finds from the Arpadian period include a coin of Andrew II (1205-1235) and a Viennese denarius dating from the reign of Ottokar II (Premysl) (1253-1278) (Fig.4.3.21 a-b).



Fig. 4.3.21. *Kőút*. Coins found at Salföld monastery. (Photos of Tamás Péterváry)

The later medieval period is represented by a denarius of King Louis I (1342-1382), a *parvus* probably dating from the reign of King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387-1437) and a Viennese *denarius* dating from the fifteenth century, probably from the reign of King Albert V (1411-1439) (Fig. 4.3.21. c-e).

Mátics, László Kiss, László Kiss Jr., Katalin Kasza, Gábor Litauszki, Tamás Gaál, Zoltán Pál-Körösi, Sándor Greskó, Zoltán Süle, Gréta Szalai, András Szalai.

⁵¹⁵ The coins were identified by my cherished colleague, Enikő Kovács (Hungarian National Museum, Numismatic Collection).

The recovered medieval coins coincide with the timeframe when the hermits and the Paulines inhabited the monastery, just as it is known from written sources. The earliest of the thirteenth-century coins is from the time of King Andrew II, which seems to confirm the occupation of the monastery site, even before 1263. The thirteenth-century origins of the monastery have been partially revealed by the research of Károly Sági, which is supported by the coins now; however, it is still a question, who inhabited the area before 1263 – hermits or for example it was an uninhabited settlement? The late medieval coins cover the period of the monastery's activity, although it is interesting that no coins from the second half of the fifteenth century have been found so far.



Fig. 4.3.22. *Kőút*. Medieval finds from the monastery of Salföld. Credit: Tamás Péterváry, HNM.

Among the late medieval finds, a knife handle end hilt (Fig. 4.3.22.), a gilded, ornated copper plate (possibly the ornament of a processional cross), a key, a fragment of a bell and a whole tap (Fig. 4.3.23.) i.e. a spout and handle stand out.



Fig. 4.3.23. *Kőkút*. Bronze tap found at the monastery of Salföld. Tamás Péterváry, HNM NAI.

The taps are increasingly common but still represent relatively rare finds in archaeological research over the last decade in Hungary. Several types of bronze taps, probably imported from western Europe (perhaps from the German Lowlands or the Rhine Valley, or perhaps from Nuremberg) and used in the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries, mainly in noble castles, but in some cases, as now, in monasteries. The taps were used either for small barrels (beaten on the tap) used at mealtimes or for indoor water containers.

Medieval taps consisted of two parts: the longitudinal pipe and a handle. The pipe ends in a stylized animal-head-shaped spout, which is angled at the front; usually, about midway (but often close to the spout) a round or polygonal widening is formed transversely – this is where the handle fits, which opens and closes the way of the water (or wine). The handle was often, as in the monastery at Salföld, carved in the shape of a rooster or often a simple triangular ring, but rarely quite different shapes are encountered.

In Hungary, only a dozen whole taps and fragments are currently known from the archaeological literature (dating from the fifteenth century: Diósgyőr castle, Visegrád royal palace, Kőszeg and Tata castles; last quarter of the fifteenth century - first quarter of the sixteenth century: Nagykanizsa-Romlottvár; late Middle Ages: Csongrád-Bokros, Jováki-part, i.e. the medieval village of Gyója). The pins and pin fragments from Bajcsa, the Pauline monastery in Keszthely-Klastrompuszta (See Chapter 5), from the site Esztergom-Kolozs and from Tata may be related; the pieces found at Bajcsa and Esztergom are related by a crescent-shaped master mark on the handles.

A parallel to the tap from the monastery at Kőkút was found in the castle of Tata, however, the master mark is unknown/undocumented from there.⁵¹⁶

Settlements and roads around Salföld

Besides the Pauline monastery, the understanding of medieval space in the surroundings is also worth a review, which covers the medieval and modern data on Salföld, Kékkút, Kőkút and Köveskút toponyms (Fig. 4.3.24.). Salföld, as it was mentioned before, means the land of Sal, which has no medieval origins in written sources. It appeared first in the sixteenth century (1531: Salköveskut [Stony well of Sal], 1563: Salkökutja [stone well of Sal]) and refers to one of the several members of the Atyusz and the Köveskút kindred, who was named Sal; probably to the most well-known Sal *comes*, who died before 1237.

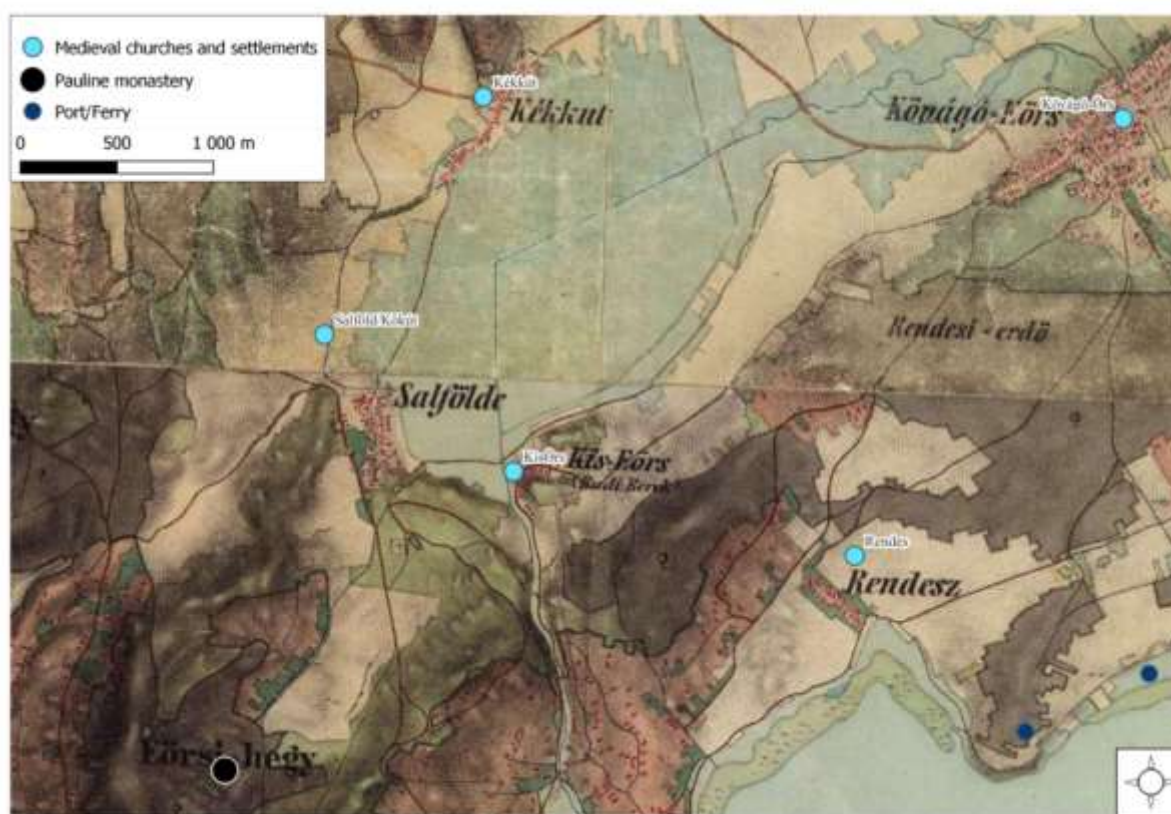


Fig. 4.3.24. *Kőkút*. The local topography near modern Salföld. Base map: Second Ordnance Survey. Credit: author/mapire.

Some of the further toponyms and the local topography can be located to a certain extent with the help of archaeological data. A yet unidentified medieval church and settlement was located in the

⁵¹⁶ For further literature see Pető 2022b.

north area of the present-day Salföld village, although the exact period of inhabitation is unknown there, the finds on the surface were definitely dated to the Middle Ages. As most of the medieval settlements, this was also destroyed (not only once) in the Ottoman wars in the sixteenth century. It is highly possible that this site was called Salköveskút from the early sixteenth century written sources, but its medieval name is unknown yet. (Fig. 4.3.24.) However, local topography might help to reveal some data on its medieval history.

To understand the lack of sources on the probable Salköveskút settlement, the written data on medieval Kőkút [meaning Stone-well, cf. Salkőkút/Salköveskút!] village should be analyzed. Kőkút appears in the sources first in 1338, when the noble sons of Sal (most probably also the member of Atyusz kindred), András, Lőrinc and Turul were mentioned.⁵¹⁷ Medieval Kőkút was identified by scholarship with present-day Kékkút,⁵¹⁸ which is a village located northeast to Salföld. (Fig. 4.3.24.) Although at Kékkút the archaeological surveys could not locate any medieval remains of a settlement or church, only some Roman materials and graves without any gravegoods, its church was most probably built on the remains of the medieval one.⁵¹⁹ The sources mention Kőkút in 1495 among the list of properties or *ecclesiae* of the Chapter of Fehérvár.⁵²⁰

However, in 1462 Alsókőkút [Lower Stone well] is mentioned,⁵²¹ which indicates the parallel existence of two, neighboring Kőkút villages. “Lower” Kőkút was definitely differentiated of another settlement called Kőkút, or moreover, in most cases Felső Kőkút, meaning “Upper” Stonewell. Maybe here is the key why the medieval name of Salköveskút, the settlement north to present Salföld is missing from the sources – at a certain time in the Middle Ages it might also be called Kőkút, or even specifically “Upper” Kőkút.

Csánki had already recognized the existence of two Kőkút settlements, of which one was the home of the Kőkút/Köveskút family, where they had a stone manor house in 1550.⁵²² Probably the two Kőkút settlements were distinguished by this very simple factor in the sixteenth century, namely Kőkút (at modern Kékkút) and Salkőkút/Salköveskút (present Salföld), where the descendants of Sal, the Kőkút/Köveskút family had its household.

⁵¹⁷ ZO I., 340. Later the sons were mentioned, see ZO II. 208. Turul must have been the most significant member since the Turul family of Kőkút appears in the charters in 1401. ZO. II. 307., ZO. II. 336, DL 11793. Kőkút appears in DL 102631 (1485), DL 102705 (1520).

⁵¹⁸ Holub 1933 “Kékkút”

⁵¹⁹ Although it was recently renovated and assuming a research was conducted, it has not been published since. A medieval baptismal font is also located here. See Koppány Tibor: A Balaton környékének műemlékei (Művészettörténet - műemlékvédelem 3 Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993), 140.

⁵²⁰ Holub 1933 “Kékkút”, Mon. Vesp. IV. 50./

⁵²¹ Holub 1933 “Kékkút” Zalavári ap. lev. 855

⁵²² ÁMTF 3, 74.

Not only the differentiation (Lower and most probably Upper Kőkút), but the Pauline monastery itself was called (except once) as one near the village of Kőkút (e.g. in the mid-thirteenth century in the charter of Bishop Paul and in 1482, furthermore, in 1475 as well), which suggests that the closest and most easily accessible medieval settlement to the Paulines was named Kőkút. But since no internal periodization is known either in the case of the settlement at Salföld or at Kékkút, it is unclear which one was the contemporary in the Middle Ages, or more likely in the mid-thirteenth century.

Köveskút appears in scholarship as for a version of Salföld, however, there is another settlement called Zalaköveskút near Kehida (in another Pauline monastic group west of Lake Balaton), inhabited by local nobles.⁵²³ After consulting the available original charters, it seems that Kőkút was the only name used reflecting the Pauline monastery at today's Salföld; except in the year 1307, the only time when the hermits at Köveskút are mentioned. (see Appendix 1/4.3.2.)

4.3.3. Sáska / Bakon – St. James Hermitage and Monastery

The Bakony Forest is at the border of the examined area itself, but the hermitage at Sáska was one of the earliest ones in the region and among the Pauline monasteries. A relatively rich basis of written sources is available on the monastery, which helps to study the founder and donators, who were predominantly from the Gyulaffy-Rátóth kindred. The sources not only reveal some unknown characters of the family, but they also draw attention to the developing land and estate management of the local Paulines, highlighting the delicate differences in the region or even in the case of the individual monasteries.

Foundation and the patrons of the St. James hermitage

The Gyulaffy-Rátóth kindred, the founder and long-term patron of the hermits at Sáska, is of Italian origin (Napolitan), who arrived in the time of King Coloman I, at the beginning of the twelfth century.⁵²⁴ However, a member called Gyula (I), who lived in the early thirteenth century, was regarded as the founder of the kindred by the recognition of his merits and achievements. (See the family tree in Appendix 1/4.3.3. also Fig. 4.3.34.) Most probably the Premonstratensian provosty was founded by his son, Balduin (I) at Gyulaffyrátót (north of Veszprém), in 1255.

What is important from our respect is that Gyula (I)'s grandson, Laurentius (I) was the founder of Sáska hermitage. Probably his brother, Magister Gyula (II) or his son, also named Gyula (III) (the

⁵²³ Holub 1933, "Köveskút". For example DL 15899 or DL 14944.

⁵²⁴ Karácsony 3, 3–20.

nephew of Laurentius) was the one who donated a vineyard and several other properties to the monastery in 1304. Only three years after, in 1307, Magister Nicolaus (I), Gyula (IV) and Baldinus (III), the sons of the Magister Johannes (I probably, who was the founder and donator of Tálod monastery with his brother Ladislaus, see Chapter 4.3.5.), who was the son of Laurence (II), confined the foundation of the hermitage and all the properties donated to them before.

Unfortunately, no validated family tree was available after Johannes I (lived sometime 1324-1360), but if these brothers, Nicolaus, Gyula and Baldinus were truly his sons then the date of the donation in 1307 in their name seems to be quite early in time; however it is also possible that the donations were made in their names only while they were only children. Nevertheless, most probably this date is not correct or the three brothers were not the successors of Johannes (I) and Laurentius (II), but probably of Laurentius (I), who himself is regarded as the founder of the monastery.

Although the Gyulaffy-Rátóth kindred had always protected and donated lands to the monastery in the Middle Ages, there is a gap in the history of the monastery about them around the 1300s. Instead of them, new donators of some lands appeared in 1324: Petrus and Benedictus, the sons of Simeon, were the members of the local Dobos family (most probably lived in the nearby village of Dobos).

A few decades later, in 1360, the *Inventarium* listed and interesting data: Nicolaus, Baldinus, and Gyula, sons of Magister Johannes, son of Laurentius de Dobus (!), donated half of a mill called *Kezipmalom* [Középmalom, meaning middle mill] on the river Kezy [...] It is stated that Magister Gyula donated the other half of this mill, as it is in the letters of the same chapter (=Veszprém) in 1383, along with other charters from 1382. (Fig. 4.3.25). There is a striking resemblance in the line of donators, their name and even the relation between them with the ones listed in 1307; the only difference is the kindred name. How can this dataset become coherent and clear? To answer this question and to make an order in the confusion, the earliest source and the genealogy of the family can help.

The original source is in the *Inventarium*, which lists this donation of 1360 just after the first known data from 1304, and just before the donation of the three brothers as the successors of the Rátóth kindred, dated to 1307. It is possible that the year of the donation, namely 1360 was given mistakenly instead of 1306, which would explain the correspondence of the discussed data and it would fit the chronological order of the *Inventarium*'s list (like 1304, 1306, 1307). This theory is supported by a distinctive visual factor: the hesitation of the scriptor is still visible in manuscript at

the entry year. Besides, the brothers could have possibly lived around 1307 only if they were the grandchildren of Laurentius (I).⁵²⁵

However, in another genealogy,⁵²⁶ Johannes (I) and Laurentius (II) are the father and grandfather of the three brothers, which would date the whole donation sometime after the mid-fourteenth century and validate the year of 1360. It is also possible that both donations were issued in the name of the brothers, first as children and second time, fifty three years later, as distinctive members of their family, however, Magiter Gyula (mentioned at the entry of 1360 and even in 1380s, his wife in 1437) could have lived an extremely long lifespan in this case.

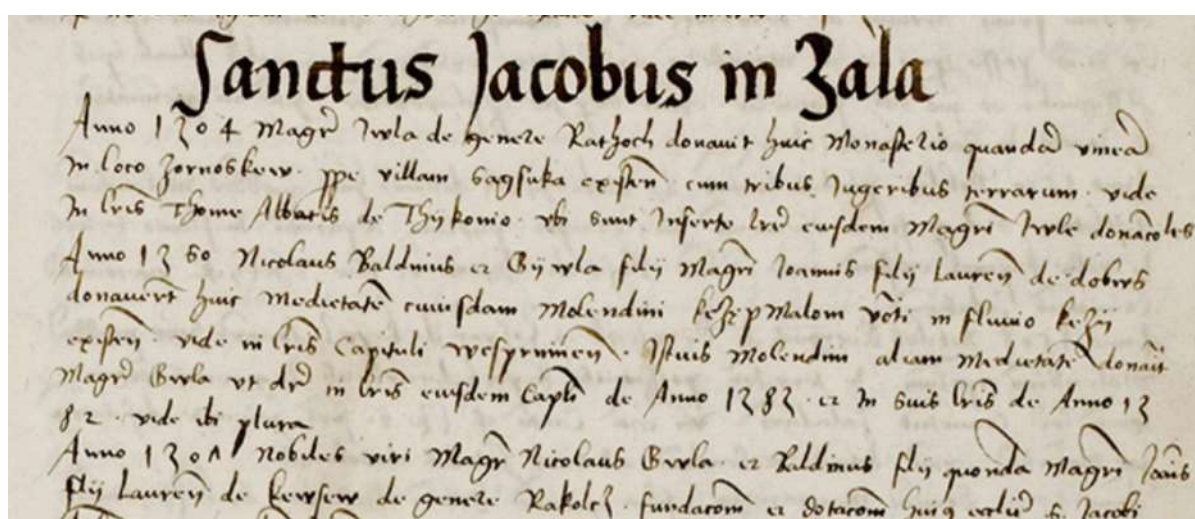


Fig. 4.3.25. Sáska. The beginning of the Inventarium about St. James monastery. Cod. Lat. 115. ELTE University Library, paginum 43.

Still, there is the issue of the different kindred names in 1307 and 1360. Dobos was the neighboring village of the monastery (see data in 1429, Appendix 1/4.3.3. Written sources), which was partially owned by the Rátóth kindred, as we know of fourteenth-century charters: for example from 1324, when part of the possessions of Simon's sons was sold to the Gyulaffy-Rátóths and some others given to the Paulines. (see data in 1429, Appendix 1/4.3.3. Written sources).

By this reason, it is possible that the Rátóths were already possessing lands in the boundary of Dobos, furthermore, the three brothers possibly received Dobos as their residing settlement, where after they gained their name sometime before 1360. This would explain the change of their family

⁵²⁵ If the three brothers were the children of Johannes (I), it is quite reasonable and obvious that the donation at 1307 was too early for this generation, therefore it is more probable to assume that these nobles were the successors of Laurentius (I).

⁵²⁶ <http://w.genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/gyulaffy.html> Unfortunately, I could not get any references from the site or could not find any other source on the family.

name, but still it could be simply an error in the copying sometime in the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries.⁵²⁷ Either way, all these theories concerning the discussed brothers and chronology, remain on an indirect basis.

What is certain is that at some point in the fourteenth century these nobles donated different values and properties to the Paulines. The Gyulaffy-Rátóth family members were definitely all present again on the list of donators of the monastery from 1387; surprisingly and – in the history of the regional Pauline monasteries – uniquely the female members of the kindred, wives and widows appeared on this list and more refreshingly, not only once. Apparently, an unnamed widow of a Magister Johannes, possibly the first in line, the son of Laurentius (II), lived many years longer than her husband; she donated valuables to the monks in 1384.

Lady Agnes, the widow of a Magister Gyula (IV, probably the youngest of the three brothers mentioned before, Nicholas, Balduin and Gyula) of the kindred appeared at the entry of 1437 (and 1438), where a very late ancestor (great-grandson of magister Gyula IV), Stephanus is also mentioned (1519). Four years later, in 1440, Ladislaus de Gyula was mentioned, who was probably also the member of the kindred, the youngest son of Gyula (IV).⁵²⁸ In 1487, the widow of Ladislaus Gyulaffy-Rátóth was most probably Catherine Pethő de Gerse, who is unnamed in the charter, but the lady requested the mill on Egregy stream to be given to the monastery. In the last medieval document two people are mentioned: both Lady Margaretha and his (in 1511 already deceased) father, Dominicus Ladamer de Kezy, are undocumented in the family tree of the Gyulaffy-Rátóth kindred.

In the meantime, other donators, like David de Byk or the illustrious Nicholas de Wnyan (1485), later Georgius de Dörögd and Caspar de Kapocz (1501) all were most probably local nobles; Dörögd and Kapolcs were in the neighborhood of Sáska, Bük is yet unknown in the close region, Wnyan is not clear to be transcribed. The only exception among the newly appearing donators is the literate Paulus de Mekethyncz (of Lád) [Miketincz], who first donated the Pauline monastery of *Sáska* in 1482 (see Chapter 4.3.2. and Appendix 1/4.3.2. written sources). Eight years later he donated a mill to the Pauliens at Sáska on the Egregy stream. He also enjoyed a regular contact with the Gyulaffy-Rátóth kindred; Miketincz appear in front of the royal judge with Ladislaus Gyulaffy in 1524, when Gyulaffy stated that due to his old age and absence of family, Miketincz had chosen him as his protector, also left his mill on Egregy stream (named *Komáalom*) to him.

⁵²⁷ It is not clear which sources and how many times were transcribed before the earliest known copy of the Inventarium, the so-called Liber viridis was written.

⁵²⁸ <http://w.genealogy.euweb.cz/hung/gyulaffy.html>

Properties and land-management strategy

Although Sáska monastery was one of the very first hermitages, founded in the thirteenth century, there could only be assumptions about the managed lands and properties of the hermits, since the first sources on the donations are dated to the fourteenth century. Fortunately, numerous and a variety of sources are available further in time, which documents were all collected in Appendix 1/4.3.3. Based on the latter collection, the following types and known numbers of properties were mustered:

no.	type	English and its context	extracted data / basis of sum	sum
1	<i>molendinum</i>	mill	1360/1306: half mill at Középmalom on the stream of Keszi; other half of the mill in 1382; 1437: site of a mill, near Diska; exchange in 1519; 1487: one-wheeled on Egregy stream 1500: mill on Egres/Egregy in Kapolcs-valley 1511: mill in Kapolcs, at Jegyenes	5
2	<i>terra</i>	arable land, needs to be rested very soon or possibly its a set aside land, but otherwise fertile and regarded as a good quality of parcel (<i>iugerum</i>)	1304: 3 acres; 1307: several acres; 1324: 5 acres; 1485: several acres of parcels and <i>sessionis</i> .	min. 8
3	<i>vinea</i>	vineyard	1304: Zornoskew Sáska; 1324: Sáska (1?); 1484: Kewesmagas.	min. 3
4	<i>fenile, fenetum</i>	hay meadow by cutting of woods, on dry lands (<i>/falcastrum</i>)	1440: Cserepcs in Bakony Forest.	1
5	<i>pratum</i>	hay meadow on wetlands, by cutting bushes, reed or bullrush (<i>/falcastrum</i>)	1307: multiple. 1511: 1 at Sáska	multiple
6	<i>silva</i>	woods;	1307: multiple.	multiple

Fig. 4.3.26. *Sáska. Summary of the monastic properties of Sáska.*

Beside the properties, direct monetary income was also part of the Pauline register. Taxes of vineyards and lands were donated in 1438, which is one of the first examples of the monetary-based economy of the order.

Mills

Valuable properties like mills often appeared in Pauline donations from the beginning of the fourteenth century. At Sáska, which had the most numerous mills in the microregional scale of

Pauline monasteries, the second half of the fourteenth, more the fifteenth century was when mills dominated the monetary-based portfolio of the monks here. The Egregy stream was the most powerful waterflow in the microregion, (see Chapter 4.2.4.), no wonder that three of the five mills were along it: 1437: site of a mill, near Diska;⁵²⁹ exchange in 1519 to *Kőmál* on the same river;⁵³⁰ 1487: *one-wheeled on Egregy stream*;⁵³¹ 1500: mill on Egres/Egregy in Kapolcs-valley⁵³² (see two possible locations of the three mills on Fig. 4.3.27.)

However, Keszi stream seems to be an offset of Egregy stream northeast of today's Gyulakeszi, which means that another mill was located on the same watercourse system. (See Fig. 4.3.26; 1360: half mill at *Középmalom* on the stream of Keszi;⁵³³ other half of the mill in 1382). The last mill they receive is in Kapolcs, at Jegyenes, which was probably a part of Kapocls along the Egregy stream, or it could also be the name of the other stream which flows from the north of Kapolcs.⁵³⁴



Fig. 4.3.27. *Sáska*. The mills of Sáska monastery in the Balaton Uplands region.

⁵²⁹ There was no sign of any mill near Diska, its location is hypothetical.

⁵³⁰ Kőmál is yet unidentified.

⁵³¹ Unlocated.

⁵³² A modern mill on the cadastral map in Kapolcs-valley.

⁵³³ Identified with a mill between Felsőkeszi deserted medieval village and Gyulakeszi.

⁵³⁴ A modern mill on the cadastral map is located there.

Vineyards

The monks at Sáska received some arable lands and a vineyard, as the earliest surviving sources reports from 1304. Undoubtedly, the very first vineyard (*Zornoskew*=*Zornoskő*, 1304) and even the second (unnamed, 1324) were both in the vicinity of Sáska since – most probably – the hermits were cultivating these properties themselves – at least until the time they could hire workers or receive specific parcels with tenant peasants as well (*sessionis*), which was usually appearing from the fifteenth century.

Based on modern toponyms, lands were ideal for vine cultivation south of the monastery, also south and east of the settlement of Sáska; however, most parts of the meadows (see Fig. 4.3.28.) were partially and intermittently in the areas of vineyards. These were only a few, one or two kms away from the monastery.

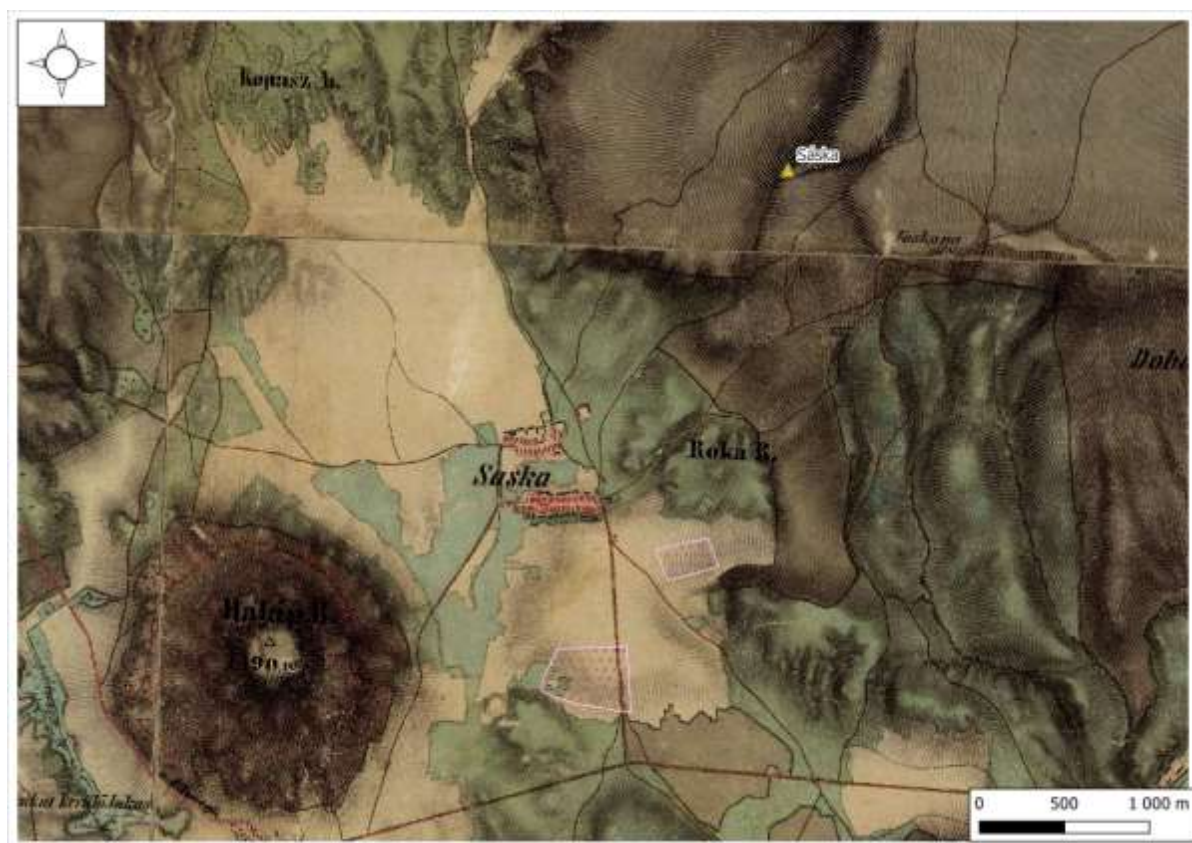


Fig. 4.3.28. *Sáska*. The best vineyards, based on modern toponyms, and the large meadow area north-northwest of the settlement on the Second Ordnance Survey.

At the end of the fourteenth century, the vineyard called *Kewesmagas* (=Kövesmagas, 1384) was and surprisingly it is still located⁵³⁵ at the southern slope of Csobánc hill (Fig. 4.3.29.), which is one of the few, but significant landscape features of the Balaton Uplands, the remains of an ancient volcanic eruption. It is one of the best vine areas of the Balaton Uplands, which is why it must have offered a great harvest for the monks. Since it was ca. 10 kms from the monastery, it is most probable that they cultivated it by tenant peasants or hired laborers. It is clear that the Paulines of Sáska had an interest in this small region, thanks to the mills they owned here, (see Fig. 4.3.29.) so it is possible that both the works related to the vineyards and the maintenance of the mills were managed by locals.

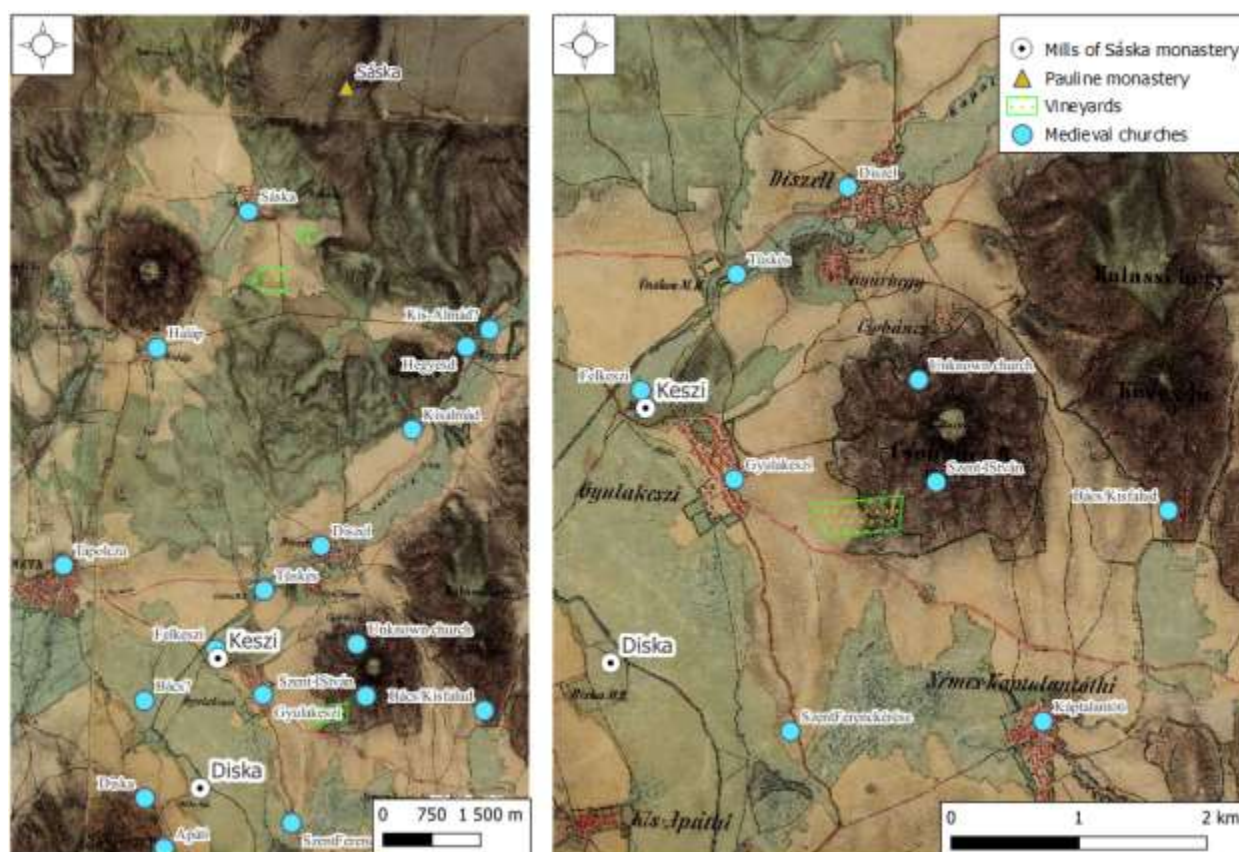


Fig. 4.3.29. *Sáska*. The distance and landscape between the monastery of Sáska (map to the left) and the vineyard at Csobánc called Kövesmagas (map to the right), also the mills of the monastery and the medieval settlements (both maps). Basemap: Second Ordnance Survey.

⁵³⁵ see the map in the toponym database, Magyar Nemzeti Helynévtár, [Hungarian National Location Name Archive], “Gyulakeszi”. <https://mdh.unideb.hu/>

Lands (parcels, arable lands, meadows, woods)

The arable lands, measured in *iugerum* (=acre), were fertile parcels close to the monastery; they received at least 8 acres of land, knowingly from 1304 to 1485; however, most probably more lands were needed to be cultivated for their self-sustainment (cf. Henye in Chapter 4.3.6. or Vállus in Chapter 4.3.8.).

Both types of meadows appear in the donations, although its number is limited in the sources. This neither confirms their low number in the possession of the Paulines, nor suggests that there were a lot of meadows among their properties. Most probably the late medieval monetary-based economy, primarily due to the mills and probably the good vineyards, covered the expenses of the monastery; whilst the highlighted meadows in the late medieval donations (e.g. a *fenetum* in 1440: *Cserepcs* in Bakony Forest and a *pratum* at Sáska) were probably of high value and served the immediate needs of the monastery.

It is unclear that how many *sessiones* had the Paulines at Sáska, but in 1485, a noble's *sessio* was given to them, most probably near a hilly, wooded area since its name, Salamon lese (=The watch of Solomon) refers to hunting. At Sáska, woods are mentioned among the earliest known properties of the monks but without any specific information.

4.3.4. Badacsony (Badacsonytomaj), St. Emeric Hermitage

Badacsony has been the name of a basalt hill since the Middle Ages at least, which has an extraordinary form and beside the peninsula/island of Tihany, is the most dominant geomorphological feature of the Uplands reckoning from the southern shore. One of the least known monasteries is the St. Emeric monastery, which laid on the eastern slope of Badacsony and was named after the holy prince, the son of King St. Stephen I. Only a few circumstantial data on the medieval topography and the scattered archaeological evidence are to be discussed.

Written sources, supporters and local topography

The St. Emeric hermitage was mentioned and located at the Badacsony hill in 1263, in the (now familiar) inventory of Bishop Paul. The second and last appearance of the monastery in the written sources is dated to 1313, which was recorded in the *Vitae Fratrum* and surprisingly the original charter also survived.⁵³⁶ In the latter source, the hermits receive vineyards from the sons of

⁵³⁶ VF Cap. 10 and 19.

Lodomericus of Gulács, Valentinus and Fabianus. The land was in the neighborhood (from all sides) of Laurentius, son of Stephanus of Lád.⁵³⁷ It is almost impossible to locate the vineyards, but ideally, based on the angle of the sun, it laid on the southern-southeastern slopes of Badacsony, somewhere close to the medieval village of Lád.

Regarding the donators and the location of the hermitage, it was probably the land of Lád kindred, however, due to the close proximity to Tomaj village, the Tomaj kindred also appears in scholarship as the founder of the hermitage. The Lád kindred, although not listed amongst the richest families of the area, had a notable number of properties around the Balaton Uplands. Albeit, the Tomaj kindred ruled over huge lands and properties, but members of the family held some of the most important offices of the Kingdom from the beginning of the Árpád period until the mid thirteenth century. Nevertheless, except (Badacsony)Tomaj settlement, the Tomaj kindred's interests were documented in other parts of Zala County and also far from the Balaton Uplands, in the northeastern area of present-day Hungary.

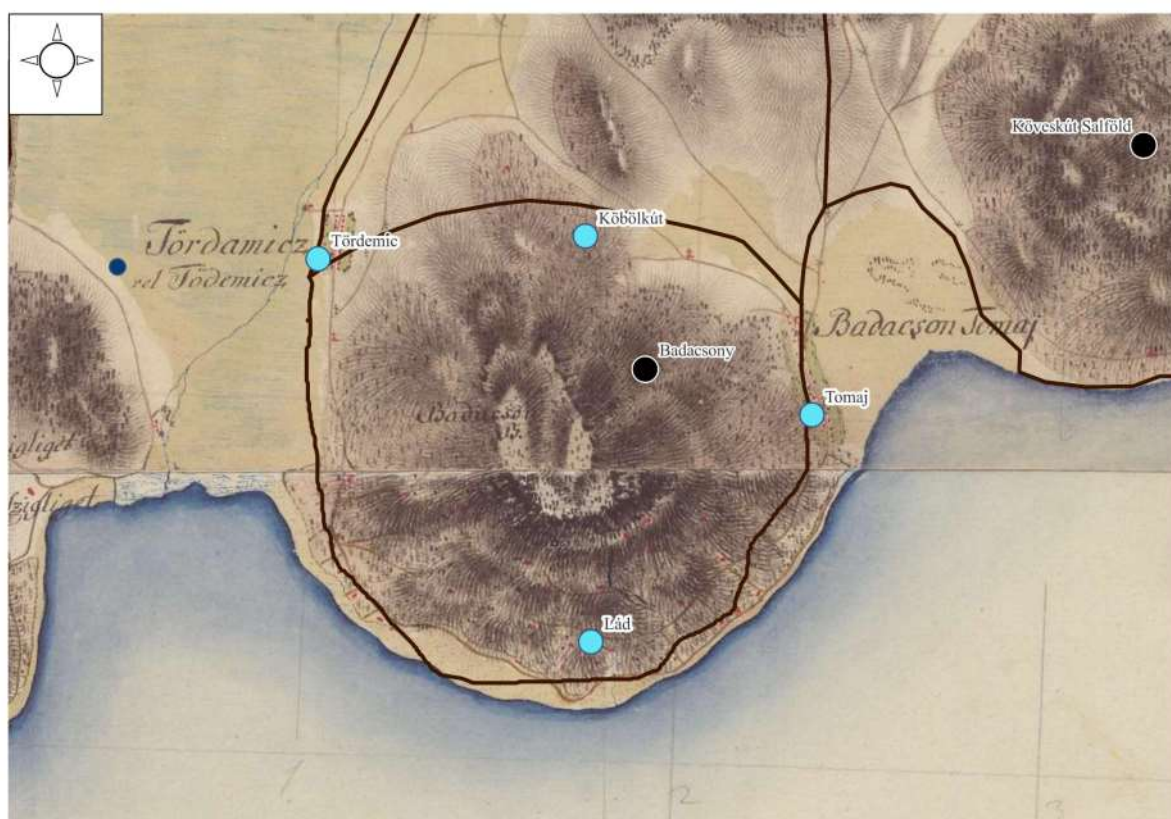


Fig. 4.3.30. *Badacsony. The Badacsony hill and the hermitage on the eastern slope of it, near the known medieval villages.*

⁵³⁷ DL 40345.

The Tomaj kindred, specifically the Lesence-family possessed lands in the surroundings of today's Lesencetomaj (Fig. 4.3.31.), only 12 kms from (Badacsony)Tomaj to the northwest, although the landscape was fragmented because of the medieval waterscape, thus the road between the two villages took 32 kms at that time. Maybe (Badacsony)Tomaj was a possession the Tomaj kindred sold or exchanged in the early fourteenth century the latest or possibly it was part of the long-term legislations that King Charles I carried out in the means of creating the honor system. By the fourteenth century, it became part of the royal lands, the honor system as the asset of Szigliget castle (see more in Chapter 4.2.)

Not much is known on the settlements around the hill in the late medieval period; in 1344, the report of a perambulation,⁵³⁸ approved by the Veszprém Chapter to the King, contains more data on the circumstances of the local history and topography: "... possessionem nostram Thomay vocatam in comitatu Zaladiensi in latere montis Badachon a parte orientis aque Balatini ...", i.e. "... Our possession (village) called Tomaj is in Zala county, east of the Badacsony mountain by the waters of Lake Balaton ...". Also the first mention of its church dedicated to St. Stephen Protomartyr is mentioned in this charter.

⁵³⁸ ZO 1, 416; AOKl. 28, 75. (no. 59.).

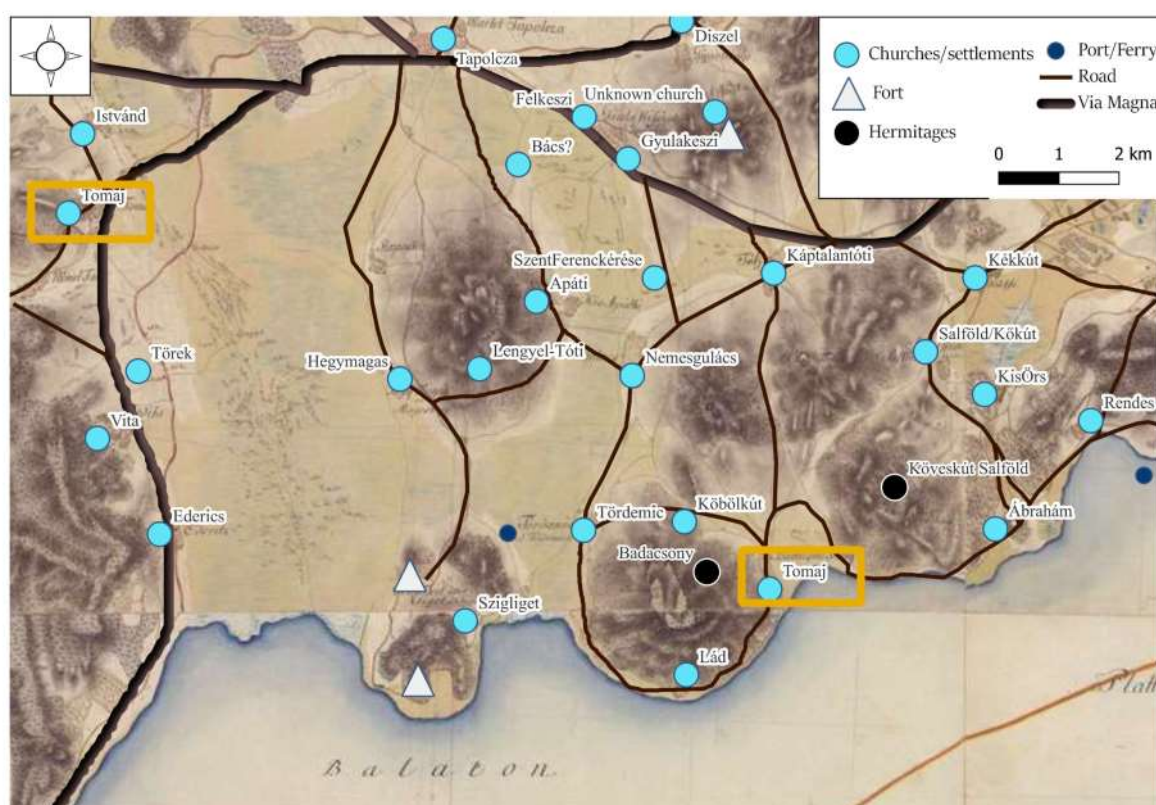


Fig. 4.3.31. *Badacsonyi*. The two Tomaj villages, Lesence and Badacsonyi on the First Ordnance Survey and with all the known medieval spatial features.

The charter includes another interesting information: Tomaj was donated to Stephanus, son of Laurentius of Lád.⁵³⁹ Most probably he is the one who was mentioned in 1313, thirty years earlier, as the possessor of all the vineyards surrounding the one that was donated by Valentinus and Fabianus to the hermits. Stephanus was a distinguished subject of the King, most probably a member of the Lád kindred, who appeared in other legal documents, for example in 1313, 1340 and 1341 his lands at *Felkezy* (Felkeszi, northwest of Gyulakeszi, north of Tomaj, see the local topography at Fig. 4.3.29.)⁵⁴⁰ are mentioned in exchanges and lawsuits.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ Stephanus of Lád was invested into the possession in 1346, see DL 92443 and in AOkI. 30, 115, (no. 159.).

⁵⁴⁰ Csánki, "Keszi".

⁵⁴¹ AOkI. 3, 293, (no. 653.); ZO 1, 367, (no. 247); AOkI. 25, 419, (no. 865). Phalma, 133, (no. 124.). The latter charter is of 1363, when Stephanus must have been circa 75-80 years old. Interestingly, his *iobagio* named *Henczlynus* personally represented him along with Nicolaus, the grandson of Laurentius of Rátolt (who must have been related to Stephanus) in front of the chapter, probably his old age prevented him to travel to Pannonhalma.

Archaeological evidence

The so-called Klastrom, meaning cloister spring is located at the junction of the mountain's basalt cover and the Pannonian sands (see Fig. 4.3.32., west of the inscription “Felsőkolónia”), where Miklós Szeremley saw the remains of a building in 1851. However, almost four decades later, in 1888, Iván Ádám could only identify the former hermitage at the spring.

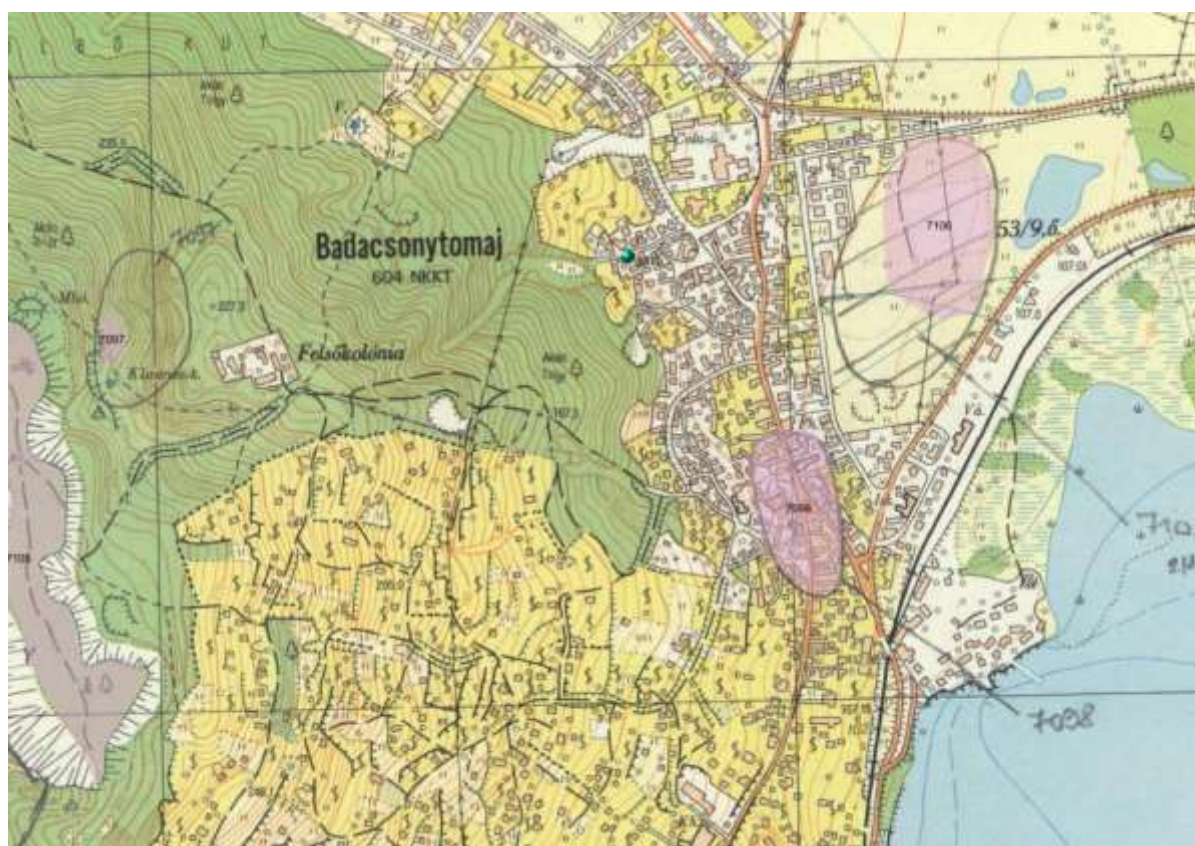


Fig. 4.3.32. **Badacsony.** Badacsony area and the documented archaeological sites on the topographical map. Felsőkolónia is the mine, west of it there is the Klastrom-forrás [Cloister spring] located.

Ádám published⁵⁴² a brief report on his results: “one side of the quadrum was not yet enclosed; the rooms consisted of three parts in total: the dining and kitchen area, the bedroom and the study. There was no corridor, because at the beginning wooden halls replaced the later vaulted corridors everywhere. There is no trace of a quadrum well. But even the masonry is in an infinitely primitive state. It was put together with ordinary basalt mortar, without any regular connections or water leveling. And the fact that there is no stone or plaster, but a very large layer of yellow clay outside the basic masonry, shows that this building had no other superstructure in the past than a pure beam structure or a clay masonry with a beam bond.”

⁵⁴² Ádám, “Badacsony”, 66.

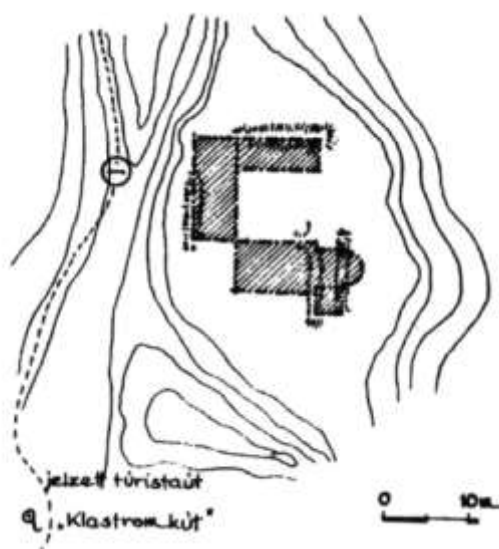


Fig. 4.3.33. *Badacsony*. The draft of the groundplan, drawn by Guzsik and Fejérváry. See Guzsik 2003.

Only one grinding stone has been found in the area, which was unearthed in 1954 during the excavation of a power pole.⁵⁴³ This immense destruction of the site was due to the establishment of a mining area and after a forced labor camp in the first half of the twentieth century, which probably destroyed all valuable archaeological remains. However, in 2019, the excavation of Ádám Pátkai and Zsombor Győrfi-Villám revealed several Árpád-period potsherds from a secondary position on the plateau below the spring, near the buildings belonging to the mining area.⁵⁴⁴

4.3.5. Tálod, St. Elizabeth Hermitage and Monastery

The monastery of Tálod represents a conundrum in the research. The thirteenth-century (!) ruins and the features of the surrounding landscape are clearly one of the most well-preserved monastic spaces in Hungary; however, its history is full of huge gaps and questions. Some remarks on its history, local topography, and the monastic spatial features (including the remains of the building and a series of landscape studies) are those topics that were available for discussion.

Foundation, written sources

The circumstances of its foundation is among these questions: the very first and only written source survived in a copy from 1412, which mentions lands that were given to the Paulines by the founder Gyulafi-Rátót kindred. It is not clear who was the exact founder, but most probably

⁵⁴³ MRT 1, 27.

⁵⁴⁴ Pető 2019.

Laurentius (II) of Rátót, who was the nephew of Laurentius (I), the founder of the Pauline monastery at Sáska (see Chapter 4.3.3.). Laurentius (II) was also the father of Johannes (I) and Ladislaus (I) magisters (See Fig. 4.3.34), the ones who gave many possessions (including Tálod village) to the monks here at the St. Elizabeth monastery.

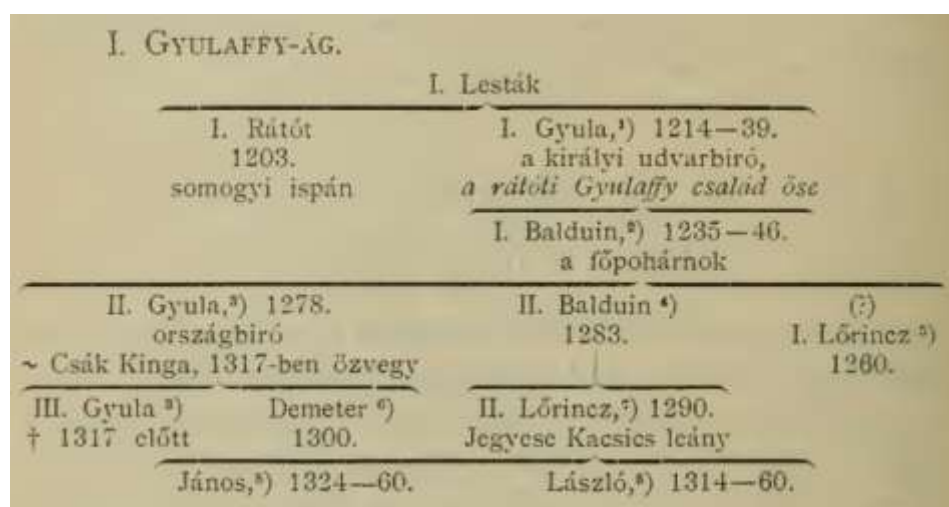


Fig. 4.3.34. *Tálod*. The family tree of the Rátót kindred, Gyulaffy family. Karácsonyi 3, 4.

Unusually to medieval customs, the charter stated that all the properties of Tálod village were used by the donators, and the Paulines received those only after eighty-six years, counted from 1324. It is certainly an interesting regulation, but moreover, the textual characteristics of the charter are notable, also it is suspicious that the only known copy of it is dated to 1412, two years after the Paulines must have received the possession ($1324+86=1410$). All these led to doubts; one of the notable researchers, László Blazovich was concerned about its validity and authenticity.⁵⁴⁵

Either way, the charter was authentic or a forgery, there must have been some debate over the conditions of it, if it had to be re-issued in 1412. Probably this situation was in connection with the gradually shrinking role of the monastery at the time, but unfortunately, this donation definitely did not help to stop the decay – the Paulines did not receive the village of Tálod even later from the Gyulafi-Rátót family.⁵⁴⁶ Sometime after the mid-1400s, the buildings were inhabited by the Observant Franciscans and the Paulines were probably moved to the close and newly founded Nagyvázsony monastery.

An interesting data is also written in the document, namely that the monastery's patron saint, St. Elisabeth was the same as the patron of the Chapter of Veszprém. As it is known from the sources,

⁵⁴⁵ AOkm. 8, 9. (no. 1.). These peculiarities were not analyzed or expanded anywhere.

⁵⁴⁶ MRT 2, 182.

the patron of the Chapter was St. Michael, not St. Elizabeth. However, there was a St. Elizabeth altar in the chapter, which was founded after 1235, but its first mention is only in 1486, when it had a pasture at Jutas village. Its main donator was unknown, just like its precise location in the cathedral.⁵⁴⁷

Archaeological topography and the surrounding landscape

Tálad has the richest, visible landscape features amongst the Hungarian Paulina monasteries; beside the ruined cloister's humps and bumps, the standing facade is the only, yet visible remains of the built heritage, along with a small part of the stone fence in the southwestern area (see Fig. 4.3.35. also 36.). There was no archaeological research of the monastery, however, an extensive research history can be drafted of the site; hereby only the main and somewhat meaningful steps are discussed.⁵⁴⁸



Fig. 4.3.35. **Tálad.** The remains of the stone-built wall of the monastic garden and the western face of the monastic church that remains of the buildings. Photocredit: <http://arpad-kori-falu.mcbubu.hu/talad/talad.html> (Access: 11-26-2023)

⁵⁴⁷ Karlinszky Balázs: A veszprémi székeskáptalan archontológiája 1079–1556. Veszprém, 2021. (A veszprémi egyházmegye múltjából 39.), 209.

⁵⁴⁸ All other valuable information was collected by Attila Papp, see Papp 2018.



Fig. 4.3.36. *Tálod*. The western facade's interior side and the same stonewall remains in 19, April 2023. Photocredit: the author.

After the discovery of the ruins by Flóris Rómer and Iván Ádám in the nineteenth century, the surveys of the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary* series had detected most of the features in 1969;⁵⁴⁹ Afterwards, new data was only published in 1996, when Pál Rainer published the results of his excavation at the dyke/dam of the huge fishpond, where he had found a brick kiln.⁵⁵⁰ Three years later Zoltán Várady had published a red marble fragment of a tombstone,⁵⁵¹ which was republished in 2009 by Pál Rainer.⁵⁵² Someone was buried here in 1474 (“*hic. iac(et) m.cccc.lxx4*”), just before the time when the Observant Franciscans settled in the monastery. Other stones were also gathered from the demolition of the Esterházy manor.⁵⁵³ (Fig. 4.3.37.)

⁵⁴⁹ See the monastery at no. 41/7 (182. p.), the dyke of the fishpond at 41/4 (181. p.).

⁵⁵⁰ RAINER 1996: Rainer P.: Az Eger-völgye középkori települései. In *Előadások az Eger-völgye településeinek történetéből* 1. Csigakönyvek 1, Kapolcs 1996. 9-22.

⁵⁵¹ Várady Zoltán 1999 = *Gótikus minuscule feliratok a Dunántúlon*. Szekszárd. /Az Illyés Gyula Pedagógiai Főiskola Társadalomtudományi Monográfiásorozata, 4./

⁵⁵² Rainer 2009, 110.

⁵⁵³ Cited by Attila Papp, in Reményi 2010: Reményi A.: Kőzet és kő: Kövek Pula múltjában. *Náczihegyi Tükör*, 21/1. 10-11, Rainer 2009.



Fig. 4.3.37. *Tálod*. The tombstone, which was found near Tálod at the manor. Rainer 2009.

Regarding the landscape of the area, Andrea Kékedi had written a very detailed MA thesis of the surrounding landmarks and medieval features of Tálod monastery from a landscape architectural perspective.⁵⁵⁴ Also, a metal detector survey was conducted by Tamás Péterváry archaeologist and the volunteers of the Laczkó Dezső Museum of Veszprém in 2018. Attila Papp, student of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University at the time, had written his BA thesis about the history and research history of the monastery, along with the study of the findings from the metal detecting survey.⁵⁵⁵ Recently, in 2023, the Hungarian National Museum (National Archaeological Institution) supported a LiDAR survey, conducted by Tamás Látos and Zsolt Zsiga.⁵⁵⁶ Based on Andrea Kékedi's study⁵⁵⁷, along with a few new features identified by Ádám Pátkai,⁵⁵⁸ the LiDAR map represents the most recent and precise survey of the area (see the first two surveys and the LiDAR, Fig. 4.3.38.-40.).

⁵⁵⁴ Kékedi 2008.

⁵⁵⁵ He did a really extensive research in the historiography of the ruin; Papp 2018.

⁵⁵⁶ As part of the "Research of Pauline monasteries research project".

⁵⁵⁷ Kékedi 2008, Fig. 10, p. 69.

⁵⁵⁸ Papp 2022, 108, Fig. 1.

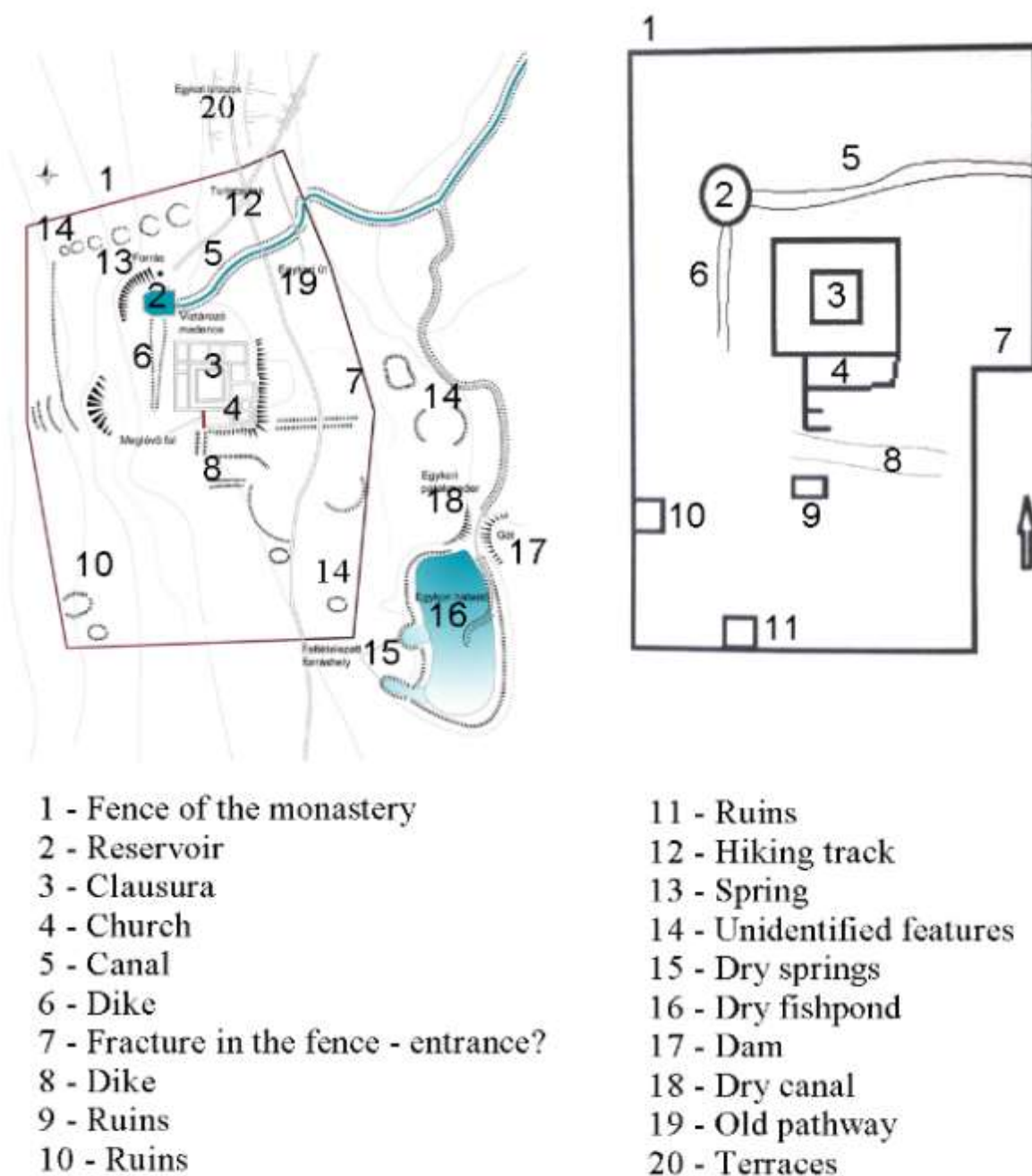


Fig. 4.3.38. *Tálod*. The two surveys, one conducted by Andrea Kékedi, the other by Ádám Pátkai. See Kékedi 2008, also Papp 2019.

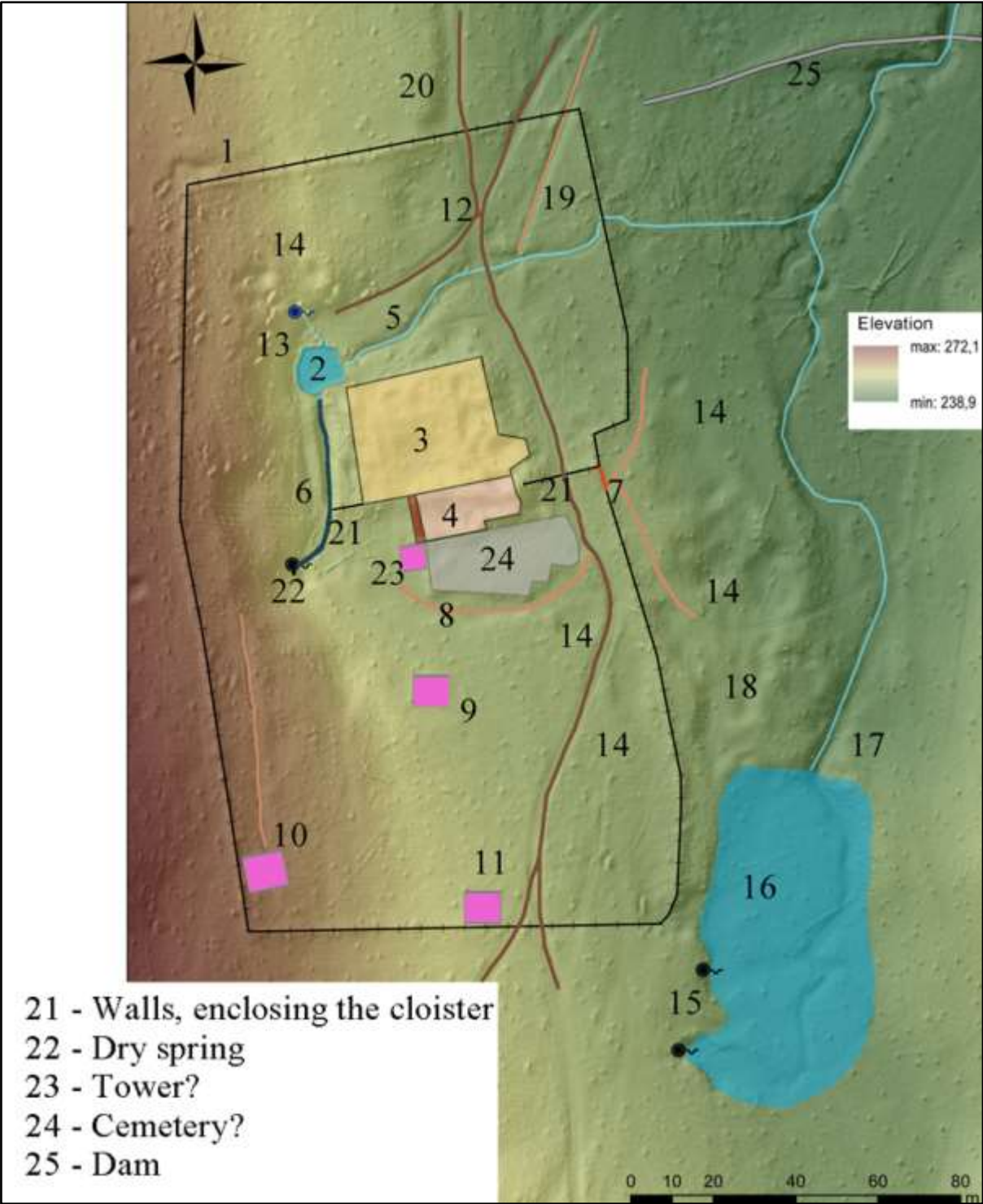


Fig. 4.3.39. Tálod. The LiDAR survey of the area, including the same and further features identified, see the numbers and the number on the previous figure. GeoCredit: Tamás Látos.

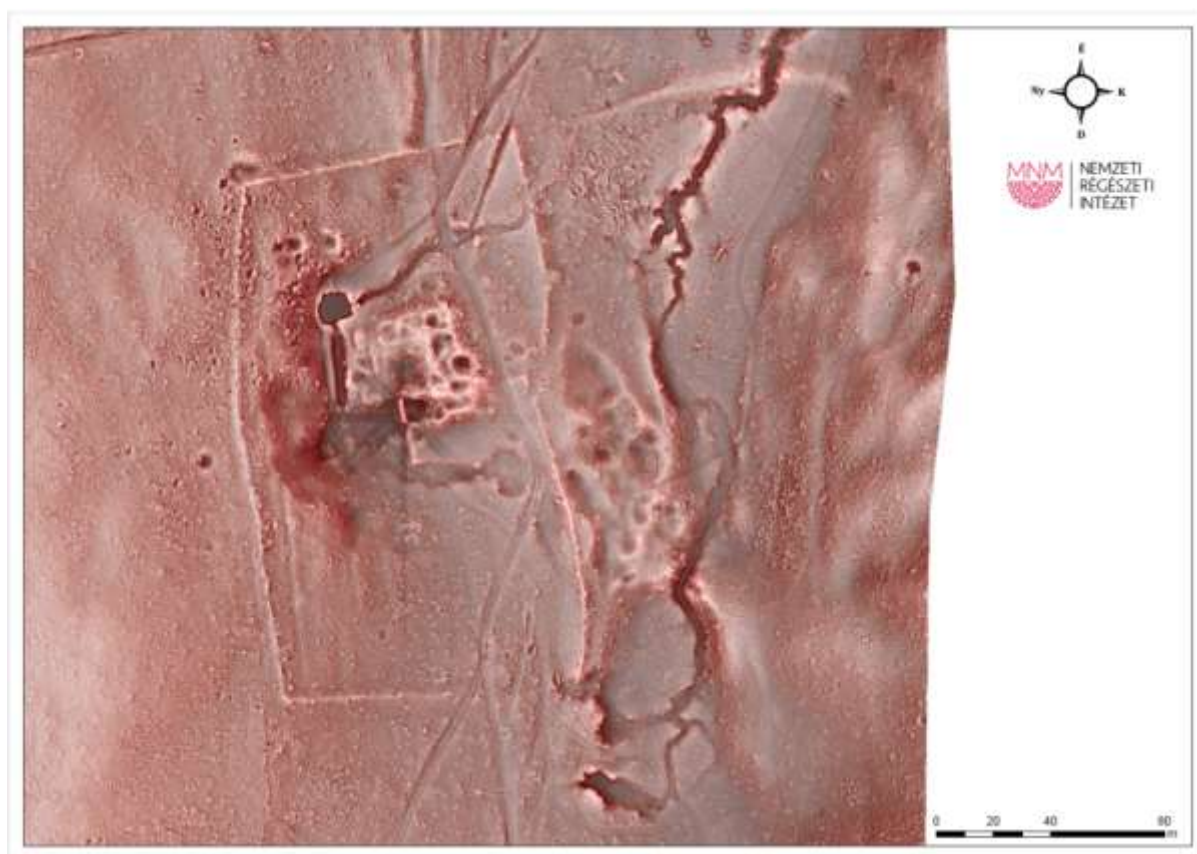


Fig. 4.3.40. *Tálad*. The LiDAR survey of the area, visualized by RRIM (red relief image map). Created by Tamás Látos, Hungarian National Museum. Credit: Hungarian National Museum.

In some parts, the monastery's stone fence (1) is still visible, but gradually perishing (Fig.4.3.35.-36.) around the area of no. 10, where unidentified ruins (remains of a building) were detected. The fence/wall is ca. 80 cm wide. The whole area, surrounded by the fence, can be described as a plain plateau, only the northwestern and western parts are extremely steep – just as it is visible on the left, the detailed survey of Kékedi and on the colored LiDAR-map (Fig. 4.3.39.-40.), the difference is 40 meters between the highest and lowest part of the monastic area.

The stone reservoir (2) and the spring with its stone canal (13) just beneath the reservoir is dated to the Middle Ages by scholarship. (Fig. 4.3.38.-39.) Its canal (5) is still working properly. The church (4) seems to have a straight chancel, however, it's strongly possible that it had a polygonal one.⁵⁵⁹ Some parts of the cloister (3) are visible, like the central garden, the sacristy (?), the chapter house/chapel, and other spaces. Also the northeastern corner of the building complex is still standing.

⁵⁵⁹ The remains were documented first by Flóris Rómer, later István Éri, Tamás Guzsik and Rudolf Fehérváry. "Veszprém megye középkori," 62; others summarized in Guzsik, Pálos építészet, 46—47, 71—75.

As Beatrix F. Romhányi suggests, this monastery could house 8-10 monks approximately.⁵⁶⁰ It is not sure whether the western side of the cloister was broader than it is suggested by the LiDAR evaluation or not. It is also uncertain that a tower was attached to the monastic church on the southwestern corner (23), unusually to Pauline architecture.



Fig. 4.3.41. *Tálod*. The water reservoir (13), probably servatorium in April 19, 2023. Photocredit: the author.

A newly found feature on the LiDAR survey, regarding the built structures, indicates that the cloister was an enclosed area in the line of the church's northern wall. This was already suggested by Ádám Pátkai, but in the line of another canal/pathway (8). In my understanding, the fracture of the fence (7) in the middle of the eastern side, which was identified as the possible entrance by Pátkai first, is closely related to the direction of the walls. Possibly, here the entrance with a small gatehouse was in the middle of the eastern wall (7), but it was arranged to the straight eastern-western wall (21), also to the church's northern wall, which was elongated to the west as well, until the (now dry) canal (6) and a (now dry) spring (22). The south-north canal's inlet to the reservoir (2) is visible even today at the site.

It is unclear yet what we can see south of the church (24). Since the location is typically used as a burial area at parish churches, now in the state of lacking archaeological data, it can be identified as a cemetery. It is unclear who could be buried there, but probably the monks, specifically the Franciscans were possibly doing so. Paulines usually buried their people in the cloister or in the church; and yet no other Pauline monastery is known where similar features can be located south of the church. Probably the dam (8), south of the possible cemetery, was instead a path between the entrance and the church, maybe for lay/non-clerical people.

⁵⁶⁰ F. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 158.

Other pathways are still visible, like one on the northeastern part of the monastic garden (19). That also could be a now-dry canal, straight from the direction of the cloister. It is unsure where the people came from to the entrance of the monastery (7): whether from the northern dam (25) or – more probably – from the southern dam (17). Kékedi identified a dry canal (18) north of the pond (16, possibly *vivarium*), however, it's a bit unclear whether the original canal would be on that high elevation. Since the outlet of the yet dry pond (16) seems to be at its original location, I would argue that the area there (18) could be anything from a pathway to further buildings or simply a heavily destructed area.

Based on the recent and earlier results, as Kékedi and Pátkai suggested, the remains of some smaller structures are visible: possibly stone farm buildings as part of the land (garden) management (9-11), which are located on the southern area of the inner precinct, along with some other, yet unidentified features (14) in the inner and outer precinct as well. It's absolutely invisible yet at the site, but it's clear on the LiDAR survey that a straight track (canal?) led from the structure on the northwestern corner (10) to the north, beyond the terrace of the now dry spring (22) – however, it could also be a track of wild animals. The feature on the northwestern corner (1) seems to be a contemporary illegal excavation, but at the southeastern corner the yet dry springs might have caused the collapse of the stone fence.

Not much is known of the medieval village of Tálod,⁵⁶¹ that laid north to the monastery, in the valley of Séd stream. Tálod was mentioned first in 1171, in the testament of Benedictus, *comes* of Veszprém⁵⁶² and identified by a field survey of the MRT project, when late medieval and earlier, Árpáadian ceramic shreds were collected. Its parish church, dedicated to St. Helen was built at the beginning of the thirteenth century and located on the southern side of the Séd. The church was excavated by István Éri and Margit Dax in 1970.⁵⁶³ The LiDAR survey was broadened by my colleagues, addressing the relation between the landscape features north and northeast of the monastery. (Fig. 4.3.42.)

⁵⁶¹ MRT 2, 181–182. (Site: 41/6).

⁵⁶² Cod. Dipl. 9/7, 633.

⁵⁶³ MRT 2, 182.



Fig. 4.3.42. **Tálod.** The broadened survey, the monastery is highlighted with yellow. Credit: Tamás Látos, HNM.

The huge dam on the northwestern side of the survey and pond that existed there in the past, was most probably part of the assets of Tálod village, however, only the distance of the parish church and the approximate location of the village is the only proof for this. (Fig. 4.3.43.)

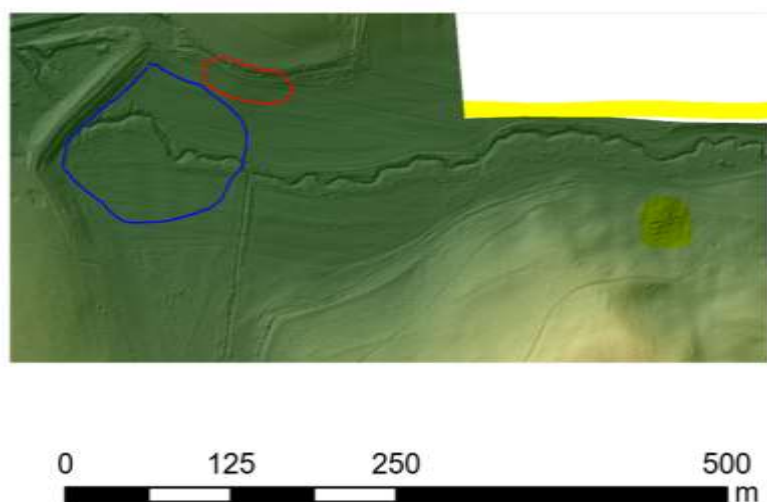


Fig. 4.3.43. **Tálod.** The probable extension of the pond marked with blue, the dam west of it. Red shows the area of the brick kiln. Also the St. Helen parish church on the east, highlighted with yellow. The possible location of the village is not on the survey. Credit: Tamás Látos, HNM.

Idegst, St. Elizabeth and some fragments of Pauline presence

Idegysyt with its St. Elisabeth monastery was among the very first hermitages on the territory of Veszprém Bishopric and historical Zala County, listed in 1263. It is one of the few unidentified, unlocated Pauline monasteries, however its study goes back for many decades and the reason why it is discussed here is that *Idegysyt* is now identified with Tálod by scholarship. The placename of *Idegysyt* can be identified as Hideg-séd, which means cool/cold stream. One of the points in the identification is that the stream in the valley north of the monastery of Tálod is still called Séd and a spring is still open there, called now Kinizsi-spring, which could have been called Hideg-séd before. However, this name is a frequently used word for streams in the region, so several places, mostly springs of streams named Séd, were among the targeted areas of identification.⁵⁶⁴

Tamás Guzsik was one of the first ones who contributed to its localization. Guzsik identified a logical trip in the order of the hermitages on the list of 1263 (see Chapter 4.3.1. in the case of *Insula Pilup*). Based on this idea, Tálod seems to be a logical, but not so practical identification of *Idegysyt*; in Guzsik's theory it is unclear why the two hermitages in the Bakony (Fig. 4.3.44., no. 3. and 4., Sáska and Tálod) appear in between two easily accessible and closely located hermitages, namely Salföld and Badacsony (Fig. 4.3.44., no. 2 and 5). However, it is possible that after visiting *Idegysyt* (=Tálod), the deputy of the bishopric travelled back to Veszprém and by another trip, which continued with the hermits at Badacsony and followed up the rest of the applied hermitages.

⁵⁶⁴ Holler 2007, 21.

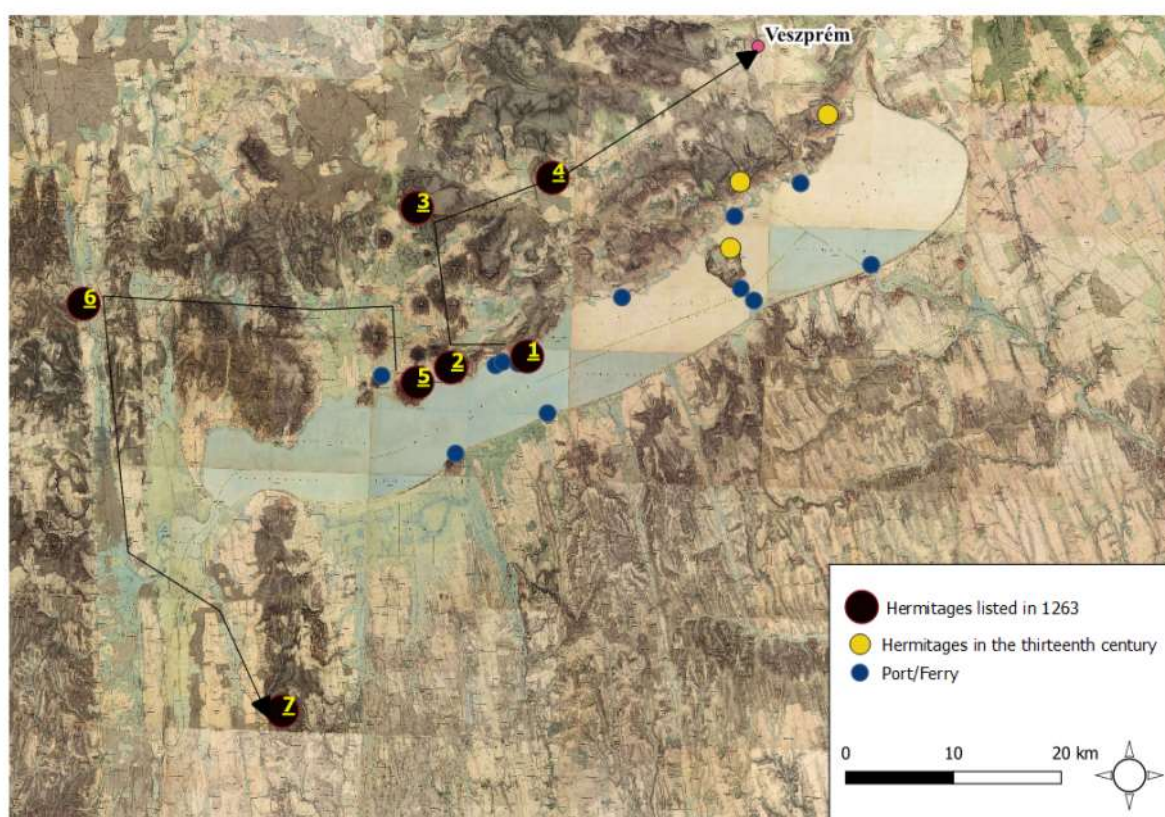


Fig. 4.3.44. **Tálod.** Mapping the list of 1263. Based on the idea of Guzsik, 2000. (1) *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae*, (2) *Kewkwth Sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae*, (3) *Bohon Sancti Jacobi*, (4) *Idegysyt Beatae Elisabeth*, (5) *Bodochun Sancti Emerici*, (6) *Insula prope Ewrmenyes, Elek Sanctae Mariae Magdaleneae*, (7) *Zakach Sancti Dominic*

Further points were highlighted by Guzsik, just like before him by Ferenc Hervay as well. Not only the Séd stream have been flown in the valley, just north of the monastery, but the monastery was also dedicated to St. Elizabeth, just like Tálod.⁵⁶⁵ The church itself is to be dated to the thirteenth century, which was also a key proof for the existence of the community here before 1324. The donator of the hermitage was the same family who most probably founded the hermitage at Sáska (see Chapter 4.3.3.), so there is a trend in the Gyulaffy-Rátóth kindred to support hermits. However, Tálod (or in the charters written as *Thalad*) was only mentioned first in 1324, which means that the village gave its name to the local Paulines only since the fourteenth century, although the village was mentioned in the sources much before, in 1171.⁵⁶⁶ This could be resolved in two ways: the hermitage was not founded much earlier than 1324 and was called Tálod from the beginnings, or it was called differently before, apparently *Idegysyt*, probably in respect of the cold spring. The environmental features and

⁵⁶⁵ Hervay 1984, 163. It was a rather rare patron saint in the diocese. Gyenesdiás-Falud, Mihályfa-Szenterzsébet are the two examples which Guzsik referred to. Guzsik 2000.

⁵⁶⁶ Cod. Dipl. 9/7, 633.

toponyms, the building, and the patron of the monastery are all enough proof at this point for scholarship to identify Tálod as the thirteenth-century hermitage of *Idegst*.

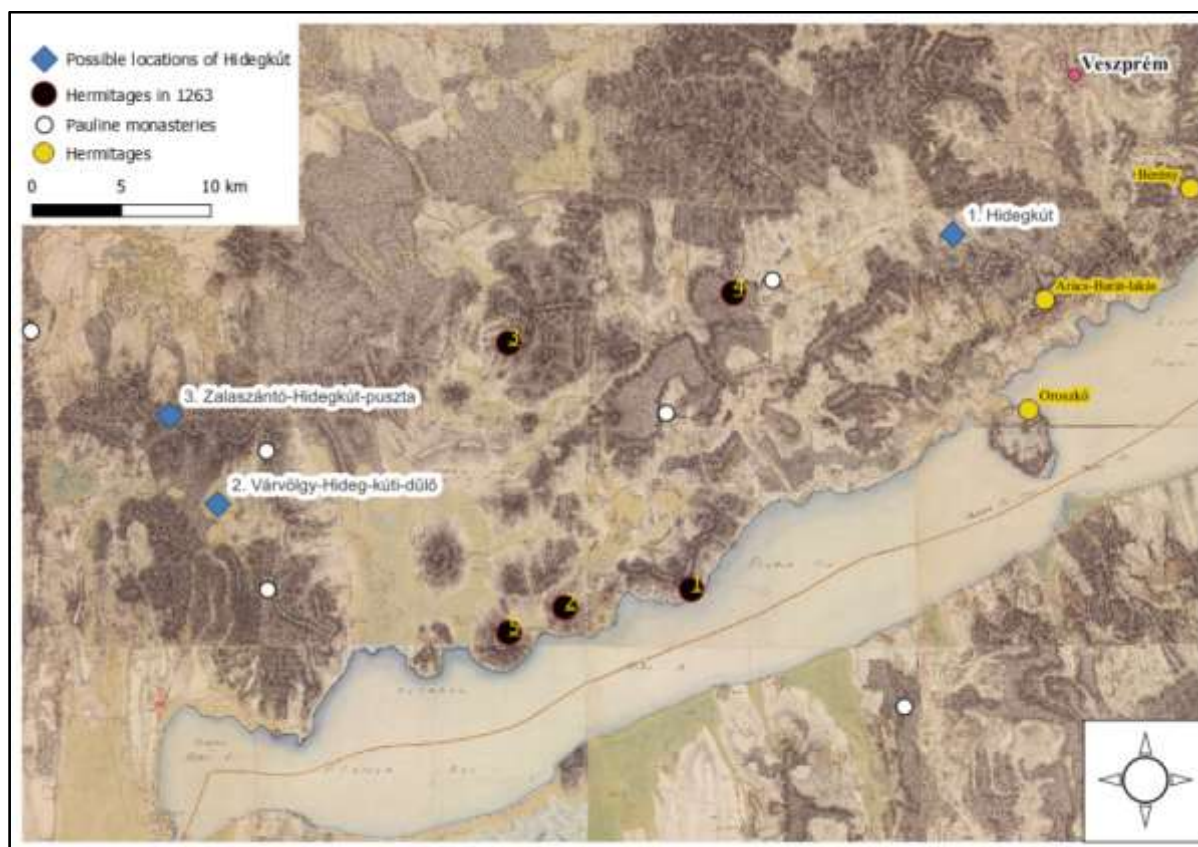


Fig. 4.3.45. *Tálod*. Possible locations of *Idegst* monastery, also *Tálod* (no.4.). Along the hermitages that were listed in the inventory of Paul Bishop in 1263, also later Pauline monasteries included. Base map: Second Ordnance Survey.

However, Hideg-séd or Cold water/stream/well could also refer to other areas in the broader Balaton Uplands (see Fig. 4.3.45.). László Holler identified the hermitage at the present-day settlement of Hidegkút (meaning cold spring also and has medieval origins).⁵⁶⁷ It is ca. 20 kms from Tálod monastery to the east, near the *via magna* between Veszprém and Tapolca, and where the ruins of a medieval church were documented by the MRT project in 1969. Holler refers to many past data, which all refer to the ruins of an old church. (Fig. 4.3.46-47.)

The area with the natural features and the ruins appear on the First Ordnance Survey. A building is marked near a spring, which flows into a stream called Séd. Some other pictorial sources, maps survived in the Archive of Veszprém County. (See Fig. 4.3.48-49.), which all depict a two-towered, ruined church. It is documented on a survey that it was part of so-called Kis-Hidegkút [Small-Cold-Spring], which may indicate that Hidegkút was once meant two settlements, a smaller

⁵⁶⁷ Holler 2009, 16, 19–20.

and a bigger village. Most probably the two-towered church was one of the parishes here, rather than the hermitage of St. Elizabeth.⁵⁶⁸

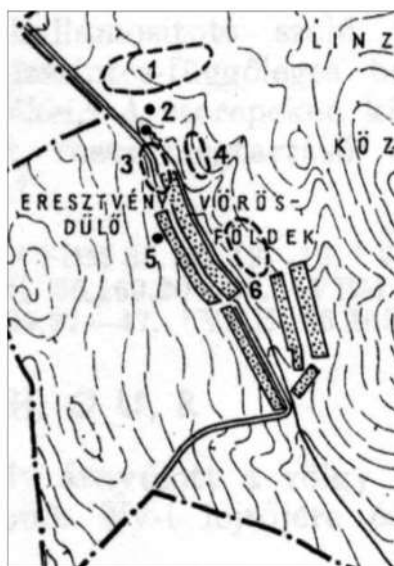


Fig. 4.3.46. *Tálod*. Hidegkút in the Archaeological Topography of Hungary. The place under no. 1. is the plateau and no. 2. is the spring and the church. (MRT 2, 107.)



Fig. 4.3.47. *Tálod*. Hidegkút on the First Ordnance Survey.

⁵⁶⁸ See: *Térképe a Tót-Vázsonyi határhoz tartozó Kis-Hidegkuti puszta...* [VeML XV 11 a T 259].



Fig. 4.3.48. *Tálod*. Mappa terreni possessionis Hidegkut [VeML XV 11 a T 330] 1779, Ferenc Kovács mapmaker. In the center the draft of a two-towered church is located where the hermitage is located by Holler. See Holler 2009, 20.



Fig. 4.3.49. *Tálod*. Ex mappis de possessione Hidegkut [VeML XV 11 a T 530]. The map depicts the church and a pond at the spring, also mills were along the stream.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁹ See for example VeML XV 11 a T 259.

Holler added another data: in 1267, the chapel of St. Elizabeth is mentioned, which was on the property of the Tihany Abbey at the time.⁵⁷⁰ This, as Holler argues, could be that chapel. However, since there is at least one other hermitage in the close vicinity, namely Arács (see Chapter 4.3.9.) that we do not know any detailed information of, this data could refer to it or it could also be identified as *Idegst*; however, further and detailed investigation could lead to precise contextualization of sources.

Based on the cold stream theory, Hidegkút-puszta is of interest, that is at today's Várvölgy, called Zsid in the Middle Ages, which is a version of the word "séd" again, meaning spring or stream. In the boundary of Várvölgy, west of the present-day village, there is a large area connected to a manor, called Hidegkúti-dűlő, [Cold-spring-parcel]. This area is just to the west of Vállus Pauline monastery (see Chapter 4.3.8.). (Fig. 4.3.50.)

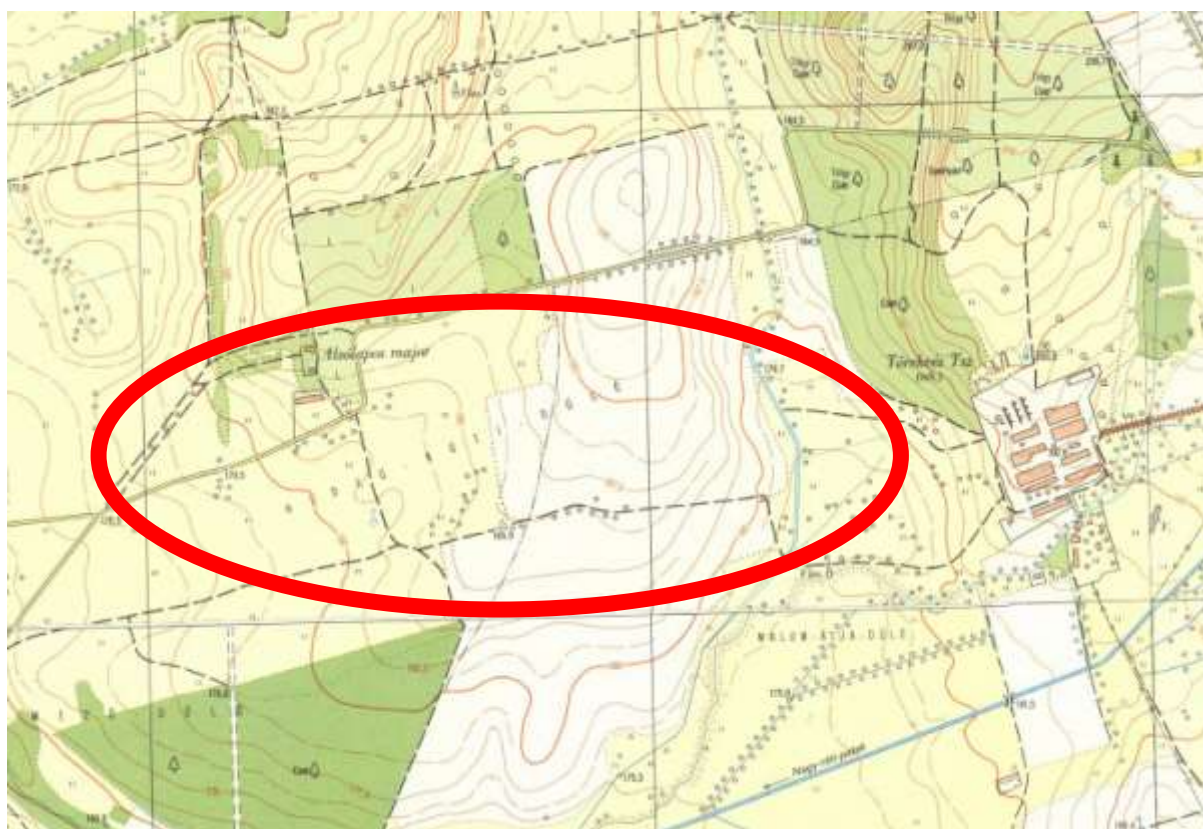


Fig. 4.3.50. *Tálad*. The area of Hidegkúti-dűlő, west of Váralja.

⁵⁷⁰ Holler 2019, 27.

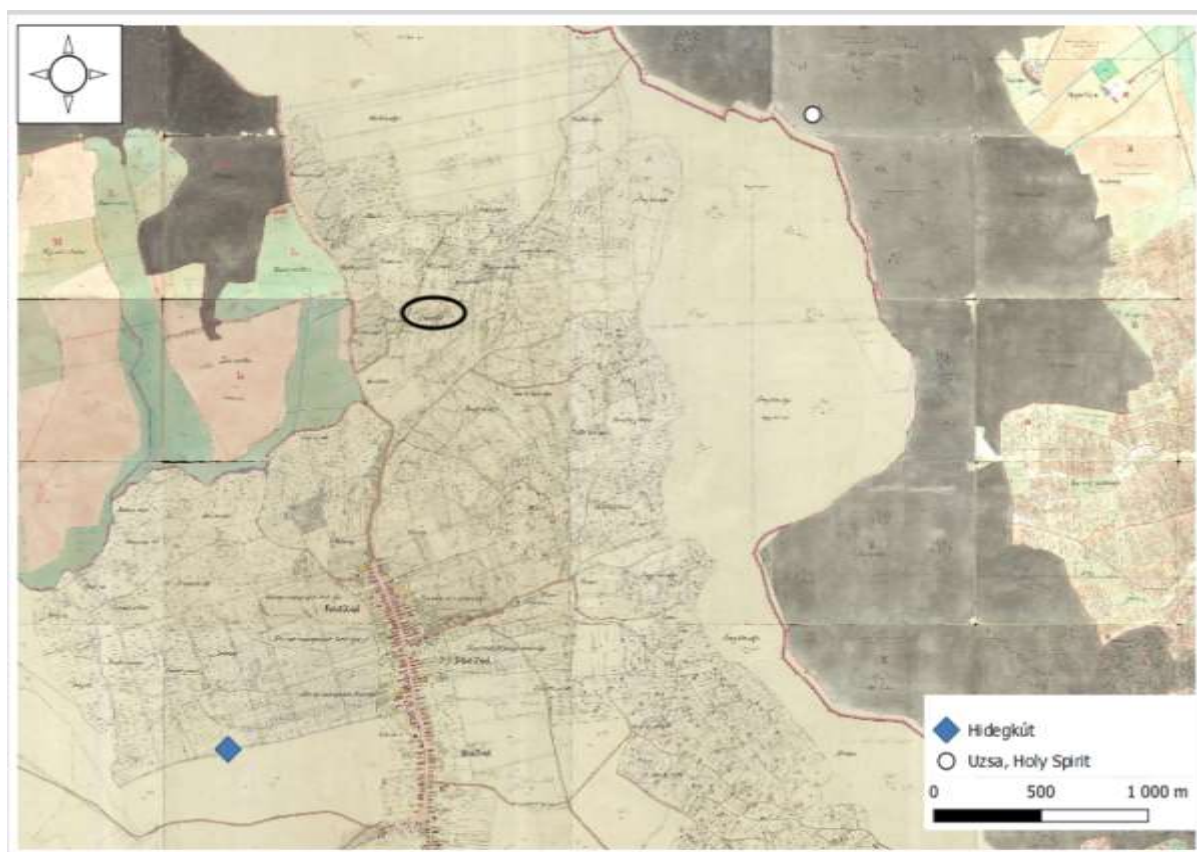


Fig.

4.3.51. *Tálad.* The area of Barát-rét, Brother's/Monk's meadow north-northwest of Várölg.

Hidegkút is not represented on historical maps, only on modern ones; however, Barát-rét, meaning Monk's meadow is on the nineteenth-century cadastral map (Fig. 4.3.51.), which may indicate the presence of monks in the area, but it most probably was related to the Pauline monks at Uzsa, not a thirteenth-century hermitage.

A third area is sufficient to be mentioned, which is near Zalaszántó, in the historical Zala county near the castle of Tátika. (See Fig. 4.3.52.) As the Archaeological Topography series suggests, here was the medieval settlement of Hidegkút located, which appeared in the sources first only in 1438, mentioned as a tax-paying point. It appears in 1555 and 1613 as well.⁵⁷¹ A charter also mentions the *possessio* of *Hydegkuth* in 1473, when some outrages were documented against women *iobbagiones* there.⁵⁷² If there was a hermitage nearby, it would have been located west of the settlement, where the terrain is similar to other areas where hermitages were established.

⁵⁷¹ MRT 1, 179. site /9

⁵⁷² MNL OL DL 93 468.

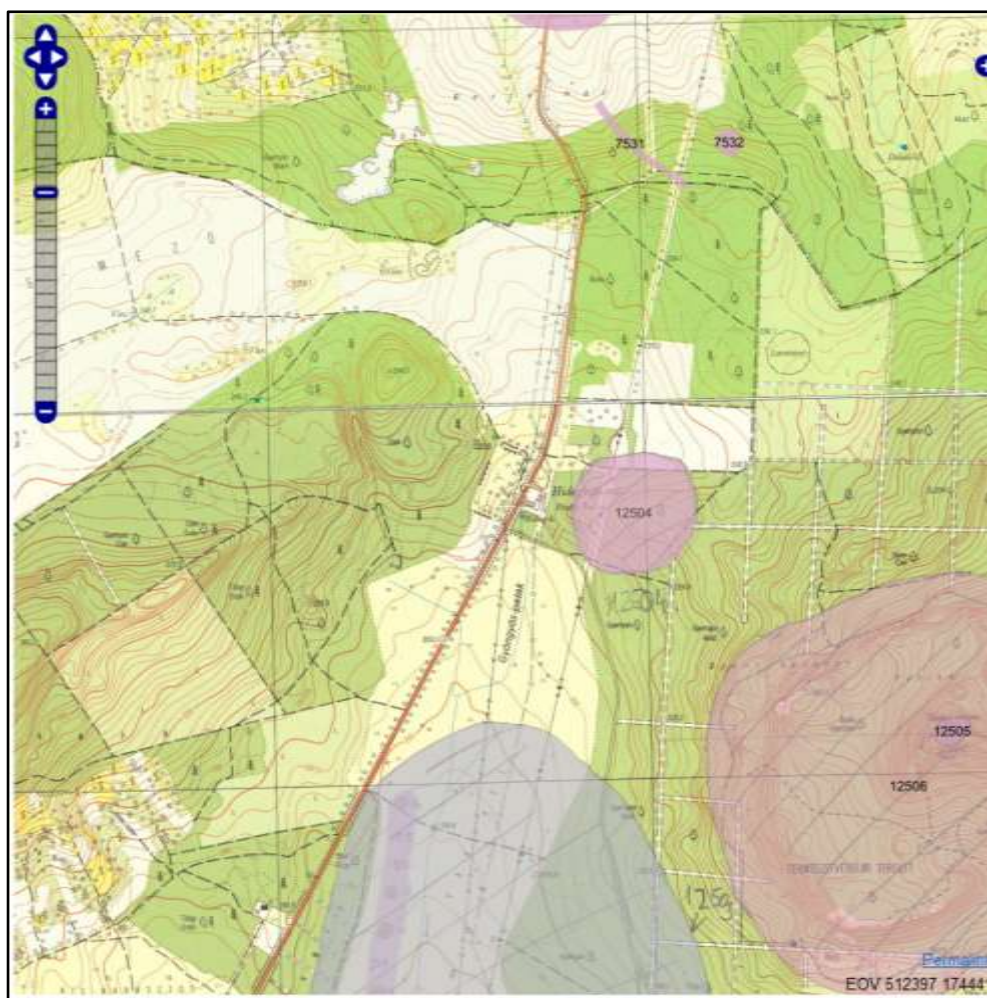


Fig. 4.3.52. **Tálod.** The area of Hidegkút north of Zalaszentő. A medieval site is located there, no. 12504. Source: Official Archaeological sites Database, “IVO” (last accessed: 2023-12-12)

Summarizingly, the question of Hidegkút monastery should be revisited and all the introduced places are possible research areas in the topic. Yet, however, in the absence of further studies, the most probable identification of Hidegkút is with Tálod monastery.

4.3.6. Henye, St. Margaret Monastery

The monastery at Henye is located in the heart of the Pauline monastic-cluster in the Balaton Uplands (see Fig. 4.1.). Its foundation is unknown, the remains are hardly visible nowadays. The monastery was close to the village of Henye, which was inhabited by local nobles, who were the *iobagiones castri* of Veszprém *castrum* (1262); Henye was first mentioned in 1181, the Pauline monastery was mentioned only in 1365. However, in this year it received varied types and numerous lands from the local nobles, which indicates that its foundation could not have happened much before 1365.

Veszprém and the Benedictine monastery of Bakonybél had property here in 1489 and 1542.⁵⁷³ In the sixteenth century, just like in other cases (for example Salföld) there were two parts of Henye, namely Alsó - and Felső Henye, defined as the lower and upper part of the village. It was uninhabited by the seventeenth century.

The charter of 1365 mentioned several donations for the Paulines.⁵⁷⁴ Stephanus *comes*, son of Nicholaus; another Stephanus and his brother John, sons of Domenicus; sons of Chaba and others, all nobles of Henye from Co. Zala [*nobiles de Hene de comitatu Zaladiensis*], donated new lands (a mill, an acre of land and a fishpond in Henye, also others lands in Henye at specific parts of the possession, see detailed in Appendix 1/4.3.6. Written sources) to the monastery of Henye, which was founded by their ancestors.

The charter which mentions the monastery seems to be the ideal source for drawing the map of the local topography, however, the dozen local names are hardly recognizable in topography and toponyms anymore, nor in the earliest available, only nineteenth-century data. However, this charter rather gives information on the types of lands and a few very telling features, and possibly a few locations. The names in the charter in a very few cases appeared or implied in different, specific ways on the Ordnance Surveys, the Cadastral map, or in the Hungarian National Toponym Registry, moreover, they were indicated by geographical features. Sometimes names similar to medieval nomination appear, but there is no direct connection between the two – such names were also gathered on the map that summarizes the toponyms of the region and contextualized in the subchapters. (see Fig. 4.3.54. as a map in all cases)

The text of the charter, however, included some surprises: it revealed a certain geographical order of the donations within, indicated by the visualization of the types of lands that were given to the Paulines and in connection with it, sometimes the telling toponyms. Even if a property's name or precise location is unknown, some information on their geographical location – whether it was located near wood, on plain land, or next to something specific geographical or human-made feature in the landscape – was a lead in the exploration. To understand this aspect of the analysis, the names of the locations, the sum of the properties (how much land and how many properties the monks received) and the specific lands (arable lands, wetland meadows, etc.) should be distinguished and reviewed.

⁵⁷³ Békefi 1907, 190.

⁵⁷⁴ DL 41617.

Names, dimension and types of properties in 1365

The detailed analysis of the charter can be summed up in several aspects. This document that is considerably rich in data on land cultivation and the types of lands, which not only gives a glimpse of the daily life of a local Pauline estate in the mid-fourteenth century, but also helps to locate these properties to some extent.

The first question is: how many properties, how much land did the Paulines receive in 1365? The following table focuses on the amount of donation:

no.	type	translation into English and its context	sum
1	<i>molendinum</i>	mill –no data on its structure, probably one-wheeled	1
2	<i>terra</i>	arable land, which needs to be rested very soon or possibly its a set aside land, but otherwise fertile and regarded as a good quality of parcel (<i>iugerum</i>)	34
3	<i>piscina</i>	fishpond	1
4	<i>vinea</i>	vineyard, one from earlier and one large (<i>magna</i>) one	4
5	<i>fenile, fenetum</i>	hay meadow by cutting of woods, on dry lands (<i>/falcastrum</i>)	1
6	<i>pratium</i>	hay meadow on wetlands, by cutting bushes, reed or bullrush (<i>/falcastrum</i>)	2

Fig. 4.3.53. *Henye*. The summary of properties of *Henye*, based on written sources.

Based on the known measurements (see Appendix 1/4.3.6.), the size of the arable lands in this charter is a sum of 272 000–289 000 sqm, which is equal to 27,2–28,9 acres. The three *falcastra* meadows are about 8600–11000 sqm, 0,86-1,1 acres. It is clear that these lands were just enough for the monks to maintain their daily life here; this donation can be regarded as a stable foundation, whereby the basic needs and sustenance was fulfilled by the local nobles. The meadows could feed not many animals, two or three horses, so possibly the Paulines pastured their animals on those parcels, which needed to be fertilized again. This is why it is not possible to estimate the number of animals that the Paulines must have had in the Middle Ages.

Nevertheless, beside the amount of lands, the most prominent part of the charter are the toponyms in it, which are not useful without their context. Although it was clear that the memory of the medieval names of the lands is almost impossible to find nowadays or even in the nineteenth century, I decided to pursue since successful identifications happen to appear sometimes in other studies or regions as well. In the following subchapters, the Latin and Hungarian names, their English translation, also the textual context of the feature is indicated.

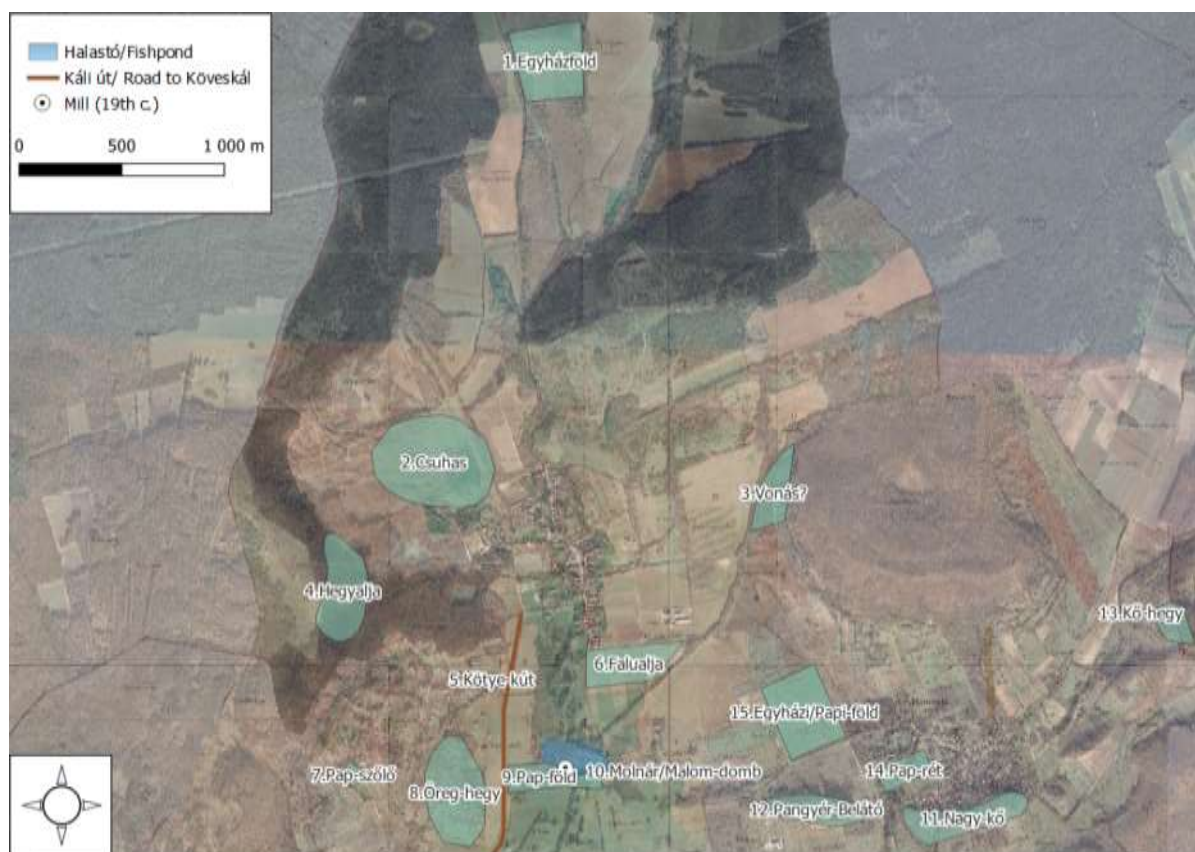


Fig. 4.3.54. **Henye.** The area of Henye and Monoszló, all the possible properties in the charter of 1365, based on Google Satellite and nineteenth-century cadastral map, also on the Toponym Registry.

A mill and a fishpond

The first and the third property, which was donated to the Paulines was a mill and a fishpond. The mill was located in Hene and the fishpond was definitely known by the name *Haltó*, meaning simply fishpond. In the surroundings of Henye there were several natural ponds, either of them could have been the pond mentioned in the charter. However, fresh water supply was essential for fishes (*vivarium*), which means that the pond and the mill should be along a stream. This stream can be identified with the one that still exists and located a few hundred meters north to the village, flows next to the site of the monastery, along the village of Henye to the south, and leaves the settlement in the direction of Köveskál, to the south-southwest.

This mill and the pond could have been near the monastery since it is located just next to the stream, but there is no indication of any of them (not the mill, the pond, nor the monastery) on the maps or in any other known sources. However, still close to the settlement but on its southern part, several sources (the First and the Second Ordnance Survey, also the nineteenth-century cadastral map and the present-day satellite picture) indicate a large dyke, suggesting the past existence of a pond besides a mill. (Fig. 4.3.55-58.)

The pond appeared only on the satellite image (Fig. 4.3.58.), it exists today and it is called – just like in the Middle Ages– “Halastó” (=fishpond) (Fig. 4.3.54. fishpond between no. 9. and 10.); however, this correspondence might be simply caused by the fact that calling fishpond a fishpond is the most relevant and usual concept in Hungary even nowadays.

Beside the fishpond. a mill appears on all maps, but now it is remembered only by the local toponyms (See Fig. 4.3.54. no. 10, “Malom- / Molnár-domb”, meaning Mill and Miller hump). However, since it is marked next to a pond, it could mean that the pond must have been there before the present era, no matter that it was not marked on historical maps. This is affirmed by another feature.

The road on the Second Ordnance Survey, which divides at a certain point (north of the mill) to the west and the east, indicates that there was a muddy place, most probably the fishpond. Besides, a long dyke is clearly visible on the map (Fig. 4.3.56-57.) These all confirm that these could be most probably those certain properties of the Paulines, the mill and the fishpond, which are mentioned in the charter.



Fig. 4.3.55. *Henye*. The ponds around Henye on the First Ordnance Survey, also the mill south of the settlement.

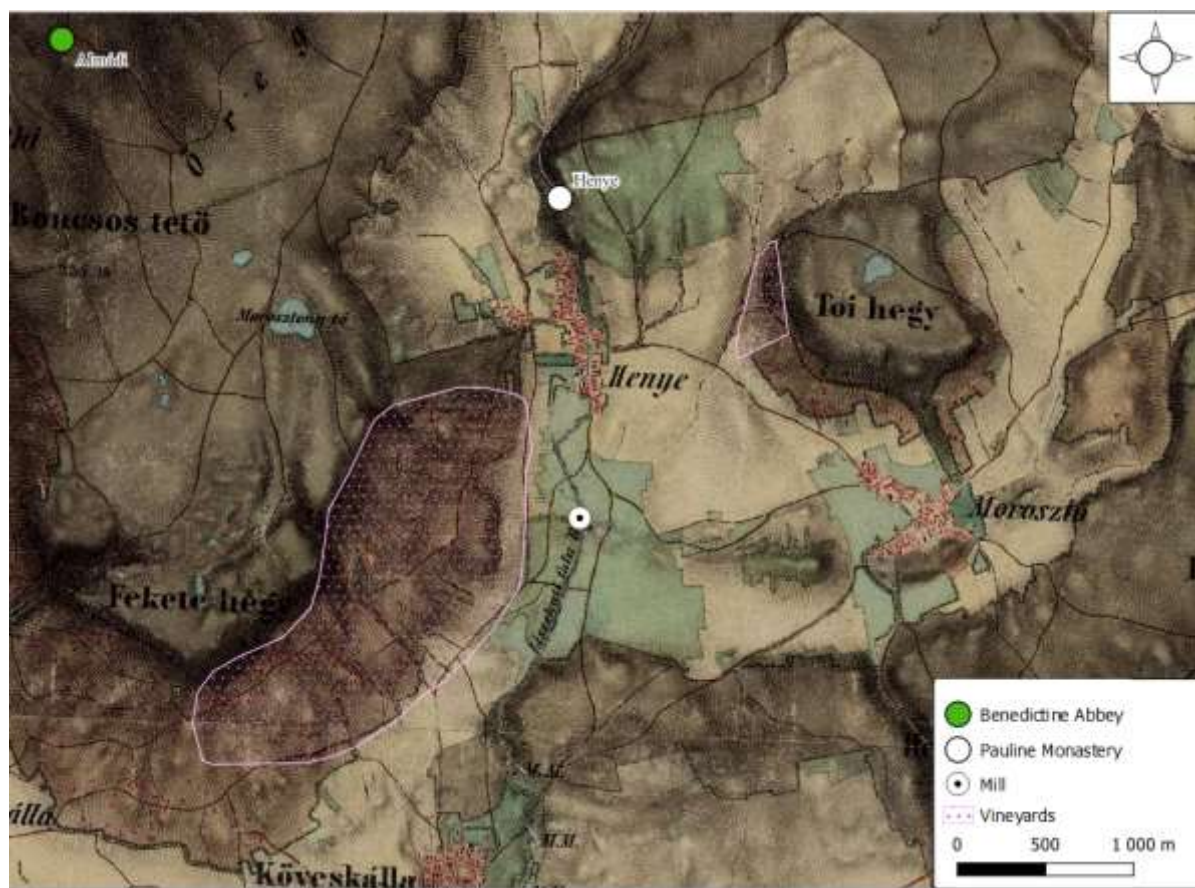


Fig. 4.3.56. **Henye**. The ponds around Henye, the stream, mill and the vineyards, along the surroundings on the Second Ordnance Surveys, integrated some data from the nineteenth-century cadastral map of Henye.



Fig. 4.3.57. **Henye**. The mill and the remains of a long dyke on the Second Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 4.3.58. *Henye*. The mill and the fishpond, which is visible on the Google Satellite image.

1	<i>unum molendinum ipsorum in eadem villa Hene</i>	a mill in the village of Henye
3	<i>unam piscinam Halto</i> [Hal-tó=fishpond] <i>dictam</i>	a fishpond called <i>Halto</i> [=fishpond]

Arable lands - Terra

Arable lands appeared in several types of lands. Although there is an ideal geomorphology and soils of this activity in certain landscapes, it is a hard task to identify the zones of medieval arable lands. The context of each donation is what mostly defines and locates the *terrarum/terras* to the hilly, dry areas of Henye and to those, which were systematically cleared of wood.

In this sense, the Hungarian term “telek” in the nomination of the lands is telling; it appears only at Henye amongst the studied monasteries. It literally means parcel, but in the fourteenth century it meant a specific kind of land, which was cut from the forest and made fertile by vegetation that was cut and left there, or the cut was used as pasture – therefore, it was spreaded with dung by scheduled and continuous pasturage. The name “telek” was most probably used long after the fertilization

process, which is why the term “telek” simply means parcel today. The following properties were most probably such parcels (extracted from Appendix 1/4.3.6. Written sources):

no.	property - Latin	property - English
5	<i>duo iugera terre ante terram extirpatam Francisci</i>	two acres of land before the arable land (cleared in the forest) of Francis
6	<i>duo iugera terre integre Daniteluk</i>	two acres of land of Daniteluk [Someone’s? parcel]
7	<i>duo iugera terre dicte ipsum Teluk</i> [Telek]	two acres of land called Teluk [=Parcel]
8	<i>quatuor iugera terre integre Wrukche</i> [Urukkö?/Űrkö?/Öreg-kö?]	four acres of land of Wrukche [=Lord’s stone or Old Stone]
9	<i>duo iugera terre integre Heegtelek</i> [Hegytelek]	two acres of land at Heegtelek [=Hill parcel]
10	<i>tua (sic!) iugera terre in eodem Teluk cum finis tendit ad curiam Nicolai filii Johannis</i>	two acres of land at the same Teluk [=Parcel] (meaning Hegy-telek?) until the curia (house with parcel or parcel) of Nicolaus, the son of Johannis
11	<i>unum iuger terre [...] in loco Zyl mellike</i> [Szil-melléke]	one acre of land in Zyl mellike [near the Elm woods]
12	<i>duo iugera terre intra Kuestelek</i> [Kövestelek] <i>a parte aquilonis, in vicinitate terre Gregorii filii Laurentii</i>	two acres of land within Kuestelek [=Rocky parcel] on the north side, in the vicinity of the land of Gregory the son of Lawrence
24	<i>duo iugera terre in monte Modushege dicto per prefatum Gregorium filium Laurentii legata</i>	two acres of land on the mountain called Modushege , donated by the aforementioned Gregorius, son of Laurentius.

These types of lands were most probably in the northern, northeastern and northwestern area of Henye. There is still a land called “Egyházföld”, (=Ecclesial land) on the north of Henye’s boundary (Fig. 4.3.54., no.1.). It is possible to identify some features here with the names appearing in the charter. These are the following: Modushege (1) (=Modushegye =Modus’ hill, no. 24. and at wetland arable lands see also at no. 2. on this list in Chapter 7/4.3.6. Written sources), Wrukche (2) (=Űrkö? /Urukkö? /Öreg-kö? =Keeper’s Stone /Lord(s)’s Stone/ Old Stone, no. 8. on this list above, also in Chapter 10/4.3.6. Written sources), and Heegtelek (3) (=Hegytelek =Hill Parcel, no. 9. on this list above, also in Chapter 10/4.3.6. Written sources)

Modushegye (1) was a significant feature in the landscape since it was mentioned at the first and the last spot of the charter, in regards to the arable lands. The first arable land was on its foot (no. 2., Appendix 1/4.3.6. Written sources) and concerning that it was mentioned near a pond, it was

probably more a wetland arable than one in the upper region, while the last land is mentioned on the hill (no. 24., Appendix 1/4.3.6. Written sources), which means that Modus' hill is large enough to create parcels there. The key to its identification lies in this characteristic.

It is still a question, whether the first donation at the foot of Modus' hill, mentioned second among the properties, laid near the pond and the mill; if the fishpond and the mill was near the monastery, than the lands perhaps were also near, logically on the foot of a significant hill in the landscape, which lays just east of the monastery (today called Magyal-tető). (Fig. 4.3.59.)

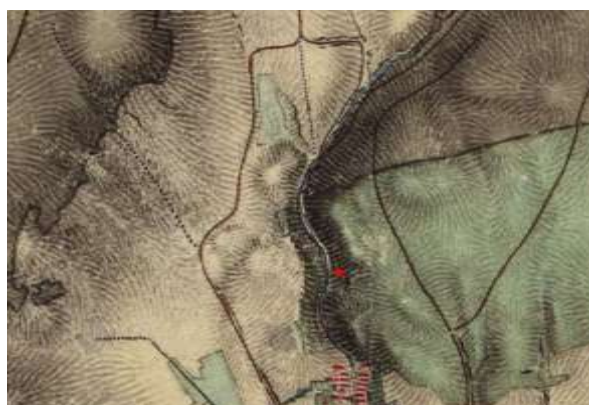


Fig. 4.3.59. *Henye*. The monastery (red dot) and the immediate landscape on the Second Ordnance Survey.

If there was a geographical order in the text, then the donations not only start, but end here, on the slope of the very same hill. However, if the mill and fishpond were where they are depicted on the Second Ordnance Survey, then the Modus' hill was probably near them, on the hilly terrain depicted east to the mill. (See Fig. 4.3.60.)



Fig. 4.3.60. *Henye*. The hilly terrain near the mill on the Second Ordnance Survey

Another possible location lies west of the ponds, where there is a hill called Öreg-hegy, meaning Old Hill. (Fig. 4.3.54., no. 8.); it could also be Modus' hill and the lands on its foot were donated to the Paulines; it is noteworthy that there is a parcel which is called Pap-föld (Fig. 4.3.54., no. 9.), meaning Priest Land. This most probably refers to the past properties of the local parish,

however, it could also refer to a tradition of which lands were donated to local ecclesiastic institutions (see also Fig. 4.3.54., no. 7. Pap-szőlő, Priest Vineyards in the subchapter on Vineyards).

The other feature, *Úrkő* (2) (no. 8. on this list above), meaning Keeper's Stone or Lord(s)'s Stone or Old Stone, in the charter could be the Old hill that was mentioned as Modus' hill just previously (Fig. 4.3.54., no. 8.), based on the possible namesake relation.

Hegytelek (3), meaning Hill Parcel (no. 9. on this list above) also can be anywhere, which is of higher elevation than the settlement, but there is also a specific part called Hegyalja, the foot of the hill (see Fig. 4.3.54., no. 4.). A *curia* is mentioned at the very end of the Pauline parcel in the charter, which suggests two ideas: the parcel was close to the village (Magyal-tető, Fig. 4.3.59.) or this curia was a manor, out of the densely inhabited area, like the farm outside the village a few hundred meters of Hegyalja to the east. (Fig. 4.3.54.)

Beside such lands, possibly the vineyards were still on the hilly slopes of Henye, which indicates that some lands that were next to vineyards, could be still on the hilly area, most probably on the southern slopes west/southwest to the settlement or next to a small area of vineyard west of the settlement (see Fig. 4.3.56. Fig. 4.3.54., no. 3.) Such lands were the following:

14	<i>duo iugera terre per longitudinem ad vineam prefati Stephani filii Nicolai</i>	two acres of land in length for the vineyard of Stephen, son of Nicolaus
15	<i>duo iugera terre iuxta vineam eiusdem claustris</i>	two acres of land next to the vineyard of the same monastery

A few arable lands have a context, which is not helpful in topography, neither their type (lowland/wetland or upland) is defined. Probably one of them, a two-acre land next to Peter's road was neither in the upper, nor in the flatland region, but close to the level of stable inhabitation. The unknown type of arable lands are the following ones:

4	<i>duo iugera terre integre Lusuktumk nominate</i>	two acres of land at Lusuktumk
13	<i>duo iugera terre intra terram An?...iou (Antoni?) filii Feliciani</i>	two acres of land before land of An..iou/Antonius?, the son of Felitius
18	<i>duo iugera terre iuxta plateam Petuswtha [Petusútja] dictam quorum unum condam magister Clemens cum fratribus suis, item aliud Jacobus fratribus Cosme et Johannes filius Salamonis legarunt</i>	two acres of land next to the place/road called Petuswtha [= the road of Petus/Peter], one part of which Magister Clemens and his brothers donated, and the other also, by Jacobus, Cosme and Johannes, the son of Salamon, donated to the brothers

Wetland arables and meadows were not particularly usual in this donation, however a few interesting data was present in the charter regarding them:

2	<i>unum iugerum terre sub monte Modushege</i> [Modus/Módoshegye?] <i>dicto</i>	one acre land below the hill of Modushege [=someone's? hill]
16-17	<i>duo iugera terre in vicinitate terre Jacobi filii confine Cosme a parte meridieis cum pertinula prati ad nomine (?) falcastrum sufficienter a parte orientis eiusdem terre que fuerint per Thomam filium Gerhe legata</i>	also two acres of land in the vicinity of the land of Jacobus, son of Cosma, on the south side, with a piece of hay meadow, sufficient for a <i>falcastrum</i> (=kaszaalja) on the east side of the same land, which was gifted by Thomas, son of Gerhe.
19	<i>duo iugera terre in vicinitate terre Ladislai filii Chepani et unam particulam prati similiter ad nomen (?) falcastrum sufficientem iuxta puteum Falukuta</i> [Falukútja] <i>dictam.</i>	two acres of land in the vicinity of the land of Ladislaus, son of Chepan and one part of hay meadow similarly [in area] to a <i>falcastrum</i> , next to the well/cistern, called Falukuta [the pit/well of the village]

Modus' hill was discussed before in the case of arable lands on highlands, while the wetland arable (no. 2. on the list) was probably near the mill and the fishpond, see Fig. 4.3.54., no. 9. The two other lands (no. 16-17, 19) were probably next to the wetland hay meadows, which –in my understanding– defined their location. Such lands were probably in the vertical center of Henye, near the stream. *Falukuta* (no. 19.), the well of the village, was possibly located between the mill and the village, which was close enough to the village but the area around was wide enough for arables and meadows. (See Fig. 4.3.54., no. 5., Kötye-kút, a well's memory in the toponym).

Hay meadows /pastures

See no. 16-17 and 19 in the previous highlights, also:

20	<i>unam particulam feneti unum falcastri in ...? inferioris Hene intra feneta Jacobi filii Cosme et Johannes filii Salamonis habitam per Petrum filium Thome legata habita constituta et adiacentia?</i>	one part of the meadow, one <i>falcastrum</i> , in lower Hene within the meadow of Jacobus, son of Cosma and Johannes son of Salamon, was donated by Petrus, the son of Thomas, maintained, set-up and neighboring?
----	---	--

The three hay meadows (which were sometimes used as pastures, just like the arable lands in different periods) represent both known types of meadows: the ones that were on wetlands (*pratum*, see no. 17. and 19. in the list above) and another, which were established in the place of forest cuttings (*fenile/fenetum*, see no. 20. in the list above).

The latter, the end of Henye could be any end, but today the southern region is called Falualja, the bottom of the village (Fig. 4.3.54., no. 6.). However, woods were possibly on the other, northern end of the village at the time, where the elevation is a bit higher than in the village and Falualja.

Probably the *fenile* near *Falukutha* was close to the mill and the road to Kál. (See Fig. 4.3.56.; also Fig. 4.3.54., no. 5.). The land called Csuhas is an interesting name, which was possibly mentioned in the charter (*Chuh*, no 23. on the list of vineyards below) and it is a toponym even today at Henye; however, they are not referring to the same territory. Csuhas (Fig. 4.3.54., no. 2.) is northwest of the village, in the Toponym Registry related to “csuh”, “csuhos”, meaning a place filled with *Schoenoplectus lacustris*=common club-rus. Possibly this land was also used as a wetland meadow or arable or even the medieval word can relate to it, although the medieval *Chuh* was possibly located near Monoszló (see it in the next subchapter).

Vineyards

15	<i>duo iugera terre <u>iuxta vineam eisdem claustr</u></i>	two acres of land next to the vineyard of the same monastery
21	<i>unam vineam magnam iuxta viam Kaliwth [Káli út] dictam, a parte occidentali eiusdem vie habitam per nobiles ipsius ville pro eodem clauastro portio comparatam.</i>	one large vineyard next to the road called Kaliwth [Káli út] bought in piece (?) by the nobles of said village for the same monastery
22	<i>unam vineam per eundem filium Johannis filii Egidii legati pro eodem clauastro emptam sui a parte orientis vinea Nitom dicti Vonas et a parte occidentis vinea Gregorii filii Laurencii vonantur (sic!).</i>	one vineyard gifted by the same son of John, the son of Egidius, [...] on the east side the vineyard Nitom called Vonas [=line, a long narrow plot], and on the west side, the vineyards of Gregory, the son of Laurentius.
23	<i>unam vineam per Ladislaum filium Pauli dicti Chuh legatam ...ville Monoslou cui a parte occidentis vinea Georgii filii Monuslou? et a parte orientis tumulus lapidum a parte vero aquilonis unus magnus lapis Feyrkyu [= Fejérkö] dictus vicinarentur.</i>	one vineyard gifted by Ladislaus, the son of Paul, called Chuh ... the village of Monoslou, on the west side of which were the vineyards of Georgius, the son of Monuslou?, and on the east side a stone mound , and on the north side one large stone called Feyrkyu [=white stone]were its neighbors.

The ideal areas for wine grapes were particularly present on the southwestern region of Henye, just like it is indicated by the cadastral map and the ordnance surveys (see Fig. 4.3.56.). One of the donated vineyards was located next to the road to Kál, which is the neighboring village of Henye, to the south. This large vineyard was definitely on the western side of the road, where the vineyards still

exist; even in present toponymy a vineyard called “Pap-szőlő”, meaning Priest vineyard (see Fig. 4.3.54., no. 7.) exist, and just like Priest land (Fig. Fig. 4.3.54., no. 9.), it can be related to a modern church property, but this also means that the best vineyards were located in this region.

The other vineyard, called “Vonás” in Hungarian (meaning line) in the charter, was most probably a parcel near the woods, since the term was used in those cases where a piece of narrow land was established by the cutting of the forest, within the woods, so the parcel was surrounded by the forest itself. This was probably located west of Henye, where the large vineyard was donated near the road to Kál.

The historical maps indicate only one other ideal area, east to the village of Henye, where a small part was filled with grapes. (Fig. 4.3.54., no. 3.). However, regarding *Chuh*, there were ideal areas around the hillside further to the east, north of Monoszló. These two vineyards (*Chuch* and *Vonás*) were possibly close to each other since they were mentioned after each other.

As for *Chuch*, which could be transcribed as “Csúcs”, meaning Peak. There are two significant stone features in the landscape. See Fig. 4.3.54., no. 11., 12., as hilltops or no. 14 and 15., which were secular lands (“Egyházi/Papi-föld” or “Pap-rét”, meaning Church/Priest land and Priest meadow) in the nineteenth century, arable lands or meadows, but based on the geography of the area, it is ideal for vineyards as well.

Still in this area, beside *Chuh*, a stone tumulus⁵⁷⁵ and a hilltop, called White stone is mentioned in the text. There is a hilltop on the west side of Monoszló, called “Kő-hegy”, meaning Stone hill (no. 13. in Fig. 4.3.54.), which seems to be just as barren and notable, just like the name in the medieval text, White stone, suggests. However, the vineyard called *Chuh*, was most possibly in the region of “Pangyér” (no. 12 in Fig. 4.3.54., which hill is still notable and regarded as one of the few distinguished vineyards in the region. It is not only an ideal location for grapes, but the amount of hills (beside “Pangyér” no. 11. is called “Nagy-kő”, Large stone in Fig. 4.3.54.) in the flat landscape⁵⁷⁶ suggest the localization of *Chuh* to this area.

Brief review of the types of lands

How can we evaluate this sum of properties, does it reflect the whole of the properties of Henye monastery? The whole of the properties, donated in 1365, can be regarded as a foundation of the basic maintenance of the monks, secured by the local nobles. The most precious properties were

⁵⁷⁵ Erected boundary mark or perhaps a prehistoric monument?

⁵⁷⁶ In this area, the transcription of *Chuch* to “Csuha”, common club-rus, is not irrelevant as well, just on the foot of the hills, wetland areas are around in this area of Monoszló.

the mill, probably the fishpond, but the vineyards as well, especially the great one and most definitely the one near Monoszló, called *Chuh*. These provided stable financial income for the monks, while the arable lands and meadows were able to cater their basic need for grains or animal husbandry. This concept already shows the two pillars of late medieval Pauline economic strategy, where one part is self-sustaining, the other is based on monetary economy and exchange. This is the era, when the former was getting to be replaced by the latter and while it happened, both ideas served the local Pauline monastic communities.⁵⁷⁷

Actually, there is no other evidence of –almost– any other significant properties of the monastery before 1365. Almost, because a vineyard was mentioned in a charter, which was previously owned by the monks. However, there could not be a large estate they managed since the size of this complex donation is notable. Unfortunately, it is really hard to compare this unit of donation with any other ones, neither within the region, nor in the country. Hopefully, further studies will make it possible somehow in the near future.

The reason behind this donation can be the small or even insufficient amount of lands that the Paulines owned here, but it can be explained by complex tendencies. Most probably the new parcels in the woods were established because of the gradually growing population and it is also possible that the previously cultivated lands became dry and infertile. This happened in the fourteenth century almost everywhere, which is why it is probable that the Paulines also needed new lands to sustain their monastery. This resulted food and work for not only for a few monks,⁵⁷⁸ but probably for their laborers (from Henye?) or they could hire wageworkers as well.

Anyhow, this charter is a precious document from the mid-fourteenth century, which allowed for us to have a brief look at the dedication of the locals of Henye for the Paulines and what also provided a colored but still smudged picture of their immediate landscape around the village.

4.3.7. Uzsa, Holy Spirit Monastery

One of the most hidden and least known monasteries is the Holy Spirit monastery near Uzsa settlement, on the territory of a basalt quarry, which is why the ruins are still in danger. The site is quite unknown even amongst scholars, since its present situation, the closed location. This is why its research history was never published in detail, nor the results of the brief excavation along them, although the building is something that is quite unusual, adapted to the rocky and steep local terrain.

⁵⁷⁷ F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 6, 27.

⁵⁷⁸ F. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 16.

Also, the very few written sources and modern maps could provide information about its properties and partial information on the local medieval settlements in the vicinity of Uzsa. However, the local topography is still something that needs to be refreshed and interleaved with similarly reevaluated archaeological topographical data.

The three parts of Uzsa possession and a landpurchase in 1333

Although in other cases it was possible to connect some data between the monastery and the local settlements (for example Salföld or Vállus, Chapter 4.3.2. or 4.3.8.), here only one thing is sure: many legal documents survived on the property, which prove that basically the royal servants (*servientes regis*), later their descendants, the noble Uzsa family owned most of the lands here, but the Hahót, Örs, Lád, later the Dörögdi kindreds also appeared later in written sources. It is also clear that in the Late Middle Ages not only one, but three Uzsa settlements were distinguished by their owners.

Discussing the local settlement history in detail would stretch the frame of the present work, however, one event that is important in relation with the Paulines, should be highlighted and analyzed. Among the rich sources, the hermits were mentioned only one time: in 1333, when magister Nicolaus of Törek, who was the *dapifer* of Bishop Nicolaus Dörögdi in Eger, received the lands of his father-in-law, Laurentius de Uzsa (in other name Csejka) and his brother-in-law, Blasius.⁵⁷⁹

This charter is really interesting because of the property, where there was a mill, vineyards, the St. George (parochial) church and the hermits with their church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity!

“...ecclesia et loco heremitali in honore Sancte Trinitatis per eundem comitem Laurentium intra limites eiusdem portionis possessionarie constructa et portione patronatus ecclesie Sancti Georgii matyris in eadem Vsa (!) fundate...”⁵⁸⁰

As the Hungarian Catholic Lexicon highlights it,⁵⁸¹ the hermitage was first dedicated to the Holy Trinity and sometime between 1333 and 1392 it was re-consecrated (or relocated? re-settled? re-built? – it is unclear at this stage of the research) to the Holy Spirit. No matter the title of the church, Laurentius of Uzsa not only settled and patronized the hermits before 1333 here, but he also gave his and his son's part as patrons in the St. George's church, which showed their dedication to the church.

⁵⁷⁹ MTT 4/9, 168; cited in Holub, 1933, “Uzsa”. Nicolaus Dörögdi, who ascended from the Balaton Uplands, founded a Pauline monastery at Eger, near Felnémet.

⁵⁸⁰ MTT 4/9, 168. Although it was not indexed in the source collections, nor in the online database, after extensive research I could recover the photocopy of the charter, DF 257269. See in the source collection.

⁵⁸¹ <https://lexikon.katolikus.hu/U/Uzsa.html> (Last accessed: 01-01-2024)

In this charter their neighbors were mentioned, namely Lucas, the son of Wyslo and Nicolaus of Kyz, the son of Andreas of Lád, the latter also owning Pabar property. The Archaeological Topography of Hungary identified Pabar (Fig. 4.3.61., no. 8.) north of the monastery (no. 7.), also the medieval remains of Uzsa (Fig. 4.3.61., no. 6.) a few hundred meters from the monastery, on the slope of Uzsa hill. Concerning the medieval Uzsa, the researchers were not totally confident. The several settlements here, most of them partially called Uzsa (for example Szentlélekuzsa, Ernyeduzsa, Középuzsa, Alsóuzsa) indicate that the location on Fig. 4.3.61., at no. 6. was possibly one of such settlements in the fourteenth century, where some small remains of built walls and fourteenth-century ceramic shreds were found. It is also suggested by the archaeologists that the walls were the remains of the St. George parish church,⁵⁸² which would also prove that this region was owned by Laurentius of Uzsa, later Nicolaus of Törek.

An individual property here, called Pabar, had a huge role in the recently discussed document and other medieval charters as well. It was located by the archaeologists to the north of the previously discussed area, the medieval Uzsa of Nicolaus of Törek. Here the researchers could not collect any archaeological material but only the ground plan of a building, which is not a strong argument to support their theory of Pabar here.



Fig. 4.3.61. Uzsa. Cut from the map of archaeological sites. No. 8: medieval remains of Pabar, no. 7: the Pauline monastery, no. 6: medieval Uzsa. MRT 1, 109.

It is not an issue yet to decide the locations and parts of Uzsa in the Middle Ages, however, I strongly believe that the legal documents, which Holub gathered on the area, help to redraw the

⁵⁸² MRT 1, 110.

topography of the region, at least a small part of the valley of the Lesence river, in the center with Uzsa village. Most probably it would result in a different map from the archaeological results – some notes on the aforementioned charter, dated to 1333, might lead further in this topic.

The settlements at that time were in connection with the Lesence river, probably in the close vicinity, because they also had mills on the river. This would suggest a vertical order of the properties here. Since the argument was between Laurentius of Uzsa's family and Nicolaus of Kyz, not Lucas, there must have been a distinguished separation between the lands of Nicolaus of Kyz and Lucas – it was most probably by the property of magister Nicolaus of Törek. The location of the hermitage and probably St. George's parish indicates that magister Nicolaus received the middle part of the valley, so Lucas's and Nicolaus of Kyz's properties must have been located to the north and south of it.

Other data help to decide the precise order of the properties. Nicolaus of Kyz owned Pabar property, which was most likely on the southeast of the valley, just as the Second Ordnance Survey shows and *not* as indicated in The Archaeological Topography of Hungary. Kyz's other (Uzsa) property must have been in the neighborhood as well, which locates his territory to the southernmost area of the valley.

Lucas, just like all the rest of the landlords, had a property next to the river, so probably he had the northernmost area of the analyzed territory – also, the possibly medieval ruins in the forest might have been related to this unit of property. His mill was mentioned in 1333 and in the Second Ordnance (even on the First OS as well), this area is ideal for mills. (Fig. 4.3.62.)

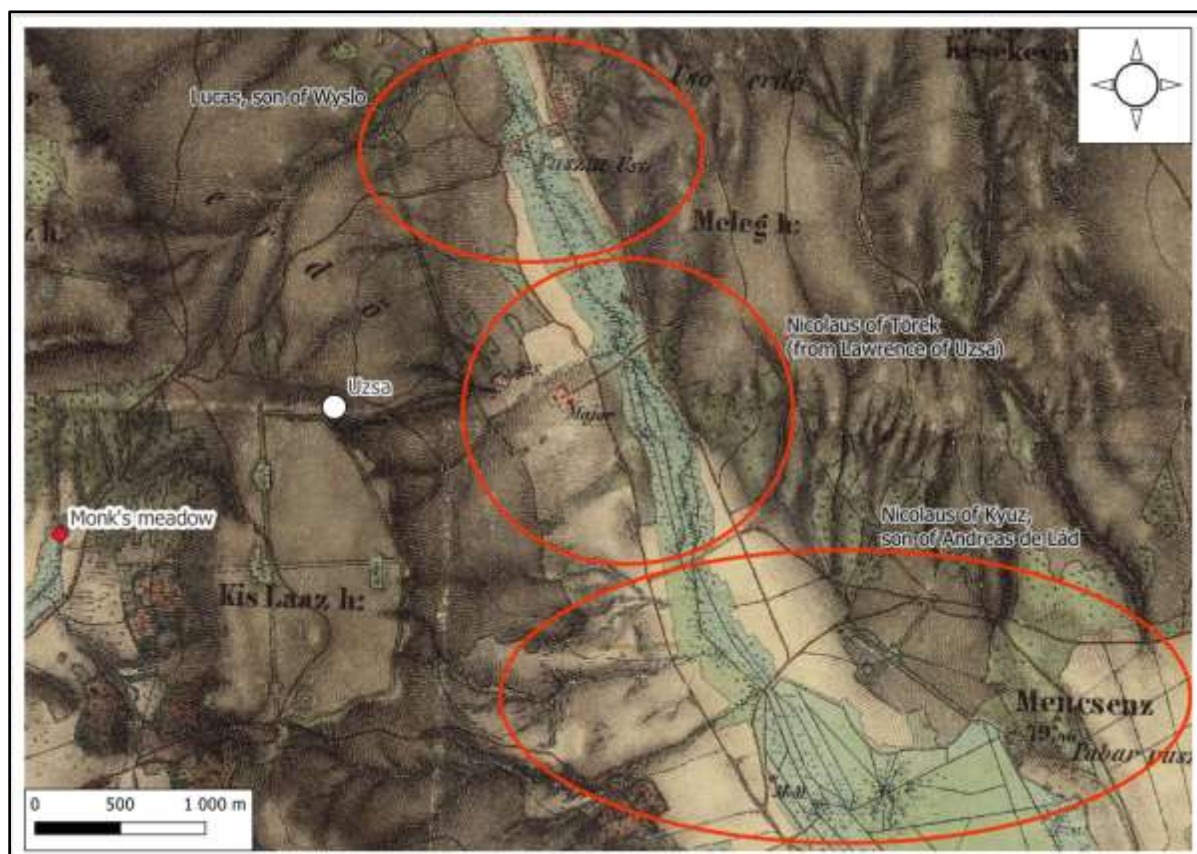


Fig. 4.3.62. *Uzsa*. The probable extension and location of the three properties and landowners, mentioned in the charter in 1333. Basis Second Ordnance Survey.

The monastery of Uzsa and its immediate landscape

The remains of the monastic buildings were studied by Flóris Rómer, Iván Ádám, Béla Dornyay, Rudolf Fehérváry, and recently László Thúry (see in the Source Collection, 4.3.7.) who not only documented the still standing built remains but conducted a partial excavation near the chancel and apse of the church, also the buildings attached to it on the north.

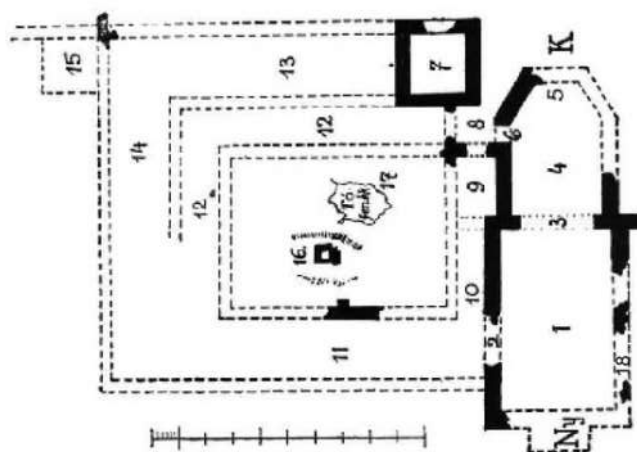


Fig. 4.3.63. Uzsá. The groundplan of the monastery of Uzsá. Based on Dornyay–Vigyázó 1934, 338.

Parts: 1. Nave; 2. Door to the cloister; 3. Chancel arch; 4. Chancel; 5 Apse; (it had pillars, see Thúry 2001, 263.) 6. Door; 7. Tower? Room of unknown function; 8. Tower? Staircase? (Thúry 2001, 263.); 9. Sacristy?; 10-14. Corridor and cloister wings; 15. Room of unknown function; 16. Ruined walls (cistern? Bell tower?); 17. pond/cistern. 18. There was no door to the west, only to the south, see Thúry 2001, 262–3.

The building suffered a great loss since the nineteenth century. (Fig. 4.3.64.) Although it was covered with mined basalt, it was protected against demolition, however the mechanical impact of mining definitely accelerated the destruction of the walls.



Fig. 4.3.64. Uzsá. The drawing of Iván Ádám of the (minimum) two-storey, eastern and northeastern part of the monastery, dated to 1881. See Fehérvári 1979, 206. Fig. 2.

The terrain, however, in some areas has the same proportions as before. Although the northern and western part of the monastic area is strongly modified and archaeological remains were most probably destroyed by the quarry, it is still visible at the end of the narrow plateau, where the monastery was built, that the building had a door there and probably stairs led to the valley below from that door (ca. 10-15 meters elevation). In the valley a small water-resource-management facility was established in the mid-twentieth century, which is supplied by the very same spring that served as the water resource for the Paulines as well. This most probably supplied a fishpond here or moreover, even a complex system of ponds could have been there to the west, where the valley's elevation gradually decreases. (Fig. 4.3.66.)



1.



2.



3.



4.



5.



6.



7.



8.



9.



10.



11.

Fig. 4.3.65. Uzsa. Photos of Uzsa, Holy Spirit monastery. Taken by the author, 25-09-2023. 1. The remains of the surrounding stone fence in the northwestern corner. 2. the ruins of the church, photo taken from the outside, at the northwestern corner. 3-4. The ruins of the church, photo taken from the western side. 5. The southeastern corner of the apse, from the outside with a weather-board/ledge at the bottom. 6. The northern wall of the nave and the remains of no. 8. tower, photo taken from the southeast of the ruins. 7. The texture of no. 8. tower's eastern wall, below a load-bearer arch. Photo from the east side. 8. the ruins photographed from north, the northern facade of the northern nave wall, also the apse and the probable tower. On the east, at the edge of the plateau, the remains of a door, which led to the fishpond in the valley below the plateau. 9. The valley below the plateau of the monastery. 10. The door and next to it the fragment of the stone doorstep. 11. The cut of the remains of the door, photo from south.

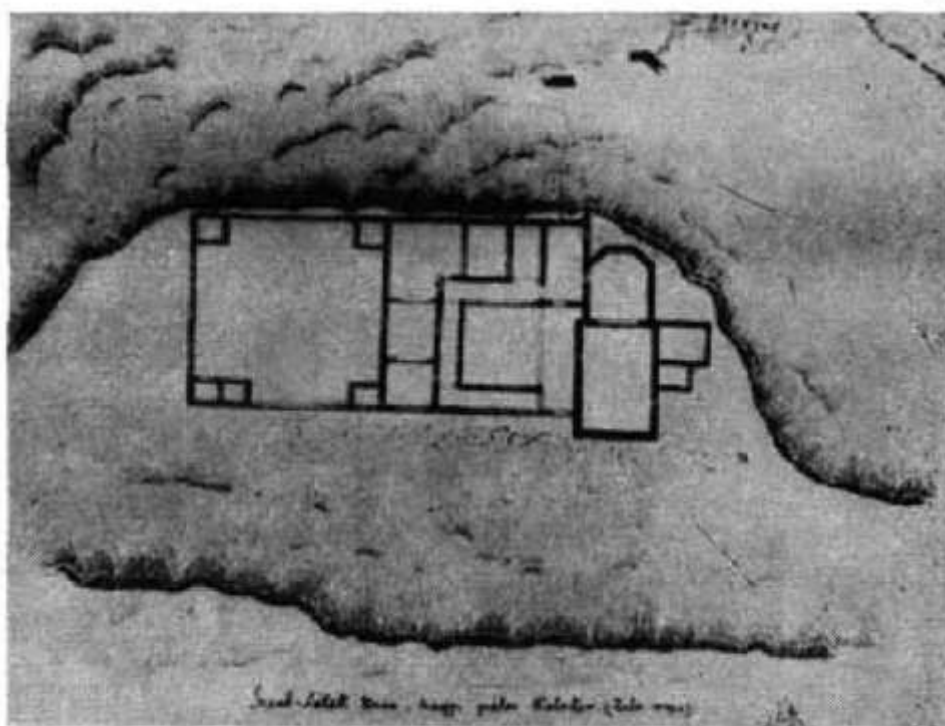


Fig. 4.3.66. Uzsa. The ground plan and the terrain (terraces) around the monastery of Uzsa, based on the drawing of Ádám Fehérvári 1979, 205. Fig. 1.

The monastery was founded most probably by the Uzsa family, perhaps at the beginning of the fourteenth century, just as scholarship claims. However, it is not entirely clear what is the basis of the dating and why the monastery does not appear in the sources, only in 1392 first. Most probably, just like possibly Henye or Vállus, it was part of the late-Angevin era's flourishing foundations.

Properties and the region of Uzsa monastery

The monastery is just seemingly hidden in the woods, far from every worldly noise; in fact, it was true on the level of the immediate monastic space, but not in a broader region. The monastery was located near a *magna via* (ca. 2-3 km), also the Balaton⁵⁸³ (3-5 km), due to its large, medieval extension. This probably did not make the monastery a remote and uneasily sustainable property, however, at some point it must have been inadequate for the Paulines since it was given up by them in the mid-fifteenth century.



Fig. 4.3.67. *Uzsa*. The Balaton's probable max. water coverage in the area of *Uzsa* and *Vállus*. Beside the hemritages and monasteries (white dot), the known churches (probably settlements as well) are marked. Base map: First Ordnance Survey.

There is an interesting relation between three monasteries in the region. First, in 1392 *Uzsa* received a mill on *Egregy* stream near *Diszel* (mortgaged for 200 florins first, later donated by *Nicholaus*, son of *Martinus de Dyzel*), which was in its possession until 1442, which after the monks at *Kőskút* received it. In 1487, the Prior general ordered this one-wheeled mill to be in the possession

⁵⁸³ Rómer, "Romanesque," 50–51.

of the Paulines in Sáska, since probably Kőkút was also left by the Paulines not long before. (See Chapter 4.3.2.)

There always were a lot of mills on Egregy stream in the Middle Ages and early modern period (Chapter 4.2.2.), but probably their location was changing from time to time – anyhow, it is unclear where to locate the specific Pauline mill. The only possibility was to use the First Ordnance Survey in the question, which definitely includes mills in and near Diszel. (Fig. 4.3.68)

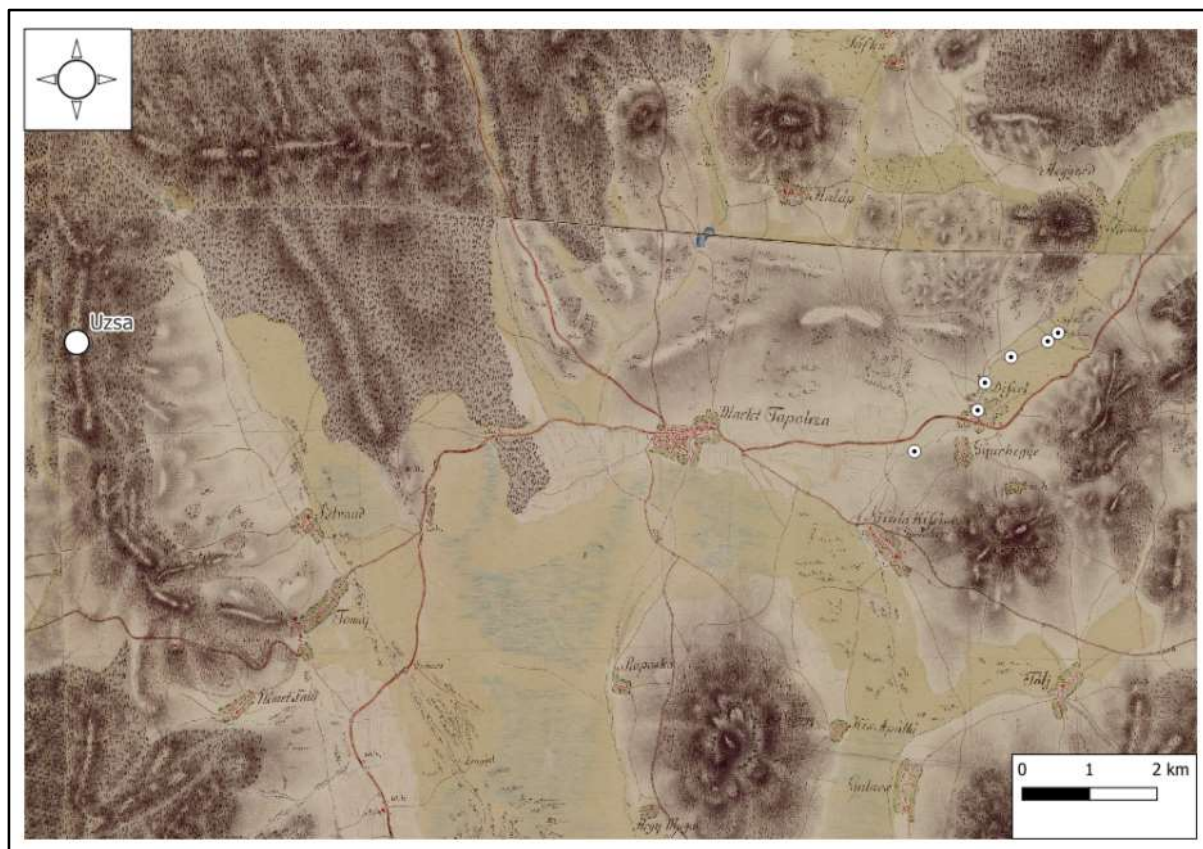


Fig. 4.3.68. *Uzsa. The mills near Diszel on the Egrecy stream.*

The charter issued in 1487 and transcribed in the eighteenth century, clearly states that it was not only a one-wheeled mill, but it was located near Diszel - however, in the *Inventarium* it is located in the district of Tapolca. If this was not a mistake, then it probably helps to locate and maybe identify this mill with the one that is in between Diszel and Tapolca on the First Ordnance Survey.

The half of a mill whose donation was reconfirmed for the Paulines in 1406 was another mill that was given to them on the Egrecy stream. This could mean that the monastery was expanding its possibilities in regards to their income, which was more a monetary-based economy in the fifteenth century; however, forty years later the monastery was abandoned by the monks, it was improper (or insufficient?) for them (See Chapter 7. summary on the Balaton Uplands).

Probably the Franciscans were not settling in the monastery after 1442, or just only for a while, nor did the Paulines appear there again. One of the known assets, the one-wheeled mill on Egregy stream was used by the monastery of Kőlkút, afterwards (1487) by the monastery of Sáska, which can be interpreted as the monastery of Uzsa had been abandoned for forty years because if anyone would have settled in the buildings, then the old or even new assets and properties were necessary for the supply of the monastery.

Although the forty years of abandonment is just an indirect conclusion, there is another data that helps to articulate this time period in the history of the Paulines at Uzsa. Johannes Marczaly in 1455 offered the possession of Nyavalyád to the monasteries of Uzsa and Enyere (!), but if the former is not resettled (!) again by the monks, its part of the possession should be received by the parish of Hosszútót.⁵⁸⁴

It might be noteworthy to highlight that in the second half of the fifteenth century, somehow the noble family of Hosszútót appeared among the landlords in some parts at Uzsa, most probably possessing the second part, which was owned by Nicolaus of Törek in 1333, so it is slightly possible that a kind of link was between the locals of Hosszútót and the Paulines.⁵⁸⁵

Nyavalyád praedium was near Hosszútót, north of Sümeg, so far from not only Uzsa but either Enyere; however this was a type of possession, which was cultivated and managed by the local peasants and laborers of the households, who were part of the property. Thus, the presence of the Pauline monks was not necessary.

It is yet unclear what happened after 1455, whether the Paulines or the Franciscans inhabited the monastery, but it is definite that neither lived there from 1442. It might be a hint that in 1459 the Pauline prior of Enyere monastery, who received the other half of Nyavalyád property in 1455, asked King Matthias to transcribe and ratify the donation for the monastery – but not only the half, but the whole *praedium*.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸⁴ see Appendix 2/4.3.7.

⁵⁸⁵ See Holub 1933, “Uzsa”.

⁵⁸⁶ DL 14894. Johannes Marczaly first gave the whole praedium (the parts which were possessed by his brothers as well) to the Pauliens at Enyere in 1454, a year before the next version of the donation. Neither the monks at Uzsa, nor the parish of Hosszútót was mentioned or donated at that time. First King Ladislaus V (see DL 14931, the monks at Enyere placed a request a month after the donation that mentions Uzsa, 1455-03-21), later King Matthias fulfilled the request of Paul, the prior of Enyere monastery in 1459. Nota bene: this land (maybe only a part of it?), along with other properties, had been the bone of contention between the Gersei and Marczaly families; Johannes and his brothers were prohibited of them in 1447. It is interesting, why and how the Marczaly family did receive Nyavalyád later and finally gave it over in 1454. See DL 93085, later DL 93488 (1475-11-01), DL 20217; the origin of the legal battle: DL 92696 (1426-05-31); DL 92771 (1429-06-29);

If the Paulines were present at Uzsa at the time and (!) demanded their part in the *praedium*, this request would have been completed with their presence as well. Nevertheless, more on the late fifteenth-century history of the monastery at Uzsa can be revealed only after an archaeological research of the area, maybe it could identify the traces of inhabitation there.

Further, but indirect and distant data in time is available for the research, regarding the properties near the monastery. Possibly meadows or arable lands were near Uzsa that were farmed by the monks. One of such could be the meadow, called Monk's meadow even in the nineteenth century (see before Chapter 4.3.5, *Idegyszt...*), which was only ca. 1,6-2 kms from the monastery. (Fig. 4.3.69.)

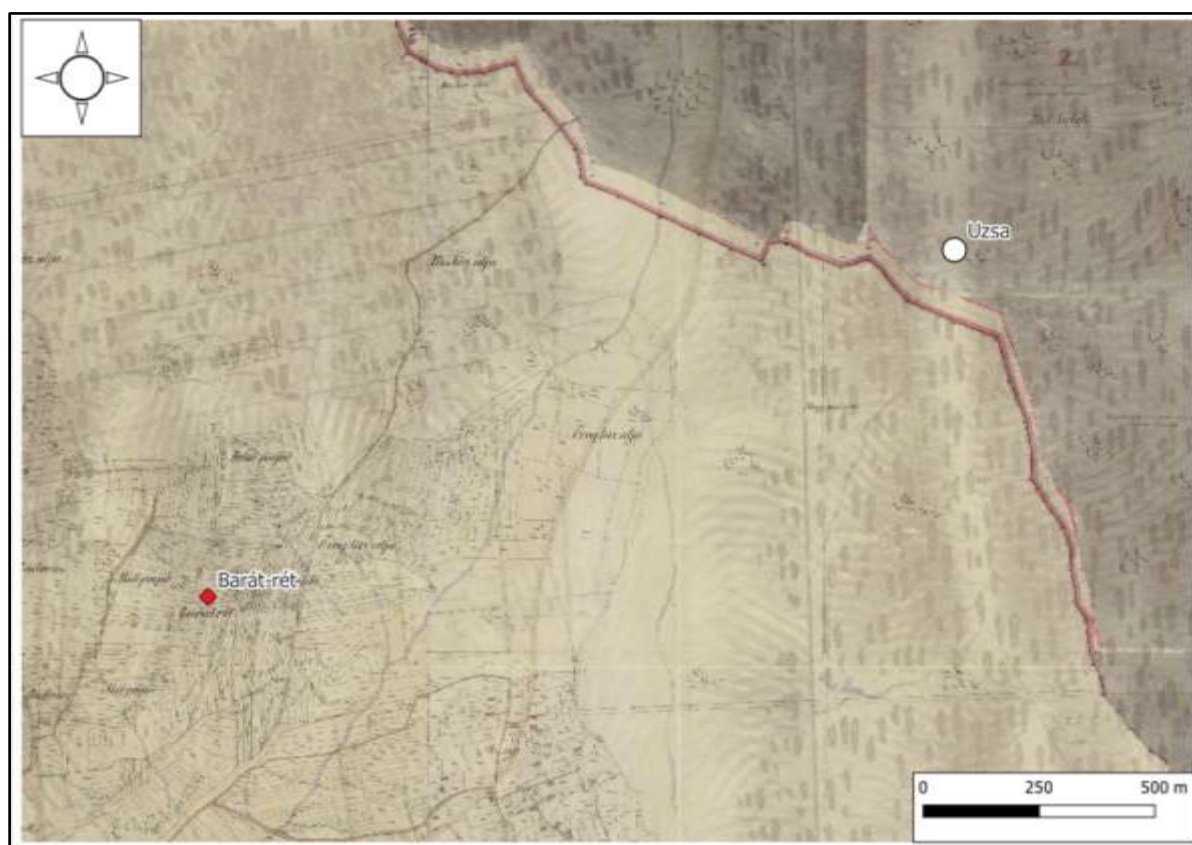


Fig. 4.3.69. Uzsa. The area of Barát-rét, Brother's/Monk's meadow north-northwest of Zsid.

It is noteworthy to highlight that the parcels (hay meadows and arable lands) that Vállus monastery had, were also located in Zsid (Chapter 4.3.8. and Appendix 1/4.3.8.), but there are 8 kms between Vállus monastery and Monk's meadow. It is more probable that at Zsid, besides the several different possessors, not only the monks of Vállus, but also the Paulines of Uzsa were owning properties.

Since there were many parts of Uzsa, called in different names in different periods of the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries, Szentlélekuzsa (mentioned in 1572, in an Ottoman defter),⁵⁸⁷ meaning Holy Spirit Uzsa was probably called like it because it was in the area of the monastery or probably it was a small settlement attached to the Pauline monastery before.

4.3.8. Vállus, St. Nicholas Monastery

Vállus monastery is one of the clearly developed but in written sources absolutely underrepresented locations in Pauline history. It is a typical place which will reveal its secrets through excavation and via the collection of data on the surroundings. Not only the results of the archaeological finds and object, but a brief view of the properties and the broader monastic landscape was possible.

The monastery and its research

At Vállus, first Tamás Guzsik identified the area of the monastery, near the spring of St. Nicholas. Recently, since 2016, Livia Simmer and Bálint Havasi have started excavations as part of a community archaeology project.⁵⁸⁸

Their aim is to fully excavate the monastic buildings, to document its ground plan and to identify all the medieval heritage of the Pauline community here. Numerous interesting results and data, including carved stone water canal inside the monastery, lay and clerical burials and a variety of finds, amaze the researchers each year. Not only a part of the cloister (including a sedile), but the late Gothic church and the sacristy was partially excavated since.



⁵⁸⁷ MRT 1, 110.

⁵⁸⁸ Livia Simmer–Bálint Havasi (2023), “A zalai pálos kolostorok régészeti kutatásának legújabb eredményei [The recent results of the research of Pauline monasteries in Zala]”, Conference paper, The heritage of the White Friars, 25 September, 2023, Zalaegerszeg. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw>

Fig. 4.3.70. *Vállus*. The carved stone canal (which tap the rain from the cloister garden to the outskirts of the cloister, near the chancel) and the sedile in the cloister. Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed:20-12-2023)

The carved stones have been documented and analyzed by László Klinger recently.⁵⁸⁹ Two georadar surveys also revealed some parts of the monastery and a metal detecting survey uncovered some materials from the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries, including tools, which were daily used around the monastery (scissors, hooks, a depo of iron tools), but also specific materials related to the monks (book bindings, medieval pen holder, a lead seal/bulla). (Fig. 4.3.71.-72.)



Fig. 4.3.71. *Vállus*. Medieval tools (hoe, scissor, knives, a bell, a hook) Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed:20-12-2023)

⁵⁸⁹ Klinger, László (2023), "Faragott építészeti töredékek Vállus és Zalacsány- Örvényeshegy pálos monostoraiból [Carved monument fragments from the Pauline monasteries of Vállus and Zalacsány-Örvényeshegy]. Conference paper, The heritage of the White Friars, 25 September, 2023, Zalaegerszeg. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KAs7cr7TwVs>

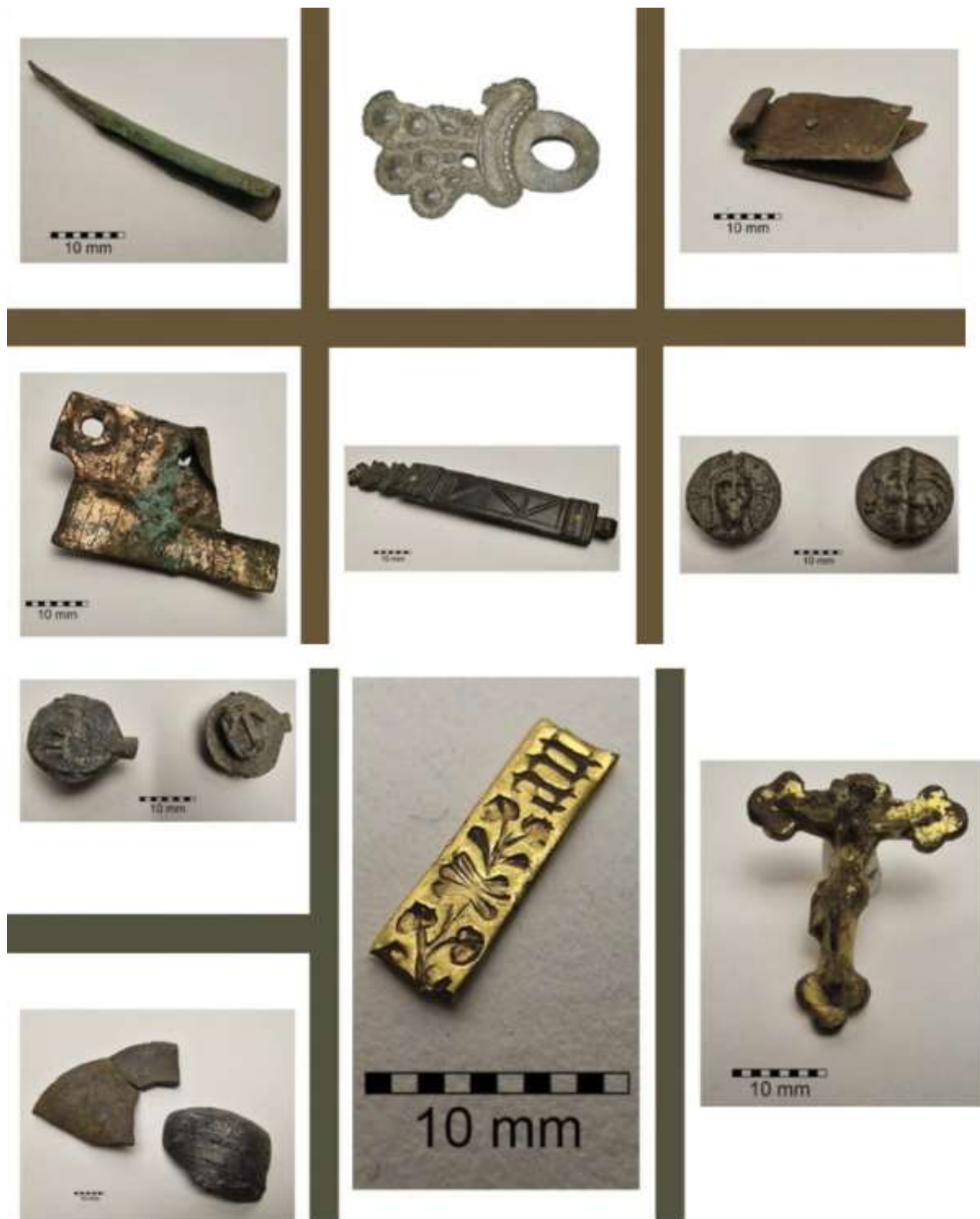


Fig. 4.3.72. *Vállus*. Medieval book bindings, probably cross pendant, lead bulla/seal, cloth seals, gilded and inscribed panel, a cross and corpus, and a small bell. Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed: 20-12-2023)

Recent excavations proved that before the Pauline presence, a Bronze Age, a Roman and a medieval/Árpádian settlement was located at the very same place. The earlier settlement was identified on the basis of several features: an *ossarium* with a large number of individuals, an early thirteenth century Viennese *denar*, a burial and a building on top of it (in superposition), also an earlier building below the sacristy. (Fig. 4.3.73.)



Fig. 4.3.73. *Vállus*. The Bronze Age settlement features, Roman fibulae, thirteenth century coin, buildings over burials, and early medieval (?) stone structures below the sacristy. Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed: 20-12-2023)

There is no revealed written evidence on it, however, as excavations prove at this stage, the monastery was built in the fourteenth century (Fig. 4.3.74.) and became uninhabited sometime in the fifteenth century (probably along with the monasteries of Salföld, Uzsa or Tálod), since it is not included in the *Inventarium* at the beginning of the sixteenth century – however, there is no direct, only indirect evidence for this.



Fig. 4.3.74. *Vállus*. The digital reconstruction of the monastery. Source: Havasi-Simmer 2023. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YEkSm1Y3maw> (last accessed: 20-12-2023)

Local topography and properties of the Pauline monastery at Vállus

The sources on the local properties might help to shed a light on the contemporary space. As Holub highlighted in his source collection on Vállus, most probably the Atyusz kindred owned this area. At the time of the foundation of Almád abbey (1221), Vállus (Walus) was owned by the widow of Bánd (Atyusz's father), called Gyönyörű [=beautiful, gorgeous] when she went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.⁵⁹⁰

As the charter defined, it was located between Zsid (today named Várvölgy) and Tomaj; in the First Ordnance Survey the settlement of Vállus is really close to Zsid, which may indicate that it was originally further to the east somewhere, although it is possible that the perspective in real space fits the localization of the medieval charter. (See Fig. 4.3.75.).

⁵⁹⁰ Holub 1933, "Válás", Magyar Nyelv 22, 1927, 364. The abbey possessed it in 1256 as well. HO 7, 59.

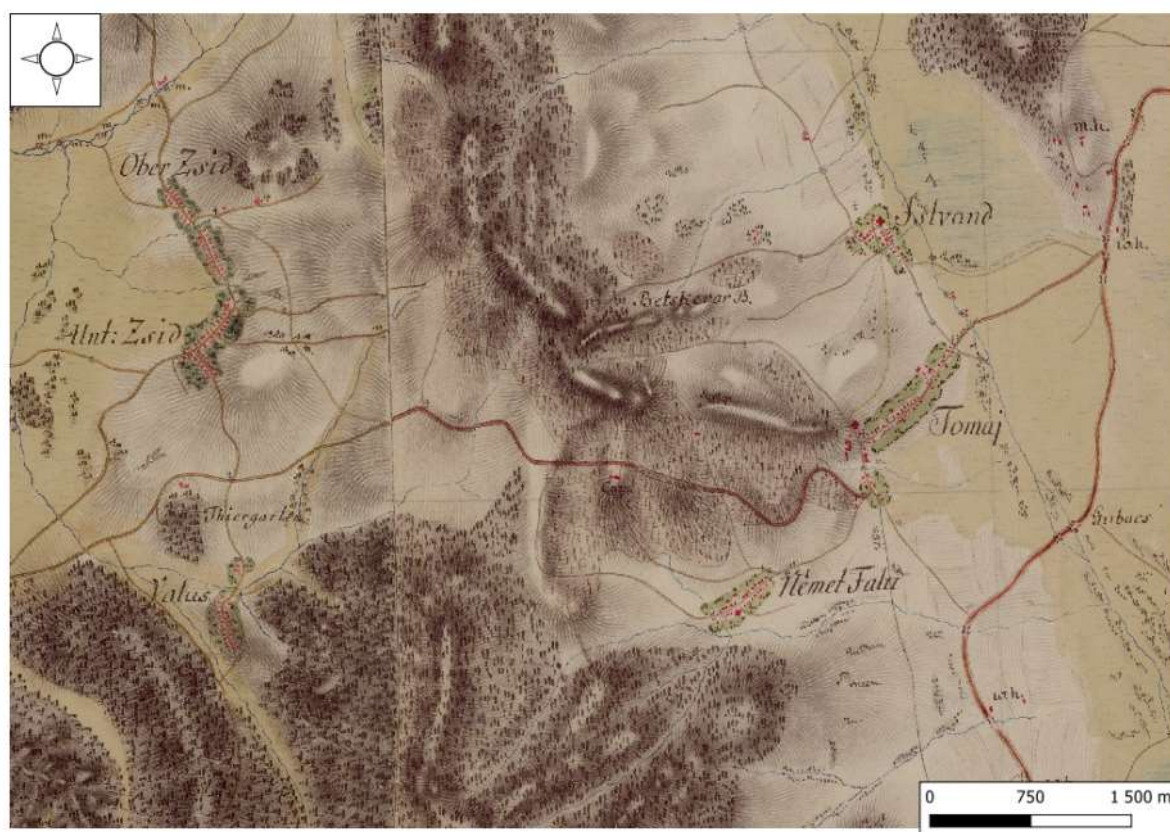


Fig. 4.3.75. *Vállus*. The local topography, Zsid, Vál[l]us and [Lesence]Tomaj on the First Ordnance Survey.

The Atyusz kindred most probably still had some lands, properties here since a debate is documented between the Atyusz kindred, represented by Csaba *comes*, and Tiba *comes*, the member of Tomaj kindred in 1291. Tiba stated that huge parts of his possessions were occupied at Rezi and Zsid. The King ordered the perambulation of the two possessions, which did happen. In its report Csaba *comes* states that the forest of Vállus was not part of the property of Zsid (*...comes Chaba in una parte eiusdem de meridie erga possessionem eiusdem Valus vocate adiacenti prohibuisset super quadam quantitatem terre Cheten nuncupate et silva Valus dicta...*)⁵⁹¹

The forest's extension is unclear yet, but probably the debate was not over the whole, forested area (Fig. 4.3.76.), only its western-northwestern part, given the fact that it was thought to be of the property of Rezi and Zsid by Tiba. Anyhow, Vállus forest was not used by the locals afterwards, but the *servientes regis* at Keszthely – at least in 1359, when King Louis ordered the castellan of Hegyesd to allow them to use the woods.⁵⁹² Clearly, Keszthely was a royal town at the time and this data of

⁵⁹¹ HO 5, 79; HO 7, 244.

⁵⁹² DL 17628: ZO. I. 583, no. 5291; Zala vármegye története I, 601, no. 380; Holub 1933, "Válus"; Zala vm. II. 276. (Festetics cs. lt.).

Vállus also justifies that the forest remained a royal property, at least after the reform of King Charles I (see Chapter 4.2.1.), as the asset of Hegyesd castle,⁵⁹³ which is located 15 kms to the east from the forest.

These secondary sources all lead to define the time-period of the settling of the hermits here at Vállus. They arrived to inhabit the Árpáadian settlement at Vállus while the forest was owned by the Atyusz clan (or Tomaj?), or probably sometime in the fourteenth century, when the area was a royal property; thus, the monastery of Vállus could have been a royal Pauline monastery, probably in the time of King Charles I.⁵⁹⁴ This would explain that the monastery was built out properly (including a water canal) and the finds are also numerous and were of good quality.

However, these are only indirect theories. The data connected to the Paulines at Vállus (two charters dated to 1429, see Appendix 1/4.3.8.) indicates only that the monastery had properties in Keszthely (*oppidum* from 1403) and Zsid, in the local region. In the charters the monastery of St. Nicholas is located *supra possessionem Valus*.⁵⁹⁵ The two documents were issued by two different chapters in two days. Kapornak (documenting the testimonies in regards of Keszthely) from Vállus monastery to the west, while Vasvár (issuing the testimonies concerning Zsid) is ca. 70 kms to the northwest.

Zsid, where the Paulines had many lands, was only 4 kms from the monastery. Assuming that the Pauline properties were located in the direction of the monastery, so south-southeast of Zsid, these lands were within a short distance, approximately an hour's walk from the monastery. This allowed the monks to regularly manage the lands themselves or by the help of their peasants/lay brothers/wageworkers at the monastery.

The center of Keszthely is ca. 9-10 kms from the monastery, while the boundary between them was approximately 5-7 kms from the monastery. This means that the 5 parcels, which were *sessiones iobagionales*, so parcels with tenant peasants, were far from the monastery through the forest and hills, within ca. 2 hours of walking. However, since their laborers lived there, the properties did not require daily or extremely regular visits from the Pauline monks or the people they commissioned. This means that in the first third of the fifteenth century, the Paulines of Vállus – at least on the very few sources – were mostly self-sustained, with a large number of local hay meadows

⁵⁹³ In 1359 and also in the fifteenth century, see for example DL 11793, ZsO 13, 229, no. 595.

⁵⁹⁴ A charter in 1336 mentions the boundaries of Vállus lands due to an exchange amongst two landowners regarding Vonyarc, the neighboring land of Vállus. In this charter the Paulines are not mentioned, which can indicate (probably) that they were not settled there at that time. DL 40725, AO 20, 284, no 383.

⁵⁹⁵ Zala vármegye története II, 462.

and arable lands, and partially were sustained indirectly by their few parcels and tenant peasants. The former also indicates that animal husbandry and arable farming had the largest role in the management and economy at the monastery of Vállus.



Fig. 4.3.76. *Vállus*. The forested area (coloured with dark brown) in the region of Keszthely, Zsid and Vállus on the First Ordnance Survey.

4.3.9. Hermitages and hermits in the Balaton Uplands

There are some hermitages at the Balaton Uplands, which were although inhabited for many decades, finally did not become part of the Pauline order. Three sites are worth for introduction in this region: Oroszkő at Tihany, Barát-lak (Hermit's shelter/cave) north of Balatonfüred (near medieval Arács) and Berény (near present-day Szárberény/Balatonalmádi). (Fig. 4.3.77.)

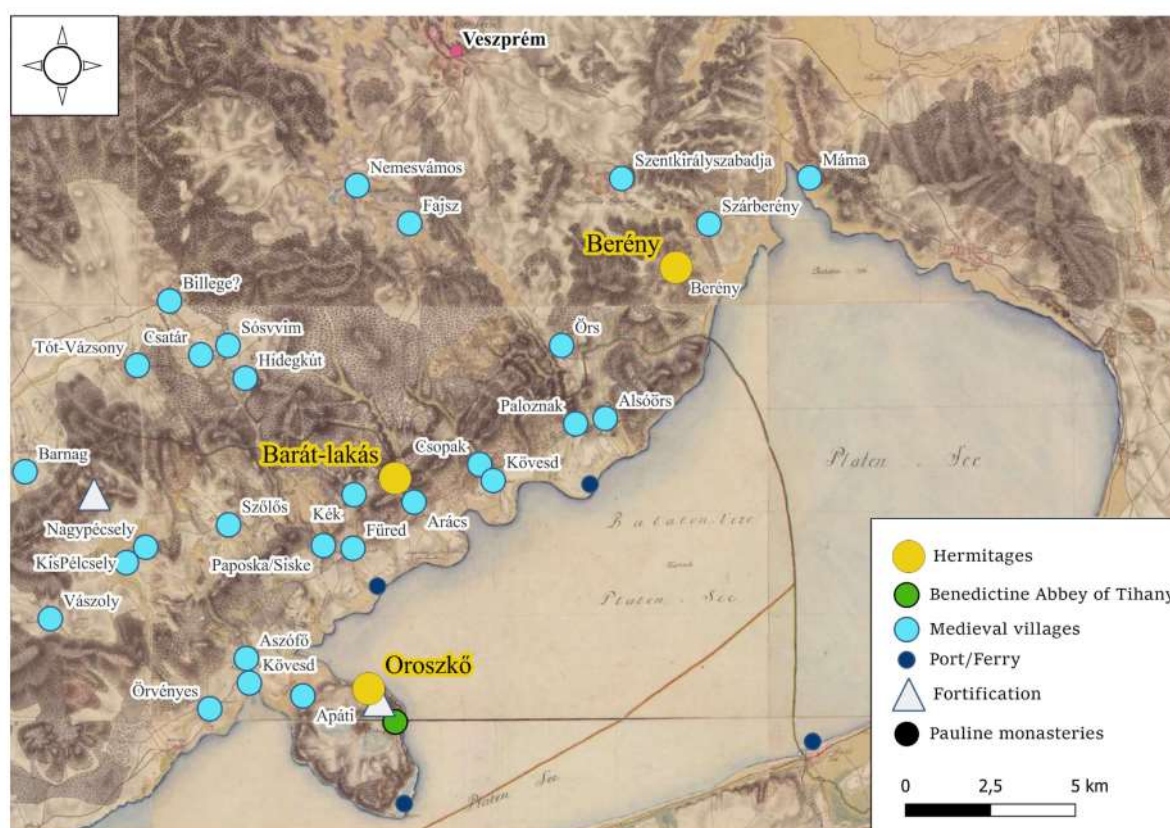


Fig. 4.3.77. *Hermitages*. The three hermitages on the northeastern region of the Balaton Uplands

Berény, the hermits of the Holy Cross

Only scattered written sources report on the existence of such communities, just like on the Holy Cross hermitage at Berény. A charter reports on the investigations of a series of brutal events in the region of Tihany, in 1318. Thomas, the son of Laurentius of Essegvár and his men committed numerous crimes; among several documented acts of ferocity and robbery, they also broke into the church of the friars of the Holy Cross (*keresztúri remeték*) near at Berény.⁵⁹⁶

After Emil Kisbán⁵⁹⁷, Pál Rainer summarizes⁵⁹⁸ that this definition, the hermits of the Holy Cross, was used by Cardinal Gentile in 1308 (*eremitaie S. Crucis*), but even in 1322 Pope John XXII called them *fratres S. Pauli primi eremitaie alias dicti de S. Cruce in Eremo*.⁵⁹⁹ So he argued that the conclusion of József Horváth, a late parish priest and episcopal librarian, was correct. Horváth was

⁵⁹⁶ ...ecclesiam eremitarum sancte crucis in silva eadem existentem? ville fecit de nocte frangi... DL 200097; Veszpr. Reg. 47–48, no. 89 and 90.

⁵⁹⁷ Kisbán I, 19.

⁵⁹⁸ Pál Rainer, “Szárberény és Kisberény története a középkorban” [The medieval history of Szárberény and Kisberény], in *Balatonalmádi és Vörösberény története* [The history of Balatonalmádi and Vörösberény] (Balatonalmádi: Almádiért Alapítvány, 1995), 143–146.

⁵⁹⁹ Kisbán I, 19; Hervay “A Pálos Rend eredete,” 62–63, on the whole issue see Chapter 3.

the first one who argued that this community was definitely part of that group of hermitages, who were believed to be named after the Holy Cross Monastery in the Pilis, the later Paulines.⁶⁰⁰

Rainer claims that Berény hermitage must have been a small community, which was founded after 1263 (since it is not mentioned in the inventory of the Bishop Paul), and was operating before 1318, when it was first mentioned as a robbed site. It is strongly possible that after the miserable event, the community just vanished and the monks were relocated into other monasteries. Perhaps the possessors of Berény, including the bishop of Veszprém were also not delighted about the settling of another community in the area, since the Paulines were exempt from the bishopric jurisdiction from 1309.⁶⁰¹

The ruins can be located by two other charters, issued in 1328⁶⁰² and 1380⁶⁰³, which mention *Rumluthighaz* and *Romlochekház* (meaning ruined ecclesia), which was south of Szabadi (today's Szentkirályszabadja) and west of Szárberény (today's Vörösberény, Balatonalmádi). Except some remains that were seen in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,⁶⁰⁴ only toponyms are helping the localization of the ruins: Remete-völgy (Hermit valley), Remete-forrás (Hermit spring), Remetelikak (Hermit holes, aka. caves, most probably where the “no name” label is on Fig. 4.3.78-79.) are all representing valuable clues.⁶⁰⁵ Also, in 1754 this area, called Kisberény, was leased from the Chapter of Veszprém by Szentkirályszabadja, which is the settlement north to Vörösberény.



Fig. 4.3.78. *Hermitages*. The Remete/hermit labelled features in the northwestern area of present-day Almádi.

⁶⁰⁰ Rainer (1995), “Vörösberény”, 144; he also argues that the community was labelled as Holy Cross, not the church/ecclesia, as some other scholars, like Tamás Guszik argued. Original argument Horváth (1979), *Vörösberény*, 18.

⁶⁰¹ Kisbán I, 20, 74-75.

⁶⁰² DL 2511; AO II. 377, no. 335.

⁶⁰³ DL 6742; Horváth (1979), *Vörösberény*, 21, 58.

⁶⁰⁴ Ila-Kovácsis 218, also in Rainer 1995, 145. See the details in Nagy Ny. (2000), *Pesty*, 206–208.

⁶⁰⁵ Rainer 1995, 145; Horváth (1979), *Vörösberény*, 18; MRT 2, 33.

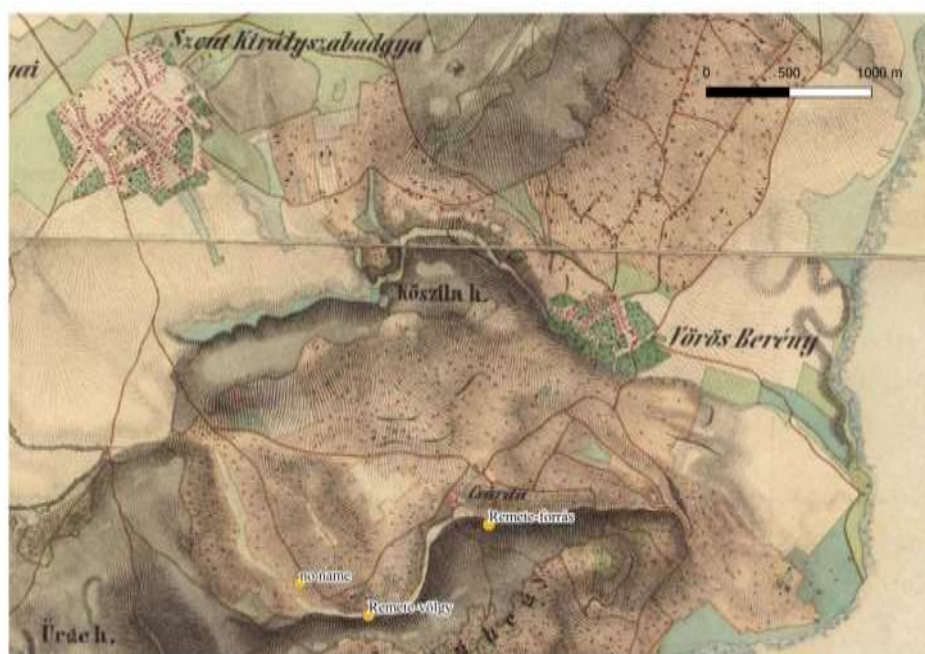


Fig. 4.3.79. **Hermitages.** Szentkirályszabadgya on the northwest and the hermit sites at Berény at the Second Ordnance survey.

It was laid down in the leasing contract that the lessee should build and maintain an inn for the travelers next to “Remete lakás”, which means Hermit’s cottage. This inn is visible on the Second Ordnance Survey (Fig. 4.3.80.), moreover, it is just next to the Remete-forrás, Hermit spring. Based on this evidence, most probably the ruins of the hermitage must have been in this small area.



Fig. 4.3.80. **Hermitages.** The most probable location of the ruins at Berény at the Second Ordnance Survey.

However, there are further data to be considered. The nineteenth-century inventory on the local toponyms in Hungary, including Veszprém County, were collected by Frigyes Pesty. This contains some information on the boundary toponyms of Szentkirályszabadja and Vörösberény. Based on this source, talented volunteer metal detectorists and local historians, Zsolt Kaszás and Krisztián Sütő (active in the region, see Chapter 4.3.1.), tried to identify the ruins as well.

They raised the possibility that the toponym at the edge of Szentkirályszabadja and Vörösberény-Almádi, named Apáca-fara and Apáca-kút [Nun's rump/buttock and Nun's well] would be the memory of the Holy Cross brothers.⁶⁰⁶ They identified the area (see Fig. 4.3.81.) and could document the remains of a pond.

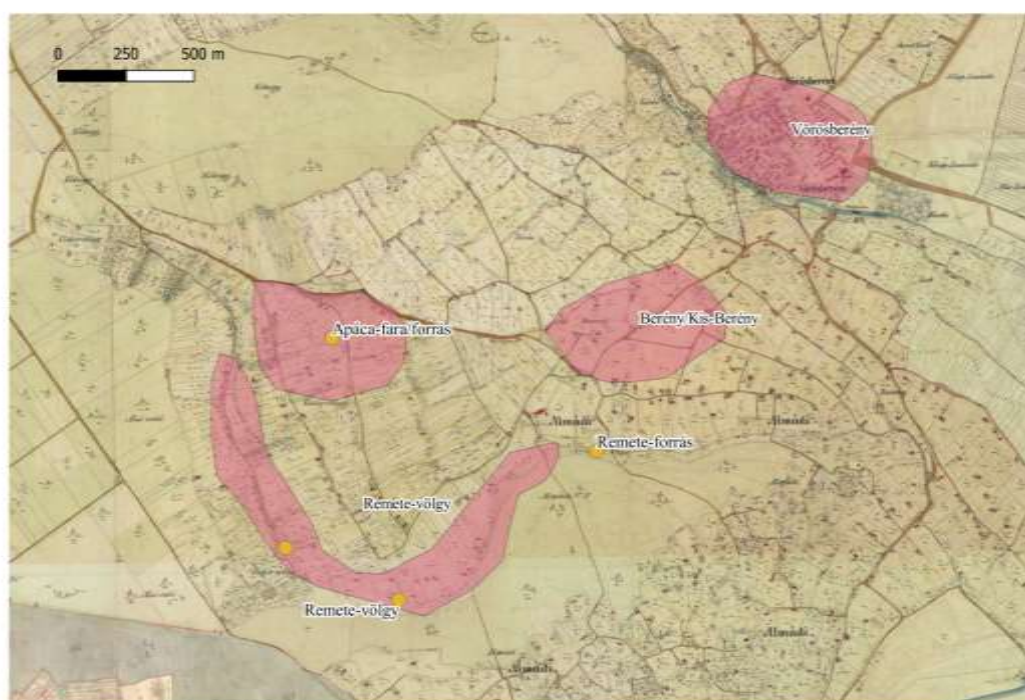


Fig. 4.3.81. *Hermitages*. The local medieval topography around Berény on the basis of the nineteenth c. cadastral map.

However, they might have misinterpreted the sources, since oral tradition claims that a nun lived there in a small monastery/house.⁶⁰⁷ The nun arrived from the nunnery of Veszprém-völgy, which was one of the landowners here. As the local tradition said, she tried to get rid of her baby here,

⁶⁰⁶ http://mcbubu.hu/idegsyt_beatae_elizabeth/ (accessed 22-04-2023)

⁶⁰⁷ They refer to sorhu, which is just the extended name of a file, provided by the Hungarian Name Archive. <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwic3Njxs7-AhXdhf0HHYw4AB8QFnoECD4QAO&url=https%3A%2F%2Fmna.unideb.hu%2Fpdf%2F042szentkiralyszabadja-sorhu.doc&usg=AOvVaw1ZSumBvYhw8v6eDj7QDZQM> (accessed 22-04-2023). It is also based on mostly the inventory of Frigyes Pesty, also other relevant sources.

in an abandoned place. The story is debatable and may even be related to the memory of monks and nuns in the region generally. Also, unlike the toponyms related to hermits, it does not add to the localization of the hermitage.

However, other concerning issues should be addressed in the case of Remete-forrás and -völgy. In the collection of Pesty, other ruins are mentioned, which were already protected as the remains of a sacred church in 1864 – but this was located at KisBerény. (Fig. 4.3.81.) Kaszás argues that this means that two churches should be searched in the vicinity of this area. One, which is mentioned near Berény/Kis-Berény, documented in Pesty and it is the same ruin that is in the leasing contract of 1784, and which was the parish of the village in the Middle Ages; and another one that was the *ecclesia* of the Holy Cross hermits, which should be near Apáca-fara. As Kaszás claims, the latter location would be a proper landscape for them since it is further from Berény/Kis-Berény, more enclosed than the ruins near Remete-forrás.

However, since there is no mention of any ruins at Apáca-fara, also Remete-kút, -völgy and -lak are three different toponyms all referring to the hermits, their signature features, I would argue that the ruins of the *ecclesia* of the Holy Cross hermits must have been around this area, close to KisBerény, rather than at Apáca-fara. But an important issue was addressed by Kaszás: where was, if there was a parish church of KisBerény, standing separately from the St. Martin church at Vörösberény?⁶⁰⁸

Modern KisBerény and VörösBerény were the very same settlement in the Middle Ages, called Beren or Szárberény. A legal battle over the possession between the Chapter of Veszprém and the nuns at Veszprémvölgy led to the division of the village around the end of the fourteenth century, when KisBerény is even mentioned first in this form.⁶⁰⁹ Also, in the medieval charters, for example the one of 1318, only the parish of Szárberény is mentioned (beside the *ecclesia* of Holy Cross hermits), which church was dedicated to St. Martin of Tour. Thus, it seems to be obvious that there was no individual parish of KisBerény, it was actually not an individual *parochia* at the time. However, it could happen that the ruined church (as it is mentioned several times in the fourteenth

⁶⁰⁸ Kaszás found a perambulation from 1339 in which a *cinterem* - churchyard is mentioned, but without any location that could be identified. However, he believes it is not related to the St. Martin parish, but to the church of Kisberény, around the Remete-forrás or maybe the church of Holy Cross near Apáca-fara. http://mcbubu.hu/idegsyt_beatae_elizabeth/ Original charter: DL 200865;

<https://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/view/33161/?pg=24&bbox=526%2C-2057%2C2050%2C-1061>

I would argue that since there is no mention of any churches that can be related to KisBerény, that is why it must have been meant the graveyard of St. Martin church. However, as the text's context suggests, its location was in the direction of the ruined church. It is also possible (but not usual) that the ruined church at Remete-forrás was still used for burials.

⁶⁰⁹ The first mention of Kisberény is dated to 1401, see Csánki 3, 402.

century) was rebuilt or consecrated, possibly as the parish of KisBerény, which, therefore, was the very same ruined church mentioned in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *Summa summarum*, further investigations at the field should give more insight in the case of the Holy Cross hermitage.

The hermits at Arács

Arács is now part of Balatonfüred, but north to the medieval village, a mysterious area is located: here is the so-called Barát-lakás (=Hermit's cave/dwelling), laying north to the medieval village of Arács. (Fig. 4.3.82.) On the right bank of the Séd stream in Arács, at the junction of the Tamás and Sándor hills, the topographic surveys revealed potsherds dated to the Árpadian era. Marking this area, an inscription, namely “Barát-lakás” is written on a map dated to 1841 (Fig. 4.3.84.). According to the still surrounding local, oral tradition, there was once a monastery here.⁶¹⁰

The Benedictines at Pannonhalma and Tihany founded hermitages in their close vicinity, surely on their properties,⁶¹¹ although only a few written records of them have survived. Not in the case of Arács, here only the archaeological evidence and the local oral tradition, also the closeness to Tihany supports the correlation with the Benedictines.



Fig. 4.3.82. *Hermitages*. Barát-lakás, the hermitage north of Arács on the First Ordnance Survey.

⁶¹⁰ MRT 2, 42, site 6/17. (Reg. no. 7418)

⁶¹¹ The church at Arács was supported by both the Abbey of Tihany and the Arács Family in 1373. “... patronatusque ecclesie beate virginis in eadem Arach constructe.” (Zal. Oki. II. 91.)

An archival article from 1884⁶¹² describes that the remains of the built structures were preserved here, at Arács. It describes the surrounding area and refers to the place as a medieval Pauline monastery with a fishpond.

“The valley of Arács is formed by the Peter and Thomas Hills, with their constricted wooded slopes. Opposite the mouth of the [Arács] valley is a low-lying hill with bushy, stony ground: the Hermit’s dwelling. Four hundred paces from the point where the road from Peter’s Hill and Nostor and the road from Tamás Hill and Koloska divide. A Pauline monastery once stood on this spot. The monastery belonged to the Prioratus of Vörösberény. The monastery was destroyed when the abolition of the Paulines was ordered by Emperor Joseph II. Today only its foundation is visible. It is interesting to note that the new bathhouse in Füred was built in large part from the stones of the monastery. Under the monastery there was once a lake, artificially created [...] It was probably a fishpond. Today it is a meadow...”.

The fishpond was visible on the First Ordnance Survey (Fig. 4.3.83.), also a mill was next to it, moreover, the buildings were also highlighted on the map. Probably the dense number of Pauline monasteries in the Uplands created the reference to the monks in the oral history and the nineteenth-century article, or as it was suggested by the story of the monastery in text, the ruins near Berény were adapted to this location. It is possible that further archaeological surveys and a deep archival analysis could reveal more in the history of the hermitage. It would be crucial to date and analyze its possible relation with the Benedictines or even with the thirteenth-century eremitic movements

⁶¹² Fővárosi Lapok 1884. július. 02 / 154. szám. Also see https://library.hungaricana.hu/en/view/SZAK_BAKO_BalatonTudTanEredm_3_2/?query=lak%C3%A1s&pg=71&layout=s

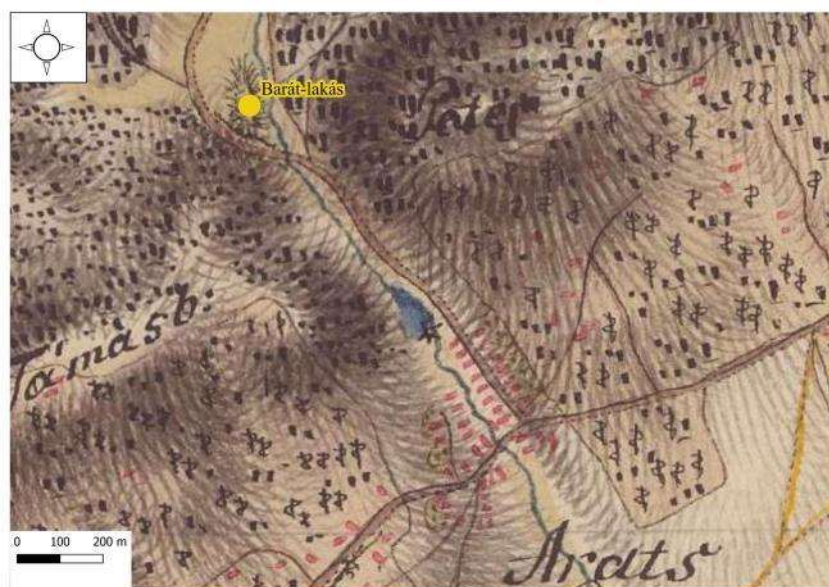


Fig. 4.3.83. **Hermitages.** The fishpond and the most probable place of the Hermit dwelling north of Arács, on the First Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 4.3.84. **Hermitages.** Barátlakás=Hermit cave/shelter on a map, 1841. Arács helység határának rajza [VeML XV 11 a T 377].

Oroszkő, the Hermit caves near Tihany

The hermit caves at Tihany were inhabited from the early eleventh century until the late Middle Ages, which is proved by archaeological material and excavation – written sources extremely rare about the hermitage. The name Oroszkő means Russian stone, which usually refers to Eastern Christian presence. In this case most probably from the Rus were monks invited and settled by King Andrew I, who also founded the Benedictine Abbey of Tihany in 1055. The remains are unique in a sense that

the dwellings were carved into the hillside, into the local tufa stone. The written sources mention the St. Nicholas hermitage in 1211, between 1267 and 1329, lastly in 1390.⁶¹³

Although it is absolutely not related to the Paulines, the eremitic tradition at the Balaton Uplands is represented by the dwellings at Tihany, which is why it was introduced in the present work. Most probably the Eastern Christian monks/hermits here were replaced by Western Christian inhabitants, which would suggest a spiritual connection with the thirteenth-century hermitages in the close vicinity. However, this could be true only in the case of Arács or Berény, since the other known (!) hermitages were much further from the dwellings than these two hermitages, also surrounded the Benedictine Abbey of Almádi.

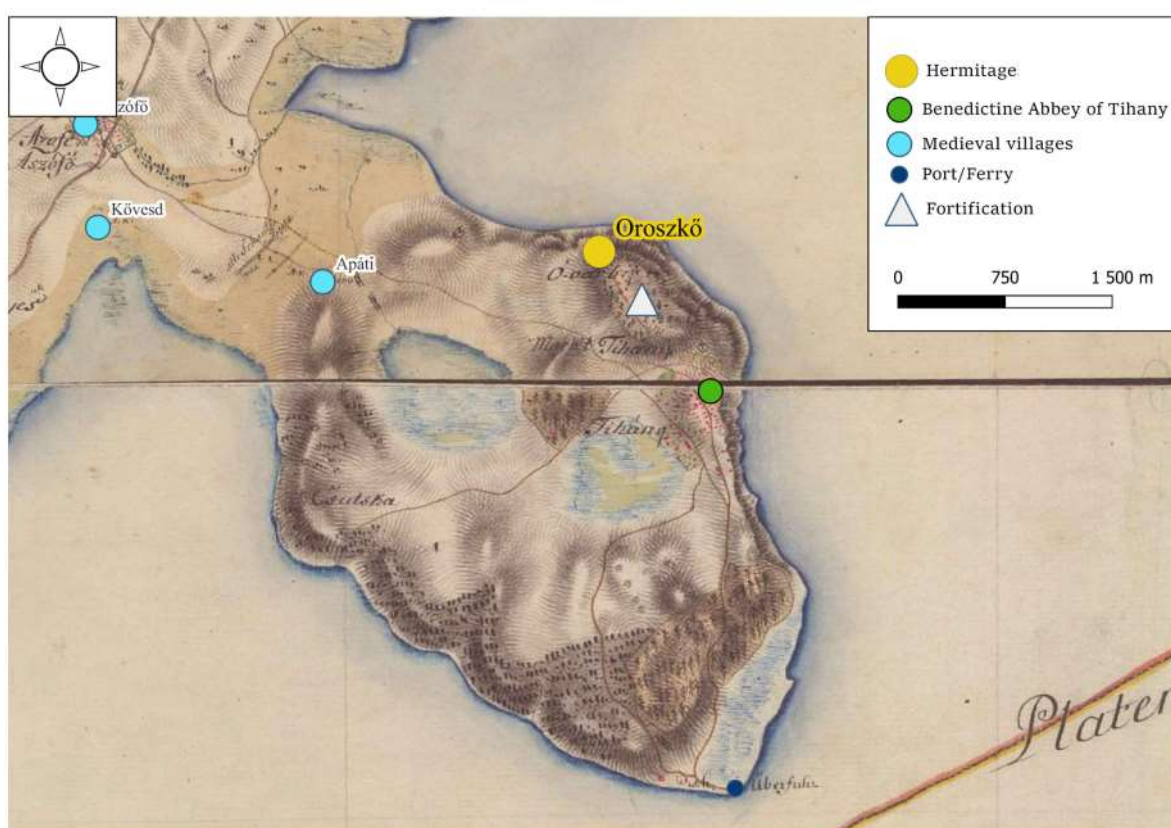


Fig. 4.3.85. *Hermitages*. The hermit dwellings at Tihany.

⁶¹³ MRT 2, 194, site 45/3. For the written sources see ERdélyi 1908, 133, 134, 136, 26, 27.



Fig. 4.3.86. Hermitages. The hermit dwellings at Tihany. Photocredit: Áron Dömsödi, természetjaro.hu

CHAPTER 5 – THE PILIS AND BÖRZSÖNY FORESTS

5.1. Introduction⁶¹⁴

The Pilis Forest is regarded traditionally the founding place of the Pauline Order.⁶¹⁵ Eusebius, a canon of Esztergom, founded the first Pauline hermit community⁶¹⁶ in the 1250s next to Esztergom, near three caves and a spring close to the later Holy Cross Monastery,⁶¹⁷ present-day Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta. Not so later, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, this focus shifted southeast to the Pilis, to Budaszentlőrinc, near the castle of Buda, which gradually became the most important royal seat of medieval Hungary.

However, it is less widespread that from the beginning of the Angevin era (first decades of the fourteenth century), the Börzsöny Forest became also an important part of the broader region, the *medium regni* (See Chapter 5.2.1), closely connected to the representation of royal power in the Danube region.⁶¹⁸ Although the river Danube divides⁶¹⁹ the Börzsöny from the Pilis, I argue that these two royal (and Pauline) regions were connected to each other at some levels; this is why the broadening of the study area was essential in this present work (Fig. 5.1.). The connection between the Börzsöny hills and the northern part of Pilis-Visegrád hills was revealed in different ways (mostly focusing on the connection between Nagymaros and Visegrád), but never analyzed in a detailed way before; they always represented two individual research areas in scholarship. However, the whole landscape of the Danube Bank, in the center Visegrád, was part of the symbolic presence of royal power since the beginning of the Angevin era, including royal Pauline foundations from the mid-1300s. However, at a certain level, as András Kubinyi, recently Katalin Szende highlighted, Vác was also part of this space, the eastern gate of the Danube Bank.⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁴ See the map in Chapter 1. Introduction, Fig. 1.1.

⁶¹⁵ VF, Cap. 6–7.

⁶¹⁶ As was discussed in the Introduction, despite the fact that the community was first referred to as the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit only in the fourteenth century (1308/1310, see Chapter 3), it is not inaccurate to call the first hermit communities in the Pilis Paulines as well.

⁶¹⁷ *prope Strigonium ... prope speluncam triplicem, quam ipse alias in coluerat, iuxta aquam vivam.* VF, Cap. 6–7.

⁶¹⁸ See Laszlovszky, József (2013). “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*. Eds. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky, 207–218. Budapest: Archaeolingua. This process most probably started with the foundation of Visegrád castle, so from the second half of the thirteenth century.

⁶¹⁹ The Danube was regarded as a strong, natural border between territories, i.e. it was part of the Roman *limes* system.

⁶²⁰ Katalin Szende, “Stadt Und Naturlandschaft Im Ungarischen Donauraum Des Mittelalters.” in *Europäische Städte Im Mittelalter*, ed. Opll, Ferdinand–Sonnlechner, Christoph (Innsbruck–Wien: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Studien Verlag, 2010), 365–397.

Regarding the geographical and administrative units (counties), or Pauline vicariates and ecclesial authorities, a strong variety appears immediately. These two regions were part of two different bishoprics (Veszprém Bishopric–Pilis, Vác Bishopric–Börzsöny), Pauline vicariates and even different administrative units, but regular connection between them (also in the medieval space as well, for example the space in the Vác-Esztergom relation as it was already mentioned) was disregarding such boundaries. What were these routines, regular areas of connection and what were the indicators of it? What does this close interconnection mean in the sphere of the Paulines? In the present chapter, on the one hand the regional analysis is in the focus, disclosing the dynamics and the context of Pauline history and historical chronology. On the other hand, just like in the case of the other analyzed regions, I offer a detailed introduction and analysis of the monasteries .⁶²¹

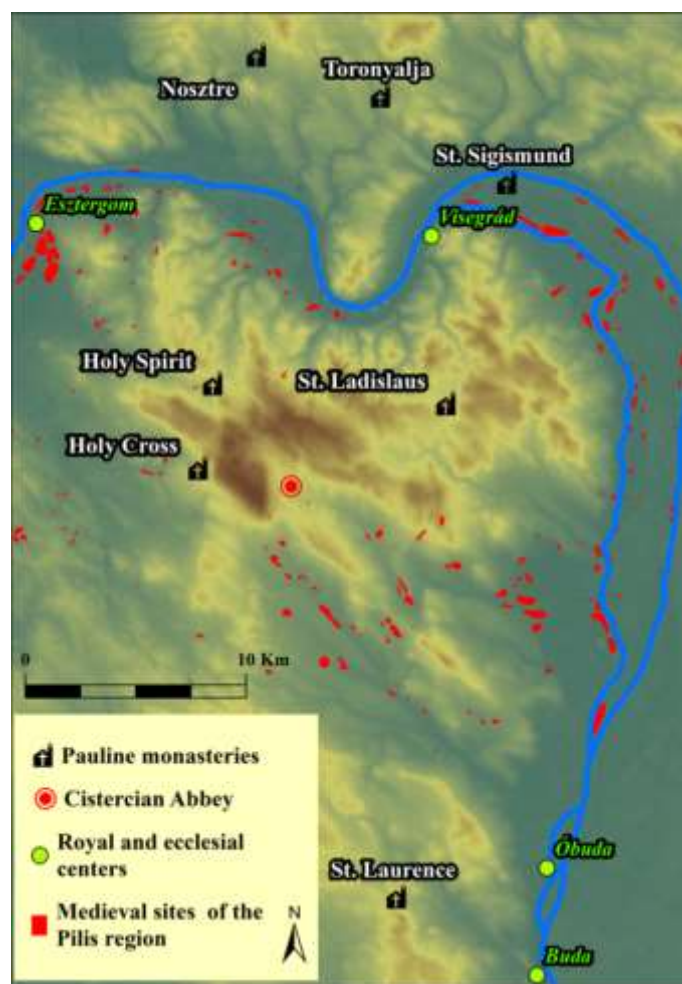


Fig. 5.1. Pilis-Dunakanyar. The Pilis-Visegrád hills and the southern area of Börzsöny hills. along with the known medieval topography, royal and ecclesial centers.

⁶²¹ Note that some parts, especially in Chapter 5.2.1-5.3.3., are the reevaluated and recontextualized texts of Pető, *Pilis*.

5.2. The Pauline cluster: historical and environmental context

Unlike the discussion of the Balaton Uplands, a chronological study of the events required a shift in the spatial focus of the narrative here, in the Danube Bend. The Pilis Forst (Dunazug hills) is the place of the beginnings of the Pauline order and the end of unorganized eremitic life. The aim of studying it was to understand the site-selection of the hermits here, compared to the other regions, and also to outline the development and late medieval status of the monasteries. All the known medieval features of the area, including settlements (from royal and ecclesial seats to villages) and roads, or even invisible spatial features, also the local Pauline monastic space were sufficient data used in the analysis.

Visegrád, on the north of the Dunazug hills also on the bank of the Danube riverbank, was not only a royal center since the mid-thirteenth century, but it was also the center of Pilis Forest County at some point and the regional Pauline relations also shifted into this area; first through the monastery of Kékes (Chapter 5.3.3.) at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Although the Pauline center moved next to Buda, in the time of King Louis I, the complex royal residence at Visegrád emerged in the region, integrating the southern area of the Börzsöny hills. In the present respect, it is marked by the foundation of the amply endowed Márianosztra and the much smaller *filia*, Toronyalja monasteries. This is why the region is discussed in this context, along with the monastery of St. Sigismund, which was a manifestation of the revived royal landscape and representation by King Sigismund.⁶²²

5.2.1. *The Heart of the Kingdom –The Pilis Forest and medium regni*

Geographically, the Pilis-Visegrádi-(or Dunazug-) hegység is bordered by the Danube on the north and east, forming a large inverted triangle (400 km²). The longest side of the triangle (ca. 35 km) runs from the northwest to the southeast, along which lie the Pilis Mountains. Pilis Peak (meaning ‘bold’), 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. This is interesting because the name Pilis has Slavic origins, meaning a bare, plantless area. Connecting the origins with the noticeable bareness of the mountain, an active Slavic presence should be noted here.⁶²³

⁶²² See later for example Illés Horváth,

⁶²³ There are no other remains or evidence for this, except the name of Visegrád on the Danube bank, which means “high castle” in Slavic language. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 93.

presence of royal power, where monasteries were the spiritual features of royal representation and dominance from the late Árpáadian period. Furthermore, the development and impact of the Paulines can be examined from its beginnings (including the vague circumstances of their foundation), with special regard to the connection between the royal power of the Hungarian kings and the emergence of the Pauline Order. Considering these phenomena, research on the Pauline monastic space has a complex meaning in this area, which, by understanding it, reveals several layers of medieval royal and ecclesiastic history.

The Pilis Royal Forest is an ideal area for complex studies; it has already been examined by great scholars, but as a forest, in its medieval boundary, generally by Péter Szabó.⁶²⁴ During the Ottoman occupation, this territory—just as the wider area of Buda—was destroyed and deserted, so the medieval state of the space survived until the end of the Ottoman period. Later on this territory was resettled by Slavic (mainly Slovakian and Serbian) peoples, but the woodlands of the Pilis were protected, i.e. no major settlements were allowed there, almost until today. This indicates that the settlement structure is—just as in the Middle Ages—dispersed. The road-network has largely changed in modern times, but the remains of the medieval *viae magnae* can be reconstructed, and also some scattered parts of the local, but highly important regional network system can be revealed.⁶²⁵

Medium regni and rex ambulans

A recent analysis of the term *medium regni*—used in medieval written sources—emphasizes the change in its meaning, arguing that in the Árpáadian Age it meant only the area around Buda (within a day's journey on horseback), the heart of royal and ecclesial power.⁶²⁶ However, it is dubious from certain aspects, for example that Buda was not that highlighted as its vicinity in the Árpáadian era; also although it developed gradually, but the royal presence was definitely significant in the area of Székesfehérvár (royal coronations in the Holy Virgin Basilica), Esztergom (the royal and archbishopric seat) and at Veszprém (see Chapter 4.2.2.). The characteristics of this

⁶²⁴ This summary is also based on his observations, most of the information was extracted from chapters ten through fourteen of Péter Szabó, *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary* (Oxford: Basingstoke Press, 2005), 93–117. Recently Szabó, 2016. Also see Pető, *Pilis*.

⁶²⁵ On settlements and roads see Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, also Beatrix F. 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.

⁶²⁶ Benkő (2015b), “In medio regni Hungariae,” 11–27.

*Residenzlandschaft*⁶²⁷—from the point of view of governmental institutions and centrality—were identified as the following:

1. It is closely connected to important ecclesial centers, and
2. the constantly developing centers of the royal court;
3. royal coronations and burials took place in its territory;
4. it was scattered with royal residences and houses where the kings were available on great Christian feasts.⁶²⁸

The *medium regni*, including the Pilis area and later (documented from the late thirteenth, but more from the early fourteenth century, see Chapter 5.3.4. chapter introduction) the southern slopes of the Börzsöny, was the most easily accessible territory of the Kingdom, the *locus communior regni*, which was surrounded by all of the important centers in medieval Hungary.⁶²⁹ Esztergom, the seat of the archbishop and an early royal center, is located to the northwest (1.).⁶³⁰ To the southeast is Óbuda, which seems to have been the focal place of early Hungarian leaders and kings until the first half of the thirteenth century (2.), when it was gradually 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 of the medieval kings of Hungary (3.). 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 early fourteenth century until the beginning of the fifteenth, when King Sigismund (1387–1437) emphasized Buda as the capital.⁶³¹ However, around Visegrád, another power center was established, which is definitely still in the heart of the royal landscape.

⁶²⁷ Klaus Neitmann, “Was ist eine Residenz? Methodische Überlegungen zur Erforschung der spätmittelalterlichen Residenzbildung,” in *Vorträge und Forschungen zur Residenzfrage*, ed. Peter Johanek. (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1990), 11–43.

⁶²⁸ Benkő, “In medio regni Hungariae,” 11.

⁶²⁹ The idea was introduced by Bernát Kumorovitz 1971, 44—53; Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 87;

⁶³⁰ ÁMTF 2, 246–247.

⁶³¹ András Kubinyi, “A király és a királyné kúriái a XIII. századi Budán” [The curiae of the kings and queens at Buda in the thirteenth century]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 89 (1962): 160–171; András Kubinyi, “Főváros, rezidencia és az egyházi intézmények” [Capital, residence and ecclesial institutions]. *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Évkönyv* 1 (1994): 57–70; András Kubinyi, “Előszó. Az ‘ország közepétől’ a fővárosig” in *Medium Regni*, ed. Gergely Buzás (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1996/2004), 5–8; András Kubinyi, “A királyi vár és lakói a középkorban.” *História* 9–10 (2002): 14–18, (Last accessed: January 22, 2018), <http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/en/tartalom/historia/02-0910/ch04.html>.

Orsolya Mészáros, *A késő középkori Visegrád város története és helyrajza* [The history and local topography of the late medieval town of Visegrád] (Visegrád: MM Mátyás király Múzeum, 2009); Buzás, Laszlovszky, Mészáros, eds., *Visegrád Town*.”

There were royal *curiae* and manors in the forests (4.) because of the contemporary royal institutional system: most of the Árpadian era (mostly until the mid-1200s, or the last third of the twelfth century) was the time of the itinerant kingship⁶³² (*rex ambulans*), when there was no such thing as a capital of the Hungarian Kingdom. Instead “the king had repeatedly to reinforce and reaffirm his sovereignty over each particular urban or monastic community.”⁶³³ This system allowed the king to demonstrate his power in public by collecting taxes.⁶³⁴ and accepting gifts of honor and oaths of loyalty, rewarding them with new prerogatives or privileges or by settling disputes. This “ritual of *adventus regis* ... represented interactive symbolic actions beneficial to both parties.”⁶³⁵

The institution of itinerant kingship was present until the last third of the twelfth century. It was a clear sign of its end when King Emeric (1196–1204) donated the royal palace to the archbishop first in 1198, with whom the Castle Hill of Esztergom was shared by the kings from the early ages of the kingdom. This donation was repeated later by King Andrew II and Béla IV (1256). From that time the transformation of a shared royal and ecclesiastical center to an ecclesiastical seat began and in parallel with it, the desperate need for a settled royal court arose: from the time of King Béla III (Father of King Emeric), Óbuda was a highly preferred royal residence from the late twelfth century.⁶³⁶

After the Mongol Invasion, King Béla IV founded the town of Buda, today’s Castle Hill. This process also led to the foundation of a new monastic network in the *medium regni*. Unfortunately, the lack of information on the meaning of the term in the fourteenth century brings uncertainty into scholarship, however, later King Matthias I (1458–1490) used *medium regni* as a geographical term by broadening the physical delimitations of it.⁶³⁷

⁶³² For more on this see John W. Bernhart, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Dušan Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000 - 1301)* (Oxford: Brill, 2011).

⁶³³ Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication*, 117.

⁶³⁴ Kubinyi, “A királyi vár és lakói a középkorban”.

⁶³⁵ Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication*, 117–118.

⁶³⁶ Kubinyi, “A királyi vár és lakói a középkorban”. Even Frederick Barbarossa had once been a guest of King Béla III at Óbuda, also at Esztergom and in the royal curia at Csepel-sziget in 1189, when he led the Third Crusade. Recently see Enikő Spekner, *Hogyan lett Buda a középkori Magyarország fővárosa?* [Hogy did Buda become the capital of medieval Hungary?] (Budapest: BTM, 2015); Enikő Spekner, “Buda before Buda: Óbuda and Pest as Early Centers,” in *Medieval Buda in Context*, ed. by Balázs Nagy et al. (Brill, 2016), 71–91.

⁶³⁷ For more on the idea of *medium regni*, see the references in Benkő, “In medio regni Hungariae,” 3.

Pilis Royal Forest

The Pilis was a royal forest from very early on, (though the area was partially under the authority of Esztergom County),⁶³⁸ which is denoted by its first appearance in written sources: “a mention of it as the king’s very own forest in 1187.”⁶³⁹ However, before this it was the private possession of the Árpádians, which is marked several times in written sources, e.g., by the foundation of ecclesial institutions in the eleventh century. King Andrew I maintained strong ties with the Byzantine Empire, thus he founded a Greek monastery near Visegrád (1055).⁶⁴⁰ Also, a Benedictine nunnery was founded at Esztergom–Prímás Island with royal support around the mid-eleventh century;⁶⁴¹ and the provostry at Dömös was founded by Prince Álmos (1107), the brother of King Coloman (1095–1116) on a *regale allodium*.⁶⁴² These marginal foundations were followed by the presence of the Cistercians. King Béla III (1172–1196) in 1184 founded a Cistercian monastery near Pilisszentkereszt,⁶⁴³ which had a different property structure than the previously founded ecclesial institutions; it acquired small properties, while taxes, vineyards, and manufacturing – like glass-production⁶⁴⁴ – partially supported its daily life. The foundation of the first western Christian monastery in the Pilis was followed by the three hermitages, later Pauline monasteries in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁶⁴⁵

⁶³⁸ Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Ceperuntque simul claustralem ducere vitam. A pálos rend és a Medium Regni kapcsolata” [The relationship of the Pauline Order and Medium Regni], in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén”* [Archaeological, art historical, and historical research “in the Middle of the Kingdom”], ed. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015), 756.

⁶³⁹ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 93.

⁶⁴⁰ Jennifer Lawler, *Encyclopedia of the Byzantine Empire* (London: McFarland, 2004), 44. On the excavations conducted there, see the Archaeological Database of the Hungarian National Museum: “Visegrád, Szent András monostor,” (Last accessed: March 23, 2018), <http://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/14308>.

⁶⁴¹ Zsuzsa Lovag, *Az Esztergom-prímás szigeti apácakolostor feltárása* [The excavation of the nunnery at Esztergom-Prímás sziget] (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2014).

⁶⁴² A fourteenth-century chronicle relates that King Béla I (1060–1063) died when his throne collapsed on him at Dömös. For more on the research, see: László Gerevich, “Dömös,” *Műemlékvédelem* 36 (1992): 73–80; also László Gerevich, “The Royal Court (Curia), the Provost’s Residence and the Village at Dömös,” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 83 (1983): 385–409.

⁶⁴³ László Gerevich, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* [The Cistercian Abbey at Pilis] (Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1984).

⁶⁴⁴ 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* [The Cistercian Order in Hungary and Central Europe], vol. 5, ed. Barnabás Guitman (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009), 191–208; Laszlovszky et al., “The ‘Glass Church’ in the Pilis Mountains,” *Hungarian Archaeology*, (Winter 2014): 1–11. (Last accessed: March 23, 2018), http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Laszlovszky_E14T.pdf.

⁶⁴⁵ NB, the concept of a Cistercian monastery surrounded by eremitic communities was not unique here, Beatrix F. Romhányi, for example, emphasizes the presence of Carthusians near Cistercian abbeys, like near Léoncel in France. F. Romhányi, “Ceperutunque,” 758.

The early history of the Pilis was dominated by a dense network of royal residences for the itinerant court beside the main residences; there is data that verifies the existence of hunting lodges or manor houses near Pilisszentkereszt (later the Cistercian abbey), possibly at Kesztlő⁶⁴⁶ (later the Pauline Monastery of the Holy Cross), probably at Pilisszentlászló⁶⁴⁷ (later the Pauline Monastery of St. Ladislaus), but most definitely at Pilisszentlélek⁶⁴⁸ (later the Pauline Monastery of Holy Spirit). The existence of most of these residences that would become monasteries is based on written sources and the assumption of scholarship, but in the case of Pilisszentkereszt and Pilisszentlélek, their use as hunting lodges can be demonstrated by archaeological data.⁶⁴⁹ Most likely, these royal houses later were operating next to the *clausura* because they were a suitable space for the royal court (See Holy Spirit Monastery, Chapter 5.3.2.).⁶⁵⁰

At Klastrompuszta, István Méri identified some walls and carved stones from a building earlier than the monastery, that might be the remains of an earlier monastery or a royal manor. At the same time, Júlia Kovalovszki warned that the relationship between the two buildings might not be straightforward. Further archaeological research is needed for advanced conclusions. However, Elek Benkő recently argued that it must have been the territory of the Chapter of Esztergom since they had property there before.⁶⁵¹

It is almost unnecessary to highlight the beneficial aspects of being close to the king and his court on behalf of the monastic communities. However, from the perspective of sustenance, one aspect should be raised: the king could donate lands and properties only from his own possessions, which all had a very stable supply system – clearly an exceptional advantage. Therefore, these donations stabilized the first monasteries. The daily life of a newly founded community became sustainable and it has created a solid basis for the creation of a new order, the Pauline Order.

The Pilis had been transformed into a forest county by the thirteenth century, at the same time as the end of the custom of the itinerant kingship. The first appearance of the *comes* of County Pilis is from 1225 and there is data for *servientes regis*, a group of free warriors serving the king.⁶⁵² In

⁶⁴⁶ *palatium ... quod habebat in insula de Pilisio pro venationis requie*. VF, Cap. 18. Kovalovszki, “A pálos remeték Szent Kereszt-kolostora,” 173–207.

⁶⁴⁷ *domunculum lapidea venationi regum preparata*. Györffy, “Adatok,” 284.

⁶⁴⁸ VF, Cap. 21. Archaeological excavations here also confirmed the presence of earlier buildings, possibly connected with royal manor houses. Lázár, “A pilisszentléleki volt pálos kolostortemplom kutatása 1985-86”.

⁶⁴⁹ There are two additional places located by archaeological survey that may also have been hunting lodges. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 94.

⁶⁵⁰ Benkő, “Udvarházak és kolostorok a pilisi királyi erdőben,” 728–729.

⁶⁵¹ ÁMTF 3, 295.

⁶⁵² Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 94.

1285 we also found forest guards dwelling in Bogud.⁶⁵³ Other people in the service of the king also lived in the area, with specializations preserved in place-names. Several Kovácsi settlements are known, inhabited by smiths; one definitely was north of Pilis Mountain, between Pomáz and Pilisszentkereszt. Fedémes, which was named after the bee-keepers, was located southeast from here. Peszérd, southeast of Esztergom, was the home of the royal dog-keepers and Solymár, further to the southeast, was probably where the falconers lived.⁶⁵⁴ Not much is known about the physical extent of the forest; a part of its boundary was mentioned only once, at Csaba, today's Piliscsaba,⁶⁵⁵ but other data supports the idea that today's Pomáz to the southeast was located right next to the boundary as well.⁶⁵⁶

At this time, the role of the Pilis had changed – in parallel with the decreasing practice of itinerant kingship, the hunting lodges were all transformed into monasteries; first Cistercian, then Pauline. The Cistercians and the Paulines had a somewhat similar relationship with the Pilis Forest: the geographical position of the forest made it possible for the two orders to achieve a status peculiar to this region, since the Pilis was isolated enough to be an ideal, traditional location for eremitic and monastic orders, for monks living a secluded life, 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 of the monasteries located within the Pilis were royal foundations, as Péter Szabó states, demonstrates the royal interest in maintaining control over the monastic orders in the forest. The king himself visited these monasteries with his retinue, but “these places were more ‘hotels’ than ‘residences.’”⁶⁵⁷

By the middle of the thirteenth century, Pilis County was no longer simply an economic unit but had symbolic significance. Its *comites*, very far from being keepers and administrators, received their titles as a sign of royal *honor* and cared little about the woods. The 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 Visegrád⁶⁵⁸ by the wife of King Béla IV, Queen Mary, in the mid-1200s. In 1259 Béla donated “the castle with the

⁶⁵³ MES 2, 192, 207; ÁMTF 2, 583.

⁶⁵⁴ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 94.

⁶⁵⁵ *As ubi separate de sylua vestra Pilis vocata*. Perambulation of Csaba. Cod. Dipl. 5/2., 159–161.

⁶⁵⁶ In 1278, Ladislaus IV donated the village of Pomáz to his daughter; Pomáz was located below the Pilis Forest (*sub silva Pilis*) next to *castrum cum comitatu et district de Pelys*. Cod. Dipl. vol. 5/2, 160, 446; Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 94–95.

⁶⁵⁷ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95, 117.

⁶⁵⁸ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95.

county and district of Pilis” to the queen, which might have been motivated by the weak income of the county.⁶⁵⁹

After the death of the last Árpadian king (1301), a new era commenced in the life of Visegrád and the surrounding Pilis Forest. Until the 1320s, however, King Charles I, the new king, had more important issues to handle than the forests. At the same time, the importance of the region is well demonstrated by the fact that one of the most significant aristocrats of the period, Máté Csák, ruled his almost independent territory from the castle of Visegrád. In a similar way, one of the most vital political negotiations of this internal war period took place in one of the Pauline monasteries, at Kékes (Chapter 5.3.3.) in the Pilis forest near Visegrád.

In 1323 King Charles moved the royal court from Temes to Visegrád. From this time until 1366, the castellans of Visegrád used the title of *comes* of Pilis, then they became less and less interested in the county and the castellans ceased to call themselves *comes*. There was probably no need to demonstrate royal power in the county, because it was overwhelmingly present.

Alongside this system, noble magistrates were present from 1333, which was a sign of the new “noble” counties, serving as a balance to overwhelming royal influence and disregarding the symbolic power of the 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, King Sigismund addressed a letter to his apparently non-existing officers, the *comites*, and talks about *silva nostra Pilisiensis*, which still reflects 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, Pilis County was united with Pest County sometime in the fifteenth century.

Man and nature

In addition to the general history of the kingdom, the dynamics of the area are visible through the settlement system and road network of the area. Medieval people usually settled in the valleys and in general did not inhabit the depths of the Pilis Forest. Although this might seem obvious, as Péter Szabó points out, the reasons behind it may be very complex. The most influential of them was probably the existence of the royal forest; to reveal other reasons, however, multidisciplinary research

⁶⁵⁹ In 1263–1264 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.

is crucial – not just to attain a wider view, but as the sources relating to the earlier centuries are poor, archaeological-topographical research and spatial patterns are the basic sources.

Based on these sources, it can be observed that the dynamics of inhabited areas change through the centuries: there were many settlements in the eleventh century, and then the number decreased. This area 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 thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – an overall trend in medieval Hungary and also in Europe. However, there are two significant unique characteristics: contrary to other areas, where villages occupied hilly areas as well, here it cannot be demonstrated. Further, castles can typically be found on most peaks, as the hearts of private estates – such buildings were not built on the peaks of the Pilis during the Middle Ages. Among the reasons for these attributes the most significant one is that originally the Pilis area was the king's royal forest, with a private royal function (that is hunting and representation).⁶⁶⁰

On the Danube bank some settlements were located (Fig. 5.1.) where the Roman road had crossed the area. However, it is clear that the southern part of the Pilis Mountains was dotted with many more settlements that were 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.⁶⁶¹ This spatial attribute is rarely associated with other features, like royal manor houses or monasteries.

Another piece of the medieval picture of the Pilis Royal Forest has been revealed, namely, data on the natural environment. In the past decades little was known on the medieval environment. Generally, the area should have been covered with trees, although written evidence does not exist and quality maps are too late for present purposes. As archaeobotanical investigations (samplings at Pilis monastery) and written sources suggest, walnut was probably 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 many types, from the gardens of the monasteries and royal residences to the presence of different fruit trees in the woods.

⁶⁶⁰ József Laszlovszky, "Földművelés a késő középkori Magyarországon" [Land cultivation in late medieval Hungary], in *Gazdaság és gazdálkodás a középkori Magyarországon. Gazdaságtörténet, anyagi kultúra, régészet* [Economy and farming in medieval Hungary: Economic history, material culture, archaeology], ed. András Kubinyi, József Laszlovszky, and Péter Szabó (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2008), 49–82. Hereby I would like to thank József Laszlovszky for his related suggestions and important notes.

⁶⁶¹ 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 that can predominately be dated between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. They were found by archaeological field surveys but cannot be dated precisely. The number of these unmentioned settlements decreases after the thirteenth century. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 106–107.

Recently, as part of a countrywide environmental archaeological project, medieval floral data and some insights on the land cultivation was revealed of the Dunazug Mountains, led by Elek Benkő.⁶⁶² According to the assessed results, due to the increased human activity in the Árpáadian period the forest cover had been decreased and forest-steppe vegetation had formed up to the altitude of 500-600 meters. Oak was dominating, but in the northern areas, along the Danube and the valleys leading to it, more dominantly in the valleys of higher altitude, beech and hornbeam appeared. Cultivated lands were established near the settlements, used for cereal production, grazing, meadows, quarries, and paved roads. Also extensive pastures and meadows could be identified in the vicinity of the settlements. The revealed data indicates that the climate was balanced, mild and drier climate phases changed periodically.

In the late Middle Ages, as a result of open vegetation, wood patches also developed. At the same time, around the Pauline monasteries, a closed forest survived, indicating that the monks have exploited the woodland less than the communities of other monastic orders and maybe used the areas along the ponds and streams for animal husbandry. Also, a large number of relicts connected to water management could be revealed, which – as the authors explain – can be explained by the special needs of the central region of medieval Hungary as well as by the technical development required for satisfying those needs and available partly via specialists from abroad. Every monastery had a pond suitable for milling and fishing –many of these were created as parts of those royal manor houses, which were the antecedents of the monasteries.

5.2.3. *The Emergence of Pauline Monasteries in the Pilis region – The Thirteenth-Century Context*

The unique role of the Pilis royal forest is indisputable, as it was scattered with 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, the research has to go back as far as the circumstances of their foundations – as the later tradition of the order says,⁶⁶³ in the Pilis Eusebius, a canon of Esztergom, founded the first, later Pauline eremitic community in the 1250s next to Esztergom, near three caves and a spring close to the later Holy Cross Monastery,⁶⁶⁴ present-day Keszölc-Klastrompuszta.

It is certain that the Pilis has many features that supported hermit life; e.g., many small caves are hidden in the region and at least three of them –just nearby the Holy Cross Monastery– can be

⁶⁶² Sümegi et al., “A pilis királyi erdő”.

⁶⁶³ VF, Cap. 6–7.

⁶⁶⁴ *prope Strigonium ... prope speluncam triplicem, quam ipse alias in coluerat, iuxta aquam vivam.* VF, Cap. 6–7.

associated with the Pauline order,⁶⁶⁵ or more likely with the hermits who might have lived there unorganized, long before the foundation of the monastic communities.

This traditional viewpoint of the order defined the historical interpretation until recent times; another history of the order has started to evolve in the past few years based on the critical examination of the thirteenth-century documents. This evolution of the research was instigated by Tamás Guzsik, who collected the architectural remains of the Paulines,⁶⁶⁶ but *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* also had an important role by surveying a significant part of those areas where the first hermitages and Pauline monasteries were founded.⁶⁶⁷ Partly based on these directions, recent studies –mostly by Beatrix F. Romhányi, László Solymosi, and József Laszlovszky⁶⁶⁸– proposed the necessity for a reconsolidation of the research mainly concerning the chronology and circumstances of foundations. It is also worth mentioning that original historical documents were used by Gyöngyösi and preserved in his *Vitae Fratrum*. Because of these characteristics it is crucial to summarize briefly the two, partly contradictory perspectives of Pauline history concerning its foundation.

As the Pauline hermitage founded by Eusebius is located almost halfway between Esztergom, the seat of the archbishop,⁶⁶⁹ and the Cistercian abbey at Pilis⁶⁷⁰ (present-day Pilisszentkereszt), it suggests (in accordance with the tradition of the order) that this heavy ecclesiastical influence organized or at least spawned the first Pauline hermit communities, which seems plausible, given the strong influence of the Church in the Árpáadian Period and the weakness of new religious communities.⁶⁷¹ The archbishop of Esztergom would not have allowed any other religious groups to settle close to his seat without his support or at least his permission.⁶⁷² If one accepts that the distance

⁶⁶⁵ Szabó, *Woodland and Forest*, 116.

⁶⁶⁶ Guzsik, *Pálos építészet*.

⁶⁶⁷ I.e., in Veszprém, Pest, and Komárom-Esztergom Counties.

⁶⁶⁸ See their publications on the topic listed in the bibliography.

⁶⁶⁹ By this time royal presence was rare in Esztergom, see more in ÁMTF 2, 246–247.

⁶⁷⁰ 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: s.n. 1891–1892).

⁶⁷¹ In other parts of the country small communities sometimes decided to found monasteries with their own support, but it is impossible to believe that this could have happened so close to the religious center of Hungary. F. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 224.

⁶⁷² F. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 224.

between Esztergom and the Holy Cross Monastery⁶⁷³ –calculated by a Least Cost Path (LCP) analysis– is not more than 13 km over low terrain, the seat was easily accessible.⁶⁷⁴ (Fig. 5.3.)

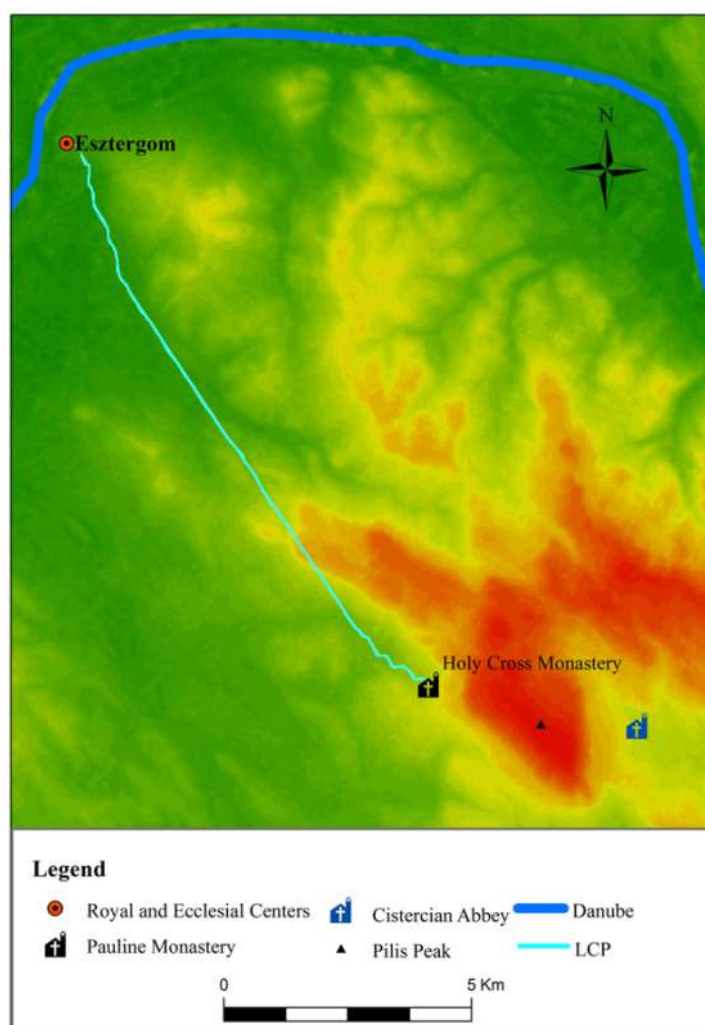


Fig. 5.3. *Pilis-Dunakanyar. The Least Cost Path on ASTER DEM between Esztergom and Kesztlőc.*

As Péter Szabó has pointed out, it seems that the king simply fostered a spontaneous process,⁶⁷⁵ so the hermits in the Pilis seemed to be in the right place at the right time, and thus the Holy Cross Monastery could become the leading community of the Pauline movement by 1291. It is not misleading to regard the Holy Cross Monastery as the birthplace of the Pauline Order, if it is evaluated as an important step in the context of thirteenth-century eremitic movements. The desire of

⁶⁷³ 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. This is the reason why the monastery is relevant as a fixed point for the hermit period of the Paulines. See in Appendix 1, 5.3.1.

⁶⁷⁴ The path from the settlement of Kesztlőc (even from the modern-day village) led to the *via magna*, the main road between Esztergom and Buda.

⁶⁷⁵ F. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 224.

such communities in Hungary to become a regular ecclesial community, more likely an order, was supported by European events, namely the wish of the Holy See to join and regulate isolated hermits and eremitic brotherhoods. This is the century when the Augustine Order was founded and the eremitic Williamites appeared.⁶⁷⁶ Maybe the *Vitae Fratrum* references this event as well, when Eusebius asks the Pope himself in Rome to allow the community of the Holy Cross to live by the Rule of St. Augustine.⁶⁷⁷

The next level of development started when the first religious community of the Paulines in the Pilis—just as in other regions of the kingdom⁶⁷⁸—became a (pseudo-) monastery some time between the 1260s and 1270s.⁶⁷⁹ The tradition says that Eusebius erected the buildings of the monastery near the caves in 1250; thus, based on the Pauline tradition, this site was more than a simple hermit community. They must have had at least some huts and a church, where—as the tradition of the order describes—Eusebius was buried.⁶⁸⁰

Although the steps of the evolution of the Pauline Order during this time are hardly known (and therefore cannot be described or even defined precisely), some assumptions can be drawn based on the small number of direct and indirect sources. This new interpretation focuses on the early phase of the hermitages and 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 transformation due to the change in their support.⁶⁸¹ Beyond religious influence, royal patronage was crucial for the hermits to live and for their community to evolve.⁶⁸² Therefore, the first and most important direction of the research is to articulate the presence of this support in early Pauline history.

⁶⁷⁶ Kaspar Elm, *Die Bulle "Ea quae iudicio" Clemens' IV.30.VIII.1266. Vorgeschichte, Überlieferung, Text, und Bedeutung* (Heverlee-Louvain Institut Historique Augustinien, 1966); Kaspar Elm, "Eremiten und Eremitenorden des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens. Berliner Historische Studien, vol. 32, Ordensstudien 14.*, ed. Kaspar Elm et al. (Berlin Duncker und Humblot, 2000), 11–22. See also a posthumous collection of Kaspar Elm's essays: Kaspar Elm and James D. Mixson, *Religious life between Jerusalem, the desert, and the world* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

⁶⁷⁷ VF, Cap. 10.

⁶⁷⁸ 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 the Paulines were detected. The nature of the topic signals the future direction of monastic studies concerning the Pauline Order.

⁶⁷⁹ See the critical historical data in Appendix 2.

⁶⁸⁰ VF, Cap. 12.

⁶⁸¹ Belényesy, *Abauj-Hegyalja*, 87–88; also F. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 15–16; F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 128.

⁶⁸² On the debates, see F. Romhányi, "Pálos rendi hagyomány," 289–312. This is discussed in Chapter 3, the History of the Pauline Order.

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 (who later became king as Stephen V), the *rex iunior* of Hungary; therefore, the king was more aware of the events taking place in the area of Esztergom. 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.⁶⁸³ Additionally, it might be a sign of Esztergom's strong connection with the royal court that King Béla and his closest family members (his "dearest son, Béla, also his wife, Maria Laskaris in the Franciscan monastery) were buried there in 1269 and in 1270.⁶⁸⁴

The king was obviously aware of and permitted or supported events like the foundation of hermitages/pseudo-monasteries near or in the royal forest close to Esztergom. As Beatrix F. Romhányi highlights in her short summary on the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis, the exact nature of this support is known from later written sources:⁶⁸⁵ King Béla assured free territories for the hermits in the mid-1260s near the site that later became the Holy Cross Monastery.⁶⁸⁶ This was less than recognition, but more than simple permission, and fulfilled 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 on the site. This was surely unsuccessful—as it was probably renewed by King Ladislaus IV—but it shows that the king respected and personally supported the hermits.⁶⁸⁷

The significance of such royal support becomes stronger if other events are considered in the synthesis. By this time, the first catalog of Pauline monasteries in the bishopric of Veszprém had been compiled,⁶⁸⁸ and Bishop Paul came to the conclusion that these hermitages were too poor to become a legal order and a unified community; therefore, he prohibited the foundation of new monasteries in

⁶⁸³ F. Romhányi (2012a), "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben," 224–225.

⁶⁸⁴ Olivér Kovács– Gergely Buzás, *Az Árpád-házi uralkodók sírjai* [The tombs of Árpadian kings] (Visegrád: MNM Mátyás Király Múzeuma, 2019.), 278. After 1260, when the royal couple's daughter, (the later Saint) Margaret took solemn vow at the age of eighteen by the support of the Dominican order, the King and Queen neglected the order (emotionally and financially), which was so dear and privileged by them before. The Franciscans became favored by them and maybe the recognition of the hermits in the Pilis became acceptable for them after the break (And some kind of treason) they might have felt and suffered by the Dominicans.

⁶⁸⁵ F. Romhányi, "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben," 224–225.

⁶⁸⁶ VF, Cap. 14, 15. See the event listed in Appendix 2. This donation was recorded in a later charter, when some buildings were already erected, i.e., the monks had already settled down. It is also possible that King Ladislaus IV took back the donated lands by force from the Paulines (the royal army burnt down the monastery two years earlier), but then changed his mind, as Beatrix F. Romhányi suggests. See F. Romhányi, "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben," 224.

⁶⁸⁷ See sources in Appendix 2.

⁶⁸⁸ See more in the parts of Chapter 4.

his territory, but at the same time he gave them a *regula*.⁶⁸⁹ All this might have been completely 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.⁶⁹⁰ As László Solymosi has pointed out, it seems unlikely that such an important monastery as the Holy Cross was omitted from the inventory and then, three decades later (1291), be listed as a monastery governed by the Veszprém Bishopric. There were some suggestions about its exemption from the Bishopric's regulations during the compilation of the first inventory, but those do not explain why the Bishopric had jurisdiction over the monastery again in 1291. This order of the ecclesial evolution contradicts any previously known medieval conventions. In any case, the royal presence and support clearly affected the further history of the order, since after the second inventory the Paulines appeared to not be too poor to found new communities and request estates to supply their monasteries.

All of the inventories (from 1263 and 1291) were preserved in Gyöngyösi's *Vitae Fratrum*, where the traditional history of the order's foundation is also described. On this, it should be highlighted that the traditional history contextualizes the original documents in one way, which may contradict each other – or rather complete each other? The traditional history emphasizes the Holy Cross Monastery and the Pilis area, though it also mentions earlier eremitic movements in Baranya County (*Pécs-Jakabhegy*), whose existence is proved by contemporary documents. These were founded a few decades earlier than the Holy Cross Monastery, around the 1220s. Even so, the later tradition commemorates the Holy Cross Monastery as the first and earliest site of the Paulines. Although none of these hermitages were called Paulines at the time (not until the early 1300s), the Holy Cross monastery, its priors must have had a key role in the fusion of certain eremitic communities, monasteries. According to the early modern tradition of the order, in 1270 the first general provost was elected in the Holy Cross Monastery,⁶⁹¹ 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.

⁶⁸⁹ On this the text states: *provinciali setalii priores ac fratres heremitae diversorum locorum nostrae diaecesis*. VF, Cap. 9, 11.

⁶⁹⁰ DAP 2, 400. Also Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary], (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 48. Although there have been debates on the regulation of the monastery, scholars more or less agree with the authority of the Veszprém Bishopric over this territory. Finally, in the next Appendix, written in 1291, the Holy Cross Monastery and the St. Ladislaus Monastery are listed as parts of the bishopric. See Solymosi, "Pilupsziget," 14–15. Considering that each bishop who had such hermits under his control (like in Eger or Pécs) regulated them individually—but of course with similar conditions—the Holy Cross Monastery still occupied a place of higher importance among the communities; nevertheless, the written sources report about this outstanding role, see VF Cap. 7–9.

⁶⁹¹ VF, Cap. 13.

This ambiguity has greatly affected the historians and archaeologists as well. Summarizing the debates and pointing out the contentious data, László Solymosi came to the conclusion that the Monastery of the Holy Cross may not have existed at the time of the compilation of the first inventory (in 1263), otherwise there could be no reason to omit it.⁶⁹² However, this does not exclude its priority, the leading role of its priors regarding the unification of the (later) Pauline eremitic movements, which might have been known by the ancestors, leading Gyöngyösi to highlight its role in the *Vitae*. Regarding the contemporary sources, the brothers of the Holy Cross (referring to the monastery) are mentioned for a long time in different privileges, which supports this theory, although it is not reassuring, that no other sources in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries mention any of the early circumstances or the priority of the Holy Cross monastery in the Pilis. Anyhow, if the foundation of the Holy Cross monastery is in question, referring again to Solymosi, the key is that since the monastery was listed in 1291 as the first monastery, it must have been founded between 1263 (at the time of the presence of King Béla IV in Esztergom and the first inventory by Bishop Paul) and its first mention, 1291.

The settling of the hermits may support and make more accurate this given time period. The lands (deserted lands, the village of *Üllőkő*, and *Bendwelgye/Bendek* valley) and even the hunting lodge, a property donated by King Béla to the Paulines of the Holy Cross Monastery (obviously donated after 1263),⁶⁹³ may indicate that the foundation of a somewhat coherent community could have happened between 1263/64⁶⁹⁴ (when the king stayed mostly at Esztergom) and 1270, the death of King Béla. The first royal donations supposedly led to the emergence of the Holy Cross Monastery within the hermit movements, which was the result of their geographical location.

The donations of King Béla seem to have taken place around the time of (or more likely after⁶⁹⁵) the visitation of Bishop Paul;⁶⁹⁶ therefore, establishing exclusive royal support for the monastery. Although the exact date of the donation is unknown, the Paulines' legal status was complicated and unstable, which may be why Bishop Paul did not list the Holy Cross Monastery in the first inventory.⁶⁹⁷ It seems that the first Paulines at the Holy Cross Monastery acquired the basis

⁶⁹² Solymosi, "Pilupsziget," 18–23.

⁶⁹³ See in Appendix 2./5.3.1.

⁶⁹⁴ Note that the king had spent these years in Esztergom. ÁMTF 2, 246.

⁶⁹⁵ This should have been just after the *visitatio*, if it is accepted that the emergence of the Holy Cross Monastery, the royal land donation, and the presence of King Béla in Esztergom in 1264, one year after the *visitatio*, all correlate strongly.

⁶⁹⁶ see more in Chapter 5.3.1.

⁶⁹⁷ If we consider that King Béla knew about the result of the visit and that the donations to the Holy Cross Monastery happened afterwards, then there might be a connection between the two events. The Paulines may have asked for the land or the king may have realized the needs of the hermits and, therefore, supported them with his donations. If the Paulines

of their estates at times when they emphasized their separation from the eremitic community of the bishopric, at least from the 1260s. Although the whole character of the community was not well specified at the time, the Paulines seem to have had good (self) management.

This successful beginning and the emergence of the Holy Cross Monastery was followed by two more monastery foundations (the Holy Spirit and St. Ladislaus monasteries), probably by King Ladislaus IV around the 1280s.⁶⁹⁸ 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.⁶⁹⁹ It is also interesting that the last two, or perhaps originally all three Pauline monasteries,⁷⁰⁰ were founded on the sites of royal hunting lodges⁷⁰¹ by the end of the thirteenth century (before 1291) during the reign of King Ladislaus IV. Besides the Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, and St. Ladislaus monasteries, there were small communities (with a maximum of ca. six monks each), seemingly hidden in the wild, wooded areas of the Pilis; however, they existed on royal property, which in itself is particularly important.⁷⁰²

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.⁷⁰³ This suggests that the role of the Royal Forest was changing and that the kings had started to prefer larger permanent residences over the small ones in the Pilis. Regarding the fact that these were all royal foundations, it should be highlighted that the kings aimed to keep their spiritual control over the region through these monasteries.⁷⁰⁴

had received the lands and the hunting lodge earlier than the visit of Bishop Paul, they might have had a different status in the hierarchy (which is poorly emphasized in the historical research) in that period.

⁶⁹⁸ F. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 225.

⁶⁹⁹ This kind of denomination has great relevance, as there are previous examples where the religious institution was named after the royal founder, e.g., the St. Andrew Monastery at Visegrád was named after King Andrew I (1046–1060). Hereby I would like to thank József Laszlovszky for his related suggestions.

⁷⁰⁰ Evidence of earlier buildings was found during the excavations at the Monastery of the Holy Spirit (Pilisszentlélek) and apparently at the Monastery of the Holy Cross as well. At the former site there is written evidence in the form of a report on a manor house; see Appendix 2. In both cases there is unfortunately very scarce archaeological evidence. The circumstances of the foundation of the St. Ladislaus Monastery is quite obscure: scholars have 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. See the written sources in Appendix 2.

⁷⁰¹ To the southeast the Cistercian abbey was also founded on royal lands. However, these might not have been just simple hunting lodges connected with the itinerant court, which had started to disappear around the end of the thirteenth century.

⁷⁰² F. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 225.

⁷⁰³ Even so, there is indeed some evidence of royal support behind this religious development: although the first ecclesial institutions (monasteries, chapters) were founded in the eleventh century, the increasing domination of monasteries in parallel with the declination of royal presence was actually the result of royal decision. See more in F. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 223.

⁷⁰⁴ 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.

Maybe this change of perception was the original reason why King Béla IV donated his lands and hunting lodge (at *Bendwelgye/Benedek* valley) 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.⁷⁰⁵ The relevant sources (surviving in the *Vitae Fratrum*) refer to a small number of related events. Scholars suppose that King Béla's first attempt was unsuccessful,⁷⁰⁶ which is why King Ladislaus repeated the donation and thereafter the Holy Spirit Monastery was established. This monastery may have operated alongside the Holy Cross friary for a few years or even decades, because it is not mentioned in the second inventory of Pauline monasteries in the Veszprém Bishopric in 1291.

The plan of the church at the Holy Spirit Monastery clearly shows that it originally was not erected to serve religious purposes.⁷⁰⁷ The excavations at the site revealed some unusual parts of the building, which are usually regarded by scholars as signs of the early royal hunting lodge, which was later donated and refurbished as a church.⁷⁰⁸ Additionally, the physical royal presence was documented 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.⁷⁰⁹ Of course, different documented events and various architectural structures could represent time periods but they offer a hint for the researchers as to the general framework of the Paulines' function and character.

Although the foundation and early phase of the third monastery, dedicated to St. Ladislaus, are poorly documented and no archaeological remains of the monastery are known which would help dating its foundation, it is sure that the process took place before 1291.⁷¹⁰ In this year Lodomér, the archbishop of Esztergom, verified the existence of the Paulines; therefore, by this time these monasteries –the whole community– were clearly ecclesiastical subjects. Moreover, 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 estates (probably all on the basis of hunting lodges), which were supposedly elements of a special administrative system of the Árpáadian

⁷⁰⁵ Charters and sources cited in the Appendix 2.

⁷⁰⁶ This is based on the commentary of Ferenc Hervay, see VF, pag. 209.

⁷⁰⁷ See the plan and data in the Appendix 2.

⁷⁰⁸ These unusual features are: the asymmetry of the church and the unusual plan of the nave, additionally, there were earlier structures and traces of modifications recorded on the southern wall of the nave. See the listed works in the bibliography of Sarolta Lázár, who was leading the excavations at the site.

⁷⁰⁹ See the data in the Appendix 2 on the presence of King Charles and, a few decades later, his son, King Louis I.

⁷¹⁰ This is due to the fact that it is listed in the second inventory of Pauline monasteries in the Veszprém Bishopric.

Period. Accordingly, the continuity of strong royal support is clear in the thirteenth century as well, but there are other features of the land that may help to explain the contemporary status of the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis more accurately.

The dynamics of foundations

It is clear that the locations of the royal hunting lodges –uninhabited, wooded areas of the Pilis– corresponded 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 –at first sight– lie in the wild area of the forest, in closed valleys, near springs and caves, distant from the eyes of laymen. But 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 various laborers and servants living at the lodges and reachable residences (even another lodge) close to them, the Pilis does not seem particularly uninhabited.⁷¹¹ Also, as partial regional studies have concluded,⁷¹² in the mid-hilly region the maximum distance between Pauline monasteries was not more than a few kilometers (a few hours of walking) from settlements and main roads.⁷¹³ Thus, this area was not totally secluded from the secular sphere; the monasteries were accessible from the main roads and inhabited areas of the *medium regni*. A closer view of these landscape features, which is only partially visible in the secondary literature, helps us to understand the spatial structure of the area.

Research on the road network in the area has to deal with many problems, mostly related to chronology. The Romans left many traces of roads in the landscape, which were used in the Middle Ages as well. Research on the detailed documentation, separation (in time, space, and 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 emphasize some points about the monasteries and residences, and the question of royal power, the lay sphere, and religious centers.

⁷¹¹As 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.

⁷¹²Belényesy, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 87–88.

⁷¹³Note that the distance between the Pauline monasteries was no more than what they could cover in a day. See Belényesy, (2004), *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 87–88.

The best-known route, the *via magna* (Fig. 5.4., VM), was the main road for the settlements between Esztergom and Buda, crossing the settlement of Csaba; even the modern road follows the path of this medieval road.⁷¹⁴ A subsidiary trail was reconstructed by Elek Benkő based on written sources;⁷¹⁵ the exact route is an ideal reconstruction and follows a modern motorway. Another important route known in the area was originally the main Roman road between Brigetio (present-day Komárom-Szőny) and Aquincum (present-day Budapest-Óbuda), through present-day Szántó. The track of this road led north to the medieval *via magna* from Óbuda to Szántó, crossing Üröm and Borosjenő, but turning west at some point to reach Szőny. (R1) The remains of this road were recorded archaeologically.⁷¹⁶ It is visible on modern topographical maps and there is evidence for its use in the Middle Ages.⁷¹⁷ A group of settlements is known in this part of the Pilis foothills.⁷¹⁸

⁷¹⁴ *Magnam viam per quamitur de Strigonio Budam* is mentioned first in the thirteenth century and then in later periods as well. It was recorded in 1411 that it crossed Csaba, DL 1798, cited in ÁMTF 4, 591. See also 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 in the honor of István Torma for his 70th birthday], ed. Klára Kövári and Zsuzsa Miklós (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011), 116. It also crosses, e.g., the boundary between the monastery and the medieval village of Keszthely. ...*in quondam magnam viam de Strigonio versus Budam transeuntem saliendo*, DL 236647. The track of *via magna* is based on the presumably archaic road structure documented on the First Military Survey. Also, see the works of Magdolna Szilágyi in the bibliography.

⁷¹⁵ The *viae magnae*, the main roads, led to Esztergom, Buda [!], and Dorog [!], and the *via antiqua*, the old road, is mentioned in the perambulation of the Nyír settlement, a neighbour of Keszthely. MRT 5, 194–195, (Esztergom site 8/41). The *via antiqua* might be the main Roman road to Brigetio as it was found south of the settlement. The reconstruction by Elek Benkő is not supported by the 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, fig. 31.

⁷¹⁶ For the archaeological evidence see: MRT 5, 278–279 (Piliscsév site 16/5); MRT 7, 156 (Pilisszántó site 17/12); 173–174 (Pilisvörösvár site 21/21).

⁷¹⁷ E.g., an administrative map of Pilis County, S 12 Div XI. No. 89; or Benkő, “*Via regis*,” 116, ref. 1.

⁷¹⁸ Benkő, “*Via regis*,” 116. At some point modern secondary roads might follow its route.

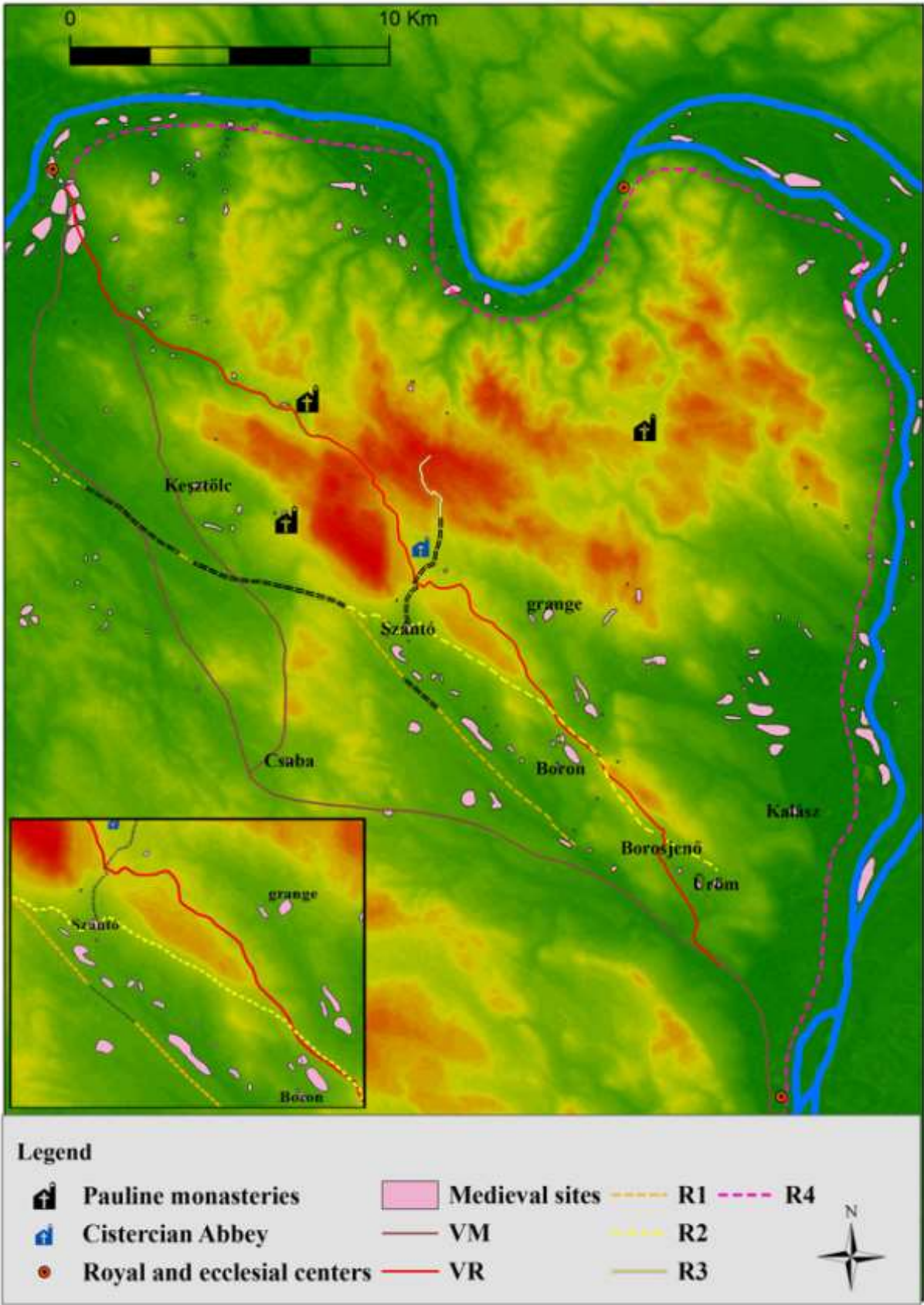


Fig. 5.4. *Pilis-Dunakanyar. The main roads, centers, and monasteries in the Pilis on ASTER GDEM*

By 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 apparently secluded. Scholars have started to integrate more information; it is clear that there are other parts of the Roman road network that can all be crucial for the research.⁷¹⁹ A route was detected from Szántó to Üröm, going the same direction as the previous road, but slightly more to the north (R2), on the southern side of a hill (Hosszú-hegy), which was probably mentioned as *via magna* in a medieval perambulation of Boron.⁷²⁰ Another part of the route was found around Pilisszentkereszt and Dobogókő (R3),⁷²¹ 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 (VR). As Benkő points out, kings might have used this “royal express road” to get to the hunting lodges or curia, later monasteries, and then continue on to Esztergom or Óbuda.⁷²²

Based on this idea, the latest research on the *via regis* using geographical and topographical evidence has revealed another option.⁷²³ A Roman/medieval road (R2) passing through the medieval settlement of Boron may have also run on the north side of the hill Hosszú-hegy (maybe in two tracks) and connected the Cistercian monastery with the southern road system, skipping Szántó (VR) This path would have been practical for several reasons, which are still clear to modern tourists.⁷²⁴ The slope was more balanced along the whole path and avoided the steep part of the road from Szántó to the Cistercian monastery. A side path also led to the Cistercian grange to the northeast.

⁷¹⁹ According to the summary of Ferenczi et al., *Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben*, 2013.

⁷²⁰ 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). See also Ferenczi et al. (2013), “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben,”.

⁷²¹ Recorded by Lajos Zambra, in 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. Benkő, “*Via regis*,” 115–119; Ferenczi et al., “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben,” 2013.

⁷²² The idea of this *via regia* was unknown in the scholarship until 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 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 is revealing the route of the complete path. Further participants: Balázs Kohán, Zsolt Petkes, Márton Deák, Tamás Látos, and the author. For the latest summary on the research status see: Ferenczi et al., “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben”. For research on historical roads see the following selected literature: MRT 5; MRT 7; Benkő, “*Via regis*,” 115–119. Also see the map reconstructed by Elek Benkő in Majorossy, *Gertrudis*, 10, Fig. 31.

⁷²³ Sources include historical and modern maps, and a field survey from Üröm to Dobogókő. Ferenczi et al., “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben”.

⁷²⁴ During the field survey it was discovered that at several points this pathway is still used as a secondary road or simple hiking trail. Ferenczi et al., “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben”.

The last known main historical road runs along the Danube bank, which is substantiated by visible landscape evidence; it was also part of the Roman road next to the *limes* of Pannonia (R4). In the Middle Ages there were several settlements there, due to the traditionally favorable circumstances for settling and the important role of the Danube as a transport route and a source for fishing.

This short summary of the known elements of the historical road network in the Pilis area indicates that a spatial approach—the use of GIS—can lead to the discovery of additional features. Some investigations 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 route between Esztergom and Óbuda⁷²⁵ (Fig. 5.5., LCP 1) was calculated, which resulted in the addition of new details to the research. It runs closest to the original main Roman road to Szőny (R1) at the beginning of its route and –oddly– it crosses an Árpadian Period settlement that stood near a Roman watchtower and the reconstructed path of the main Roman road (R1).⁷²⁶ The remains of this road –at some point– were probably used by medieval people as well.

This LCP 1 path goes near the Holy Cross Monastery, but here uncertainty grows, because the written evidence has not yet been identified and analyzed for this area.⁷²⁷ The only sure thing is that more than one *via magna* is mentioned in this area. Remarkably, the archaic track of *via magna* goes near to the LCP track, which also suggests parallel roads that could lead to Esztergom in the area. It is also noteworthy that the medieval village of Kesztlőc and other anonymous settlements lie next to the reconstructed shortest and easiest path to Esztergom.

⁷²⁵ Óbuda, as an early royal residence (see Fig. 5.1.), is a good reference point for all periods, considering 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 that 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 significant (a few hundred meters) or typical, but considering features of human behavior, could highlight some natural patterns on the question of road reconstructions and GIS techniques. It is remarkable that taking the same path between two points from different directions generates different sensations and experiences for the human mind. It should be noted here that during our LCP analyzes the selection of the starting points was a subjective decision.

⁷²⁶ MRT 5, 277–278. (Piliscsév site 16/1).

⁷²⁷ However, it is clear from the collection of archaeological sources published in *The Archaeological Topography of Hungary* that a systematic analysis could result in further fixed points on the question of the road network. This could be a noteworthy topic for further research. MRT 5, e.g. 277–278.

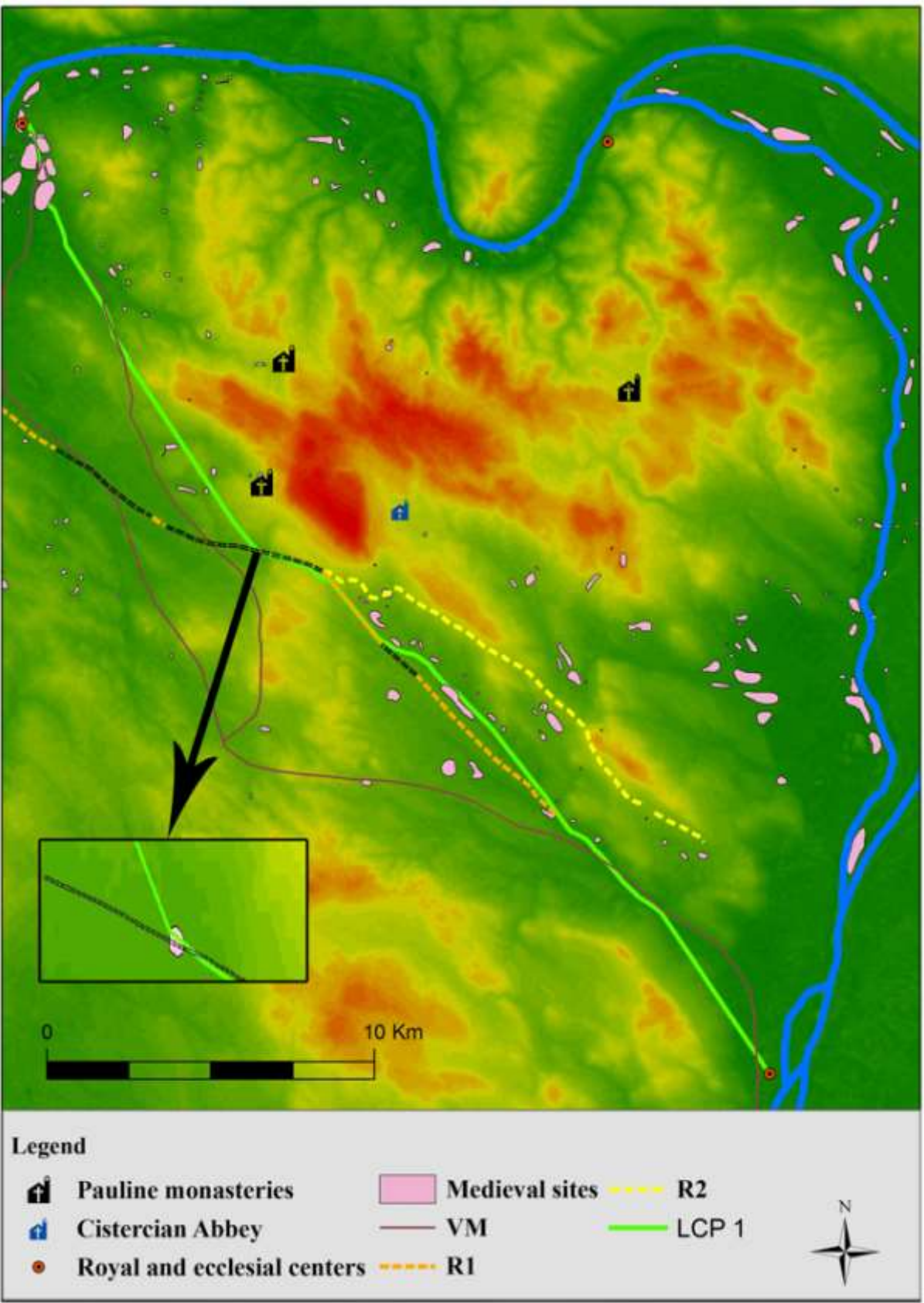


Fig. 5.5. *Pilis-Dunakanyar*. An LCP analysis between Esztergom and Óbuda (LCP1) on ASTER GDEM.

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, essentially in the Árpadian Period. 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 (Fig. 5.6., LCP 2).⁷²⁸ The route from Óbuda to Esztergom (LCP2) followed the route of the main Roman road (R1), but on the south side of Hosszú Hill (Hosszú-hegy) it ran between the main and the supposed other (secondary?) Roman roads (R1 and R2). The track then turns north, crossing the northern Roman road (R2) and the probable route to Dobogókő (R3). After this, it joins (on the track of a modern hiking trail) the reconstructed route of the *via regia* (VR) and further follows it to Esztergom. Summarizing the results, this geographically generated model firmly demonstrates the validity of such roads in the Pilis.

⁷²⁸ For more on the idea and reconstruction of the *via regia*, see the recent study of László Ferenczi and József Laszlovszky, “Középkori utak és határhasználat a pilisi apátság területén” [Medieval roads and landscape management on the estate of the Pilis Abbey] *Studia Comitatus* 1 (2014): 104–106.

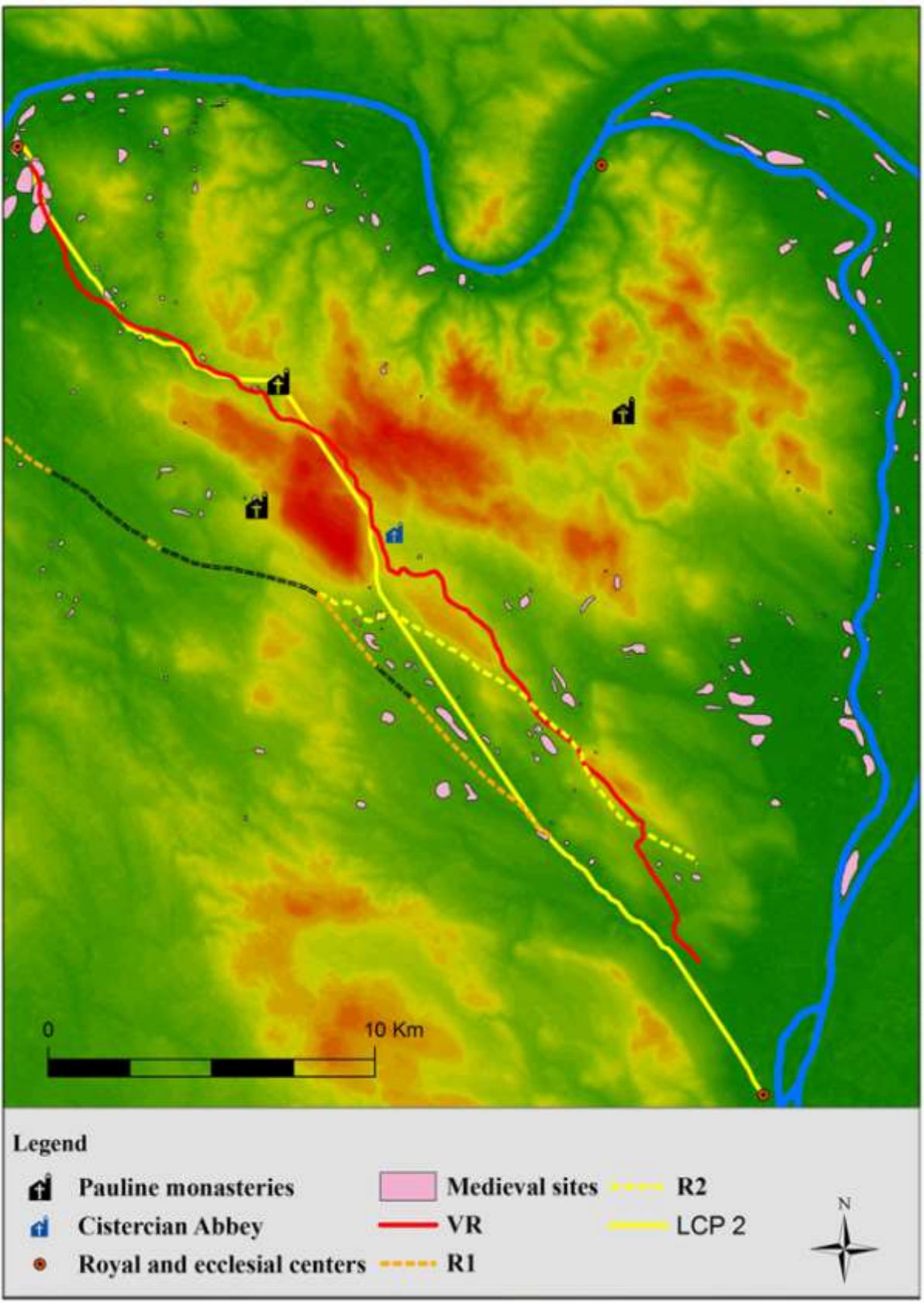


Fig. 5.6. *Pilis-Dunakanyar*. An LCP analysis between Esztergom and Óbuda (LCP2) on ASTER GDEM.

Going to northern areas by searching for other options in LCP analyses, the location of the third Pauline monastery, dedicated to St. Ladislaus, implies a distinctive concept on the geographic area. First, a general geographical phenomenon is revealed: 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 as well as the Cistercian abbey) and a northeastern-eastern section (the St. Ladislaus Monastery) in the Pilis – the latter is even connected to the royal center of Visegrád, moreover, it is a link to the royal landscape of the Börzsöny-Visegrád region (including the further Pauline monasteries, see Chapter 5.2.4.)

Looking at the map, the status of the St. Ladislaus Monastery becomes clear by its location; it lies between Buda/Óbuda and the newly constructed royal castle of Visegrád.⁷²⁹ The importance of this location is supported by a historical event, that is, the monastery hosted an important political meeting in 1308 between Cardinal Gentile (as a papal legate) and oligarch Máté Csák in order to stabilize and verify the reign of Charles of Anjou. The importance of this meeting (and therefore the important role of the monastery) is also emphasized by another event; a month after this meeting the papal legate officially confirmed the Rule of St. Augustine for the Pauline Order. As Beatrix F. 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 its premises.⁷³⁰

Through the modeling process, the start and the end points of the LCP analysis were certain. From Óbuda to Visegrád (Fig. 5.7., LCP 3) there are both well-articulated and less clear areas on the DEM; therefore, in some areas the generated route is very informative,⁷³¹ but in other areas—mostly in the north—it is more of an outline 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 settled parts of the region, but also offered an opportunity for rest between royal residences. From the mid-thirteenth century these stops became quite important. The close geographical relationship between the main royal residences and the St. Ladislaus Monastery could represent a spiritual connection between royal power and the Pauline Order in the Pilis Royal Forest.

⁷²⁹ The construction of the castle of Visegrád, built by Queen Mary, wife of King Béla IV, to protect the nuns of Margaret Island (Margitsziget) from the Tatars, also strengthened royal control of the Pilis. Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 95.

⁷³⁰ F. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben,” 225.

⁷³¹ The generated route follows the modern motorway.

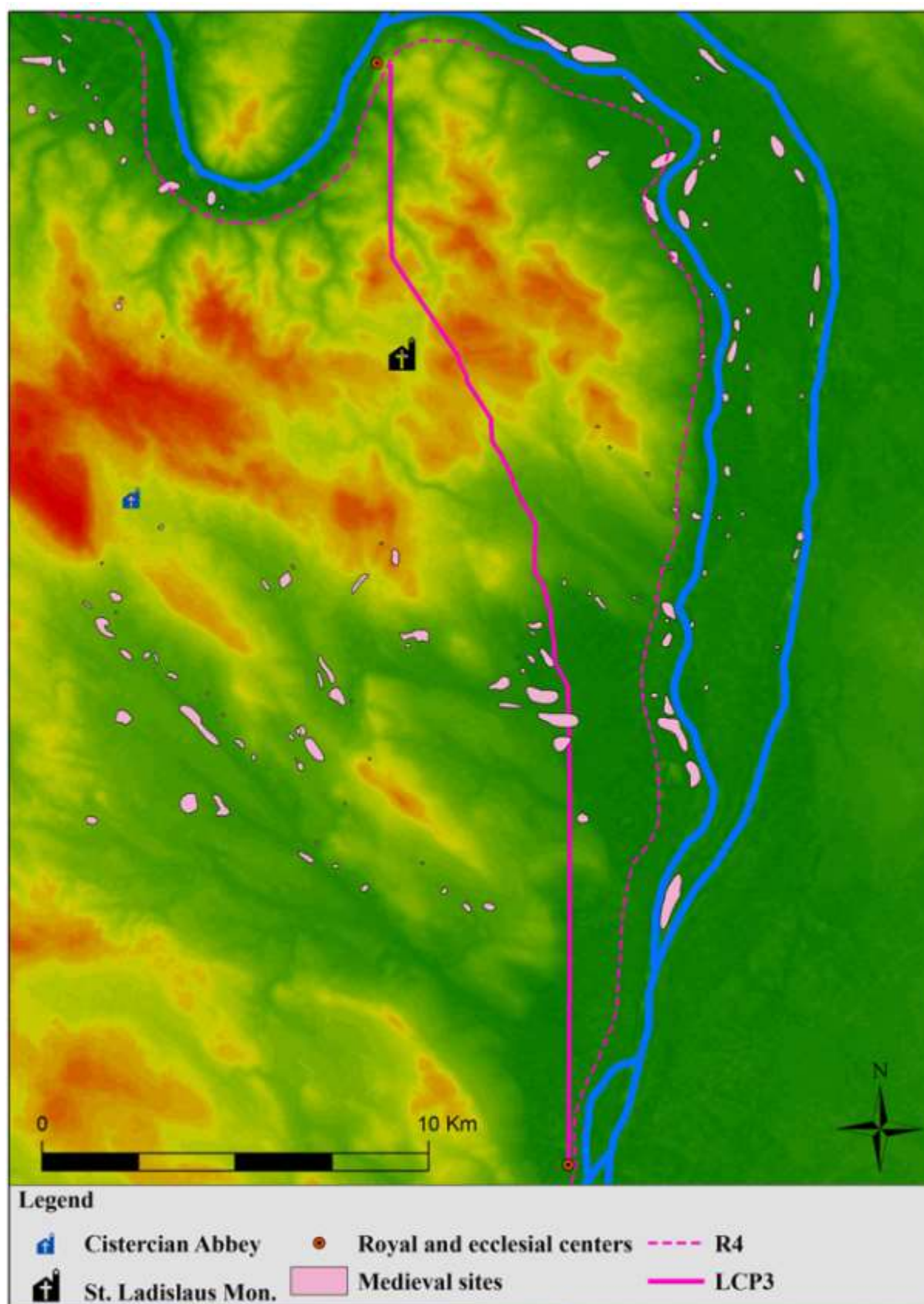


Fig. 5.7. *Pilis-Dunakanyar*. An LCP analysis between Visegrád and Óbuda (LCP 3) on ASTER GDEM.

5.2.4. The Long Fourteenth Century - The First Golden Era of the Paulines and the Danube Bank Region as the Symbol of Royal Power

Around the time when the last Árpadian king died (Andrew III in 1301) and King Charles finally overcame the several-decade long political difficulties, a significant change was revealed in the spatial structure of 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 closer to Buda, which was a growing royal center in addition to Visegrád and Óbuda. Written sources report that the Monastery of St. Laurence (at Budaszentlőrinc, see Fig. 5.1.), built by the prior of the Holy Cross Monastery, became the most important center in the Pauline Order's hierarchy; the first general prior was elected there in 1309. Although it lay outside the Pilis, it had influence on the role of the monasteries in the Pilis. Their decreasing importance and the changing concept of the Holy Cross Monastery as the paramount cloister can only be understood by examining the changes in 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 the perfect example of eremitic life, partly connected with the royal presence, but the decreasing importance of royal hunting lodges, the functional change of the Pilis Forest,⁷³² and the stabilization of the royal centers meant that the Paulines also had to move their center closer to royal power and presence.⁷³³ They realized this need and managed to adapt to the new conditions.

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 than any other monastery's during the Middle Ages; however, the importance of the newly found monastery of Nosztra has only recently been highlighted.⁷³⁴ Although the representation of the St. Laurence Monastery constantly developed, the historical context and the spatial picture of the region in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries highlight some basic questions and phenomena, which need to be addressed.

⁷³² The decreasing importance of the Pilis went hand in hand with the changing administrative system of the country.

⁷³³ F. Romhányi, "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben," 225–226.

⁷³⁴ See Pető, *Pilis*, 94–96; Vadász, *A fényes kolostor*.

The Angevin support - Visegrád in the light of the Börzsöny and Pilis

The Angevin kings, Charles I and his son, Louis I, reorganized and led the Kingdom of Hungary into 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 that was –from time to time– connected with imperial and foreign policy. But how exactly 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 also affected the southern Börzsöny area, which lies exactly the opposite of Visegrád, on the northern bank of the Danube. Here, King Louis I founded two Pauline monasteries: one at Nosztra⁷³⁵ and another later at Toronyalja.⁷³⁶ These foundations were not the first factors of the strong, coherent view of the Danube Bank by the kings, but in respect of Pauline history, they were undoubtedly significant; after Budaszentlőrinc, other monasteries were in the closest vicinity of another royal seat, founded and supported by the foundation's time young and powerful king himself.

After the construction of Visegrád castle in the 1240s, its properties and assets were formed by the later kings. King Ladislaus IV recognized the importance of *Morus* (Maros, present Nagymaros) settlement, which lies just opposite Visegrád; Ladislaus was the one who attached it to the property of Visegrád castle. Later, in 1324 the settlement received important privileges from King Charles I, e.g. Buda town laws and generous regular incomes of different taxes, so practically Maros became the twin of Visegrád (*Nova civitas*).⁷³⁷

But to understand the true significance and characteristics of the area, and also to understand why the southern slopes were connected to the royal landscape, a brief introduction is essential into the topography and geography of the region. The Börzsöny hills, as the most western part of a mid-hilly chain (so-called Északi-középhegység), is surrounded by rivers and valleys. On the west and the north it is bordered by the river Ipoly, while on the east the Nógrád basin is located; the southern part is surrounded by the Danube, however, it is not as disclosed since it is lower and more articulated than the other parts of the Börzsöny. The highest area (600-800 m) lies in a north-south line near the

⁷³⁵ The monastery at Nosztra was founded in 1352. Its significance is clear from the fact that Nosztra was the mother monastery of Częstochowa, the first foreign monastery of the order in Poland (1382), F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 64.

⁷³⁶ It was founded between 1352 and 1381. F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, 99–100.

⁷³⁷ Orsolya Mészáros, “Conclusions”, in *The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád: Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches*, eds. Gergely, Buzás; József, Laszlovszky; Orsolya, Mészáros (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014), 233–241.

Danube Bank and Ipoly. This core area is wet and the climate is colder as well as it is in the surrounding territories. (Fig. 5.8.)

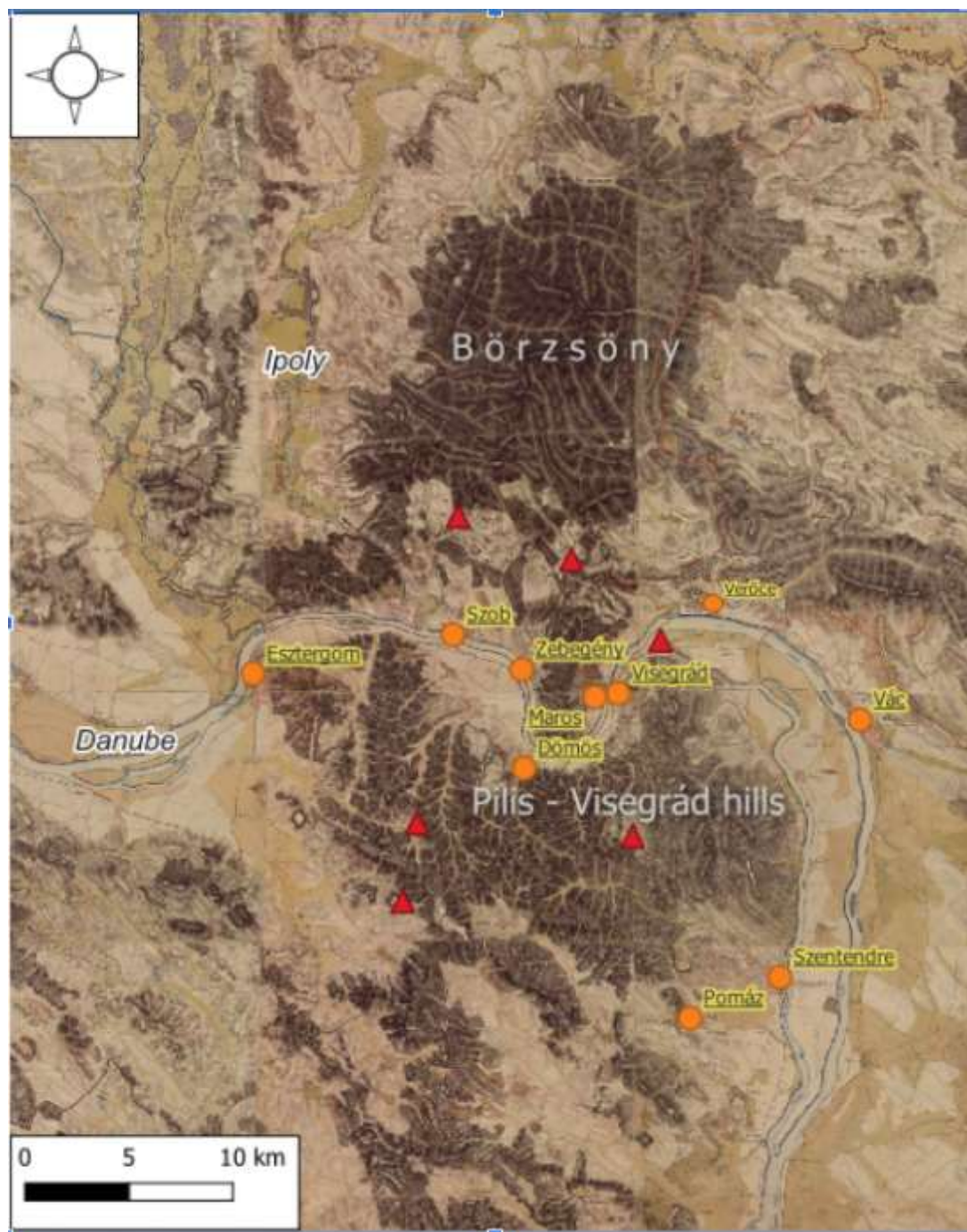


Fig. 5.8. *Pilis-Dunakanyar*. The Börzsöny hills in the center, also the analyzed monasteries, the Danube and on the west the Ipoly valley (flow directly to the Danube at Szob), also the royal, ecclesial centers and implant settlements on the First Ordnance Survey.

Several springs appear in the Börzsöny, mostly in its higher areas, but in its lower southern part alone there are seventy springs only, so the whole hilly area is definitely well provided by water. Most of the streams on the south are running to the Danube or to the Ipoly, so their orientation/flow direction is mostly north-south. The most well-known and well providing ones are Damásdi, Bőszöbi, Malomvölgyi and Nagy streams.

These differences in geography strongly affected human inhabitation; however, significantly less or rather other type of information is known on the Börzsöny region than on the Pilis-Visegrád hills; moreover, until the extensive research work since the 1970s, it was an absolute blank territory regarding archaeology and medieval history as well.

The medieval history of the region, focusing on the settlements, monasteries and landscape features, was studied for long and thoroughly by Zsuzsa Miklós, who had written her MA thesis on the topography of the region in the 1970s. The field surveys and excavations conducted in the region since the 1980s were related to the *Archaeological Topography of Hungary* series and based on her previous studies, they were also led by Miklós. This was the basis for her further research as well: Miklós revealed that only a few settlements were in the northern region of the Börzsöny (it was sparsely inhabited, as it was a really hilly, wild, forested area), while most of the villages were settled in the western region, in the Ipoly valley or smaller valleys near to it. The southern part, due to the ideal natural environment, was densely populated since the Árpadian period. Archaeological surveys and scattered written sources gathered forty-one of seldomly inhabited, ca. 50-100 m long settlements. At the end of the thirteenth, beginning of the fourteenth century, this picture changed dramatically: large settlements became dominant and most of these small villages were deserted and became woods again. Along this change in the settlement network, the impact of the region had gradually been growing, which led to the royal attention to the characteristics of the Börzsöny.

Miklós excavated (at least partially) a few objects in four *castra*, two monasteries, two stone mines, one mill and an unknown building. Zsuzsa Miklós had a multidisciplinary and multi-source approach in her work: she included not only the known contemporary written data, but as a true topographer, she in her work integrated the earliest or most useful data from historical maps, also geography and geology had key role in her understanding of medieval space.

The main road led from Vác on the northern side of the Danube (*via publica Waciensis*⁷³⁸), along vineyards and oak-wood bordered it. Most possibly roads in the north-south oriented valleys led to the wild forested area of the Börzsöny, along the modern roads which led there from the

⁷³⁸ MNL OL E 156. Fasc. 62 No. 33.

settlements. Therefore this area became ideal for the hermits, which is why not the Paulines were the first ones occupying/inhabiting the landscape here.⁷³⁹

Above Nagymaros, a hermitage⁷⁴⁰ was located, i.e. several caves were found there, some carved in the eleventh century, and remains of built structures, erected at the turn of fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. This area was inhabited through the Middle Ages. Along the ceramic shreds, fragments of floor tiles, carved stone and some iron tools (e.g. a key, knives, a fragment of a mace), also a coin (Queen Mary's denarius, 1382–95) and a few empty graves were excavated. Only one medieval charter mentions it in 1420 when the Benedictine Fr. Johannes Blasius requests the incomes of two St. Michael monasteries, both called Zebegény, but one is in the Vác Bishopric, the other is located in the territory of Pécs Bishopric.⁷⁴¹ Most probably, just like some of the discussed hermitages at the Balaton Uplands (especially Oroszkő, see Chapter 4.3.9)

Besides, just like the Pilis, the Börzsöny area became a royal estate, thus the foundation of the two Pauline monasteries in the Börzsöny could happen with a conscious and strong royal support – in Nosztra, clearly by immediate royal support and donations, while the monastery of Toronyalja could be a *filia* of Nosztra.⁷⁴² This connection with the King was just as (or even more) powerful and visible than in the Pilis in the time around the foundations. Here as well the king could donate lands and properties only from his own possessions, which all had a very stable supply system, also, Nosztra was specifically cherished and supported by King Louis until his death.

This was not the only direction where the monasteries had connections; although the Danube was not an insuperable border, it was a physical challenge to deal with, so except specific relations, the connections for managing daily life and sustenance were on land: both to the west and east appear location, which were related to the monasteries, for example butcheries at Vác or valuable properties along the Ipoly represent such assets. It might be a coincidence, but there was a certain time period, most probably ca. 200 years, when the parish church at Vác, the Pauline monastery at Toronyalja and the hermitage at Nagymaros-Zebegény all existed and were dedicated to St. Michael. It is still unclear why, it might be a coincidence, but all of them were on the territory of the Vác Bishopric although under different supervisions.

⁷³⁹ Like the hermitage at Nagymaros – Szent Mihály hegy.

⁷⁴⁰ Detailed description, charter evidence and previous research in MRT 9, site 19/3, pag. 225-228, Pic. 28, Table 58 1, 4, 9; Table 59, 1; Table 63, 2. Basis of the present summary is in Miklós, *Börzsöny*, 16-21; 54, footnote 67.

⁷⁴¹ Lukcsics 1, 99, 303 reg. A third St. Michael ecclesia was near the monasteries, in the town of Vác the German inhabitants' parish church was dedicated to St. Michael.

⁷⁴² Miklós, *Börzsöny*, 21.

It is also worth mentioning that in the fourteenth century, the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis were also in a changing status. Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta, as it was close to Esztergom, closely related to the local people and the clerics at Esztergom (see the donations, Chapter 5.3.1.), while the Holy Spirit Monastery at Pilisszentlélek was trying to establish and preserve the immediate royal connection and support (See the presence and reissues of charters by King Louis, Chapter 5.3.2.). Kékes, on the other hand, probably was located on a spot, which was usually crossed by the royal court, but based on the surviving sources, its role can be understood in another context (see the relationship with the monastery of Nosztra, Chapter 5.3.3. and 5.3.4.).

After 1381, the *translatio* of the relics of St. Paul to Budaszentlőrinc, a certain shadow covers the faith and history of all other monasteries in scholarship, which, in the respect of the discussed region, where the vivid fourteenth century brought flourishing, implies that nothing had happened after here. Except the reign of King Matthias, who was definitely supporting the Pauline order in many ways.

Paulines under the reign of King Sigismund of Luxembourg

The heritage of King Louis I had a strong impact on the future rulers of Hungary, which appeared to be true in the case of Visegrád and the surrounding area, as part of royal representation. Presumably, Sigismund I, the son-in-law of Louis followed not only his father's, Emperor Charles IV's habit, coinciding with European trends with his intentions to establish and manage a royal representative landscape, but in regard to the Paulines, he also internalized the aim of Louis, who founded the monasteries at Nosztra and Toronyalja. He regularly visited and donated Nosztra and also founded a new one in the vicinity of Visegrád.

Nota bene, besides the Paulines, the royal space at the Danube Bank contained two other monastic orders, which were invited by Sigismund himself. The St. George chapel of the royal palace at Visegrád was received by the Observant Franciscans and as a Holy Roman Emperor, he invited the Olivetans to the Provostry of St. Margaret. Since Budaszentlőrinc was a frequently visited pilgrim center, Sigismund probably wanted to create another religious center at Visegrád with the foundation of the Pauline monastery, including the relics of St. Sigismund, but also inviting other orders.⁷⁴³

The strength behind his intention to express his powerful and complex rulership in the region is demonstrated in written sources: in contrast to the Angevin rulers' perception of the area, especially the Pilis, King Sigismund practiced an attitude more similar to that of the Árpadian kings towards the

⁷⁴³ See the summary in Hovárth, "Zsigmond", 274–276.

forest county. He addressed the territory as the Royal Forest, so financial and political control over the area was still focused in the king's hands; therefore, the financial acts of the existing monasteries in the area were also affected by royal power, even at times when most of the counties were governed by nobles.⁷⁴⁴ Although the royal seat moved to Buda in 1408, Sigismund respected and regularly visited Visegrád and the baths of Hévkút,⁷⁴⁵ also the hunting lodge at Damásd⁷⁴⁶ – all close to the Pauline monasteries in the Börzsöny.

Therefore, in this area another royal road, the *via regia*, appeared, which connected the royal center with Hévkút (Fig. 5.8.) through Verőce, also the northern part of Szentendre Island, passing the ferry at Kisoroszi,⁷⁴⁷ which was an important center along the Danube in regards to crossings.⁷⁴⁸ In this geographic context, another Pauline monastery that was founded by Sigismund and has only recently been and only partly researched (see Chapter 5.3.6.).⁷⁴⁹

Sigismund wanted to venerate his own patron saint, St. Sigismund, to disseminate his broad respect, along with the holy and knightly Hungarian king, St. Ladislaus.⁷⁵⁰ He sent relics of the Burgundian saint to Kolozsmonostor, Várad, also he dedicated the new chapter at Buda to the saint – just like his father did by the construction of the *Frauenkapelle* in Nuremberg,⁷⁵¹ which was the epitome for the chapter at Buda, not only ideologically but architecturally as well.⁷⁵² Around the time

⁷⁴⁴ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 118.

⁷⁴⁵ 1412: Along with King Wladislaus II of Poland they stayed at the villa next to Maros. Dlugoss 1997, 206; at the same time, they visited the monastery of Toronyalja (16 July) and later the Paulines at Nosztra (21 July). C. Tóth 2014, 347, Dlugoss 1997, 207.

⁷⁴⁶ Perhaps it turned to a significant fortress, Gergely Buzáús, “Királyi rezidenciák a szálláshelyek a késő középkori Magyarországon” [Royal residences in late medieval Hungary], in *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén”* [Archaeological, art historical, and historical researches “in the middle of the Kingdom”], eds. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015), 705–23.

⁷⁴⁷ The whole area of the settlement was owned mostly by the Bishop of Vác, but King Charles I gained it, therefore it was developing from the fourteenth century, as a royal asset. It was called Magna Villa in the Árpadian period. MNL OL DL 1922; DF 238281.

⁷⁴⁸ Eberard Windecke, *Eberhard Windecke emlékirata Zsigmond királyról és koráról* [The diary of Eberhard Windecke of King Sigismund and his era]. ed. and translator by Renáta Skorka. (Budapest: MTA, 2008), 154.

⁷⁴⁹ On this royal pathway, the foundation of the St. Sigismund Monastery, and the connections between royal power and religious houses see József Laszlovsky, “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 Laszlovsky (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013), 207–218; Tóth 2005, 367–384, Laszlovsky 2018, 16–20.

⁷⁵⁰ Horváth, “Szent Zsigmond”, 272.

⁷⁵¹ RI 8, no. 1192.

⁷⁵² András Végh, “Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária, másnéven Szent Zsigmond-templom alapításának történetéhez” [Data on the foundation of Holy Virgin, or St. Sigismund church]. *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999), 28; also see the whole issue of Budapest Régiségei 33, *A Szent Zsigmond templom és a Zsigmond kor budai szobrászata* [The St. Sigismund chapter and the sculpture in the Sigismund era, Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2000.

it was finished, Sigismund also mentions the newly founding monastery of the Paulines (see more in Chapter 5.3.6.).

This event shows that the Pauline system in the Pilis had absolutely changed throughout the fourteenth century and in the time of King Sigismund. After his reign, from the first half of the fifteenth century, the Pauline hierarchy did not change much in the region; only the number of those monasteries, which were originally run by other orders, but mostly unsuccessfully, thus the Paulines received them from King Matthias I. (like the chapter at Dömös or St. Andrew monastery in the studied region).

5.3. Monasteries in the Pilis-Visegrád Hills and the Börzsöny Hills

In the upcoming subchapters all the hermitages and monasteries are discussed in detail. As it appeared in all the analyzed regions, the structure and length of each presentation here is based on the available sources, which is rather unbalanced. Thus, the form of each subchapter may differ. In regards of the whole dissertation, it is rather unusual among the examined monasteries that a detailed archaeological survey, e.g. thorough excavation was conducted; in the present region three monasteries (Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, St. Michael, Chapter 5.3.1., 5.3.2., 5.3.5.) are such sites, while at Nosztra (Chapter 5.3.4.) a partial but detailed building fabric investigation was held. Although such information is of utmost importance (a brief overview was attached in the Source collection –Appendix 2), only specific data was used of them since the particular focus of the present work was still on the monastic spatial arrangement and attribution. Finally, a general issue should be highlighted: unlike at the Balaton Uplands, in the Pilis and Börzsöny, only a minor number of toponyms survived since medieval memory, even the places of memory almost completely vanished.

5.3.1. *Kesztölc-Klastrompuszta, Hermitage and Monastery of the Holy Cross*

The Holy Cross Monastery was of crucial importance in the early history of the order: the Paulines were called *fratres sancte crucis de heremo* even in the early fourteenth century. These monastic buildings were situated halfway between the Cistercian monastery and Esztergom, close to the *via magna* (or *viae magnae*) and to the supposed *via regis* (see Chapter 5.2.3., also Fig. 5.5.). The western boundaries of the monastery were described in a perambulation, which was recorded 1393 (probably originally in 1364, see Appendix 2/5.3.1., *datum* 1364 and 1393, also the perambulation).⁷⁵³ Here,

⁷⁵³ See the text of the perambulation in Appendix 2.

based on the mentioned features, the route could be more or less reconstructed. (see the source in the Appendix 2/5.3.1.)

It is clear that the starting point was somewhere between the village of Kesztlőc and the monastery, since the route from Kesztlőc to the Holy Cross Monastery is mentioned just after the start of the perambulation route. Then, after several valleys and hilly areas, the *via magna* running from Esztergom to Buda appears, which was located on the most southern part of the area. (Fig. 5.3.1.)

Unfortunately, no other names are recognizable on historical or modern topographical maps of the area, but in some cases the sites might be identified. I.e. *vallum Zeketarla* can probably be identified with a Roman watchtower,⁷⁵⁴ which –based on archaeological evidence– was also used in the Árpadian Period.⁷⁵⁵ (see also Fig. 5.5.) However, as the directions from the charter lead in the opposite direction, this seems questionable. The reconstruction can be made more precise through the research of settlements and the articulation of regional topography.

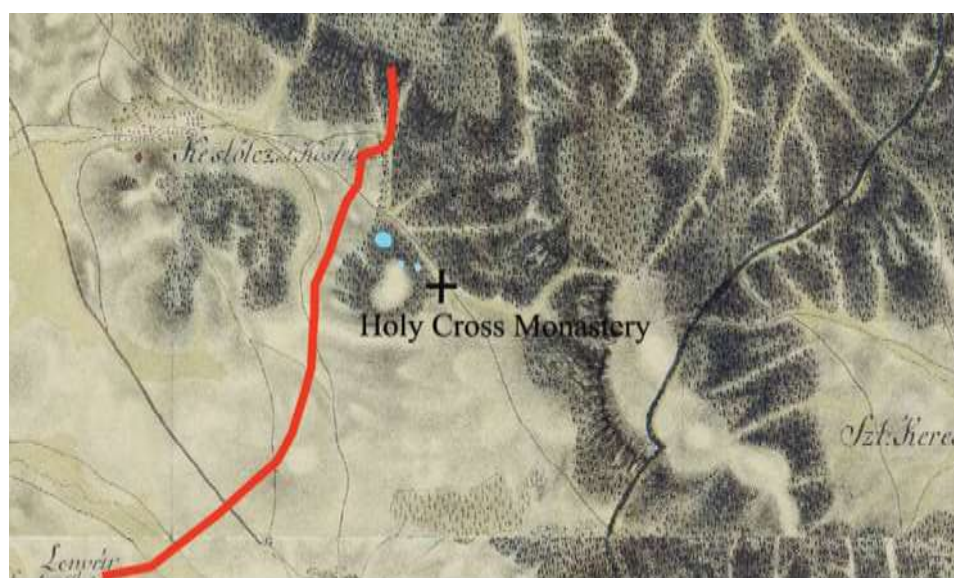


Fig. 5.3.1. *Pilis-Holy Cross.* The reconstructed border between Kesztlőc village and the monastery. Reconstruction based on the charter and the First Ordnance Survey.

Around the ruins of the monastery, which were partly excavated (Fig. 5.3.2.), several features indicate the existence of a complex water management system in the valley, which runs from the southeast to the northwest. One kilometer west of the caves, which might have been used by the hermits, ran several springs (Fig. 5.3.3., 2.a-c) that could have possibly supplied the streams, but this can be reconstructed only indirectly. The Bence Well (2.a) might have supplied the monastery (1) directly

⁷⁵⁴ DL 236647 (original from 1393); DL 8014 (copy, 1696). See the sources in Appendix 2.

⁷⁵⁵ MRT 5, 278. (Piliscsév site: 16/1)

with fresh water, being likely located in the cloister garden/courtyard, but the monks could also have led the water further to supply the ponds. As the spatial features had been destroyed between the monastery and the first detected pond (3.a), which was dug 200 meters from the ruins, it is not possible to make further conclusions on the starting point of the system. Nevertheless, it still seems relevant that the northern stream may have had a role in this system as well; we can suppose that the drainage channels could have emerged from the second pond (3.b), if we accept earlier reports on the existence of a vaulted stone drainage outlet (Fig. 5.3.4.).⁷⁵⁶ The earlier pond was destroyed by erosion, while the later one was destroyed by strong anthropogenic activities since the 1950s. Nothing can be said about the development and dating of the ponds; the only thing that must be true is that they have medieval origins.

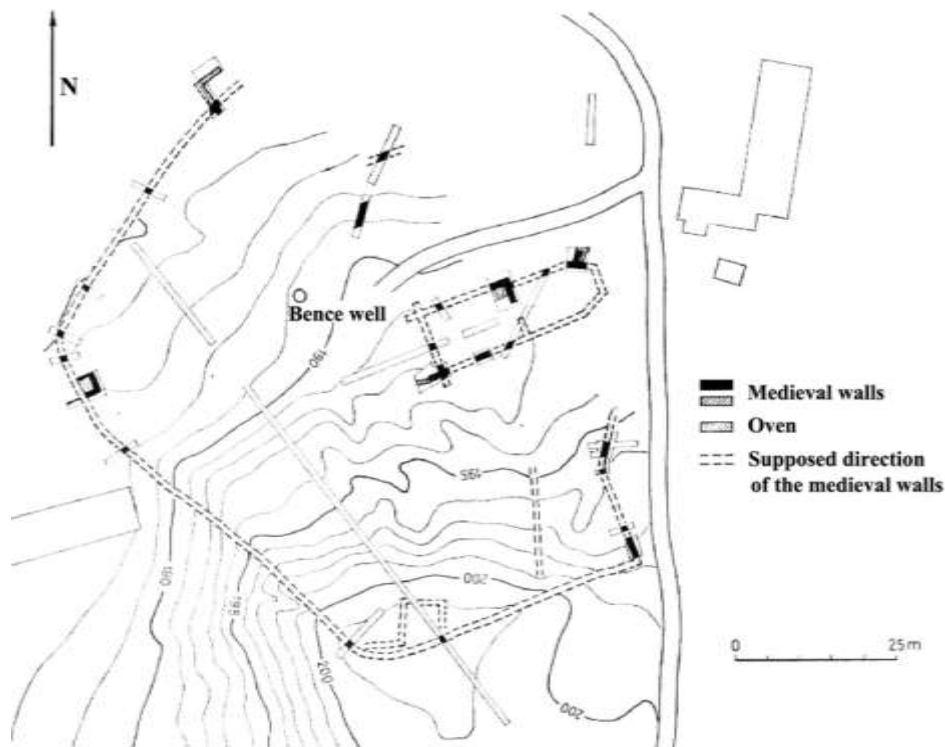


Fig. 5.3.2. *Pilis-Holy Cross*. The plan of the site at the Monastery of Holy Cross. On the basis of the work of István Méri. MRT 5, 235.

⁷⁵⁶ For more information see Appendix 2.

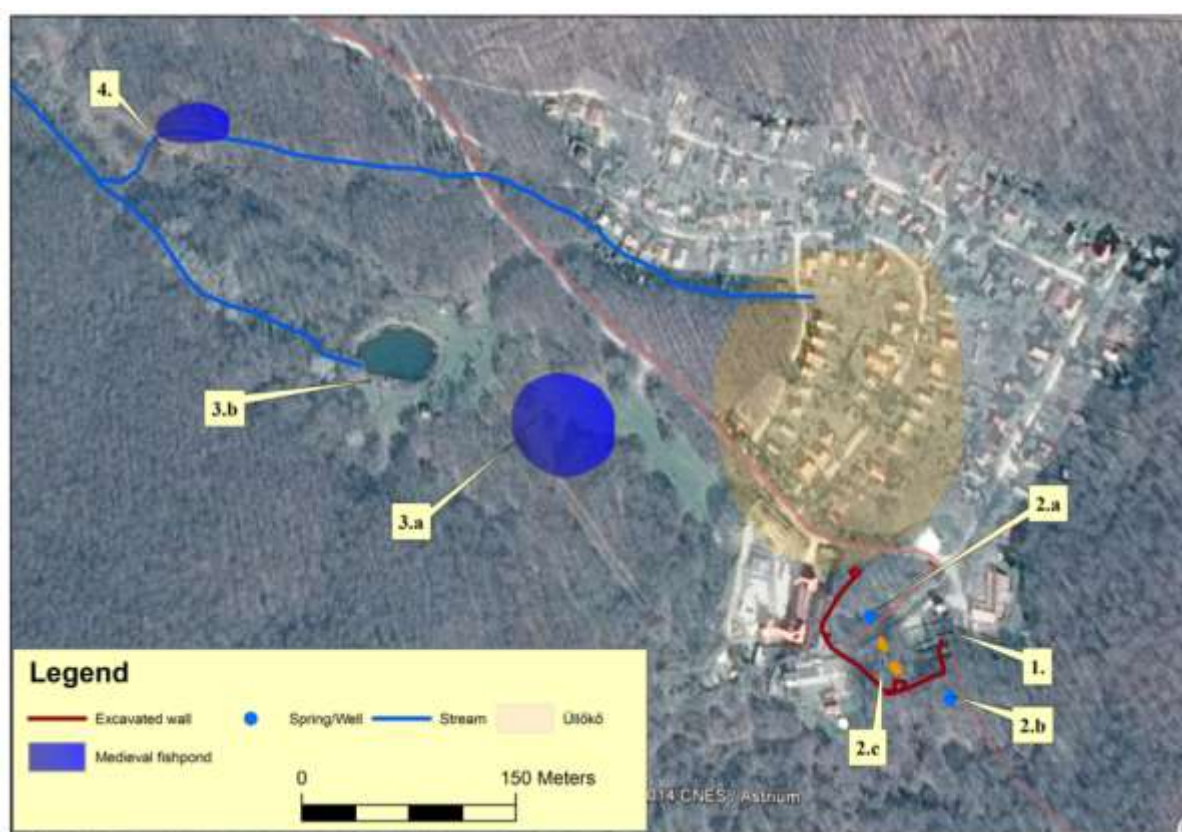


Fig. 5.3.3. *Pilis-Holy Cross*. Recorded landscape features around the monastery of Holy Cross, base: Google Satellite.



Fig. 5.3.4. *Pilis-Holy Cross*. The remains of the medieval vaulted stone inlet on the west-northwest. Archival photo. Méri (1959c), “Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta”

Just as in the previous case, there is no written data reflecting on mills or other spatial features connected to the economy or land usage around the monastery, but according to the structure of a newly recorded dike (4), there might have been a mill at the end of the steep slope, where this earthwork is located. Archaeological evidence supports the existence of a medieval settlement just south of the monastery and the remains of workshops were also revealed by excavations. Slag that

was found next to the walls (outside the buildings) of the monastery suggests the existence of metal workshops, for which water supply must also have been important.

As the written sources suggest, the monastery had most of its properties (arable lands and vineyards) nearby.⁷⁵⁷ Although the arable lands are hardly to be accurately identified, the vineyards were always located at a specific area since there is an extremely high and white rocky area, directed to northwest-southeast, which reflects light and warm to the southern slopes there. (Fig. 5.3.5.) Although the huge nineteenth-century grape phylloxera destroyed almost all of the traditional vineyards in the Carpathian Basin, during the recultivation at Kesztlöc, the very same lands were planted with grapes that were before the epidemic (it was called *promontorium* in the Middle Ages). Today it is part of a traditional wine region, called Neszmélyi Borvidék/Wine Region of Neszmély. The Paulines had at least three vineyards at Kesztlöc, one donated by Lady *Gewnghe* in 1308, the other was mentioned specifically at the foothills at Kesztlöc in 1336, when the Paulines obtained a release from paying tax after those specific vineyards (reissued in 1346, also 1396, although the sources are a bit dubious in the case, see Appendix 2/5.3.1. and 5.3.2. sources). Since the location of the first donation is unknown, it is also possible that the two data overlaps each other. The third one was donated in 1476 by Johannes of Kesztlöc. They also had two other vineyards somewhere at Szentlélek and around Szentkereszt monastery, as the *Vitae* documented it (although it is possible that the names referred to the monasteries, who owned vineyards; see Appendix 2/5.3.2.1. at 1346, but see also 1336, 1396 and 5.3.2. relevant sources).

Despite the self-sustenance, the local community, following late medieval trends, focused on the development of a monetary economy; beside their estates, they owned at least two houses, including one at Buda with the Holy Spirit Monastery –which meant a regular income for them (see Chapter 5.3.2. and Fig. 5.3.20.)– and another at Esztergom. These were probably important not only as properties available for lease, however, there is a specific function why houses were important for ones who had vineyards: specifically, the sedilia at the doorways were the places for selling wine or beer.⁷⁵⁸ Judit Benda, on the other hand, appeared to identify these doorways as meeting point; but most importantly the prior or the monks could be lodged there⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁷ For more information see the Appendix.

⁷⁵⁸ Holl (1989), 59.

⁷⁵⁹ I hereby want to thank Katalin Szende for the data and that she raised my attention to the multiple possibilities of using houses.



Fig. 5.3.5. *Pilis-Holy Cross. The vineyard area on the First Ordnance Survey and today.*

Regarding the further properties of the monastery, woods appear early but only once, in 1274, donated by King Ladislaus IV. He also donated a property, his hunting lodge, to the hermits (to Father Petrus of *Calidis Aquis* at Buda) in 1287, which might be the later monastery of Holy Spirit. The King also gave the property of Üllőkő to the hermits in 1289. The latter was identified by *The Archaeological Topography* next to the monastery,⁷⁶⁰ however, there was probably a considerable distance between the village and the monastery. The name of the settlement means anvil stone, probably the shape of a rock in the landscape or the specific task of the royal village, namely smithing, was remembered in its name. Teszér property in 1328 is also referred to as *terra*, just like Üllőkő, which would mean these were fertile arable lands. Three other lands (*terra*) were donated at Csév, the southeastern neighbor of the Paulines in 1307, 1358, and even in 1455. Only one other type appears amongst the donated lands: a *fenetum* was given to the Paulines as a compensation in 1360 by Chepan, son of Iwan.

Three noteworthy artifacts were found during excavations of the Holy Cross that may reveal some details about the everyday life of the monks. The first is a collection of fragments from a clay sculpture portraying St. Christopher,⁷⁶¹ which served an important role in religious representation. The second is a group of fragments from a baptismal font, which must have been built after the Paulines were allowed to perform pastoral tasks, that is, after 1417. Thirdly, painted window glass

⁷⁶⁰ MRT 5, 299.

⁷⁶¹ On the topic see Gerald Volker Grimm, ed., *Kleine Meisterwerke des Bilddrucks. Ungeliebte Kinder der Kunstgeschichte Handbuch und Katalog der Pfeifentonfiguren, Model und Reliefdrucke* (Aachen: Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, 2011).

fragments were also found here, which was a unique find of Hungarian medieval archaeology until 2012, when similar motifs were revealed on small glass fragments at the excavation of the church of a medieval village (Budakalász), near Óbuda.⁷⁶² An arcade (the coverage of the cloister corridor?) was built in 1471, but unfortunately, not much is known about the cloister complex yet. Recently, the Gothic stone carvings were published by Gergely Szoboszlay and Olivér Gillich.⁷⁶³

5.3.2. *Pilisszentlélek, Monastery of Holy Spirit (Pilisszentlélek)*

King Ladislaus IV donated the land of *Bendwelgye* or *Benedekvölgye* (again, which lies in the Pilis) with a *palatium* to the Paulines, namely Father Peter of Hévíz (*Petrus de Calidis Aquis*) and his fellows. At the same time the king mandated that Prior Benedek⁷⁶⁴, the prior of the Holy Cross Monastery, send some monks to settle the new 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: it is also the closest to Dömös from all three monasteries, which localization is stated in the medieval charter; it also has a chapel for praying.⁷⁶⁵ It has been emphasized recently that Benedek might have had such a good relationship with the king that the name of the land that was donated to the Paulines, *Benedekvölgye*, may refer to the prior himself.⁷⁶⁶

The boundaries around the late medieval Holy Spirit Monastery and its landed estate are well known to scholars. The monastic building complex is located near the supposed *via regis*. King Louis I confirmed the donations of his ancestors, donated further lands to the Paulines, and ordered a new perambulation. It states that a hill to the north called *Kyrállese/Királylese* (lit. King's Lookout) is the starting point, then turning east, the boundary crosses the road to Marót (today's Pilismarót on the bank of the river Danube).⁷⁶⁷ From here it arrives at *ÓhRemete-hely* (lit. Old Hermit's Site, which may refer to the hermits who lived here before the foundation of the Pauline Order⁷⁶⁸), where it follows the *Örümes* stream (unfortunately its meaning is not known). It then turns to the south and west, where it crosses the *Soklós* hill (probably named after the grass snake, *sikló* in Hungarian), *Fekete-kő* (lit. Black Rock), *Fejér/Fehér-kő* (lit. "White Rock"), *Vodnyiló/Vadnyaló/Vadnyiló* valley

⁷⁶² The excavation was conducted by Gábor Tomka (Hungarian National Museum). Fortunately, the author was lucky enough to be present at the site. On the glasses see Pető, 2022.

⁷⁶³ Szoboszlay – Gillich, 2023.

⁷⁶⁴ It is certainly strange that the prior of Holy Cross was called Benedek, while the donated valley and property was also called Benedek. Most possibly the nomination of the valley predates the prior.

⁷⁶⁵ *Inventarium* 81; VF, Cap. 15; Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 116, ref. 75.

⁷⁶⁶ Benkő, "A Szent Kereszt remetéinek korai kolostorai a Pilisben," 32.

⁷⁶⁷ See the Latin text transcribed by a later copy in the Appendix.

⁷⁶⁸ MRT 5, 299.

(lit. Wild Blooming/Licking, probably referring to the wild flora or wild animals that may have gone there for the salt), and then reaches again the Királylese hill.

A cadastral map of Pilisszentlélek from 1788,⁷⁶⁹ (Fig. 5.3.6.) covers some points of this perambulation. As a significant feature in the landscape, the *Süllér* hill might be the medieval Királylese hill. This place name may refer to the memory of the royal hunting grounds or even to the era before the monastic presence, the time of the itinerant kingship when a royal house and domain existed here.⁷⁷⁰ Unfortunately, only one further correlation can be suggested on the medieval boundary: in the southwestern area, the name *Fekete-kő* (lit. Black Rock) has been preserved until today.



Fig. 5.3.6. *Pilis-Holy Spirit*. Cut from a cadastral map on the territory of Szentlélek (1788), depicting *Fekete-hegy*, Black rock southwest to the settlement. National Archive, No. S 12 Div IX No. 99.

Much more is known on the environment around the monastery that was enclosed by a wall. The wall itself is unique amongst the monasteries; as far as now, only at Tálod (Chapter 4.3.2.) and probably at Pécs-Jakabhegy was the monastery surrounded by stone fence. This is not the only unique character of the monastery: the archaeological research, conducted by Sarolta Lázár in the 1980s, revealed the ruins of a building, north of the monastery (see the plan in the Appendix, also Fig. 5.3.7.), that might have been the *palatium* of the king; it should be noted that the very strange plan of the monastery is possibly the result of the previous function (hunting lodge) of the buildings.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁹ MNL Collection of Maps, S 12 No 99.

⁷⁷⁰ On the *palatium* see: MRT 5, 298–299; Benkő, “Udvarházak és kolostorok a pilisi királyi erdőben,” 744–746.

⁷⁷¹ MRT 5, 298–299; Benkő, “Udvarházak és kolostorok a pilisi királyi erdőben,” 744–746.

Although it has been suggested that royalty was accommodated here, besides the written evidence, there are only a few archaeological sources that can be used to support this idea.⁷⁷² The present picture of the ruins shows the final period of the buildings, finished around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which—based on the uncovered stone fragments of the monastic buildings— was no different to the typical rural architecture of early fifteenth-century Hungary.⁷⁷³

The LiDAR survey of the monastery in 2023, conducted and processed by Tamás Látos and Zsolt Zsiga (Hungarian National Museum-National Institute of Archaeology) in the frame of the ongoing Pauline research, revealed the detailed ground plan of the monastery and the broad vicinity of it (Fig. 5.3.7. and 5.3.9.). It precisely revealed the extension and location of the supposed *palatium*, which is to be excavated. Another built structure is visible east of the palace. Although the western part of the fence was destroyed, the plateau of the monastery probably locates its past place, also the *nucleus* of the monastic space. At the western area, just opposite of the western wing, a vague trace of a cistern is possibly seen, however, the terrain suffered heavy modifications inside and around the ruin garden, which might have resulted the form of the terrain there.

⁷⁷² For example, excavated stove tiles came from the refectory and the southern outbuilding. The foundation of a stove(?) in the chapter and a mold of a stove tile (decorated with the Madonna and Child Jesus) were also found in the monastery. Such motifs, or even stove tiles were rare in lay buildings until the late fifteenth century, thus they are usually regarded as luxury materials connected to royal and prominent ecclesial space. 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.

⁷⁷³ The information from the material is enough to reconstruct some parts of the buildings, like the vestry and 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.

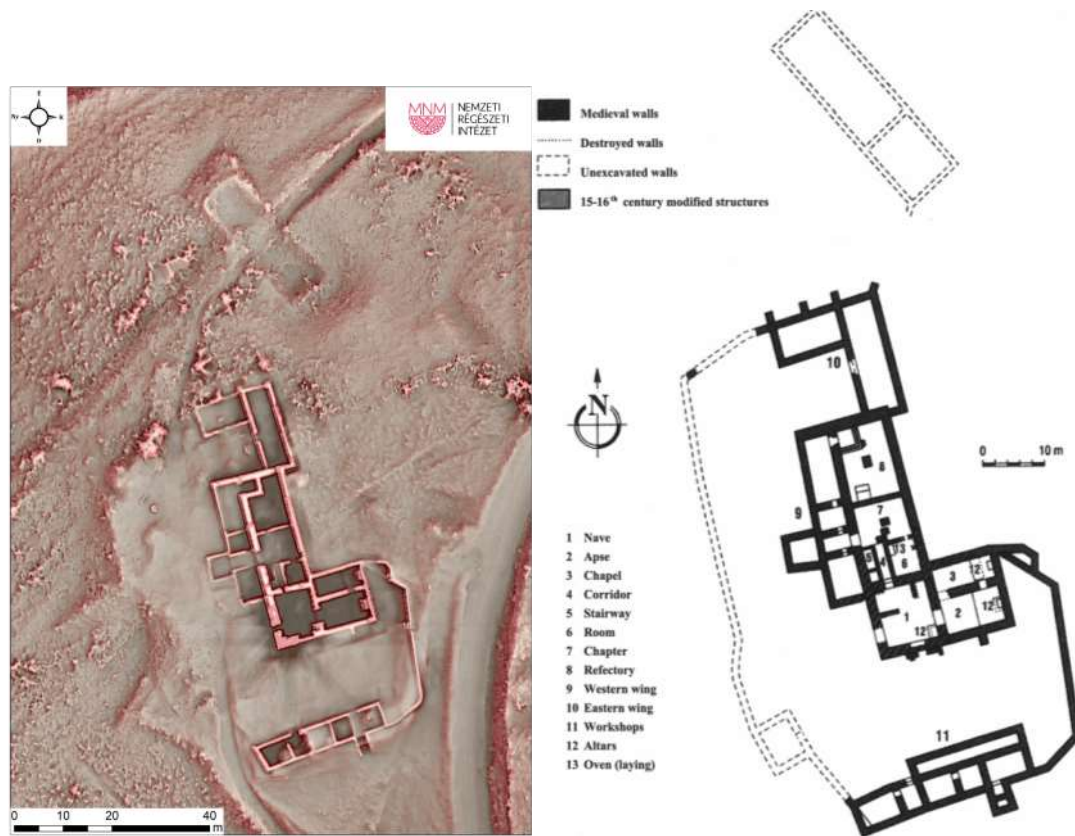


Fig. 5.3.7. *Pilis-Holy Spirit*. LiDAR survey of the monastery. Credit: Tamás Látos, Zsiga Zsolt, HNM, NIA.

A few meters northwest of the ruins, several wild fruit trees (apple and pear) may represent a historical orchard at the site (Fig. 5.3.8.).⁷⁷⁴ Here, the remains of a complex water management system were recorded during a field survey in 2014. As sources did not mention this, the existence of any related structure is only a hypothesis. Due to the attributes of the local soil, the fishponds (Fig. 5.3.8., 3.a-e) were first dug into the ground at a sharp angle, then the terrain of the valley ca. 200–250 m from the monastery was slightly elevated.⁷⁷⁵ Today the moats and structural details are barely observable, only a circular area covered by reeds indicates their presence. The mill was identified by previous research, but the mill channel, which was mentioned in archaeological reports,⁷⁷⁶ was destroyed by erosion and human activity. Although the medieval settlement in the valley near the stream is clearly identifiable, it also could be a manor, which was the predecessor of a later

⁷⁷⁴ This was clarified after the field surveys; here I would like to thank my father, Endre for calling my attention to the regularity of the apple and pear trees. After the field survey, László Ferenczi gave a free run in a document on the plan of the surrounding landscape heritage management, which also marks the area as a historical orchard. Hereby I would like to thank his help as well.

⁷⁷⁵ A landscape architectural survey detected three fishponds here, but according to the situation that our field surveys have revealed, the terrain—as it is in the humid bed of a valley—seems to be changing radically in a short period of time.

⁷⁷⁶ For more on this see the Appendix.

settlement.⁷⁷⁷ There is no data on workshops connected to a water management system, but there were some buildings excavated to the south of the church, which served industrial purposes.⁷⁷⁸

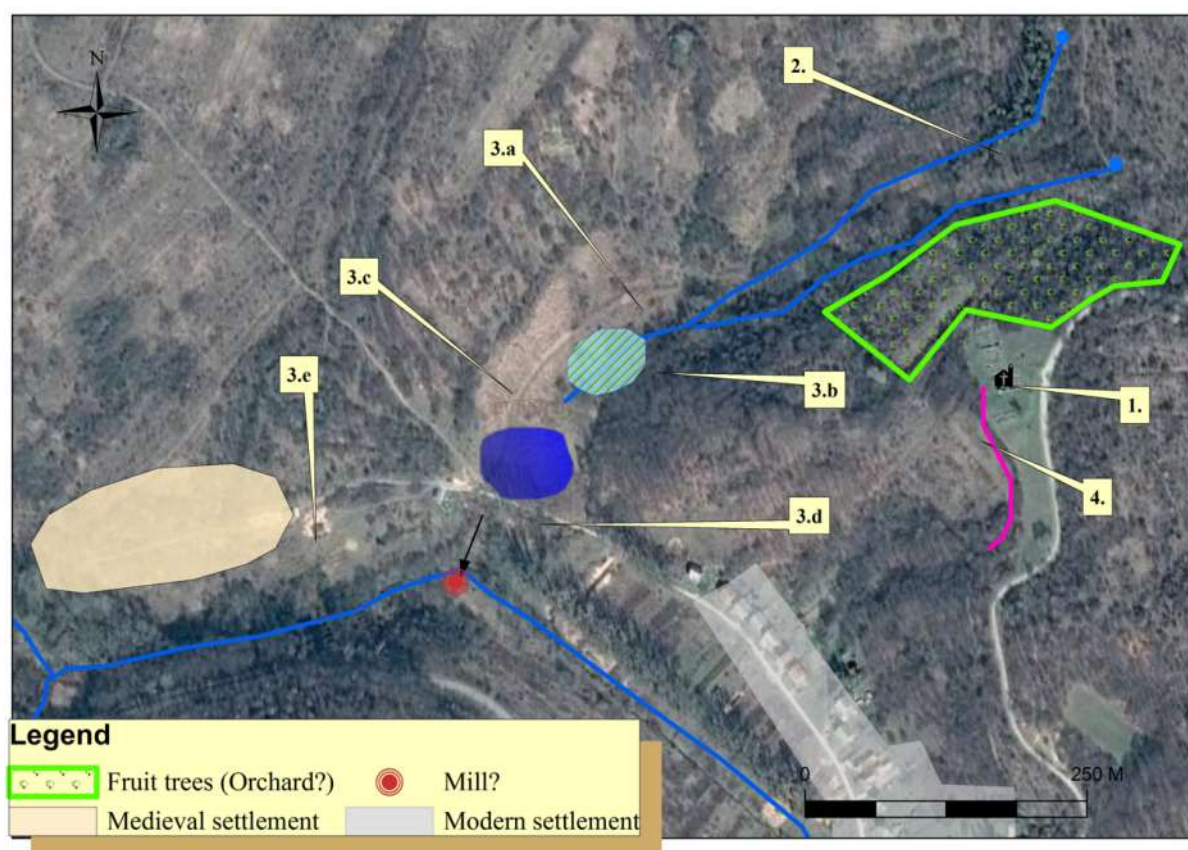


Fig. 5.3.8. *Pilis-Holy Spirit*. The results of the field surveys around the Holy Spirit monastery (1), where near the orchard, streams and springs (2), fishponds and dikes (3.a-e) were detected with a supposed mill with its channel.

However, almost ten years later, the LiDAR survey (Fig. 5.3.9.) revealed a slightly different picture of the terrain. The fishponds and dykes mostly are unseen on the processed digital surface model (DSM), only the large fishpond with its dyke (3e), discovered by *The Archaeological Topography* surveys, the traces of the mill are not visible. Although no other features appeared, it is likely possible that the water, for example flash floods from the northern region, were most probably regulated by other dykes in the valley, also, the location of the visible pond and dyke proves that the pond also served as a reservoir of the northern water; so, although further features are not visible on the LiDAR-based DSM, based on the field survey and the local characteristics of the landscape, some elements of water regulation were possibly present there.

⁷⁷⁷ After the Ottoman period the uninhabited territories were settled by newly arriving people; therefore, it is problematic to connect the newly founded settlements with medieval origins. Although, if there ever was a settlement inhabited by the monks, it can be expected to be named after the monastery, as it was a general practice in such situations.

⁷⁷⁸ Lázár, "Pilisszentlélek műhelyház."

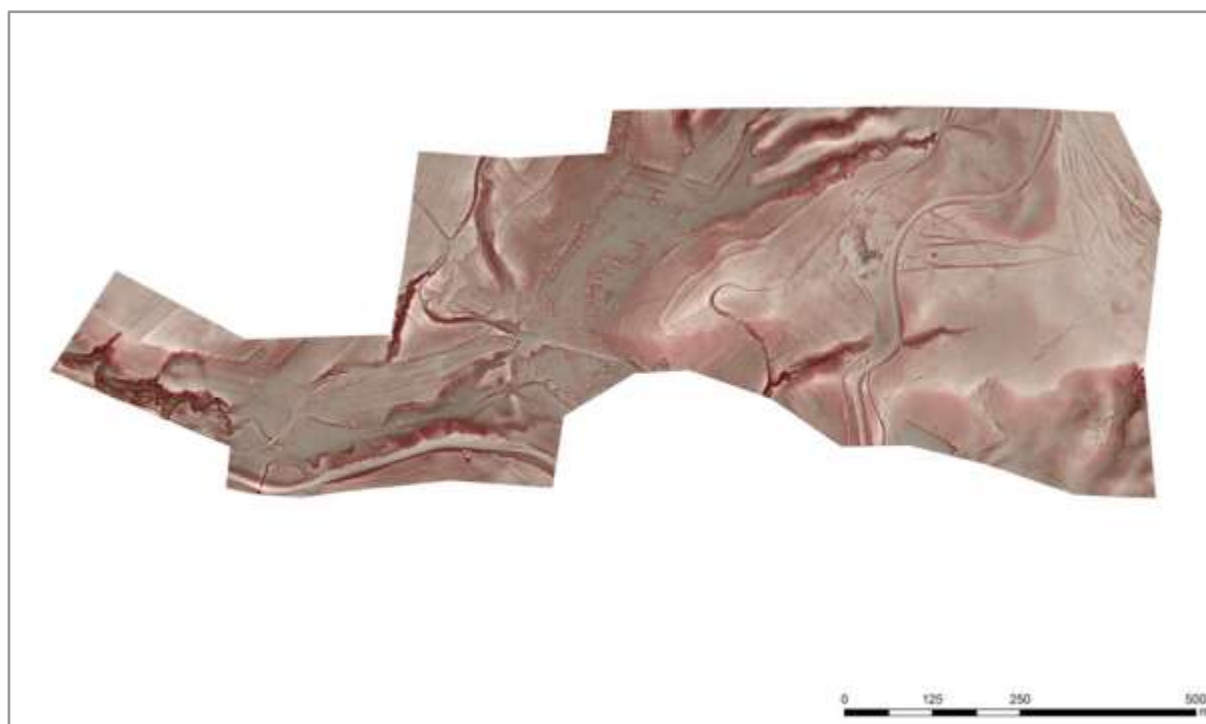


Fig. 5.3.9. *Pilis-Holy Spirit*. The LiDAR survey of the area around Pilisszentlélek monastery. Credit: Tamás Látos and Zsolt Zsiga, HNM- NIA

Even less is known on the local roads, although some peculiarities are visible on the DSM. Beside many cuts in the terrain, as the results of water flows (springs or flash floods), the modern road and some tourist tracks are visible. (Fig. 5.3.10.) One of them, starting from the village along the modern track, reaches the monastery on the southwestern corner, where – as the excavation plan shows– another building was located, perhaps a gate at the entrance (it would be the closest to the monastic church); nowadays this track leads further, through the *palatium*, to the north. At the southern side of the *palatium*, another track is visible, which seems to be a historical, deep-cut track (see the red arrows on Fig. 5.3.10.). It is also possible that it led to the entrance of the monastic complex, on the northwestern corner, simultaneously but separately of the other entrance, immediately leading to the *palatium* (or it was also a gate house/tower).

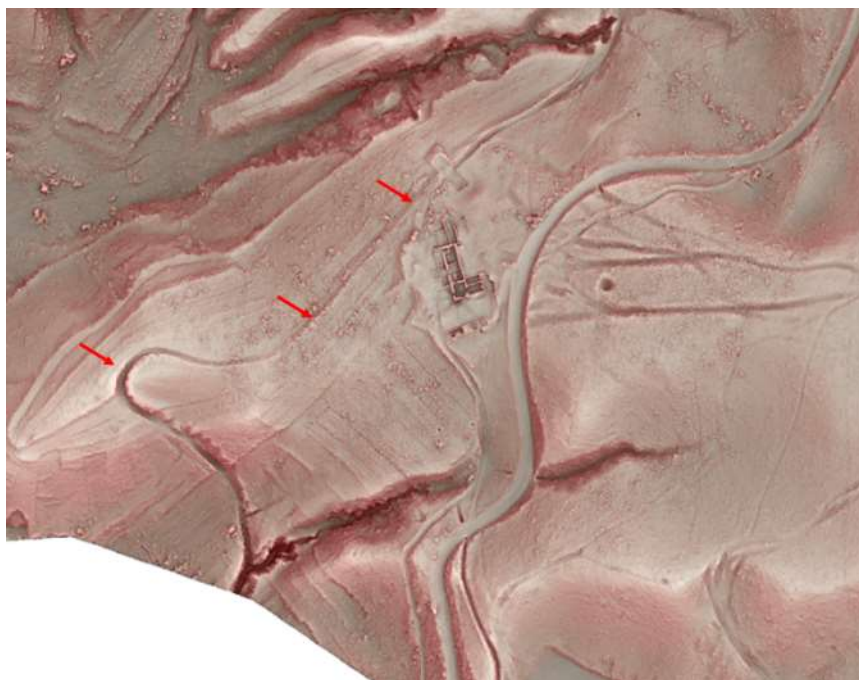


Fig. 5.3.10. *Pilis-Holy Spirit*. A deep-cut road and remains of water flows near the monastery. Based on the LiDAR of Tamás Látos and Zsiga Zsolt, HNM NIA.

There are only a few medieval documents on the monastery⁷⁷⁹ but there is no strong evidence against the presence of the general characteristic features of an average Pauline monastery here. 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 in Buda for 400 Florins (1425-1513), which was supposedly a moderately high-category building in the late Middle Ages.⁷⁸⁰ (Fig. 5.3.20.) The strong connection between the two monasteries might have originated from the foundation of the Holy Spirit Monastery, which must have been a *filia* of the Holy Cross Monastery (charters, especially the one dated to 1287). Translating this to spatial language, the two monasteries were not far from each other, the ideal route between them was ca. 1,5 km. Another telling momentum is that both monasteries obtained a release from paying tithe after their vineyards. (see Appendix 2/5.3.1. and 5.3.2.)

Beside the fourteenth-century attempts to maximize the profit of the vineyards, also the fifteenth-century, shared houses, a very early donation also proves that the reform Pauline strategy at the Holy Cross and Spirit monasteries was a conscious turn to monetary economy. In 1326, Johannes

⁷⁷⁹ See Appendix 2 for more on these documents.

⁷⁸⁰ See András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza 1* [The Medieval map of Buda], vol. 1. (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2006), 213, no 3.1.4. Also Appendix 2.

Wayda of Transylvania⁷⁸¹ granted his ninth tax of *Bewdpalotha*. The *palota*, *palatium* was most probably a hunting lodge.⁷⁸²

Regarding the properties of the Paulines at the Holy Spirit monastery, not much data is known. Unspecified lands were donated by King Louis I for them in 1378, along with the perambulation of the monastery; Paulus Csupor donates some lands for them, probably arable fields in 1409; a few years later they receive arable lands at Esztergom (*Kezeg Maal*) from Nicholas Zambo. Bajon, where the Paulines were present as neighbors in 1467 at an installation, was located east of Esztergom, now it is part of the town. Mostly the canons of Esztergom owned properties here, along with members of mid- and high-nobility.⁷⁸³

The Paulines of Holy Spirit probably also owned a property at Bajon,⁷⁸⁴ most probably arable lands or meadows, but since the original charter is unidentified yet, it is also possible that the monks were present as simply neighbors, since Bajon was neighboring the monastery from the east, located between Esztergom and the monastery; in the nineteenth-century maps an area is called Barát-kút, Friar's well, which might indicate the possession of the Holy Spirit monastery there (Fig. 5.3.11.). Although there is no data on vineyards, mills, fishponds, or forests, within the vicinity of the monastery, everything was available there and as the perambulations prove, they owned the further vicinity of the monastery (see Fig. 5.3.8., 5.3.9., 5.3.12.).



⁷⁸¹ At the time the *vajdavoivode* of Transylvania was Thomas of Szécsény. It must have been its name.

⁷⁸² ÁMTF 4, 701.

⁷⁸³ A great summary online on the history of Bajon:

http://avarkozpontesztergom.hupont.hu/28/bajon-telepules-mint-kaptalani-birtok#google_vignette

⁷⁸⁴ Settlement located in Pilis county, see DL 45042; Hevenesi 10/1, 1395. április 26.; Hevenesi 10/2, 1416. január 14.

Fig. 5.3.11. *Pilis-Holy Spirit*. The Barát-kút area northeast to the monastery, on the past property of Bajon. Second Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 5.3.12. *Pilis-Holy Spirit*. The vineyards northwest to the monastery on the First Ordnance Survey, also the area today deforested on Google Satellite Map.

5.3.3. *Pilisszentlászló. Monastery of St. Ladislaus (medieval Kékes)*

As the location of the monastery was unsure for a long time and the landscape features have not yet been recorded in its details, written sources and historical maps are the basis for the conclusions discussed here. Examining the historical maps of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (usually drawn by Pauline monks⁷⁸⁵), several questions can be added to the whole issue of the St. Ladislaus Monastery. As the analysis on the structural dynamics of the Pilis has revealed, it is supposed to be situated in a special location halfway between Visegrád and Óbuda, which may correlate with the foundation of the monastery.⁷⁸⁶

There are debates about to what extent the modern parish church of present-day Pilisszentlászló was built on the Pauline monastery, right above the settlement of Szentlászló on an abandoned hill (on the basis of a royal hunting lodge).⁷⁸⁷ Moreover, the location of the medieval monastery has not been settled in scholarship, however, there are data which undoubtedly confirm its place beyond the Baroque church. Beside a private collection of carved stones and material at

⁷⁸⁵ After the Ottoman period, as part of the long consolidation, there were several attempts to restore medieval properties to the original religious order. This has raised many questions and misunderstandings up until contemporary scholarship. For an example see: Laszlovszky, “Ciszterci vagy pálos?.”

⁷⁸⁶ As was highlighted above, the foundation of the monastery raises many questions. The monastery was supposedly founded by King Ladislaus IV by 1291, as it was the contemporary practice to name the monastery after its founder, especially when the founder was the king. 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 discrepancy.

⁷⁸⁷ Györffy, “Adatok,” 284.

Szentlászló, collected for many decades from around the church, there are multiple maps marking *rudera* at the very same place. From example in 1770,⁷⁸⁸ a few years before (!) the construction of the Baroque church, a map clearly shows the ruins. (Fig. 5.3.13.) Notably, most of these maps support the idea that the arable lands were and still are located on the hill where the monastery was located.



Fig. 5.3.13. *Pilis-St.Ladislaus*. The rudera of the monastery. MNL OL Collection of Maps: S 11 No. 30.

Another historical map⁷⁸⁹ depicts also the ruins (*rudera*) of St. Ladislaus on the hill over the settlement (Fig. 5.3.14.), which is generally accepted by recent scholarship as the location of the monastery. This map also shows some hints about historical land usage: a vineyard (*vinea*) is present east of the settlement, near the cross.

⁷⁸⁸ MNL OL Collection of Maps: S 11 No. 30.

⁷⁸⁹ MNL OL Collection of Maps: S 86 No. 5.



Fig. 5.3.14. *Pilis-St. Ladislaus*. The ruins of the monastery (*Rudera*) and the vineyards (*Vinea*) in the southeastern vicinity of Pilisszentlászló. MNL OL Collection of Maps: S 86 No. 5.

Such historical maps also contain information about the boundary of Szentlászló,⁷⁹⁰ and though several reconstructions of the boundary have been suggested, due to the extensive debates around this topic, further, more detailed research is needed to compare the information.⁷⁹¹ Note that most of these maps support the idea that the arable lands were and still are located on the hill where the monastery was supposedly located; these lands were the most ideal areas for cultivation amongst the surrounding hilly terrain. (for example Fig. 5.3.13. or 5.3.14)

Another map⁷⁹² (Fig. 5.3.15.) finely illustrates and gives hints about how complex the landscape must have been in the medieval times.⁷⁹³ The details of the map shown below illustrate the boundary between Szentlászló and Bogdány (the settlement to the northeast), where a garden, cultivated by the inhabitants of Szentlászló (*hortus molitoris Szt. László*, the garden of the miller in the seventeenth c.), and two charcoal production sites (*carbonarium*) were located. What is more important is that the Kékes Stream can be identified as the present-day Apátkúti (lit. “Abbot’s Well”)

⁷⁹⁰ MNL OL Collection of Maps: S 86 No. 8, S 86 No. 4.

⁷⁹¹ It is also a problem that these maps were drawn within a short period, containing different information and approaches.

⁷⁹² MNL OL Collection of Maps: S 86 No. 6.

⁷⁹³ Early modern sources must be thoroughly studied and in most cases, these are not directly related to the medieval space; however, since there is a huge gap between the sixteenth and eighteenth century documents, it is relevant to introduce the earliest sources we have after the Middle Ages.

Stream, where at least one, but rather more mills were used by the Paulines. This identification, however, seems to contradict the sources, which describe this stream as being in the territory of the royal village in Szentendre, which is located east of Szentlászló. Furthermore, there is a stream from Szentlászló to the southeast, which floods into the Danube near medieval Szentendre, among the Kis- and Nagy-Kékes (lit. Small and Great Kékes) hills.



Fig. 5.3.15. *Pilis-St. Ladislaus*. Historical map; the boundary between Szentlászló and Bogdány. (1760). National Archive, Collection of Maps, S 86 No.6.

The written sources on the St. Ladislaus Monastery contain rich information on the late medieval daily life of the monks. Charters suggest that this monastery fits right into the conventional Pauline scheme from a very early stage, as the monks aimed to create a regular and stable income from vineyards and mills (as the most precious features), and by renting/leasing houses or sometimes receiving donations by alms.⁷⁹⁴ Mills and mill-sites (Fig. 5.3.17.) that were suitable for building mills and house for the miller, moreover the ruined mills, such as those –close to the monastery on Kékes Stream– donated to the Paulines (in 1358, 1458, or in 1475) and surely all the mills and places at

⁷⁹⁴ See the relevant data on these features in the Appendix.

Szód (Rákos stream, 1456, 1458) were all valuable to the Paulines. It is unknown how often it was necessary to make repairs on mills, but more than a hundred years after the donation, a charter informs us that a mill still existed on Kékes stream, but it needed to be repaired.⁷⁹⁵

The monks' basic daily food could be supplied from the fishponds, of which (at least) two were at the disposal of the monks, situated “over the monastery” (most probably north of it), including a larger one, which had to be renovated at the time of the donation.⁷⁹⁶ There is no further data on fishponds, although the large dyke in the landscape could have been one of the ponds mentioned in the charters. (Fig. 5.3.16.)

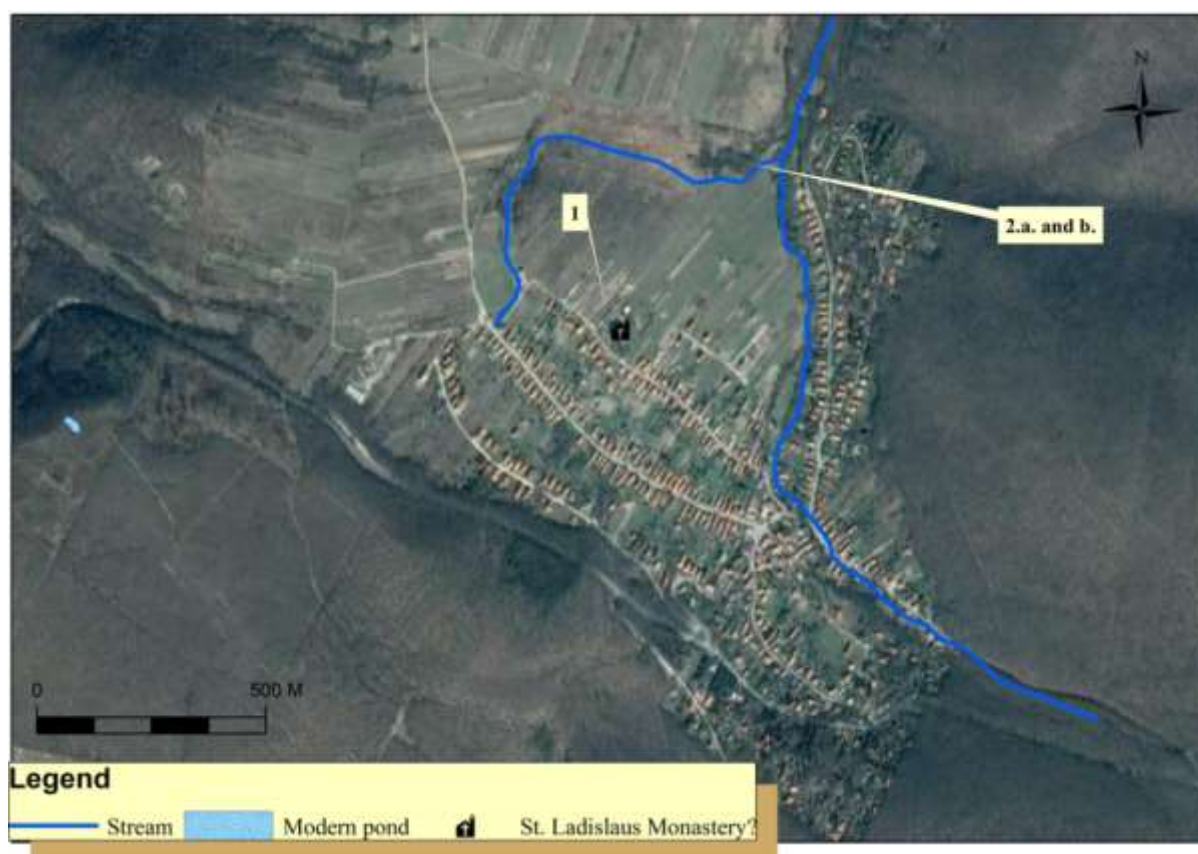


Fig. 5.3.16. *Pilis-St. Ladislaus*. Summary of the spatial features detected around the St. Ladislaus Monastery

It is also known that a settlement (Kékes) existed near the monastery by 1301, settled by a castellan of Visegrád.⁷⁹⁷ Kékes settlement was located where the Kékes stream originated; the stream

⁷⁹⁵ Peter of Tahi, in the name of his wife, sons, brother (Stephen, the provost of Dömös), and himself, offered a large donation to the monastery for the preparing of the larger fishpond and mill at Kékes Stream. In return, he likely asked for permission to be buried in the monastery. The donator also prospected more donations in the future and at the same time the monks of the monastery were obligated to celebrate a mass for the family on each Saturday in front of the Virgin Mary altar. F. Romhányi (2010), *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 99, footnote 547.

⁷⁹⁶ DL 17454; F. Romhányi (2010), *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 86.

⁷⁹⁷ Györffy, “Adatok,” 254.

flows into the Danube at Visegrád. The valley that connects Visegrád and the monastery was definitely frequently used by the people and the monks as well. (Fig. 5.3.17.) Except the vineyard in the vicinity of the monastery, depicted on the eighteenth-century maps, there is only written evidence for vineyards in other areas; *vineas* were owned by the monks of St. Ladislaus at Borosjenő (*Barátkaszáló*, *Sumulmaal*, 1351), Szentendre, and some near Vác (*Pychewelgh* in 1457 and an unknown area in the vicinity of Vác, co-owned by Toronyalja, Nosztra and Kékes monasteries since 1418; on the map the vine area of Vác was called Bakos, which represents these two latter areas there). All areas were exceptionally good for grape cultivation, huge lands were used as vineyards around the settlements; unfortunately, no precise localization of the hermits' vineyards was possible here. (Fig. 5.3.17.)

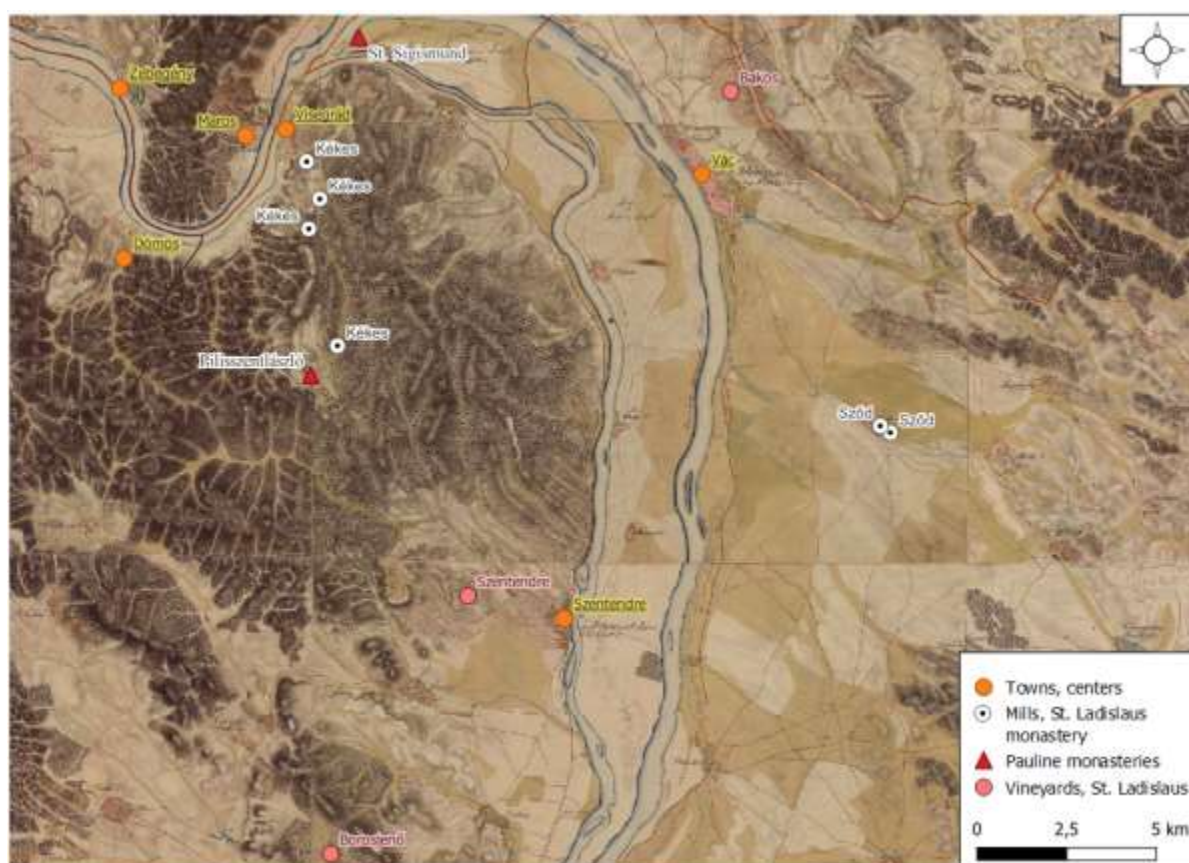


Fig. 5.3.17. *Pilis-St. Ladislaus. The mills, vineyards on the First Ordnance Survey.*

Houses were of great value for the monks, just like in the case of the two previous monasteries. Around the time when the Holy Cross and Holy Spirit acquired a house at Buda, the St. Ladislaus monastery owned a parcel in the royal town of Visegrád until 1412, which was the closest royal center to the monastery. It definitely was a parcel for a house that could be located on the basis of a charter:

“...a certain parcel of theirs in the midst of the said town (*civitate*) of Visegrád, namely in the vicinity of the farms or houses of Master James the Literate and Master James the Stonecarver, from the western side, it goes right and passes until a small road, in which they go and pass to the church of the Blessed Virgin and also between the farm of John the sons of Stephen, called Chech, on the southern side, and on the western side, the farm of the court of the master James de Zeepes,...”

The royal town of Visegrád was researched by Orsolya Mészáros,⁷⁹⁸ who identified all known locations from written and archaeological evidence there in the past years.⁷⁹⁹ Mészáros concluded that the small streets were connected to the main road and enclosed double parcels, households at once. The parcels were relatively large, multiple houses could be built on them. Mészáros could draw a draft of the parcels where the Paulines had a parcel (Fig. 5.3.18. and Fig. 5.3.19.), which was in the close vicinity, probably opposite the parish church of Visegrád.

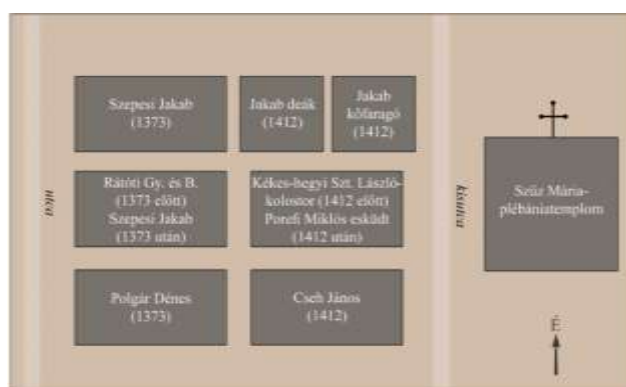


Fig. 5.3.18. *Pilis-St. Ladislaus*. Outline of Jakab Szepesi's group of plots. Drawing: Orsolya Mészáros, Zsolt Réti. Mészáros, "Városi élet," 639.

⁷⁹⁸ Orsolya Mészáros, "Városi élet a visegrádi királyi városban" [Life in the Royal Town of Visegrád] In *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások "az ország közepén"*. [Archaeological, art historical, and historical researches "in the middle of the Kingdom"], eds. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015), 637.

⁷⁹⁹ see relevant titles in the Bibliography



Fig. 5.3.19. **Pilis-St. Ladislaus.** Visegrád and Maros in the Middle Ages. Drawing: Orsolya Mészáros, after ÁMF IV. 709. Mészáros, 2015, 630. The royal town of Visegrád, the so-called magyarváros (Hungarian town) and the probable area of the houses, including the parcel of the St. Ladislaus monastery of Kékes. Orsolya Mészáros, “Városi élet a visegrádi királyi városban” [Life in the Royal Town of Visegrád] In *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén”*, [Archaeological, art historical, and historical researches “in the middle of the Kingdom”], eds. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz (Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015), 633.

The St. Ladislaus monastery acquired houses at Buda a few decades later than the other two monasteries in the Pilis, at the end of the fifteenth century. Dionysios, who donated a part of his house to the Paulines, marked one of the most interesting medieval legal stories in Hungary, especially at Buda. Dionysios of Alag (originally Mikófalvi Bekény) represents not only a well-documented, multi-decade long lawsuit he fought with the relatives of his wife’s deceased previous husband, but a lot is known about his personality and qualities, about his family.⁸⁰⁰ In 1493, Dionysios donated the front part of his house⁸⁰¹ at Szombathely, at the end of Olasz utca (Fig. 5.3.20. and 5.3.21., marked “K”) for perpetual masses. The house, standing at the corner of Olasz (Italian) and Tej (milk) streets, had its front door on Olasz street while once had a door to Tej street, which was called “immured” in 1481. Dionysios had an adventurous life; some peaks in his life are known, just like when –due to his donation,– the Pauline order accepted him, his wife and other family members into

⁸⁰⁰ See János Illéssy, *A Mikófalvi Bekény család leszármazása és története* [The genealogy and history of the Mikófalvi Bekény Family] (Budapest: Hunnia nyoda, 1902).

⁸⁰¹ On the history and localization of the house, see Végh, *Buda* 1, 283–284, no. 4.2.12.

the *confraternitas* of the Pauline order in 1498. Dionysios also wanted to be buried in the monastery and he also established an endowment for the monastery.⁸⁰²



Fig. 5.3.20. *Pilis-St. Ladislaus*. The local medieval topography of northern Buda, Castle Hill. András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza 2* [The Medieval map of Buda], vol. 2. (Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2008), 347, Fig. 32.; the house of Dionysios of Alag circled with red, which was partially donated to the Paulines in 1493; B: Mary Magdalene Parish church; G: Dominican monastery; A: Parish church of Blessed Virgin.

The St. Ladislaus monastery at Kékes had another house at Buda:⁸⁰³ on the corner of Schüler Gasse, in front of the Dominican monastery. The distinguished medievalist, András Végh studied and drew the medieval topography of Buda castle with exceptional, well-established research;⁸⁰⁴ just like in the previous case, he could locate the Pauline house and put it on the map (Fig. 5.3.21.); however, as he noted, it is undecided, on which side of the small, narrow street it was. In regards of the location, it was opposite the Dominican monastery, which is why it probably was on the northern corner of Schüler Gasse, unlike it is depicted on Fig. 5.3.21.

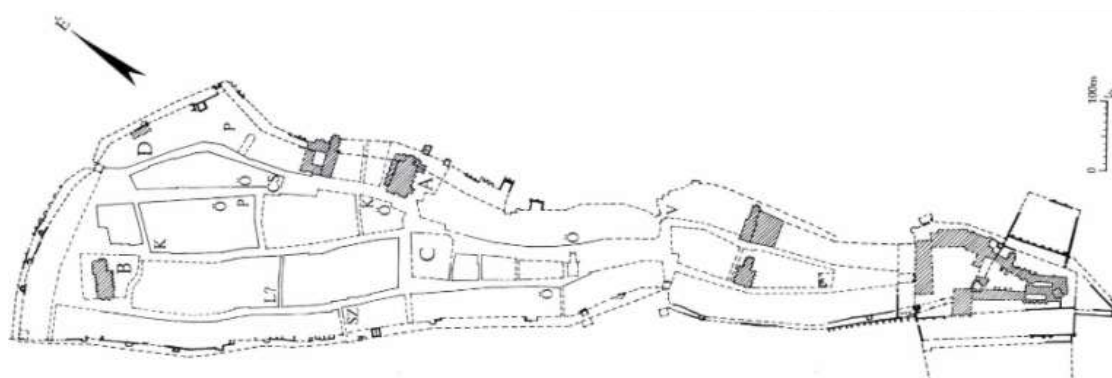


Fig. 5.3.21. *Pilis-St. Ladislaus*. Known Pauline properties in the royal town of Buda. A: Virgin Mary parish church, B: St. Marie Magdalene parish church; C: Townhouse; D: Synagogue; CS: Csátka monastery; K: Kékes monastery; L:

⁸⁰² DL 20 691

⁸⁰³ Végh, *Buda* 1, 254, no. 3.7.19.

⁸⁰⁴ See his works in the bibliography; the topography Végh *Buda* 1 and *Buda* 2.

Lád monastery; *Sz*: Holy Cross and Holy Spirit in the Pilis; *Ö*: Örményes monastery; *P*: St. Laurence monastery; *V*: Veresmart monastery. *Végh*, Buda 2, 349, no. 56.

5.3.4. Márianosztra/Nosztra/Nosztre, Monastery of the Holy Virgin

Since the monastery has been enclosed for three hundred years now –it was used as a military hospital for a while, but mostly as a state prison–, the origins of the building complex are foreshadowed by its modern history and were only partially researched. However, an *eremita* historian, Judit Mária Magdolna Vadász recently published an impressive monograph on the monastery, in which an enormous number of sources were collected and evaluated.⁸⁰⁵

This is the reason why beside some newly found data and their recontextualization, the thoughts of Vadász appear in the present work at several points. On the basis of the written evidence, the context around the foundation of the monastery, the estate-management and regional relations of Nosztra are in the focus for now. The source collection (Appendix 2/5.3.4.) was intended to contain the complete number of medieval sources, however, there is a small probability that the later written evidence, which was not browsed for this work, may contain some scattered architectural or archaeological data that might be relevant in the work.

⁸⁰⁵ See Vadász in abbreviations.

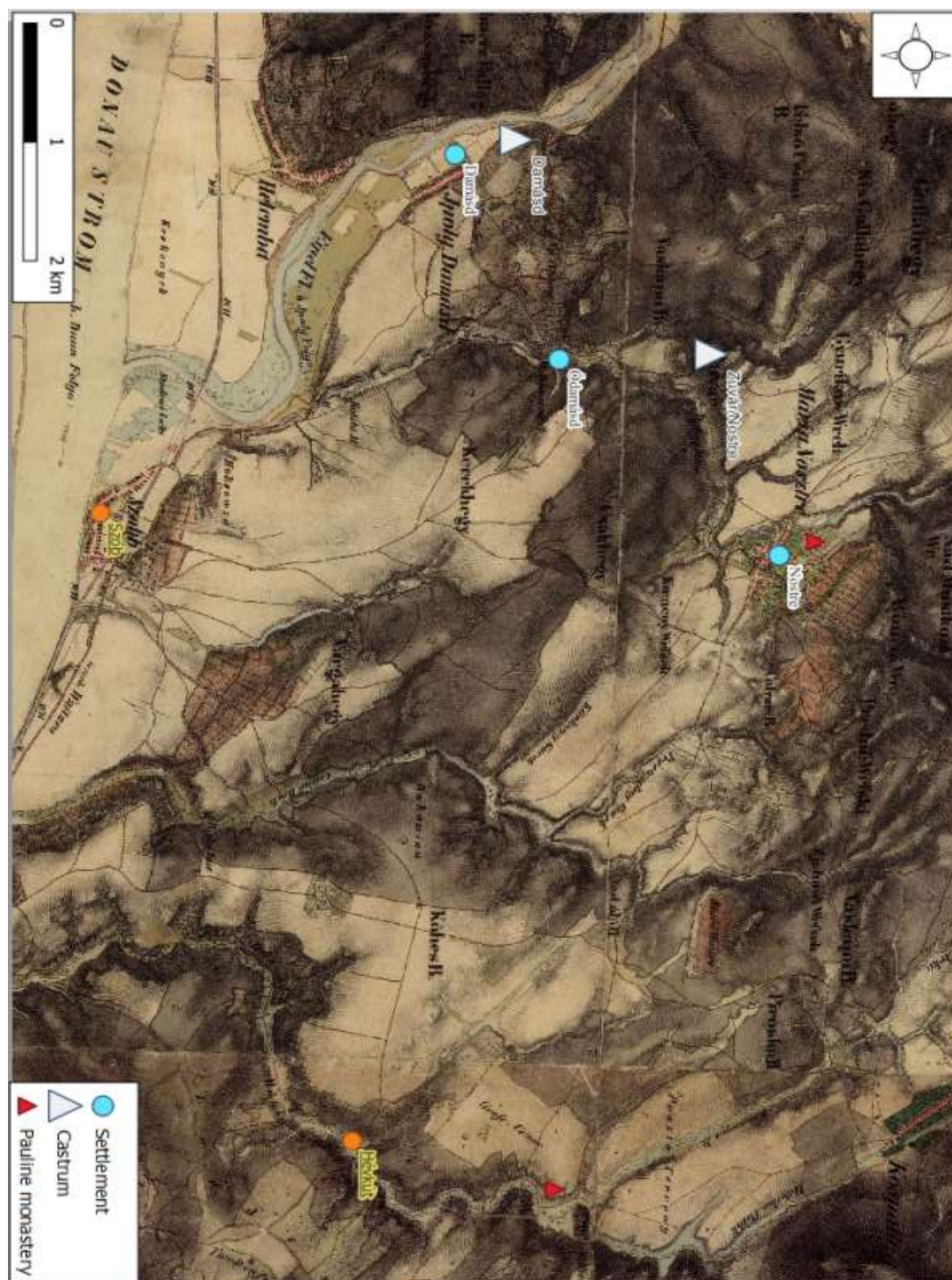


Fig. 5.3.22. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The surrounding of the monastery and the locations mentioned in the present text.

The significance of Nosztra

Nosztra monastery of the Paulines is clearly underrated in historical scholarship, even specifically amongst Pauline researchers. Otherwise, as the *Vitae Fratrum* indicates, it was not only a royal foundation on a royal property but it was built using the stones of the king's very own castle at Nosztre

(*castrum Nozthre*). But where could this castrum exist? Certainly, it must have been near the monastery, somewhere in the forest. A small fortification was identified by archaeological research ca. 2 km from the monastery, to the southwest,⁸⁰⁶ which was unknown in written sources; now it is called Zuvár, more likely Zugvár, meaning corner/nook castle that describes its location well (Fig. 5.3.22; Fig. 5.3.23. no. 3.). It was a small, rectangular (30 x 50 m) building, surrounded by dykes and mounds. (Fig. 5.3.24.)



Fig. 5.3.23. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. Archaeological sites of present-day Ipolydamásd. MRT 9, 103.

⁸⁰⁶ MRT 9, 108-110, Miklós, Börzsöny, 12.

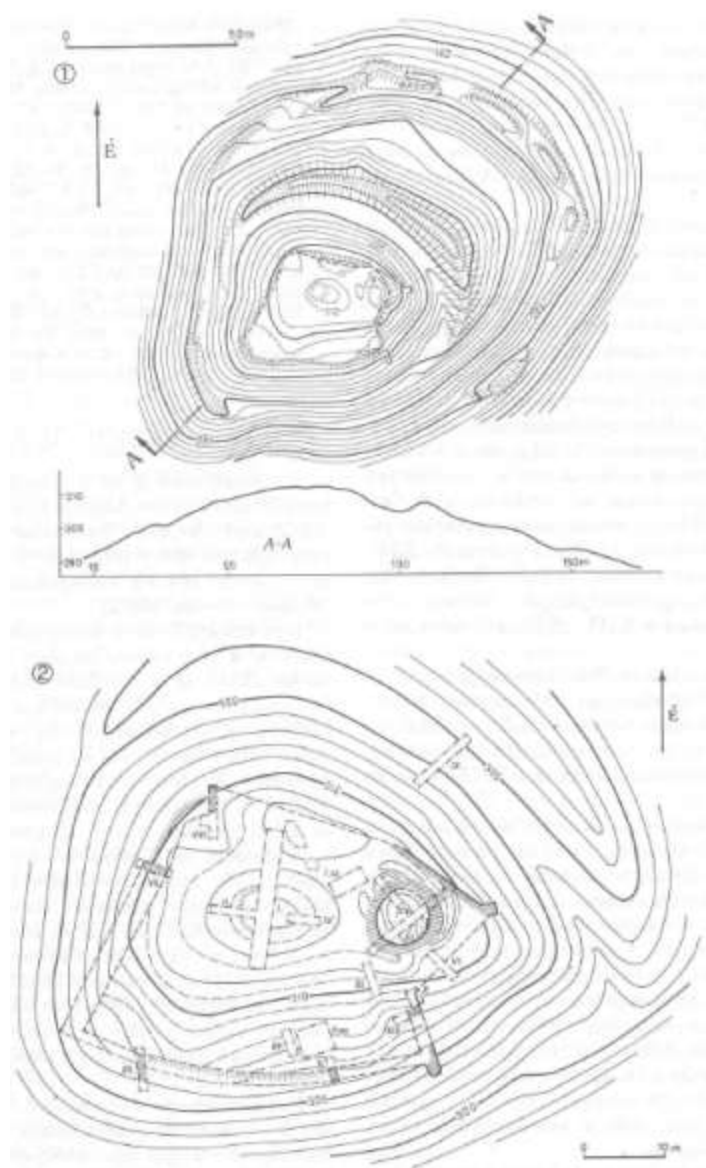


Fig. 5.3.24. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The geodetic survey of Zuvár. MRT 9, 109.

The findings are dated between the ninth (!) and the late thirteenth century, which covers the timeframe when –as written evidence indicates– *Castrum Nostre* could have operated before it was used as building material for the Pauline monastery. Zsuzsa Miklós argued first that since no written data was connected with Zuvár before, but its location and material dating supports that it must have been *Castrum Nosztra*, which was abandoned and ravaged by the time of interregnum (1301-1308).⁸⁰⁷ Instead of repairing it, a new *castrum* or *castellum* was built by King Charles I at Damásd in the late

⁸⁰⁷ MRT 9, 108-110; Miklós, *Börzsöny*, 12.

1330s⁸⁰⁸ (Fig. 5.3.22; Fig. 5.3.23, no. 1.; Fig. 5.3.25.), which validates the destruction and offering of *Nostre* as building material –along with its property or properties as well– to the Paulines even more.

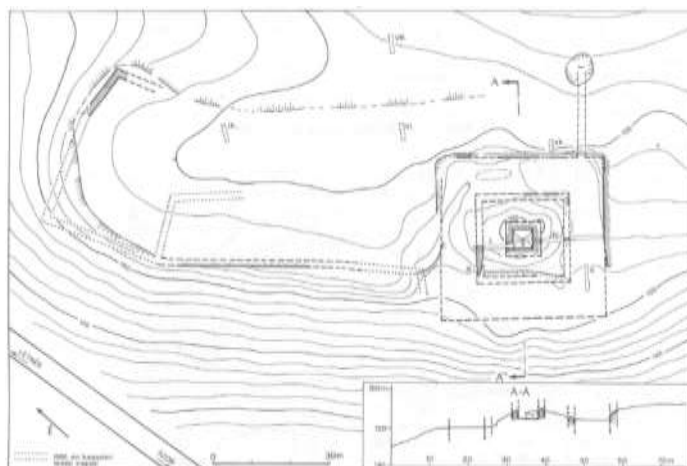


Fig. 5.3.25. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The groundplan of Damásd castrum. MRT 9, 104.

Regarding the surrounding properties, Nosztre and Damásd castles must have had settlements near them. Árpadian age sherds appear at more sites (see Fig. 5.3.23, no. 4 or 11 for example, coded with “A” or “Á” letters), although those settlements are unknown from written sources. Archaeological topography and written sources reveal the following.

Not far from Zuvár/castrum *Nosztre*, ca. 1 km to the south a settlement called Ódamásd [Old Damásd] existed (Fig. 5.3.22; Fig. 5.3.23, 103. no. 13.). Although Zsuzsa Miklós could find a handful of Árpadian ceramic shreds, dated to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, despite the finds, she claimed that this area was settled by the Slovak population in modern times and the medieval Damásd was located in the northern area of the present-day settlement⁸⁰⁹ (Fig. 5.3.22; Fig. 5.3.23, no. 6.), close to the church that was said to be on the territory of Damásd castle.⁸¹⁰ However, Judit Vadász argues that Ódamásd seems far more reasonable to be identified as medieval *Nostre*, since it is really close to the castrum and as a *suburbium*, the settlement sustained/served it.⁸¹¹ This indicates that most probably, at least two separate settlements were known in the region: *Nostre* village could sustain *Nostre castrum* from the Árpád period until it was demolished, while Damásd village was located near Damásd castrum since King Charles built it –nota bene, there was a church and a village before the construction, which included the later castle hill.

⁸⁰⁸ MRT 9, 110; Miklós, *Börzsöny*, 12; Vadász, *A fényes kolostor*, 21.

⁸⁰⁹ MRT 9, 112, it was located on the bank of the Ipoly river; see also MRT 9, 111, also related sites Fig. 5.3.23. no. 14–16.

⁸¹⁰ MRT 9, 105, 107, 112. The *canonica visitatio* in 1732 identified it there.

⁸¹¹ Vadász, *A fényes kolostor*, 18–19.

However, Zsuzsa Miklós claimed that medieval *Nostre* village must have been located near the monastery, somewhere in the area of the present village (Fig. 5.3.22; Fig. 5.3.26., no. 9, 21, 30).⁸¹² Miklós cited charters from the thirteenth-century, also stating that Nosztra was a personal name (*Nostre, Nosstroy, Noztrue*) and was bought by the king before 1281 from Conradus, a citizen of Esztergom. Nevertheless, only an undated cemetery and one medieval ceramic sherd proves the medieval human presence at today's Márianosztra.⁸¹³



Fig. 5.3.26. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The archaeological topography of present Márianosztra. MRT 9, 181.

The castellum at Damásd, where from King Charles I of Anjou, King Louis's respected father issued several charters, existed in the neighborhood of the monastery, which is why it is important to have a closer look at their relationship. Researchers, recently Vadász argued that Damásd must have had a special place in the Anjou family's private family history, since Charles regularly stayed there in the late 1330s, just like before his death in 1342. As it is believed by Vadász, precisely ten years

⁸¹² MRT 9, 182.

⁸¹³ MRT 9, 186, 195.

(!) after his death, the son Louis –who had just arrived from a long and sorrowful campaign from Italy by that time– wanted to respect his father’s legacy and do penance at the same time by offering one of his private lands near Damásd for the Paulines.⁸¹⁴

King Louis definitely treated this monastery specially: he personally founded it, not only for the respect of his father, but he had chosen its location quite meticulously for other reasons as well. Referring to the idea of József Laszlovszky,⁸¹⁵ Nosztra monastery was also a feature of royal representation; it was, in fact, attached to the royal residence at Visegrád. This perspective emphasizes more the role of the St. Ladislaus Monastery (Chapter 5.3.3.), founded earlier close to Visegrád (Chapter 5.2.3.), which was not only part of the royal representation at some level, but its relation with the monasteries in the Börzsöny was clearly active and had a key role in the broad regional perspective of the present work. These monasteries are key representatives not only in the shifting of Pauline central power, but the role and significance of the Pauline Order in the royal court.

The importance of royal representation, the establishment and development of royal residences is something that was studied thoroughly in the past decades, however, its complexity and chronology is yet to be studied. Nevertheless, the Pilis, as the Royal Forest and the focal point of the *medium regni*, was surely a territory where –following the trends of other European countries– the relationship between the secular and clerical world manifested. The importance of this territory reached its next peak in the fourteenth century, before the translation of the relics of St. Paul the First Hermit from Venice to Hungary in 1381.

This event was the emblematic verification of the order, as well as the St. Laurence Monastery, in a prosperous and successful period of Hungarian history.⁸¹⁶ The significance of the relic translation was clear for the Paulines, but it was related to the importance of the Danube Bank as well. The *translatio* was documented in several sources,⁸¹⁷ including the *Vitae Fratrum* (1523).

⁸¹⁴ Arguments and about the research: MRT 9, 103–108; Vadász, *A fényes kolostor*, 16–21.

⁸¹⁵ Hereby I would like to extend my gratitude to József Laszlovszky for this information.

⁸¹⁶ In 1308, Cardinal Gentilis, the papal legate, was the first to allow the Paulines to live under the Rule of St. Augustine. 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, *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján*, 88–89.

⁸¹⁷ The Pauline Valentinus Hadnagy and an anonymous author focused on the life of St. Paul and the journey of his relics from the beginning of the relics’ history to their arrival in Buda. Hadnagy also focused 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 its respect, the representation, power, and politics within external and internal policy and the Pauline hierarchy. VF, 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).

It gives a short report on the event at Buda and an explanation of the circumstances, which are worth a closer look. As scholarship has always claimed, Gyöngyösi emphasized that King Louis I the Great promised the clerics and monks that if he was victorious over the Venetians he would translate the relics of St. Paul to the Paulines. It is not emphasized that this all had happened at the monastery of Nosztra.⁸¹⁸ Gyöngyösi refers (in the introductory poem of the chapter) to the monastery in Buda as the final shelter of the relics in the future,⁸¹⁹ after the battle with Venice, but the same chapter also mentions Nosztra in a lot more detailed way than Budaszentlőrinc.

The text is remarkable because Gyöngyösi pointed out the place of the King's promise and attached symbolic acts to this story. The text goes as the following: "[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." To commemorate this oath, the king, "ante monasterium plantavit arborem tiliae, quae ... vocatur arbor regis Ludovici," which was still known many years later.⁸²⁰ The text is not clear about what *totus conventus* or its relation with "[Louis] would give them" (*eisdem donaret*) means here: simply all the Paulines or the community of Nosztra in particular? If the latter presumption is correct, Nosztra can be regarded as the pre-selected place for the relics, which later got suppressed by the St. Lawrence monastery's influence – although the king's tree (as the symbol of his promise) was not to be forgotten by the monks of Nosztra even many decades later.⁸²¹

The historical context and the Pauline strategy 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*) to represent their own communities; moreover, they had outstanding support from the king himself, so they both could lay claim on becoming the keeper of the relics. Perhaps, finally, the Monastery of St.

⁸¹⁸ VF, Cap. 35.

⁸¹⁹ VF, Cap. 34.

⁸²⁰ "[The King] promised in front of the whole convent that if the omnipotent God grants him to be victorious over the Venetians by the merits of the blessed Paul, he will donate the body [i. e., relics] of this same saint to them." VF, Cap. 34.

⁸²¹ These events suggests (whether they are true or not) that the king had a special relation with the monastery at Nosztra and also that he himself promised the relics to his beloved monks at Nosztra. Finally, however, he betrayed them and gave the relics to the St. Laurence Monastery.

Laurence had a stronger impact⁸²² than Nosztra.⁸²³ The St. Laurence monastery, after all, was the center of the Pauline order; however, if the royal presence and support is not strong enough in their case, the faith of the Holy Cross monastery could have repeated itself easily, the central role could have shifted to Nosztra in a very short time. This power and significant role of the monastery in the hierarchy is distinctive from other perspectives and events as well.

Obtaining St. Paul's relics had a more important meaning in a wider context than a simple spiritual union of the protector saint and its followers. Under the rule of King Louis I the Great (!), the Kingdom of Hungary reached the highest point of its political power and influence in Central Europe, probably since its foundation. The economy and cultural life saw a "golden age" and the royal power and the factors behind King Louis's power were imported into the regions where he ruled, including Poland from 1371;⁸²⁴ thus, the Paulines also settled outside the kingdom. In 1382, the first Pauline monastery outside the Kingdom of Hungary was founded in Częstochowa (The monastery of Jasna Góra) by the nephew of King Louis, namely Ladislaus, the duke of Opole, who received Pauline monks from the monastery of Nosztra and not from the St. Laurence monastery. Maybe this gesture, just after the translation of St. Paul's relics, was compensation for the unsuccessful application for the relics.

Acquiring relics is not only important because of royal and hierarchical power, it also provides the possibility to welcome the pilgrims, the people, who are all important for many reasons. The

⁸²² 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 was translated formally (*...pulchro stilo scripta est in Breviario nostro...*) to its final resting place, the Pauline church of the St. Laurence Monastery on 14 November. At this point one could raise the question: Why did they keep the relics in the royal chapel for a month? Why did they not take them directly 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 royal mediation or, more likely, royal priority in religious (and ecclesiastical-political) questions. However, it should be noted that King Louis was busy to ratify the Treaty of Turin, which happened almost two weeks after the translation, on November 26 in the Castle of Diósgyőr—almost 200 km from Buda. Besides, there is no evidence that King Louis attended the translational ceremony. 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 recognition of its value. VF, 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.

⁸²³ It is strange that Nosztra had an important role in the early modern and modern history of the Paulines, even to today; history has struck a balance at least. Note that no other sources mention any previously declared place for the relics, nor was Nosztra mentioned. Gábor Sarbak, "Hádnagy Bálint: Remete Szent Pál gyógyító csodái" [Bálint Hádnagy: The healing miracles of Saint Paul the First Hermit], in *Medicina renata*, ed. László András Magyar (Budapest: Semmelweis Orvostörténeti Múzeum, Könyvtár és Levéltár, 2009), (Last accessed: December 5, 2013) <http://www.orvostortenet.hu/tankonyvek/tk-05/Green/author.php?name=Cs&begin=c-d> (Last accessed: 2013-12-05).

⁸²⁴ The first university was founded in 1367 and the *Chronicon Pictum*, one of Hungary's 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.

monks at Nosztre were not giving up their intent, in the 1430s the prior of Nosztre, Father Franciscus lived a holy, pious life; his veneration evolved soon after his death and the monastery possibly became a pilgrimage site from the second half of the fifteenth century. Even St. John of Capistran said that “If you should see saints/holy men, go to Nosztra.”⁸²⁵ Beside the unsuccessful attempts of majoring as a pilgrimage site and leading the Pauline order, as the list of properties and privileges indicate, the monastery had never lost its track of development.

Immediate landscape of Nosztra

Although not much survived in the immediate landscape of the monastery, which was located in the wooded hilly landscape (Fig. 5.3.27.) some remains can be documented around it. Eighteenth-century maps reveal that hay meadows (prata) and woods (silvae) were in most cases north to the monastery (see Appendix 2/5.3.5. Spatial features and maps). The medieval or Baroque fishpond and its dam was detected by *The Archaeological Topography* survey in the 1980s, when it was 100 meters long, 2-3 meters height, and its average base width was 4-5 meters.⁸²⁶



Fig. 5.3.27. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 11. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Just like in the case of meadows and woods, only eighteenth-century maps and drafts, written sources inform on the different type of horticulture and pastures that were existing in the immediate surrounding of the monastery; they are absolutely not continuous with the medieval state of the space,

⁸²⁵ VF, Cap 44–45.

⁸²⁶ MRT 9, 194.

however, they are informative in the arrangement of monastic space at a certain level.⁸²⁷ Usually grapes, plum, some herbs, but also other buildings, for example cells were part of the monastic complex. Those plants that sustained the animals were close, like burgundy hay, but the ones like hemp were the proper material for textile. (Fig. 5.3.28-29.)



Fig. 5.3.28. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. Hemp/hempen-garden west to the monastery in the eighteenth century. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 12/3. (see details in Appendix2/5.3.4.)



Fig. 5.3.29. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The gardens in the nineteenth century. MNL Collection of Maps, S 11 No. 2004. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Vineyards

Grapes were not only in the monastic gardens, but proper vineyards were the basis of the vine cultivation; at Nosztra the eighteenth-century maps locate them north to the monastery, (Fig. 5.3.30-

⁸²⁷ The changes of monastic space in time in Central Europe certainly need further comparative studies. The cultivated plants might be intensely changed, within a few years perhaps, so without any dated bio-data, there is no chance to gain such information on the medieval monastic garden.

31.) a few hundred meters—ca. 1 km from the monastery, where the southern slopes were definitely ideal for vine grapes. These lands were probably shared with the villagers of Nosztra as well.



Fig. 5.3.30. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. Vineyards north to the Calvary. MNL Collection of Maps, S86 No. 12/2 (see details in the appendix/Chapter10/5.3.4.)



Fig. 5.3.31. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. Vineyards north/northeast to the monastery on the First Ordnance survey.

Vineyards in medieval sources appear from 1404; during the fifteenth century, (until 1482) altogether seven vineyards were possessed by the monastery: two at Szob, four at Vác and once probably also at Vác (*Seregh*=Csörög, southeast to Vác?)? These lands were most probably cultivated by tenant peasants or different day laborers, but the Paulines of Nosztra surely had somebody to maintain their properties, which were not easily reached and maintained within a day (just like in the case of butcheries or other possessions). Once they received a curia with a vineyard (1404), and in

1418 a vineyard was donated for them at Vác, but they shared the privileges of it with the monastery at Toronyalja (Chapter 5.3.5.) and at Kékes (Chapter 5.3.3.). Four out of the seven vineyards were received in the first decades of the fifteenth century (1404, before 1404, 1416, 1418) and the remaining three were received once, in 1482. Based on the sources, these were all donations of pious people (even the *presbiter* of Vác did so last time).

Mills, fishponds

Before the frequent appearance of vineyards, the 1300s was the century of the mills in the historical span of the monastery at Nosztra. It is thought to be the easiest form of making money, although some charters prove that they had to be repaired quite a lot and the debates with other mill-owners (the Paulines ordered to destroy one in 1419) made the work hard. It was better to have a close look at them and own mills near the monastery, where the authority of the Paulines was direct and visible, clear to everyone.

However, the first two mills, donated by the king (1366) and the archbishop of Esztergom (1368) at *Chata* (*Csata*, today Čata in Slovakia) and *Gen* (=Gem/Gém/Gény, south to Čata, see “Possessions” subchapter) were further from the monastery, ca. 30 kms on the rivers’ bank, which made its maintenance harder than in other cases. One of them was supposed to be repaired in 1417, in *Chen* (possibly its *Gen*=Gém/Gény), probably the one donated by the archbishop in 1368. A mill was bought by the Paulines in 1477 in Gém, and another at Csuda, along the Kis-Garam stream (most probably next to the deserted Csuda on the First Ordnance survey, flowing into the Garam river on its western side, see Fig. 5.3.33.) in 1504. The river Garam, which flows next to the possessions, was an ideal waterflow for the mills, some of them appeared on the Second Ordnance Survey, unfortunately not before. (Fig. 5.3.32.)



Fig. 5.3.32. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The mills at Csata (Čata, SK) and Gényi (south of Čata) in the nineteenth century, Second Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 5.3.33. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The possible location of Kis-Garam, here Ho[l]t-Garam meaning oxbow Garam, next to Garam river. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 20. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

A fishpond was located west of Csata and Gém, which most probably was of medieval origins, but surely owned by the Paulines in the eighteenth century as a map documented is.⁸²⁸ (Fig. 5.3.34.) Its dam, just like in most cases, was used as a crossing on the river for the path to Bény, to the south. There was a mill built on the shore of the pond, (Fig. 5.3.35.) which –as the eighteenth-century maps report (Fig. 5.3.40. and 5.3.41.)⁸²⁹– was the property (and built!) of Kéty, the village west to Csata. (See also on this in the next subchapter, “Possession, Csata”). The boundary between the two settlements, Csata and Kéty, crossed through the inlet of the fishpond.



Fig. 5.3.34. *Noszttra-Holy Virgin*. The Pauline fishpond of Csata. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 21. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

⁸²⁸ Lacus Csata Gémensis in confiniis inelytorum duorum comitat. Barsiensis et Strigonien situatus ad V. Conventu. Nosztrensem Ordinis Sancti Pauli primi Ertae. pertinens. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 21. (see details in the Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

⁸²⁹ MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 18. (see details in the Appendix 2/5.3.4.)



Fig. 5.3.35. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The fishpond and its mill on the First and Second Ordnance Surveys.

Mills were owned by the monastery of Nosztra much closer to the buildings than the ones at Garam. On the stream of Bélapathaka (lit. the stream of Béla), which is most probably the medieval name of today's' Damásd-patak that flows between Márianosztra and the area of Damásd/Szob into Ipoly river, the monastery bought (!) two mills: one between Szob and Damásd (1380), and the other at (*in facie villae*) Szob (1376). The latter was acquired for 100 florins, the other for only 52 florins. Possibly one of these mills was to be repaired by the Paulines (*super quodam rivulo a parte claustrum memorati versus fluvium Ipol appellatum*) in 1405, probably the localization refers to the one at Szob.

It is yet almost impossible to localize the mills, however, there are some characteristic areas along the stream, ideal for them. Also, on the Second Ordnance Survey there are four mills marked (Fig. 5.3.36.), from which the ones on the lower region of the stream could have preserved the remains of the medieval mills. The mill close to Zuvár (*castrum Nostre*) on the nineteenth-century map, was really close to the monastery and the village of Nosztra. It is located near the dam, which indicates that originally, in the Middle Ages, it was also an ideal location for a mill.

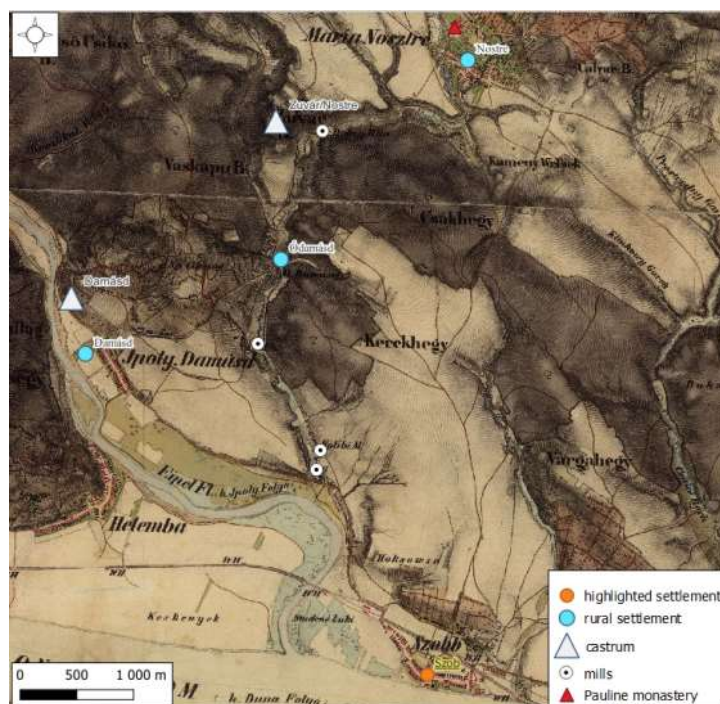


Fig. 5.3.36. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The fishpond and its mill on the First and Second Ordnance Surveys.

Outlining the written data on mills, the monastery of Nosztra was dominantly receiving mills further from the monastery near the time of its foundation (1366, 1368), but soon the monks started purchasing mills in their close surroundings as well (1376, 1380). This process was definitely reasonable of the monks since such properties required permanent attention, not only of mechanical damage, but deliberate harm. The further the properties were, the harder was their protection, no matter the presence of laborers (like tenant peasants, miller) or further assignees.

Improving and managing the capacity of mills was always part of the estate management; not only the reparation (1405, 1417) of their own mills, but the damage that the Paulines made in other mills protecting their own ones can also be addressed in written sources. In 1419 the monks had to make certain amends to the Premonstratensians at Ság and partially finance the rebuilding of that three-wheeled mill at Leánd (possibly north to Bény, see Fig. 5.3.37., *Leándiense* south to Csata and Apáti, east to Gém,) that was destroyed by their order. Possibly, that mill affected the Pauline lands at Gém and Csata, next to Leánd, which is why they had the right to defend their properties and demolish the underfoot mill of the Premonstratensians (*... vel alias quouis modo nullum penitus inferre valeat nocumentum vel damnum...*).

Possessions

Nosztra monastery, among the studied Pauline houses in all regions, has the greatest number of possessions, namely three settlements along with their properties, like fishpond, arable lands, meadows or woods. Except the mills, unfortunately, there is no specific detail about these lands in the Middle Ages, but early modern maps and descriptions suggest some characteristics, ideal features of the medieval landscape.

Csata (Čata, Slovakia) and Gém/Gény were two villages so close to each other that in the eighteenth century Gém was merged into the boundary of Csata. In 1368, the Paulines received a mill from the Archbishop of Esztergom as well, which was in need of construction in 1417. The next year, in 1369 Jakoba, daughter of Matha, son of István de Pászthó claimed that these properties were her inheritance, but King Louis (in his name the Palatine, Ladislaus of Opole) gave it to the Paulines anyway.⁸³⁰ These two properties (counting as one proper land in 1531⁸³¹) were in the possession of the Paulines until 1786, the abolition of the Order. Although it was not a huge domain, it was the largest one of the Paulines at Nosztra and stable enough to cover the daily expenses of Nosztra and the building of its church. Also, they supported other monasteries or even the main monastery at Budaszentlőrinc as well.⁸³²

The possession of Orsán/Orsány is not as complex or long-term as the latter two; the Paulines received it as a donation, with its St. James church in 1487, but sometime before 1493 John Cseh f Léva pledged it to the *Palatinus* of Hungary. The further history of the possession is unclear, so the best thing was to identify, locate the medieval settlement and uncover some further, relevant sources.

Csata (Čata, SK)

A few years after the foundation of the monastery, King Louis I gave Ghén and Chata (*Csata*, today Čata in Slovakia) possessions to the Paulines (1366), along with a mill that had four grindstones. Unfortunately, not much is known of its medieval history, the archival research is something that still needs to be thoroughly conducted.

⁸³⁰ Cod. Zichy III, no. 267. pag. 372.

⁸³¹ MNL OL AP E 153 Fasc. 224.

⁸³² MNL OL AP E 153 Fasc. 2. No. 9.; Fasc. 234, Fol. 247. and AP E 153 Fasc. 220. Cited by Vadász, *A fényes kolostor*, 51.

An eighteenth-century cadastral map (Fig. 5.3.37. and 5.3.38.) depicts all the arable lands and a *pratum*, on the eastern side of river Garam. The map is about the parcels and owners south to Csata, the lands of the settlement and the area of so-called “apáti” (meaning the abbot’s), which remarks the ownership of a monastery, which refers most possibly to the Benedictine Abbey at Lekér (Hronovce, earlier Čajakovo, German Lecker in Slovakia), not the Paulines. (Fig. 5.3.39.)



Fig. 5.3.37. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The parcels south to Csata, the border between the part of Apáti and Csata. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 22. (see details in the Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

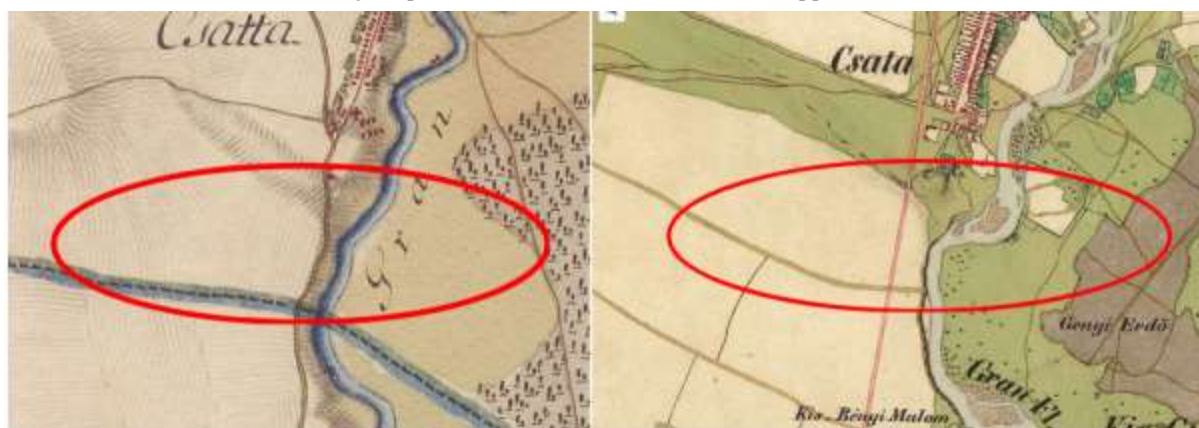


Fig. 5.3.38. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The parcels south to Csata, the border between the part of Apáti and Csata. First and Second Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 5.3.39. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin. The distance of Csata and Lékér. Second Ordnance Survey.*

Beside large lands of arable lands and meadows, there are areas which were at least appropriate for vineyards, as the Second Ordnance Survey depicted the lands north to the huge pond, which was described and located just before (See Fig. 5.3.34. and 5.3.35.).



Fig. 5.3.40. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin. The vineyard of Csata ("Csatai szőlő") on the Second Ordnance Survey and the area on the First Ordnance Map.*

A selective and visually rich map, more like a 3D landscape survey, has survived from the eighteenth-century, depicting the western area of Csata. Many fields, early modern border marks, and the mill of Kéty, also the great fishpond is visible. The stream, which flows from Kéty into Garam river, was called Sár (meaning mud) at the time, which means that it was shallow and muddy.

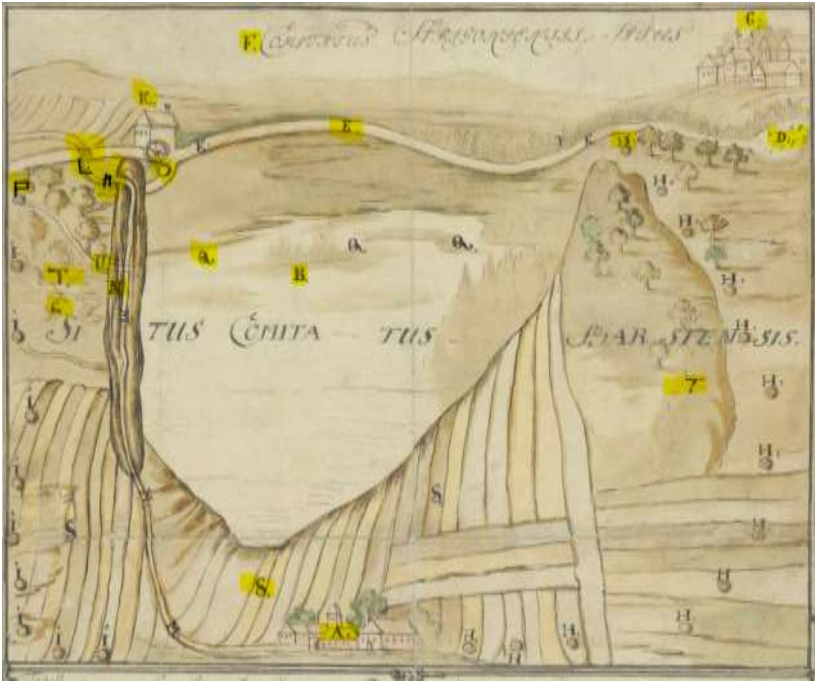


Fig. 5.3.41. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The western boundary of Csata possession, depicting Kéty and the great fishpond, along its mill. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 18. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Tabella demonstrans situm Piscina Csata-Gémiensis, intra territorium possessionis Csata Gém, in Comitatu Barsiensi existentis, et remonstratio conterminiorum eiusdem a possessionibus Kéty in Comitatu Strigoniensi item Kis-Bény, nec non villa Csuda distinguens.		
A.	Possessio Csata -Gém.	Possession of Csata -Gém.
B.	Piscina Csata-Gémiensis.	Fishpond of Csata-Gemini.
C.	Possessio Kéty.	Possession of Kéty.
D.	Lacus-Kétyiensis.	Lake of Kéty
E.	Meatus aquae fluvii Saár dictae, separens Inclytos Comitatus Strigoniensem, et Barsiensem.	The water channel of Saár stream, separating the Counties of Esztergom and Bars
F.	Situs Inclyti Comitatus Strigoniensis.	Area of County Esztergom
G.	Situs Inclyti Comitatus Barsiensis.	Area of County Bars
H.	Metae distinguentes inter Possessionem Csata-Gém et villam Csuda.	The distinguishing marks between the possession of Csata-Gém and the village of Csuda.*

I.	<i>Metae distinguentes inter Possessionem Csata, et Kis-Bény.</i>	The distinguishing marks between the possession of Csata and Kis-Bény.*
K.	<i>Mola Kétyiensis.</i>	The mill of Kéty.
L.	<i>Pons, quem incolae possessionis Csata tanquam in suo territorio aedificarunt et repararunt.</i>	The bridge which the inhabitants of the possession of Csata built and repaired as if in their own territory.
M.	<i>Via ducens ex Possessione Csata trans fluvium Saár dictum ad Territorium Possessionis Kéty.</i>	The road leading from the possession of Csata across Saár stream to the territory of the possession of Kéty.
N.	<i>Agger eiusdem Piscinae Csata Gémiensis, ad quem aperiendum pro dimissione aquae relegati sunt Piscatores Csata-Gémienses ante triennium circiter per Incolas Kétyienses.</i>	The pond of Csata-Gém, to which the Csata-Gémien fishermen were ordered by the inhabitants of Kéty to release water about three years ago.
O.	<i>Secessus aquae ex piscina meantis pro exigentia Molae, a quo dicti Piscatores prohibiti fuerunt dum relegarentur ad aggerem aperiendum tanquam suum proprium, per Emissos Incolas Kétyienses.</i>	The withdrawal of the water from the pond and channel maintaining the mill, by which the said fishermen were prohibited, while they were ordered to open(ing) the dam (as) their own, emitted by the inhabitants of Kéty.
P.	<i>Termiuns mealis quem ad Vagiandum pecora sua transgredi prohibentur Incolae Csata-Gémienses, per Kétyienses.</i>	The inhabitants of Csata-Gém, through the Kéty, are forbidden to cross the area to wander with their cattle.
Q.	<i>Situs Pratoram, que ante erectionem Molae et ecundationem aquarum praestito Incolis Csata-Gémiensibus censu per Kétyienses falcabantur.</i>	The site of meadow, which, before the erection of the mill and the reclamation of the waters, was granted to the inhabitants of Csata-Gém, and was mowed by the [inhabitants] of Kéty.
S.	<i>Agri Csata Gémienses actuales.</i>	The arable fields of Csata-Gém.
T.	<i>Pascua Csata Gémiensia actualia.</i>	The pasture of Csata-Gém.
U.	<i>Obstructio aque tempore superius memoratae piscationis rupio aggere fracta.</i>	The obstruction at that time of the above-mentioned fishing was broken by the rock embankment.

Fig. 5.3.42. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The labels explained of the latter map. *Kis-Bény and Csata possessions were located south and north to Csata.



Fig. 5.3.43. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. *Kis-Bény and Csuda possessions were located south and north to Csata. First Ordnance Survey.

Ghén.⁸³³

Gén/Gém/Gény (south of Csata) village was the property of Hont-Pázmány kindred, namely Michael of Födemes, but most probably this part of the family got extinct, therefore the property became a royal land. Its location is based on scattered data, mostly on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century toponyms.

For example, *Genyi erdő* [woods of Gény] is still visible on the Second Ordnance Survey (Fig. 5.3.44.), southeast of Csata, northeast of Bény. On the First Ordnance Survey, the ruins of a church are pointed southwest to Csata, just at the area where the medieval Ghen could be located. Most probably the village was located at the southeastern end of the valley, which is called Gényi-valley in the nineteenth century (Fig. 5.3.45.) and its geographical form is visible on the First and Second Ordnance Survey as well. (Fig. 5.3.46.). On an eighteenth-century map Gém area is depicted also south to Csata, around the valley (Fig. 5.3.47.). In the nineteenth century an area here is called Gényi-dűlő [Gény Parcel].⁸³⁴

⁸³³ Vadász, *A fényes kolostor*, 50-51. summarized accordingly the known data on Csata and Gém.

⁸³⁴ Borovszky 5, 24.



Fig. 5.3.44. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The woods of Gény on the Second Ordnance Survey.



Fig. 5.3.45. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. Gény-valley on an eighteenth-century cadastral map. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 20. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)



Fig. 5.3.46. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. Gény-valley on the Second and First Ordnance Surveys.



Fig. 5.3.47. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. Gény (Gémiense) area of Csata. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 22. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Modern maps mention Gen or Gém,⁸³⁵ Csata-Gém,⁸³⁶ but today, between Bény (Bíňa, Slovakia) and Csata, another small area is settled, called Kolonia (Colony). Probably that, or north to Kolonia was once Gém located, which was part of Csata in the eighteenth century. (Fig. 5.3.48.). A visually fascinating postal map from the eighteenth century (Fig. 5.3.49.) depicts not only the praedium of Csuda (see on the list of Fig. 5.3.42. and 5.3.43.) but also Csata and another chapel and cemetery south to it, which is slightly possible that was preserved from medieval Gény.

⁸³⁵ MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 20.

⁸³⁶ MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 21.; S 86 No. 18.



Fig. 5.3.48. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. Google satellite map of present Csata (Čata, Slovakia) and Bény (Bíňa, Slovakia).



Fig. 5.3.49. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. Postal map, depicting Csata and Gém. MNL Collection of Maps, S 12. Div. XVIII. No. 43:1. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

Puszystaorsan.

John Cseh of Léva in 1487 donated his property along with its St. James church to the Paulines. It was the property attached to Castle Léva, but John Cseh had financial issues, so he pledged many of his lands for example to the Palatine of Hungary, Michael Gutí Országgh. He died in 1493 and his underage son, Sigimund inherited everything. Vadász claims (but without any reference to any original sources)⁸³⁷ that Orsány was pledged along with Perőcsény and Mikola to the Palatine by John, and when he died, there was no mention any of these properties in his testament; thus as Vadász suggests that Orsány, Perőcsény and Mikola were still in the possession of the Palatine.

⁸³⁷ Vadász, *A fényes kolostor*, 51-52. However, all the sources are listed in Bakács 1971, 164-165, 251-252, 274, 285, 353-354, 403, 429. Although as Vadász raises it, there might be some errors among the sources here.

However, Sigismund, the son of the deceased John Cseh of Léva pledged these properties to his stepfather in 1503, so Vadász claimed that although John Cseh left Orsány for the Paulines in his last will in 1487, but when he died, the Paulines could only give up the property before 1493, since it was used by the Palatine. Meanwhile Sigismund could pay back the Palatine, so in 1503 the aforementioned properties were in his possession, so he could pledge it again to his stepfather.⁸³⁸

The deserted medieval Orsány is located between Vámosmikola and Perőcsény, on the Hungarian-Slovakian border, along Ipoly river; it is called Orsányliget today,⁸³⁹ ca. 15 kms through the Börzsöny from the monastery of Márianosztra. (Fig. 4.3.50.) On the Second Ordnance Survey, Jakabliget [James Grove] is mentioned and a few hundred meters to the east, there is a *rudea* of a church, (Fig. 4.3.51.) that is called today Pusztatemplom-Lápa [Deserted Church-parcel]⁸⁴⁰, where a medieval settlement, burials and some buildings (most probably a church) was found.



Fig. 5.3.50. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin. Orsány and Nosztra on the Google Satellite Map, today's border between Slovakia and Hungary.*

⁸³⁸ Bakács 1971, 251-252.

⁸³⁹ Vadász, *A fényes kolostor*, 51.

⁸⁴⁰ MRT 9, 23/3. site



Fig. 5.3.51. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin. The First and Second Ordnance Survey, James grove.*

A few hundred meters to northwest, between Jakabliget and Pusztatemplom-lápa, there is a place called Pogánytemető-dűlő [Pagan burial parcel], a known archaeological site as well. (Fig. 5.3.52.) The local oral history claims that this was the area where the Ottomans buried their people; however, regarding the maps and archaeological data, correlating with Pusztatemplom-Lápa (finds dated to the twelfth-fourteenth centuries), it might be the area of the medieval Orsány and the deserted church that is depicted on the First Ordnance Survey and the toponym refers to, is its St. James the Apostle church.⁸⁴¹ As the dating of these finds and written sources prove, Orsány became deserted in the end of the fifteenth century: in 1499 it was called *Pwzthaorsan*- Pusztaorsány, meaning deserted Orsány.⁸⁴²



Fig. 5.3.52. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin. Archaeological site of Perőcsény-Pogány-temető. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Régészeti Adatbázis [Hungarian National Museum, Archaeological Database], <https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/8360> (last accessed: 04-06-2024)*

⁸⁴¹ MRT 9, 276-278; based on the published data, see Koczó 2020, 81-82.

⁸⁴² MRT 9, 277.

Curiae and macella

Houses (*curiae*) were an important part of Paulines properties, not only in terms of value, but as the place of business management (see the monasteries of Szentlászló, Szentlélek and Szentkereszt, Chapter 5.3.1-5.3.3.). The first known house the monastery of Nosztra received was located at Szob, donated along with a *sessio*, which served as a toll-collector house at the confluence of Ipoly and Danube rivers. The house was definitely existing there, since the tax-collecting privilege came *cum una curia seu sessione ibidem esistenti, in qua tributum exigebat*. Something probably happened with this property since John Hunyadi donated land for the Pauliens where they could build the house for toll-collecting in 1453, which privilege –as the charter refers to it– was granted by King Louis for them.

However, in 1539, another curia was given to the Paulines by John Szapolyai, whose whereabouts are unknown. There was a fourth house at Szob, which was owned by the Paulines until 1404 through donation, along with a vineyard, which they exchanged for other lands (see Chapter on vineyards).

Surprisingly, butcher shops (shambles) also appear among the possessions, all donated in the fifteenth century. The shambles were the only places where one was allowed to sell meat in towns, including fish as well.⁸⁴³ The slaughter and sale of livestock (mostly cattle, pigs, goats, sheep, or large fish) was performed by members of one single trade, the butchers.

The Paulines were somehow involved in the late medieval taxes related to the privileged Cumans, who became the core of cattle trade by the end of the fifteenth century. Beef was the most popular and most frequently consumed meat, therefore it is not surprising that in 1499, the Cumans could pay their tenth after their cattle, horses and young sheep, all in money but it is also possible that as livestock. At this time livestock trading, especially the volume of cattle export started to flourish and the Jász and Cuman people on the great plains of the Alföld, the butchers and serfs drove livestock to markets inside and outside of Hungary (it reached specific parts of Germany (Regensburg or Nuremberg) also Italy (Venice)).⁸⁴⁴

The movers in the cattle trade were first and foremost the king and his close associates, but the high profitability of the cattle business attracted other participants to, like ecclesiastic or secular dignitaries as well. Investing in the business, however, meant that they still needed professionals, so

⁸⁴³ Although fishmarket was usually separated from other meats, as Judit Benda highlighted, larges fishes were legally sold by butchers – at Buda at least. Judit Benda, “Marhakereskedelem, és mészárszékek a késő középkori Budán, Pesten és Óbudán” [The cattle trade and butcher shops in late medieval Buda, Pest, and Óbuda], in *Mesterségek és műhelyek a középkori és kora újkori Magyarországon: tanulmányok Holl Imre emlékére*, ed. Elek Benkő. (Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2017), 164, 169.

⁸⁴⁴ General remarks about the butcher shops and slaughtering are based on Benda, “Marhakereskedelem,” 147-148.

presumably, along the butcher shops, the Paulines had butchers, slaughterers, or even livestock owners work for them either permanently or temporarily (see e.g. the Cumans).

Butchers (*carnifex*, *fleischhacker*, *metzger*, *mezarws*) slaughtered cattle primarily. The animals were killed by a journeyman slaughter (*Bruckknecht*), or master slaughterer, after which the meat was sold by a journeyman butcher (*Bankknecht*) or master butcher. For example in Buda and also in Pest, a Hungarian and a German butcher's guild had operated, which was possibly the case at Vác as well, since the town was separated into a German and Hungarian town, just like at Buda. The butcher shops were usually located near the marketplaces, in central places (e.g. Buda, Szombat market, Fig. 5.3.53., but also at Óbuda).

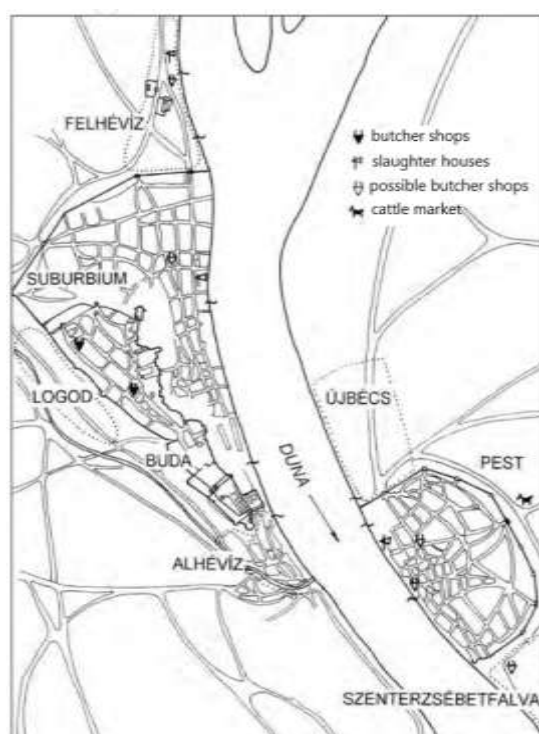


Fig. 5.3.53. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The medieval butcher shops, slaughterhouses and markets at today's Budapest, medieval Buda, Óbuda and Pest. Translated labels, but map is from Benda, "Marhakereskedelem," 141, Fig. 10.

The Paulines of Nosztre were donated in Vác the butchery of Johannes Kismester (meaning small master), who was the owner of the shop, in 1416 (see the data in Appendix 2/5.3.4.). Probably he was a butcher himself, and based on his last name, probably he was Hungarian, so lived in the southern ("Magyar") part of Vác, between the bishopric complex and the German town (see Fig. 5.3.54.) The butchery might have been located near no. 2., the central area of the Hungarian town.

Only two years after the first butcher shop, the Paulines received another vineyard from Lady Margaret, the widow of the butcher (*carnifex*) Jakus Waciensis, which represents and corroborates

the strong relation of the Paulines with Hungarian townsfolk. It is a topic that should be addressed individually, since it clearly goes against the tradition of the generalized eremitic lifestyle of the Paulines.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the second butcher shop (*camera macellaria*) in Vác was acquired by the monastery of Nosztre, along with three vineyards, from Priest Matthias. This was probably a stone-built butcher shop, which slightly helps the endeavor of localization. Assuming that the priest had his butcher shop near the church, it was possibly near the parish and the central market of Vác, in the heart of the German part of the town.

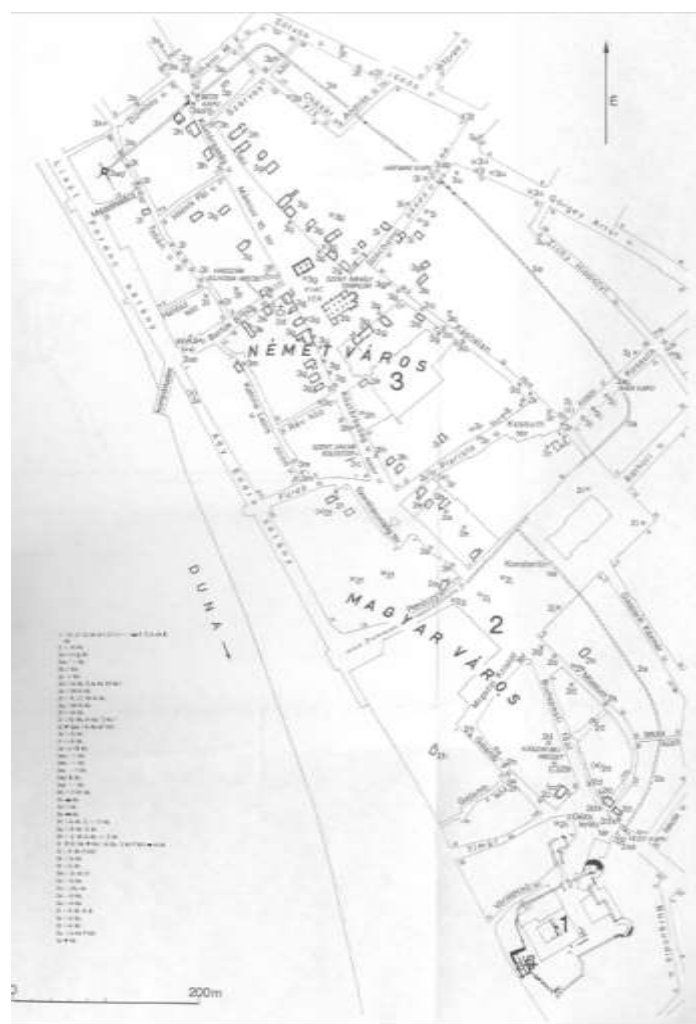


Fig. 5.3.54. *Nosztra-Holy Virgin*. The archaeological topography of Vác town. MRT 9, unnumbered page between 384-385.

5.3.5. Toronyalja, Monastery of St. Michael

One of the most easily accessible while enclosed monastic ruins are located halfway between Verőce and Kóspallag, 4 kms southeast of Márianosztra. (Fig. 5.3.55.) Its history is barely known, only scattered written data, and a partial, but rather fascinating archaeological evidence helps the exploration of its medieval history. In the following, the circumstances of its foundation and some properties are addressed, while the known archaeological material is introduced in Appendix 2/5.3.5.

Regarding the patron saint of the monastery, St. Michael was very common in this area. Michael Archangel is the one who wins over Satan, his veneration/feast-day (29 September) was ordered by King Ladislaus I of Hungary.⁸⁴⁵ The devotion and *patrocinium* of an ecclesia or a monastery was a thoughtful decision of the clerical superiors, but local specifications are in consideration occasionally. The reason behind the decision at Toronyalja is utterly undisclosed yet, but it was not the first ecclesia in the region dedicated to the saint (see Chapter 5.2.4.).⁸⁴⁶



Fig. 5.3.55. *Toronyalja-St. Michael*. The archaeological topography of Toronyala monastery and its distance of Márianosztra. MRT 9, 181.

The property of Toronyalja, the surrounding of the monastery

Its name is rather unique; Toron/Torna, but also the modern Toronyalja form appears in the medieval documents. Its name derives from an earlier village, –Toronyalja, meaning “below [the] tower”– which was the sub-settlement⁸⁴⁷ (Fig. 5.3.55. no. 24. and 5.3.56.) of an Árpáadian *castrum*

⁸⁴⁵ Mező, *Patrocinium*, 278.

⁸⁴⁶ It can be in correlation with the hermitage at Nagymaros, or it also could mark the previous inhabitants of Toronyalja settlement; it was also possible that St. Michael was the original patron of the parish church, which was then rebuilt and shaped by the Paulines.

⁸⁴⁷ MRT 9, 194–195.

(Fig. 5.3.55. no. 13. and 5.3.56.). The settlement was identified through archaeological research, north-northeast of the monastery. The 50 m wide, 400 m long site elongates next to Malom-völgyi-patak (=Mill valley stream), where mostly thirteenth-century ceramics were acquired by the surveys. On the eastern side of the stream a small hill emerges, which has a small “torony”, tower on its top. (Fig. 5.3.56. and 5.3.57.)

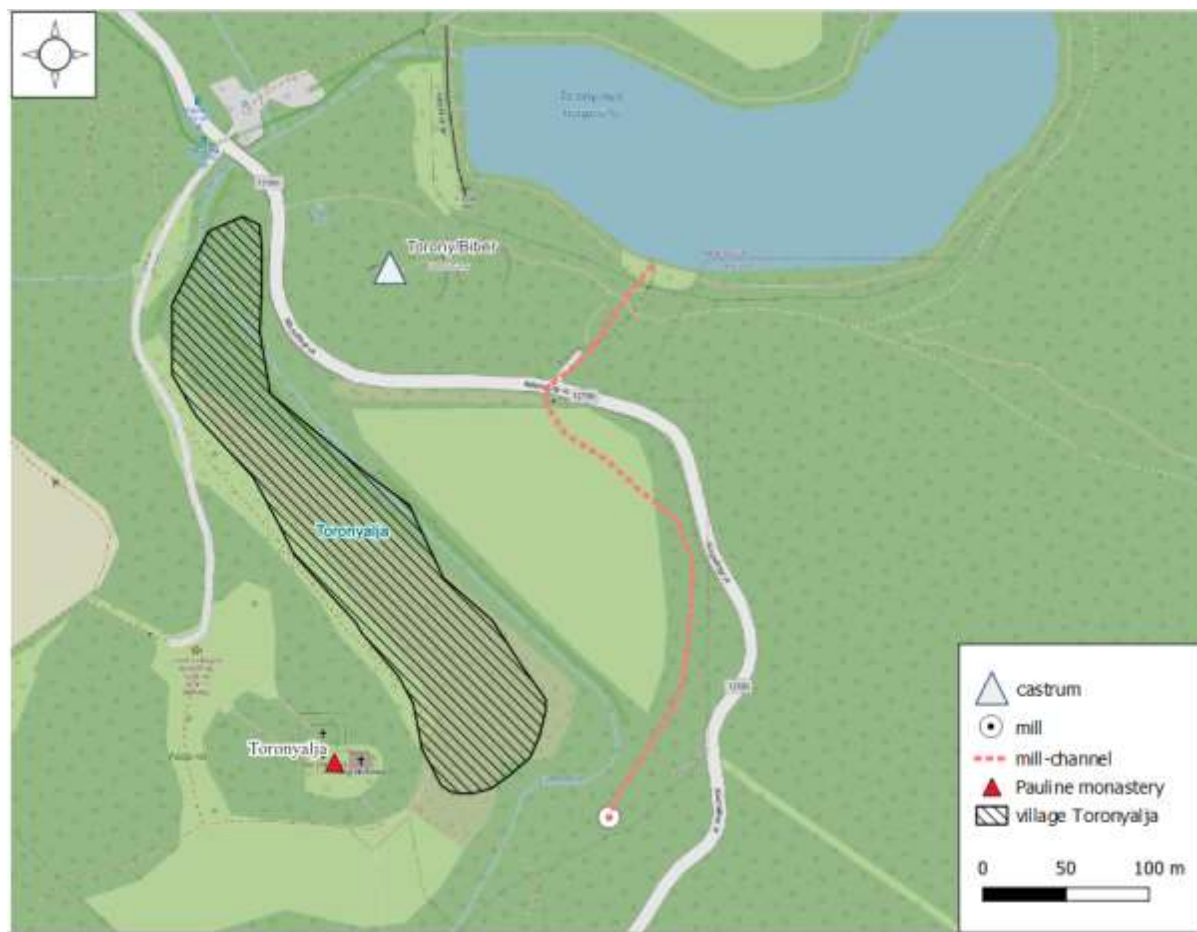


Fig. 5.3.56. *Toronyalja-St. Michael.* The local topography, based on archaeological topography and written sources, but mostly on MRT 9, 186-195, Miklós 1997, 91, Fig. 17.

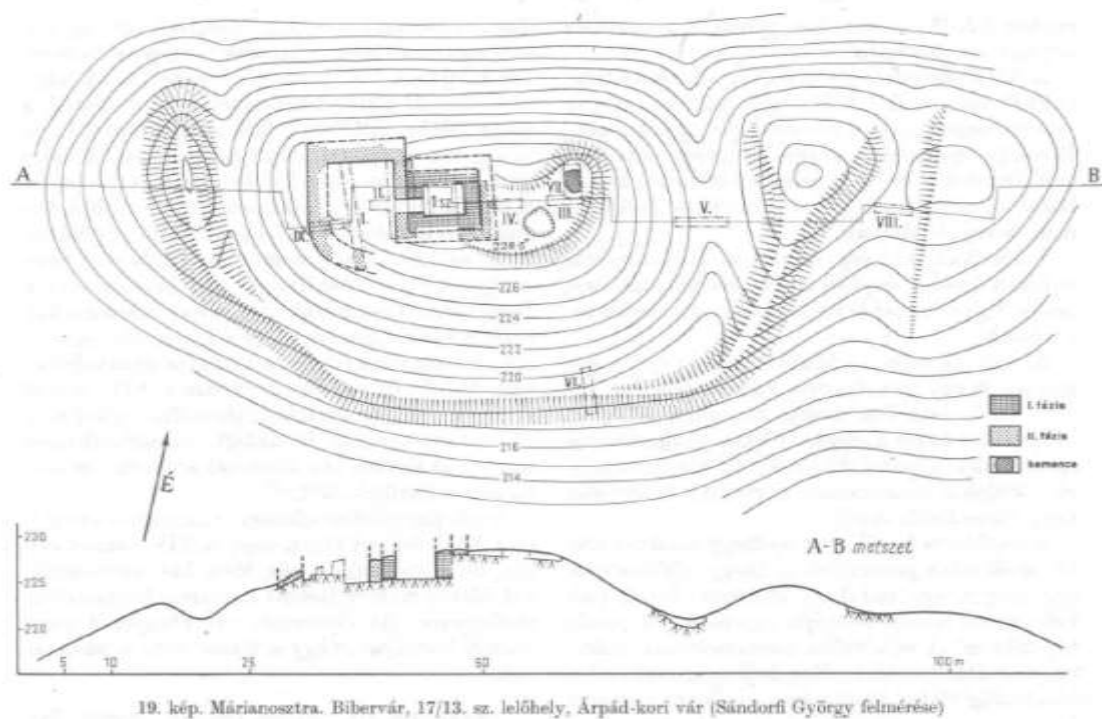


Fig. 5.3.57. *Toronyalja-St. Michael*. The survey of Torony/Bibervár. MRT 9, 187., Fig 19.

Medieval sources mention Dominicus de Turny, who was the captain of Visegrád in 1295, when his village is mentioned, which was neighboring another settlement called Kovácsi.⁸⁴⁸ Most possibly he owned Bibervár and the settlement below it and his name derived from his properties, which was inherited as a toponym for centuries, including the Pauline monastery as well. The monks probably acquired the land from the owner, who was most probably the king himself (Charles I or Louis I). Since the *castrum* was abandoned sometime at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it is probable that just like in the case of *castrum* Nosztre, it was used as building material for the monastery. In this context, the thirteenth-century carved stone that was found at the monastery is an intriguing evidence of the theory, however, it is possible that the monastery was originally placed into an ecclesial building, e.g. the church of Toronyalja village. Unfortunately, no written source survived about the foundation of the monastery, nor the destruction of *castrum* Torony.

The fishpond, operating nowadays as a proper fishing site, was marked as “*piscina Antiqua*” at different maps in the eighteenth century.⁸⁴⁹ The dam was 30 meters long and 1 m high in the twentieth

⁸⁴⁸ Cod. Dipl. VI/1. 319; ÁÚO X, 206. Mon. Eccl. Strig. II. 374–375; Bakács 1982, reg. 253. Cited in MRT 9, 188; Miklós, *Börzsöny*, 14. Two eighteenth-century perambulations (1749, 1755) mention another ruined church in the region, which could possibly be related to Kovácsi or the ruin of Toronyalja village as Zsuzsa Miklós and István Torma claimed; however, it is more likely that its church was used by the Paulines to build their monastery..

⁸⁴⁹ MNL Collection of Maps, S 86. No. 15. or 17.

century before it was incorporated into the modern dam of the fishpond (see the dem on a map, 1758, Fig. 5.3.59., also Fig. 5.3.55, no. 17.).⁸⁵⁰

Next to the fishpond, maps from the end of the seventeenth century and others from the eighteenth century marked an old mill-place (Fig. 5.3.58.), including a map from 1758, which depicts a rectangular building, the mill with its canal and a flood gate at the fishpond. (Fig. 5.3.59.) In the 1770s it was a border mark on another map, labeled *mola antiqua*.⁸⁵¹



Fig. 5.3.58. *Toronyalja-St. Michael*. “Régi malomhely”, meaning old mill’s place. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 14. and 16. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)



Fig. 5.3.59. *Toronyalja-St. Michael*. “Molendini locus, canalis mole, agger piscine”. MNL Collection of Maps, S 86 No. 15. (see details in Appendix 2/5.3.4.)

⁸⁵⁰ MRT 9, 192.

⁸⁵¹ MNL Collection of Maps, S 86, No. 17.

The mill and the canal were identified in 1988 by Zsuzsa Miklós. The channel is unique in itself, since partially it was carved into the andesit base (170 cm deep) of the region, and partially flows through a tunnel (for 8,8 meters, its height was ca 170 cm, it vaulting is 170 cm below the surface). Unfortunately, this region, north of the modern road (see Fig. 5.3.56.), was heavily destroyed during the re-cultivation of the fishpond, just at the time of the excavation. The channel is ca. 380 m long, it descends about 2 meters until the modern road, while after the road its almost 6 meters.

Beside the documentation of the channel, the mill was excavated by Miklós, which had a square plan (ca, 4x4 meters inside). Although it was heavily destroyed (most probably due to the lime kiln established next to it in the eighteenth century), the archaeological material helped the dating of the small remains. The medieval ceramic sherds were dated to the eleventh-sixteenth century; the early ones dated most probably the settlement that was located on the other side of the stream (see Fig. 5.3.56. and 57.), while the mill was most probably built in the time of the Pauline monastery, sometime in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.

A mill, a vineyard and a village – the properties of Toronyalja

Although not much is known about the foundation of the monastery, some scattered information were obtainable about its properties. The first property (and first time the monastery as well) was mentioned in 1381, which was about a mill *in fine villae Zakalia*, which is the name of medieval Szokolya, a village east of Nosztre and northeast to Toronyalja. (Fig. 5.3.60.). Not only one mill, but more than a hundred and fifty years later a noble curia and another mill was given to the Paulines by King John. None of them can be firmly identified, only the mills on the First Ordnance Survey provide some hint about the possible locations of the mills.

Szokolya was probably royal land at the time of its foundation, but the possessors changed in the fifteenth century many times. Only two years after the last donation, in 1541, after the Ottoman Empire stabilized its presence in the Carpathian Basin, the village paid tax to them and soon its ecclesia became protestant. Most probably at this time the medieval Pauline presence also ended not only at Szokolya or Toronyalja, but in the whole region.

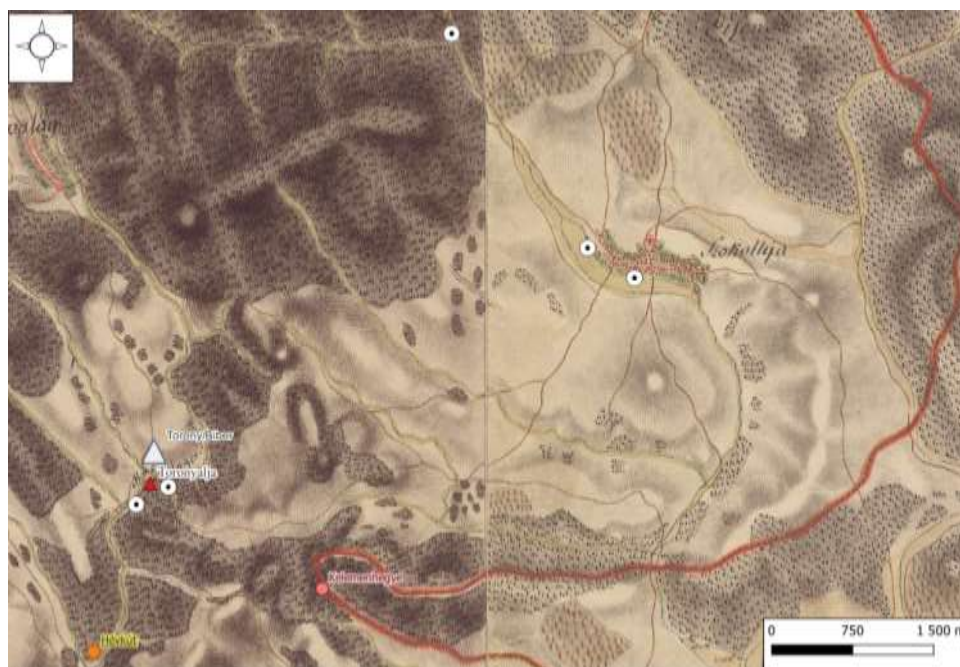


Fig. 5.3.60. *Toronyalja-St. Michael. The mills on the First Ordnance Survey, Szokolya.*

Only one data has survived on vineyard *Kelemenhegye* (Fig. 5.3.61.), the late medieval vineyard is rather interesting: it is listed as the vineyard of Toronyalja in 1504, but Horváth claims that it was once the vineyard of the St. Sigismund monastery (see also Chapter 5.3.5.), but after its disappearance, the monastery of Toronyalja received its property at Kelemenhegye. It was given to the monastery by king Vladislaus II, but nothing more is known about its whereabouts or value. However, depicted on the First Ordnance Survey, other slopes were used as vineyards in the close vicinity of Kelemenhegye, which proves that it is an ideal area for grapes. Thus possibly it was a distinguished area and a valuable asset for the Paulines at Toronyalja monastery.

It is also unknown where those vineyards were, given to the Paulines by Lady Margaret in 1418, who was the widow of a butcher at Vác. These lands were co-possessed with the monastery of St. Ladislaus, which proves the close relation between the two monasteries, not to mention Nosztra, whose prior co-operated with the prior of Kékes monastery in a specific legal issue in 1372. (see Appendix 2/5.3.3. and 5.3.4.)



Fig. 5.3.61. *Toronyalja-St. Michael. Kelemenhegye on the First Ordnance Survey.*

Bottyán village was given to the Paulines in 1527, which was located quite far from the monastery (Fig. 5.3.62.). The donation of Michael of Szob could have had a simple but also a rather compound set of reasons behind, which might be revealed indirectly by further research. After the Battle of Mohács, although the Ottomans did not occupy the Kingdom, but invaded its central area and continued to be a daily threat by raids, the destruction must have had different levels of impact on the Pauline properties as well; the population in the Carpathian Basin lived in fear and the settlements gradually disappeared, thus the monks, while the monasteries were inhabited, had to find new assets and sustenance. Bottyán could possibly be this kind of property for Toronyalja.



Fig. 5.3.62. *Toronyalja-St. Michael. Böttán village on the First Ordnance Survey.*

5.3.6. *St. Sigismund Monastery*

The problem of localization has already been introduced in Chapter 4, on the Balaton Uplands, where some of the thirteenth-century hermitages are still debated in this sense. Although the St. Sigismund monastery was founded in the fifteenth century, its history is no less a mystery: it was inhabited for a short period and vanished without any direct evidence.

The St. Sigismund monastery is a rather striking example amongst the Pauline monasteries: no matter the strong royal dedication and support for the community, the reasons for vanishing were generally the same: lack of resources and the lack of attachment to the surroundings after the death of the founder.

Backstory: the foundation of the monastery

After several years of adversity in politics and his personal sphere, King Sigismund could establish and stabilize his power, also gradually move his court to Buda at the very beginning of the 1400s. His active involvement in European politics as well as the example of his father, Charles IV led him to be the Emperor of the Holy Roman realm and became one of the most significant rulers of the Middle Ages. While he was on his way from his coronation to the (in)famous Council of Constance (1414-1418), Sigismund crossed the Swiss Alps, where he stopped at a certain monastery,

which held the relics of no other than his personal protector saint, St. Sigismund.⁸⁵² After some adventurous events,⁸⁵³ the prior of St. Maurice d'Agaune Abbey gave the relics to the king, who –as the sixteenth-century account on the meeting reports– told the prior about a newly founded chapel dedicated to St. Sigismund in Vác Bishopric, next to the Danube, between Maros and Verőce, on a remote place, on an island of an island (*Insulam Insulatos, ibidem existente loco deserto*), attended by the Paulines.⁸⁵⁴

Unfortunately, the backstory of the foundation does not date the foundation itself, because many years later, in 1433, King Sigismund asked for an approval from the Pope⁸⁵⁵ in connection with the newly founded Pauline monastery, which was dedicated to St Sigismund of Burgundy.⁸⁵⁶ The very same day, Sigismund made another application, in which he stated that he wished to found and donate the St. Sigismund monastery handsomely (*certas vineas*), just like Toronyalja monastery. At the same time the new monastery became *filia* of Toronyalja. This means that the preparations for the foundation took many years and was approved by Church only in 1433.

However, almost nothing is known of the active period of the monastery; a few decades after the death of Sigismund (1437) the monastery became uninhabited; although John Hunyadi attempted to repopulate it with monks of the Carmelite Order (1453),⁸⁵⁷ the efforts were unsuccessful. At that time, in the same charter the income of the monastery was mentioned, 2 markas, which is not even fit to a small parish. The buildings were gradually vanishing, while probably the only identified asset of the monastery, a mill at Verőce, was still in use.

Attempts of localization: Kisoroszi, Verőce, and Hévkütedeje

According to recent research of József Laszlovszky, based on written sources (e.g. the charter of Agaune) and archaeological data, the monastery is located north of Kisoroszi (medieval *Magna Villa*) on the Szentendre Island, on the Danube riverbank at a site called Pusztatemplom, meaning deserted church.⁸⁵⁸ In the Middle Ages that area was an island, near but separated from Szentendre Island and it was just opposite of Verőce (*Insulam Insulatos*). The site of Pusztatemplom is known

⁸⁵² His father, Emperor Charles took the skull of the saint decades prior to Karlstein thus got Sigismund his name after the Saint; the remaining relics were some bones of the Saint and his son in a reliquary, offered by Emperor Charles himself. As the story says, it was stuck and only Emperor Sigismund could open it. See Tóth 2005, cited in Horváth, “Zsigmond”, 270.

⁸⁵³ Cited in Horváth, “Zsigmond”, 270-271.

⁸⁵⁴ Tóth 2005, 367-384, Laszlovszky 2018, 16-20; cited also in Horváth, “Zsigmond”, 271–272.

⁸⁵⁵ The seat of the Vác Bishopric was empty at the time, the tasks were managed by two other bishops outside of Hungary, thus the King appealed to the Pope.

⁸⁵⁶ Lukcsics 2, no. 261.

⁸⁵⁷ Lukcsics 2, no. 1290.

⁸⁵⁸ MRT 7, 112; Laszlovszky 2013, 2018.

by remains of a Roman fortress/watchtower, excavated by Sándor Soproni, where significant number of medieval material was also unearthed; locals also reported visible human remains on the Danube bank, which were mostly destroyed by the flood. The fifteenth-century floods, as Laszlovszky claims, were responsible for the destruction of the monastic buildings here as well. However, yet no significant data can surely confirm that this was the location of the remote monastery.

Despite that, several further, indirect data is noteworthy in the localization of the St. Sigismund monastery at Kisoroszi. Since Hévkút (Fig. 5.3.63.) was visited by King Sigismund frequently, which is located northwest/west of Visegrád and Maros, just on the other side of the Danube, he might have taken a longer but more comfortable path east to Visegrád, through the Danube to Kisoroszi, along the northern part of Szentendre Island, through possibly Pusztatemplom site (the monastery?), arriving at Verőce on the other bank of the Danube, while he finally reached the bathing site through a steep valley. This would put Pusztatemplom, the personally founded Pauline monastery, onto an area regularly visited by the king. (Fig. 5.3.64.)

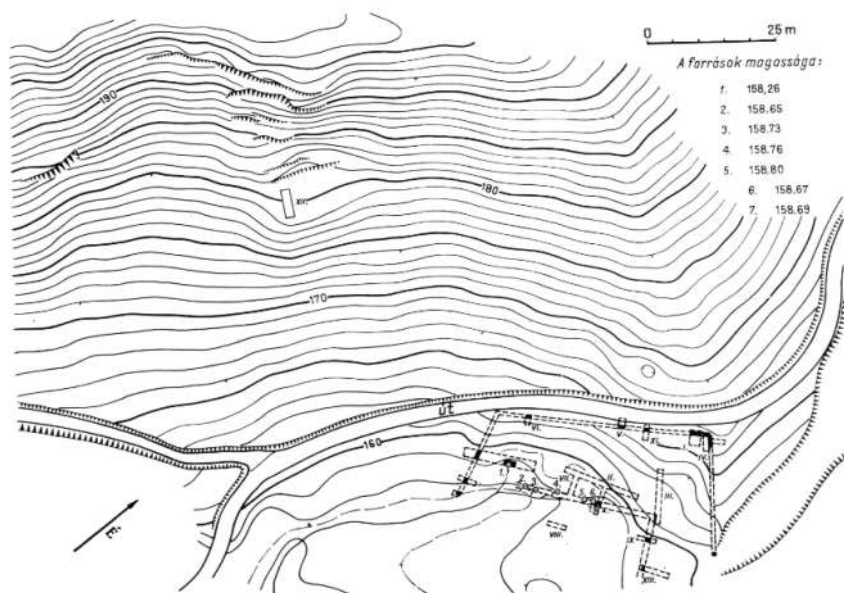


Fig. 5.3.63. **St. Sigismund.** The excavation and ground plan of Hévkút. Zsuzsa Miklós, “Középkori épület és kőbánya a nagymarosi Malom-völgyben” [Medieval Building and Quarry in the Malomvölgy of Nagymaros. *Studia Comitatus* 17 (1985), 493.



Fig. 5.3.64. *St. Sigismund*. The local topography at The Danube bank in relation to St. Sigismund monastery

Beside the natural environment and spatial features, the administrative and legal background are just as important issues. Any founder, even the king could only found a monastery on his own land, which actually Szentendre Island happened to be since King Charles I bought it from the bishop of Veszprém.⁸⁵⁹ These all add up and refer to the site of Pusztatemplom to be an ideal place for the monastery. However, Illés Horváth raised his concerns about the site: (1) it was not on the territory of the Bishopric of Vác but Veszprém, although the documents and *supplicationes*, applied by the King, all state that the area in question was at the bishopric of Vác (for example *in terra ecclesiae Waciensis fundandi*!⁸⁶⁰). Furthermore, (2) Horváth claims it was a royal territory, not bishopric; and lastly (3) he claims that only the northern peak of Szentendre Island was a separate, small island of the main part, which was called *prata insula*.⁸⁶¹

The reasoning of Horváth can be addressed in some ways: it is unclear, where was the border of Vác bishopric at the time; no matter Kisoroszi was on the territory of Veszprém Bishopric, the area of Pusztatemplom could have been the territory of Vác Bishopric. Also, the ecclesial ownership was not equal with the landownership; if it was not the king's own land, than he should have had the

⁸⁵⁹ MNL OL E 156 a. Fasc. 87. No. 69.

⁸⁶⁰ Lukcsics 2, no. 261.

⁸⁶¹ See Horváth, "Zsigmond", 282.

approval of the bishop for the foundation itself, not only for the donations and compensations of the bishopric. Also, the natural environment, here the changes of water-level and the appearance of islands is not something that a simple phrase of one part (*prata insula*) can define. The Latin phrase of *insulam insulatos* is not equal with *prata insula*, they could definitely be two separate areas at Szentendre Island. However, some concerns appeared in other scholars as well in regard to the localization of St. Sigismund monastery.

Another theory is based on the document from 1453, in which John Hunyadi requests the installation of Thomas, the Carmelite monk to the monastery.⁸⁶² The charter located the monastery as *supra possessionem episcopalem Waciensem sitam, Werewcze*. Based on the charter and further research work connected to *The Archaeological Topography* series,⁸⁶³ scholars developed the idea that the location of the St. Sigismund monastery must have been at Verőce, precisely at the parish church. It is dedicated to St. Andrew now, but in the Middle Ages, as scholars claim, it might have been St. Sigismund; based on the charter of 1453 and other, indirect topographic data. Near the settlement, there was a mill, which survived and was known as St. Sigismund mill,⁸⁶⁴ which was an asset of the monastery at the Gimpli stream. (Fig. 5.3.65.)



Fig. 5.3.65. *St. Sigismund*. Two mills on the First Ordnance Survey, one of them was possibly the St. Sigismund mill.

Horváth claims that Paulines were never settled in, even the vicinity of settlements, especially not towns like Verőce oppidum.⁸⁶⁵ However, it is not without example that Paulines received chapels in towns to operate, e.g. Telkibánya St. Catherine, even in the mid-fourteenth century; maybe

⁸⁶² Lukcsics 2, no. 1290.

⁸⁶³ MRT 9, 248.

⁸⁶⁴ Tari 2000, 103.

⁸⁶⁵ F. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás*, 15–42; F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 155, 161.

Sigismund copied the example of King Louis. However, the report of King Sigismund to the prior of St. Maurice monastery in 1414 states it was on an island of an island, which is not true in the case of Verőce. Despite the precise topographic information, John Hunyadi refers to the monastery as it was at Verőce in 1453. It is also possible that the first idea and attempt of King Sigismund was unsuccessful, thus the location of the chapel and monastery had changed over time, between 1414 and 1433. Nevertheless, the only reliable information in the dataset is that a mill was located at Verőce, called St. Sigismund, which indicates that it was an asset of the monastery. (Fig. 5.3.64.)

Horváth refers to a third location, namely to the woods between the manor and bathing place at Hévkút (*Hekwterdeye*) in the Börzsöny and Toronyalja monastery.⁸⁶⁶ (Fig. 5.3.64. and 5.3.66.) He believes that the island-like formation in the valley of the different streams could be ideal, also that the properties are near (the known mill at Verőce⁸⁶⁷ and a vineyards at *Kelemenhegye*).⁸⁶⁸ Kelemenhegye, the late medieval vineyard is rather interesting : it is listed as the vineyard of Toronyalja in 1504 (see also Chapter 5.3.5.), but Horváth claims that it was once the vineyard of the St. Sigismund monastery since Kelemenhegye was located at the area where the late medieval–early modern vineyards of the bishop of Vác, whose properties were taken by King Sigismund (specifically vineyards) when he was founding the monastery of St. Sigismund. Horváth contends that after the devaluation and disappearance of St. Sigismund monastery (which is not clear, when did it exactly happen), the monastery of Toronyalja received its property at Kelemenhegye. In spite of the endeavors of different localizations, the key information has not yet been addressed by Horváth, which is that islands were mentioned in most cases, related to large waterscapes.⁸⁶⁹ Also, the earliest description, dated 1414, refers to the location as next to the Danube.

⁸⁶⁶ Miklós, “Középkori épület,” 479; MRT 9, 229.

⁸⁶⁷ MNL OL Collection of Maps, S 86. No. 16.

⁸⁶⁸ MNL OL Collection of Maps, S 11. No. 207.; S 16 No. 326/1.

⁸⁶⁹ Although it would be essential to study the appearance and meaning of *insula* in latin sources, see the problem of *Insula Pilup* in Chapter 4.3.1.

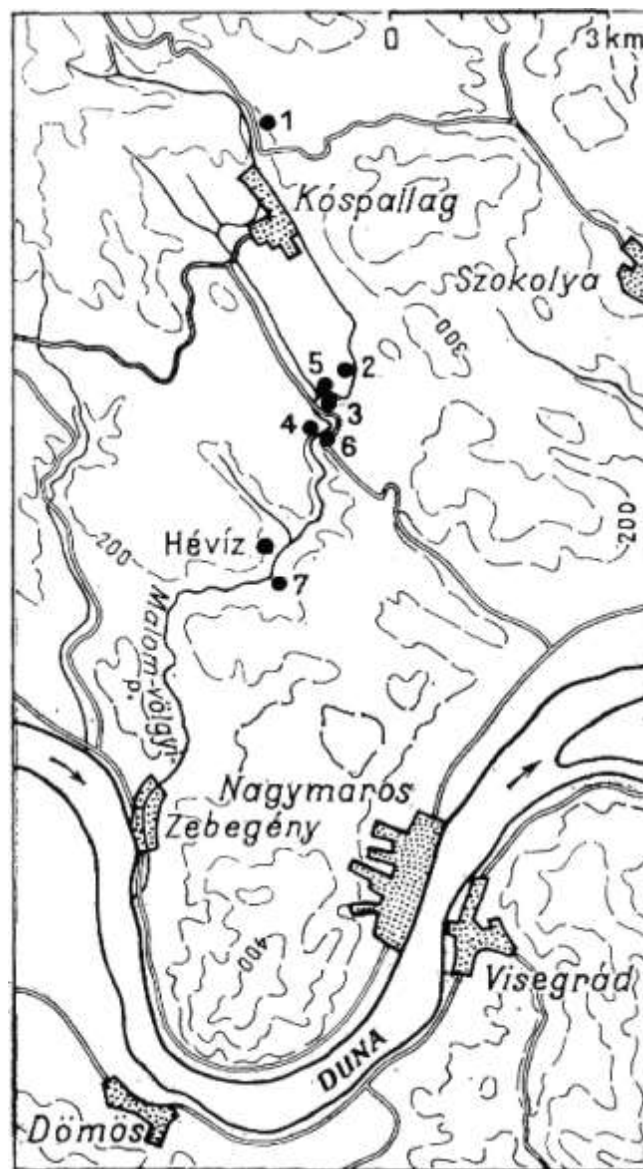


Fig. 5.3.66. *St. Sigismund*. 1: the Árpáadian village of Hanta (11-thirteenth c.); 2: settlement remains (thirteenth c. pottery shreds); 3: Torony - medieval fortress (13-fourteenth c.); 4: Pauline monastery of Toronyalja (13-sixteenth c.); 5: *Piscina antiqua*, the fishpond of the monastery; 6: *Mola antiqua*, the mill of the monastery; 7: settlement remains (12-thirteenth c. pottery shreds). Miklós, "Középkori épület," 489.

Horváth also adds a new understanding of the St. Sigismund mill: he believes that it was at the border of Verőce and Maros, but belonged to Maros; thus, he offers three mill sites: the one at Toronyalja, and two others at Hévkút. (Fig. 5.3.67.) However, at Hévkút the problems are multiple. Horváth argues that an earlier mill is ruined at Hévkút, where a new one was erected by the settlement of Nagymaros in 1776. However, on the map he refers to, the mill is not ruined, only it is close to ruins (see Fig. 5.3.68.)

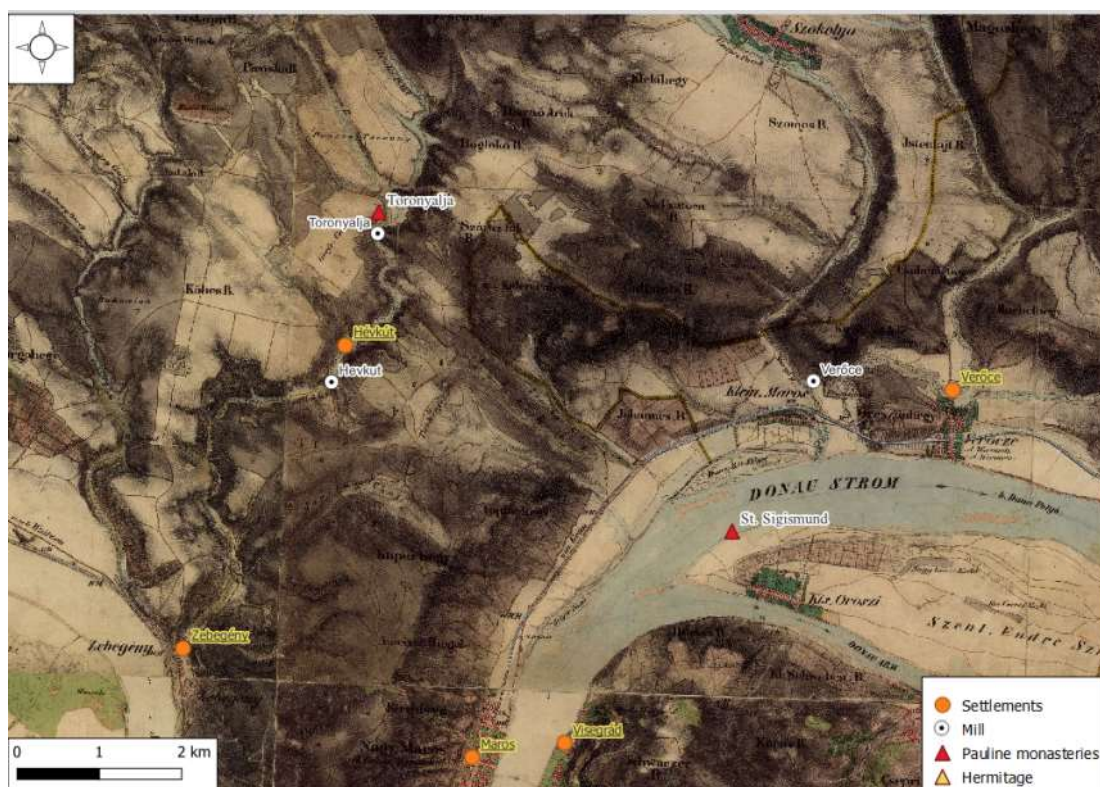


Fig. 5.3.67. *St. Sigismund. The mills based on Horváth, “Zsigmond”, 283–284.*



Fig. 5.3.68. *St. Sigismund. Cut from the map MNL OL Collection of Maps, S 11, No. 207. Rudera of Hévkút and a mill depicted.*

Basically, the St. Sigismund monastery is still a mystery and its location and assets are still not known properly. Based on the available information it is undoubtedly hard to identify them; additional archaeological and written evidence would lead further the state of research.

CHAPTER 6 – THE ZEMPLÉN HILLS, ABAÚJ-HEGYALJA REGION

6.1. Introduction⁸⁷⁰

The third amongst the studied regions is located in the western part of the Zemplén hills⁸⁷¹, called Abaúji-Hegyalja, and lies along one of the most important routes since prehistoric times, the Hernád valley. This northeastern-southwestern directed natural pathway was one of those roads that led from the South European regions to Northern Europe through the Carpathians. (see Fig. 6.2.) It appeared to be a key factor in the history of the region in the Middle Ages as well, however, the study of this region from an archaeological perspective is really scattered. Although historical and ethnographic studies are related to this region, surrounding mostly important events or settlements, a grand-scale, regional historical study specifically focusing on the late Middle Ages is not available from the area.⁸⁷² However, since this area was covered with woods since –most possibly– even before the Middle Ages, except forest management, the remains of historical spatial features are to be found in good state. For example, the monastery of Gönc has not been totally demolished since the sixteenth century, its ruins are still visible, while Göncruszka, more exposed to the populated area of the valley, was totally demolished.

The selected group of monasteries lie in the territory of Eger Bishopric, but administratively related to the historical Abaúj County,⁸⁷³ the eastern neighbor of which was Zemplén county, with its seat at Zemplén, which the whole geographical region and the county itself was named after. The border between the two counties was dividing the Zemplén hills for many centuries in its middle part along a north-south axis, just next to the targeted area of the dissertation.

⁸⁷⁰ See the map in Chapter 1. Introduction, Fig. 1.1.

⁸⁷¹ Geographically it is part of the *Eperjes-Tokaj Hill-Chain*, Eperjes is Prešov in Slovakia. The northern border of the Zemplén hills, still in geographical terms, is regarded along the valley of Bózsza stream, near Füzér. In geographical studies it is called Tokaji-hegység, Tokaj hills. On its geomorphology see Pinczés 1998, Szakáll 2004.

⁸⁷² Beside the early twentieth-century county monograph by Samu Borovszky, the Árpadian-age was studied by Mária Wolf, see Mária Wolf, *Árpád-Kori Eredetű Települések Abaúj Vármegye Déli Részén*. [Árpadian age settlements on the southern area of Abaúj County] (Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 1989.), but also several studies deal with the castles in the region as well as the early modern period, the effect of reformation. Also the Town Atlas volume was published on Sátoraljaújhely, see István Tringli, *Sátoraljaújhely*. Budapest: MTA, 2011.

⁸⁷³ Originally, the county's territory was part of the large Újvár County, which was divided into multiple administrative zones in the thirteenth century. One of them was Abaúj County (since 1263), which kept its territory until the nineteenth century (today it is part of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén vármegye/county). The basis was F. Romhányi (2000), *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, revised online open-source edition; also Belényesy, *Abaúj-Hegyalja. József Szabadsfalvi, Néprajzi tanulmányok a zempléni-hegyvidékről*. Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 1981.

https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MEGY_BAZE_Hom_Evkonyv_37/?pg=501&layout=s

Usually, in the historical and ethnographic literature the eastern-southeastern part of the Zemplén hills is called Hegyalja (Promontorium), while the western territory along the Hernád-valley from the border/Zsujta until ca. Szántó is called Abaúj(i)-Hegyalja (Promontorium of Abaúj). This was the most complex and simplest phrase to use in the present work as well, just like Károly Belényesy did, who wrote the first complex spatial study on the Pauline monasteries, specifically regarding the Abaúj-Hegyalja-region.

This region had a strong royal presence since the Árpád period, though in the fourteenth century beside the royal town of Kassa (Cassovia, Kosice, SK), the fortified castles and the woods remained in royal possession, if not given as honor lands to the distinguished office-bearers. (Fig. 6.1.) The monastery of Óhuta most possibly lied at the border but on the side of Abaúj County, where the further monasteries, at Regéc, Göncruszka and Gönc were clearly located within Abaúj County. (see Fig. 6.2.)

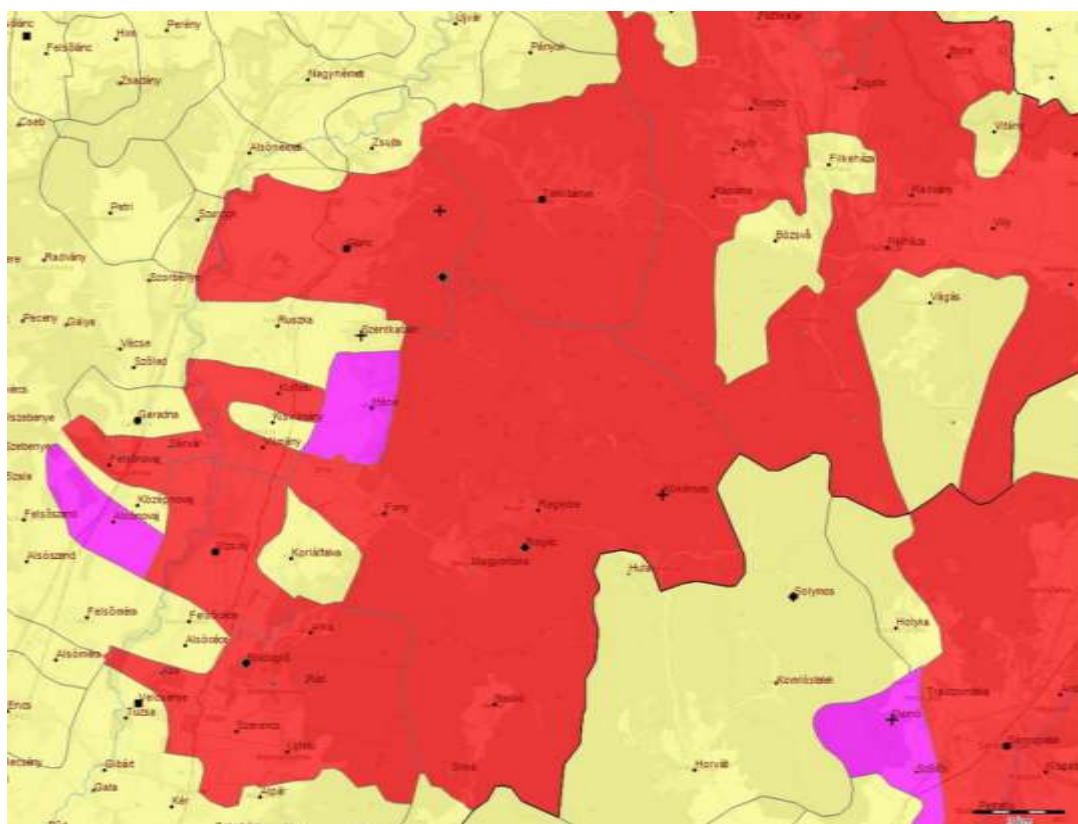


Fig. 6.1. *Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja*. The properties around the Pauline monasteries (red: royal, purple: ecclesial, yellow: private), also the county border (marked with thick black line), while the monasteries are marked by a cross. Cut from Engel, P. <https://abtk.hu/hirek/1713-megujult-engel-pal-adatbazisa-a-kozepkori-magyarorszag-digitalis-atlasza>

6.2. The Abaúj-Zemplén region: overview of the historical environment

6.2.1. General overview of medieval space and chronology

The significance of the area in the late medieval period rests on two environmental pillars: beside the main road to the north (Fig. 6.2.), a specific natural resource distinguished the area since the twelfth-thirteenth, but most significantly the fourteenth century: precious metals, gold and silver.

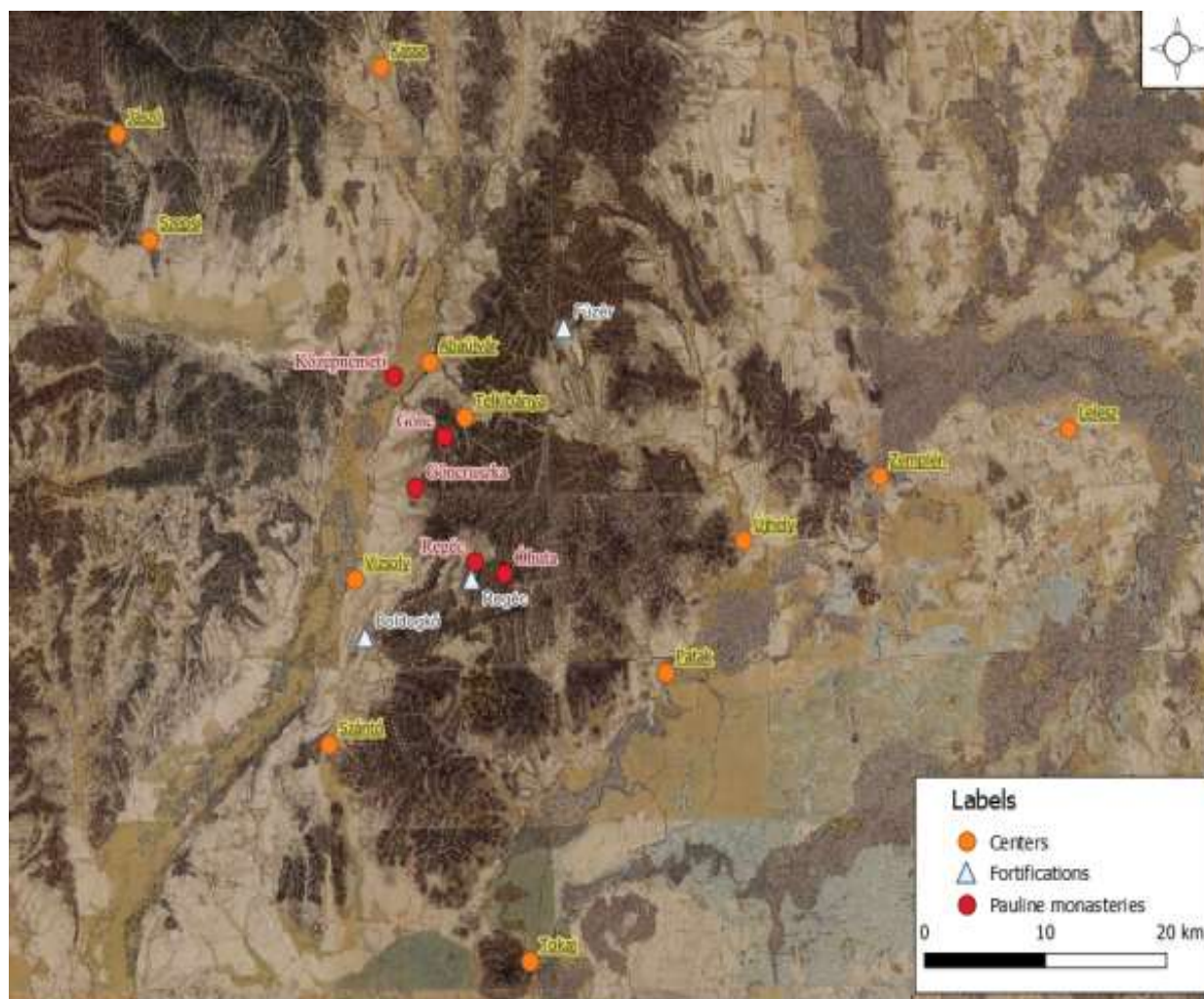


Fig. 6.2. *Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja*. The key medieval royal, ecclesial and administrative centers, significant fortifications and Pauline monasteries on the First Ordnance Survey.

The mining town of Telkibánya was one of the most significant gold mining centers of medieval Hungary after miners arrived there as *hospites* (possibly upgrading the already existing mining activities) by the order of King Charles I and the settlement was endowed with specific town

privileges in 1341.⁸⁷⁴ These two factors and the strong royal ownership in the region defined the arrival and development of the Pauline monasteries. It is rarely known, but an intensive mining of grinding-stone material was also related to ore mining, which was ideal and popular in the region of Telkibánya and Patak as well (see Fig. 6.2. for the settlements).⁸⁷⁵

However, throughout the Middle Ages, further settlements were among the most important factors in the life and development of the region in different times, hence the local settlement system and local history should be addressed at a certain level and discussed briefly in a chronological order since it establishes the understanding of the dynamics in the historical space.⁸⁷⁶ However, the published data are scattered and yet a complex study of the region's history, including archaeological topography, is still lacking.

⁸⁷⁴ Benke, 2001. KMTL 668. ÁMTF 1, 151; MTF 1, 201; Wenczel, *Mezőgazdaság*, 90-93.

⁸⁷⁵ Szakáll 2004, 47.

⁸⁷⁶ Based on the catalogue in Wolf, *Árpád-kori*.

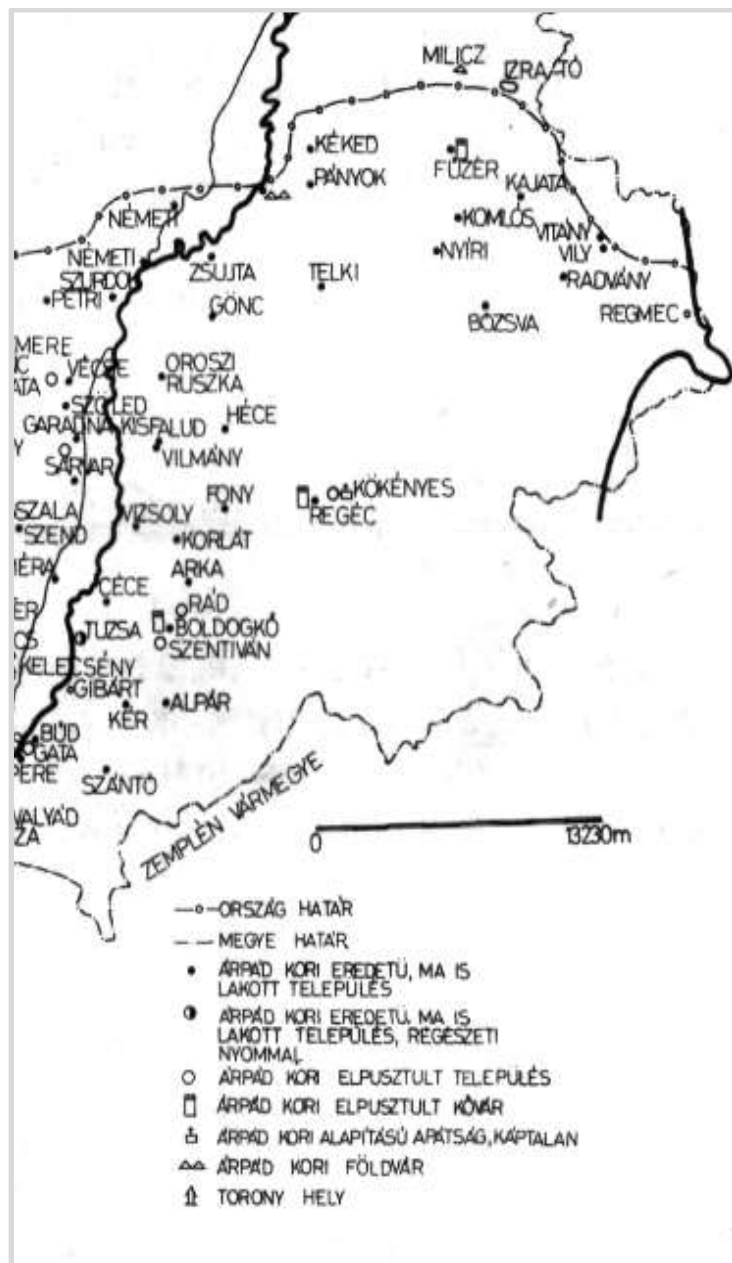


Fig. 6.3. *Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja*. The settlements and fortifications in the Árpadian era. Cut from Wolf 1989, 8. Fig. 1.

Ország-határ —•—: country border. Megye határ —: County border. Árpád kori eredetű, ma is lakott település •: Still inhabited settlement dated to the Árpadian period. Árpád kori eredetű, ma is lakott település, régészeti nyommal •◉: Still inhabited settlement dated to Árpadian age, archaeological remains. Árpád-kori elpusztult település ◉: Destroyed Árpadian-age settlement. Árpád-kori elpusztult kövár ◻: Destroyed Árpadian-age stone-built fortress/castle. Árpád-kori alapítású apátság, káptalan ⊕: Monastery, chapter from the Árpadian period. Árpád-kori földvár ▲: Hillfort from the Árpadian period. Torony helye ⚙: Tower.

This region was settled by the Magyar tribes in the tenth century, but it was gradually populated during the Árpáadian era. The settling of *hospites* by the queens' order onto the fertile lands of the Hernád valley suggests that most of these lands were still untouched by the thirteenth century.⁸⁷⁷ Due to the royal attention to the region, the settlement network was more or less stabilized by the end of the thirteenth century; even the Mongol invasion –although it did result in some destruction – could not break the development of the area. Mária Wolf collected and published the Árpáadian-age archaeological topography of the county (Fig. 6.3.), in which all the known material and written sources were synthesized.⁸⁷⁸ *Nota bene*, the present settlement network roughly represents the core of the late medieval state of the area.

Since the early Árpáadian era, Újvár⁸⁷⁹ was a regional center, which functioned also as the seat of the dean.⁸⁸⁰ By the thirteenth century, Gönc, as one of the main German *hospites* settlements of the queen, also had an important role in the region. It was mentioned first in 1219,⁸⁸¹ along with Vizsoly, which not only had a royal curia and was seat of the queens *comitatus*,⁸⁸² but it was the center of a region (*comitatus*) with ten villages enjoying privileged *hospes* status.⁸⁸³ Three settlements were named as “Németi”, meaning “German”, today's Hidas-, Tornyos-, and Középnémeti; these were all settled with German *hospites* in 1219.⁸⁸⁴ Ruzska was not an exception from this set of settlements: it was mentioned first in 1220.⁸⁸⁵ Interestingly, a property near Gönc was called Oroszi, meaning “Russian” which would suggest the appearance of inhabitants from eastern/northeastern regions, outside of the Carpathian Basin⁸⁸⁶ – it was owned by the Benedictine monastery of Széplak, near Kassa. Another ecclesial possession is known from this era: Hejce, for example, was mentioned in 1261 as the property of the Bishop of Eger.⁸⁸⁷ The Chapter of Eger owned a part or at least some vineyards at Szántó in 1275 – here a rare (centaur-shaped) aquamanile was found.⁸⁸⁸ Fony, along the

⁸⁷⁷ Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 166-168.

⁸⁷⁸ See Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, but still even today, Wolf and Tamás Bodnár reflect on the newly found archaeological material and objects, also written sources and publish results, although they are not in the late medieval period of the close vicinity of the discussed monasteries.

⁸⁷⁹ It has been excavated since 1974, lately by Mária Wolf. See lately: Mária Wolf, “Újabb Kutatások az Abaújházi várban.” [Recent research in the fort of Abaújház]. *CASTRUM* 25 (2022/1-2): 5–22.

⁸⁸⁰ KMTL 28.

⁸⁸¹ Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 50; ÁMTF 1, 91.

⁸⁸² On the queen's court and the counties organized in this term, see Zsoldos 2005.

⁸⁸³ ÁMTF 1, 156–157; Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 157.

⁸⁸⁴ ÁMTF 1, 121; Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 152.

⁸⁸⁵ ÁMTF 1, 136–138; Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 154.

⁸⁸⁶ The toponym Ruzska also refers to the Eastern Slavs, the Kievan Rus. Most possibly these eastern Slavic people were settled here when the area was governed by the queens from Vizsoly. Eastern slavs could arrive with the court of Euphrosyne of Kiev, the wife of King Géza II in the second half of the twelfth century.

⁸⁸⁷ Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 150. Original: ÁMTF 1, 91.

⁸⁸⁸ ÁMTF 1, 142–143; Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, , 155.

road to the castle of Regéc, was inhabited by royal tanners before 1219. Telkibánya, which had the key role in the late medieval era, securing the flourishing of the region, was mentioned first in 1270 as an asset of Füzér castle at the time.⁸⁸⁹

The earliest stone-built, private castles appeared here (Fig. 6.2.): along Füzér (probably built before 1235 by a member of the Kompolt kindred, royal castle later), Boldogkő (1295, Tyba of Tomaj kindred), Gönc (the so-called Amadé castle, possibly built by Amadé, the most significant member of the Aba kindred in the 1290s) and Regéc (built by Amadé before 1307) were such ones. Except for Boldogkő, these were the private castles of the Aba kindred. However, Kassa and Jászó provostry were also fortified in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.

In the Middle Ages, after the Aba kindred, the Drugeth family governed the whole county and stabilized it,⁸⁹⁰ in correlation with the intention of King Charles I. The town of Kassa was significant in the Árpadian era, but holding privileges from 1347 as a royal town and being the seat of the royal mint, it was the absolute power center of the region.⁸⁹¹

Szepsi as ecclesiastic center, Vizsoly as an administrative center, several royal castles (including Füzér, Regéc), and the oppidum of Gönc, also the town (*civitas*) of Telkibánya were holding great value in the region.⁸⁹² (Fig. 6.2.) Beside them, the Premonstratensian provostry of Jászó, (located in the Premonstratensian monastery) was a significant landowner, also played an important role in the administrative literacy of the region as place of authentication, i.e. a body entitled to issue authentic documents for third parties.

This prosperous growth was undisturbed until the 1440s, when the following two decades were marked by internecine war. After a short period of piece under the rule of King Matthias, all the rulers who claimed the Hungarian throne fought in this area; afterwards, in the sixteenth century, first the Habsburg-Szapolyai conflict, later the Ottoman raids and the armies of the Protestant nobles destroyed many settlements and properties; just like they did it with the Pauline monasteries (Gáspár Serédy mostly).⁸⁹³ The following numbers clearly represent the mass destruction and depopulation of

⁸⁸⁹ MNL OL DL 705. W. VIII. 256; ÁMTF 1, 151; Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, , 156.

⁸⁹⁰ One of the Drugeth *familiaris* was the Perényi family, who had a great role in the history of the county and Hungary from the end of the fifteenth century. See Attila Zsoldos, *A Druget-tartomány története 1315-1342* [The history of Drugeth province] (Budapest: MTA, 2017). Also see Ádám Novák, *A terebesi Perényi család története a 15. század közepéig* [The history of the Perényi family of Terebes until the mid-fifteenth century] (Debrecen: "Magyarország a középkori Európában" Kutatócsoport, 2020).

⁸⁹¹ *Košice in the Coordinates of European History*. Eds. Mária Hajduová – Martin Bartoš. Košice, 2013. I hereby thank Katalin Szende for the information.

⁸⁹² 1220: VR 259. sz.

⁸⁹³ Based on Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 10–12.

the region: in 1427 there were 5184 peasant plots (*portae*) in the whole county, while in 1715 only one fifth of them, 922 plots were conscribed.⁸⁹⁴

Regarding the monastic network until the fourteenth century,⁸⁹⁵ it is striking, that this region was not inhabited by monasteries (Fig. 6.4.), only the important centers around the Zemplén hills, at Diósgyőr, Újhely and Kassa (Abaszéplak) were inhabited by different monastic orders: Benedictines, Franciscans, and Dominicans. Possibly the heyday of the Paulines coincided with the period when the area was populated and managed onto a level, which could sustain further communities. Also, as Károly Belényesy highlighted in his monograph, the Paulines had a rather polarized but in many ways proved characteristic, namely that they built their sustenance on what was available around them.⁸⁹⁶

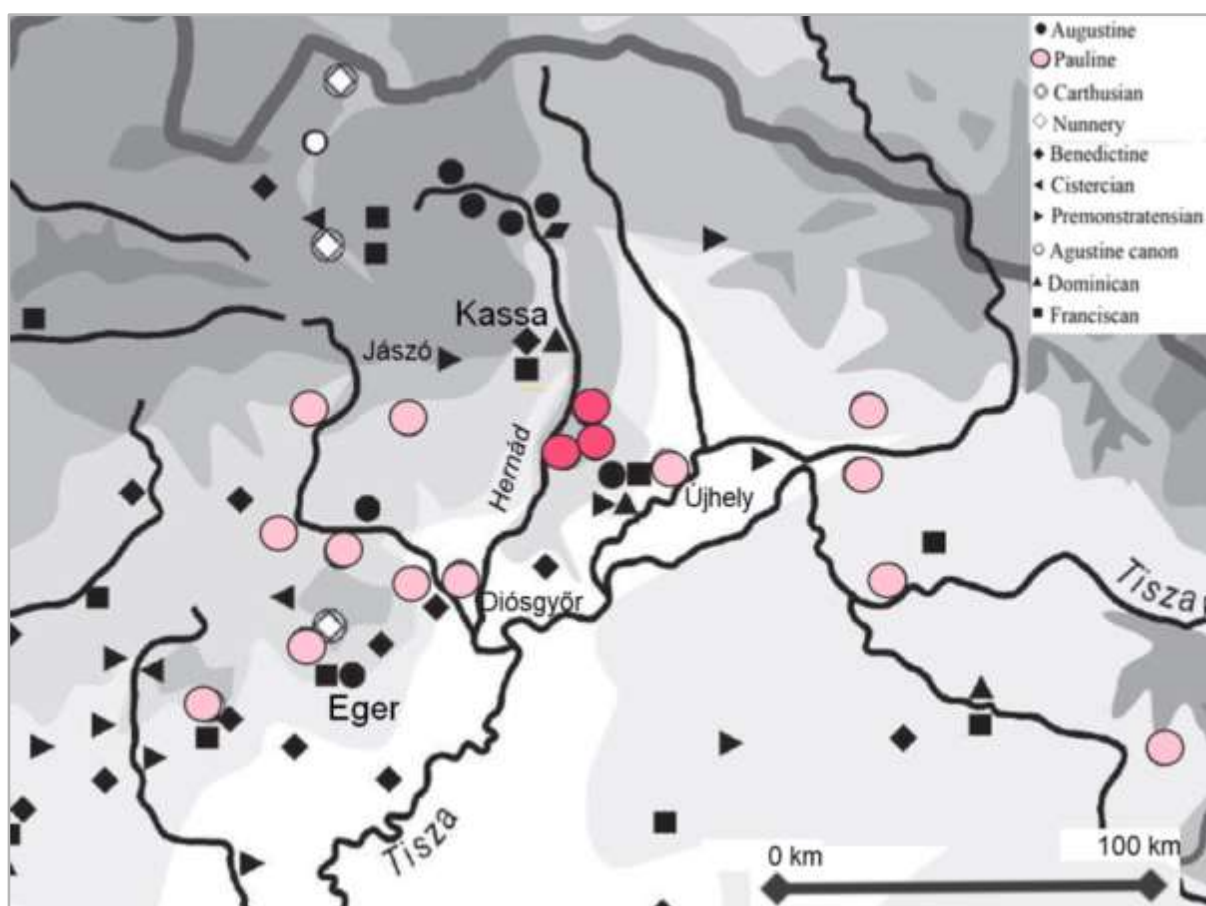


Fig. 6.4. *Zemplén–Abaúji–Hegyalja*. Cut from the map of the monastic network in the 1400s, F. Romhányi “*Kolostorhálózat*”, 23, Fig. 9.

⁸⁹⁴ Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 13.

⁸⁹⁵ Beatrix F. Romhányi, “*Kolostorhálózat – településhálózat – népesség. A középkori Magyar Királyság demográfiai helyzetének változásaihoz*” [Monastic network – settlement system – population: on the demographic changes of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom]. *Történelmi Szemle* 57 (2015): 1–49.

⁸⁹⁶ Belényesy, *Abaúj-Hegyalja*, 110.

The Pauline monasteries founded in this context (Fig. 6.4. and 6.5.): first the hermits at Óhuta (see Chapter 5.3.5.) gathered and formed a monastic community around the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth century (before 1307) possibly on the territory of the Aba or Tolcsva kindred, at the time when the county itself went through a significant change, when the monastery's vicinity was attached possibly to Zemplén county at the time, the central role of Újvár was shifting to Vizsoly and the centers of the Angevin honor system, also Telkibánya and further to Kassa. Not so soon after the hermit Aegidius founded and built his hermitage (Chapter 6.3.6.) that is regarded as part of the Pauline heritage since its St. Ladislaus relic was transferred to the monastery of Ruszka in the fourteenth century. His example is unique in Pauline history in terms of his anchorite-like, chosen lifestyle; however, it was true until the chapel became a pilgrimage site.

It is not clear what was the goal idea behind the foundation, but just like at the Balaton Uplands (Révfülp, Chapter 4.3.1.) or possibly at Kisoroszi (Chapter 5.3.6.), the immediate closeness of a waterbody, here the Hernád (Hornád) River, definitely was a feature of solitude and a definitely conscious site-selection. Since the monastery is yet to be located, no further factors of settling are detectable or can be analyzed, only presumptions can be drawn (e.g. the closeness of crossing through the Hernád). Aegidius was supported by Philip Drugeth, who was the *comes* of Szepes and at the time of Újvár, and who most probably supported the hermits at Óhuta as well, after the Tolcsva kindred.

The monastery of Göncruszka was founded in 1338 by the local noblemen, most possibly the descendants of the German *hospites* or possibly earlier the ones coming from the Kievan Rus. It was founded on the basis of an earlier church, dedicated to St. Catherine, located along the road at the Hernád valley. The foundation of the monastery at Regéc, which was undoubtedly unsuccessful, marked the time when King Louis founded the monastery of Gönc, the third community in the region who not only could operate until the sixteenth century, but became the strongest community amongst the local Pauline monasteries. That was highlighted with the rebuilding and maintenance of the hospital at Telkibánya.

Since the Angevin era, it is apparent in the written sources that Telkibánya and Ruszka were absolutely crucial in the life of the monasteries at Gönc (Holy Virgin) and Göncruszka (St. Catherine), while Óhuta and Regéc monasteries were organizing their lives in relation with the castle of Regéc. Also, as they were located along the stream valley and road that provides a cut through the woods of Zemplén hills,⁸⁹⁷ their focus was more closely related to the eastern and southeastern region of the Zemplén hills (called Hegyalja, which covers the Újhely-Patak-Tokaj line, see Fig. 6.5.)

⁸⁹⁷ Belényesy, *Abauj-Hegyalja*, 103.

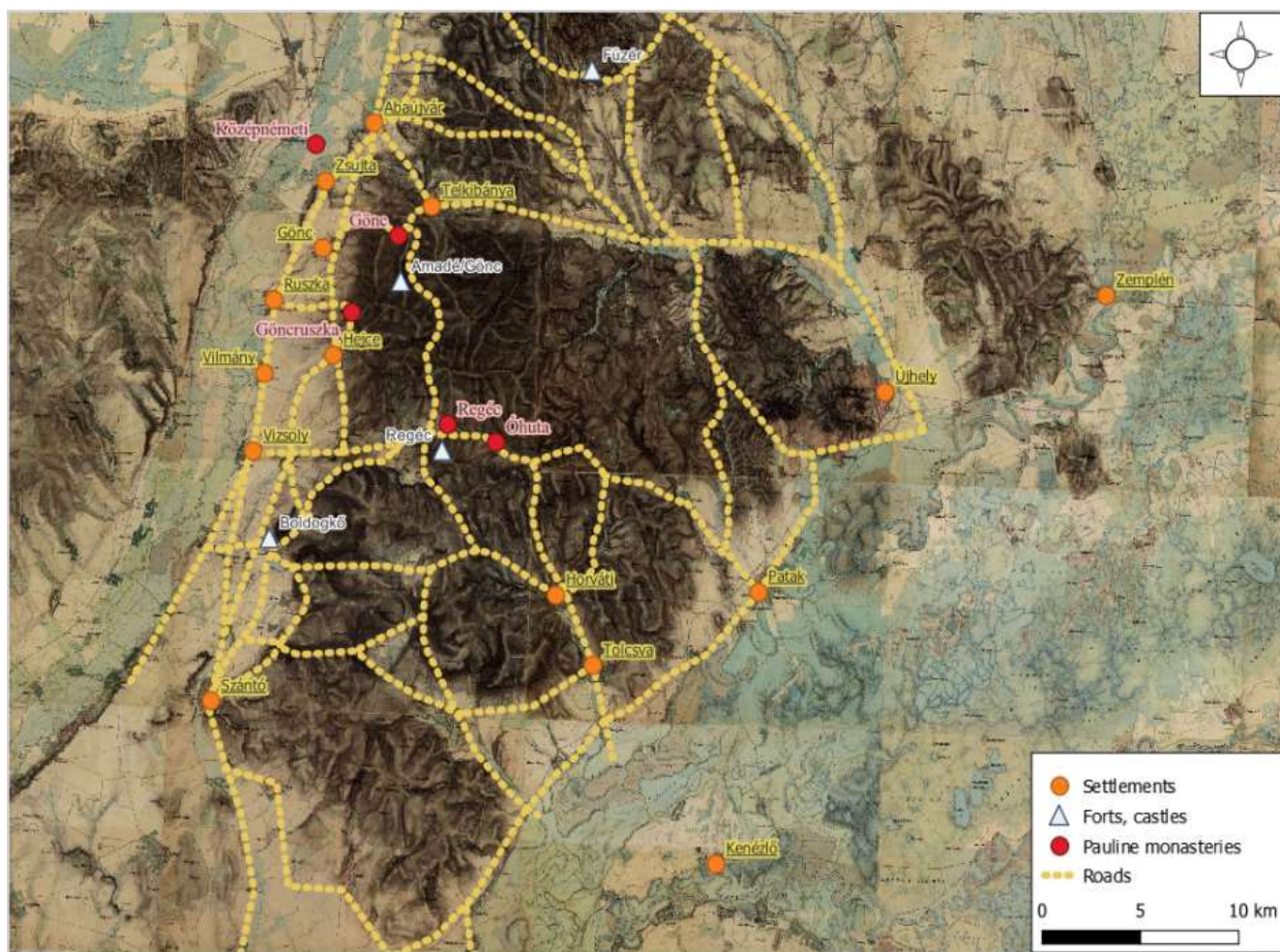


Fig. 6.5. *Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja*. The draft of medieval settlements and roads in the vicinity of the analyzed Pauline monasteries on the Second Ordnance Survey.

Not surprisingly, a few ideas of Károly Belényesy were already referred to here: his outstanding work was published twenty years ago on the spatial characteristics of the monasteries at Abaúj-Hegyalja.⁸⁹⁸ Belényesy intended not only to localize all sites, but documented the immediate space around them, for example the pond at Óhuta and Ruszka monasteries. He also identified historical roads in written sources and in the field as well. Besides, he also analyzed written sources from several other perspectives.

For example, the founders and donators were reviewed from social aspects and in terms of the donated lands as well, including their location and value. He stated that the donated lands represented the donators themselves; most of the lands were local, close to the monasteries, just like the basis of their supporters. The monasteries were also forming a cluster and within this community, there was

⁸⁹⁸ The following summary is based on Belényesy, *Abaúj-Hegyalja*, 85–111.

a strong, but sometimes rather occasional interdependence amongst them. He also stated that this region could bear maximum these monasteries, no more, as the unsuccessful operation of Ruzska (before 1338!) and Középnémeti (!) proves.

Belényesy re-read the sources from other perspectives as well: he identified some pieces of change in the local settlement structure. E.g. the monastery of Gönc was located as the one below the fort of Gönc until the end of the fourteenth century, later only the monastery next to the settlement of Gönc. He also highlighted that vineyards and mills were dominating the assets of the monasteries, while the number of the assets could be related to the size of the community they had to maintain: large communities had to have more properties, like Gönc had dominantly more mills here.

Belényesy also analyzed in detail the destruction of the monasteries, which is related to the wartime period of the sixteenth century, but also the hostile nobles, who turned (or just claimed to be turned) to the protestant ecclesia in the region. This also meant the destabilization of the Pauline monasteries' support system and social background since the mid-class people were affected the most by the new ideas and turned against the old church. Nevertheless, the properties of the local monasteries were still managed by the vicariate, which was at Újhely from sometime the late Middle Ages until the end of the eighteenth century.

6.2.2. Medieval Space of the Abaúj-Hegyalja region

Although not much is known on the surrounding area of Óhuta and Regéc monasteries (if it was built), but it is interesting to have a brief look at the area of Gönc and Telkibánya, also a glimpse at Ruzska, which all had outstanding roles in the history of Göncruszka and Gönc monasteries and also, some notes on the relation between lay and clerical sphere can be highlighted. (Fig. 6.6.)

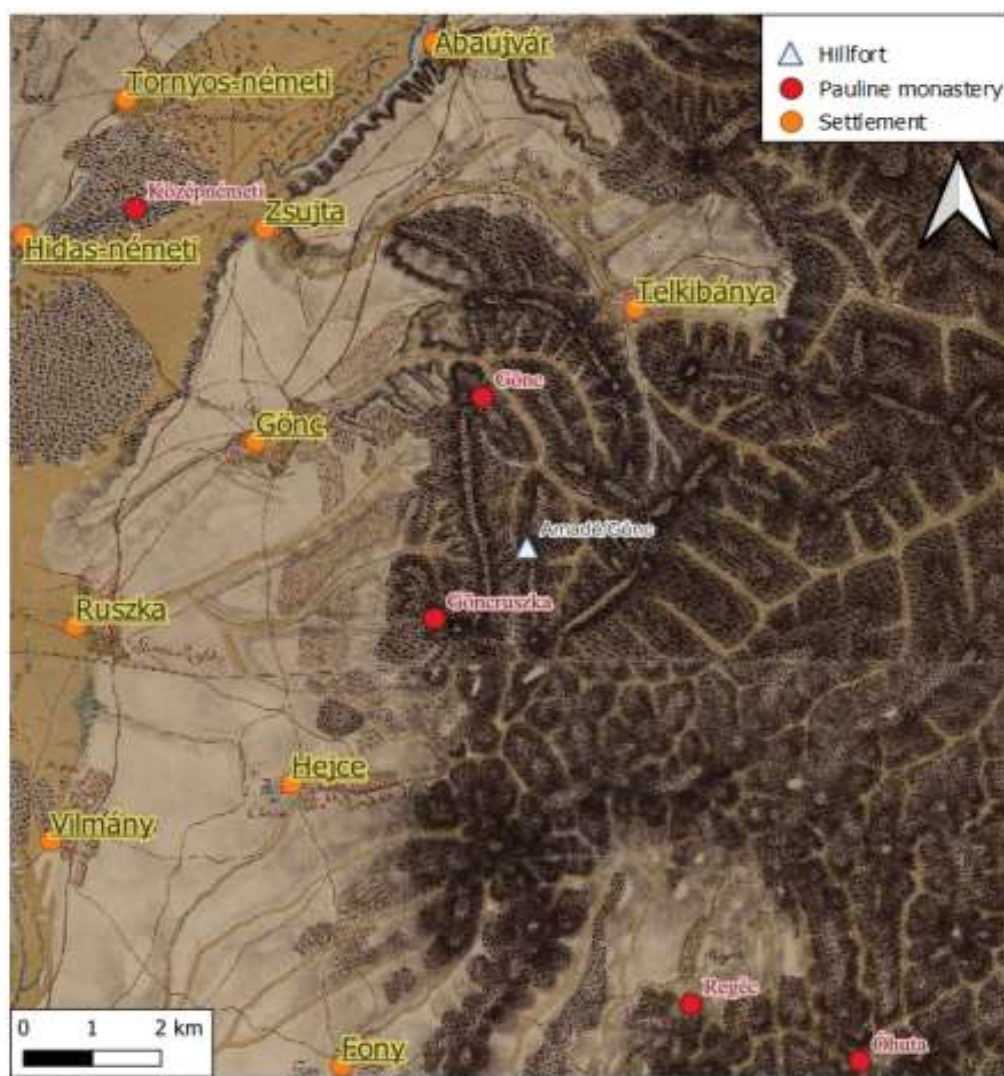


Fig. 6.6. *Zemplén–Abauji-Hegyalja*. The presented settlements around the monasteries of Gönc and Göncruszka.

Gönc

In this regard, probably the most interesting settlement and property is Gönc, which had an extremely tight relationship with the monasteries, much less stronger than its history and power would suggest. Gönc was established in the twelfth century⁸⁹⁹ by the order of the queen and it was one of the ten settlements (Vizsoly, Egyházaskizsoly, Gönc, Perény, Vilmány, Hernádcéce, Felsődobsza, Hidasnémeti (Alnémet), Tornynosnémeti (Középnémet), Miglécnémeti (Felnémet)) that were founded and inhabited by German *hospites* and governed by the queen's court through the comitatus of Vizsoly (*reginae hospites de provincia Novi Castri, scilicet de decern villis*). Its earliest mention was

⁸⁹⁹ Béla Iványi, the monographer of Gönc suggests that the settlement was named after Konrad, the founder of Gönc. This is why it was mentioned as Kunczelsdorf in 1459. See Béla Iványi (1926), *Göncz szabadalmas mezőváros története* [The history of the privileged oppidum, Gönc] (Debrecen: A debreceni Tisza István Tudományos Társaság, 1926) 1–4; ÁMTF 1, 88–89.

in 1219 and 1220, in the so-called *Regestrum of Várad*. It appears as late as 1270 as *terra Gunch* in the perambulation of the castle and property of Füzér. In 1271 its vine tax was collected by the Bishop of Eger, the owner was still the queen.⁹⁰⁰

In 1283 King Ladislaus IV issued a charter *in Gunch*, however, in another charter in 1288 *sub castro Gunch* is mentioned, where Petrus de Lesztemér, the “loyal servant” of King Ladislaus had fallen.⁹⁰¹ The reference to the *castrum* of Gönc suggests that it was built around the 1280s, yet only some short remains of stonewalls are visible. It must have been a simple private noble fortification⁹⁰² as it was built on top of a hill, on a relatively small area: stone and/or timber buildings were erected – most possibly a tower with attached chambers–, surrounded by a rampart. However, no archaeological research was conducted there until now, so further information on the castrum is to be expected in the future. Until material evidence is revealed, the location of the castrum is still interesting: it was built far from roads, onto an extremely high hill (regarding the local terrain), surrounded by deep and narrow valleys. Most probably the reason behind its foundation was to have a protected, fortified place for the owner. As István Feld argues, even the visibility was poor from the castle, only the wild area of the Zemplén was a sight from the fort, and briefly Kassa to the north.⁹⁰³

From the end of the 1280s, Gönc settlement and fortification, also its surroundings (including the castle of Regéc and all the lands that are related to the later Pauline monasteries here) were owned by one of the richest and most influential families, the Aba kindred, namely Amadé and his relatives - most probably the castle was built by Amadé (as it is still called today).

Amadé governed the region not only as a noble, but the *comes palatinus* of the kingdom, but truly he operated *status in statu* on his lands: for example his own jury seat was in Gönc and Vizsoly as well. Several charters were issued in the form of *datum in Gunch*, which suggests that he had a permanent seat on the settlement of Gönc – not necessarily in the fortification of Gönc, as Hungarian scholarship had thought before.⁹⁰⁴

Amadé not only kept pushing the nerves of the merchants of the county’s largest town, Kassa by prioritizing his lands but he turned against (the later king) Charles of Anjou in the first years of the 1300s, when the kingdom faced an *interregnum* period. After the death of Amadé, his sons turned against the King, so after Charles defeated them, all the territories in the region turned to royal lands

⁹⁰⁰ István Feld, “A Gönci Amadé-Vár.” *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 22–23 (1985), 63–64, 70.

⁹⁰¹ Many scholars suggest that it was built around this time by a member of the Aba kindred, most probably Amadé. See the study of István Feld. *CodDipl.* 5/3. 163; HO 6, 239.

⁹⁰² Feld 1985, 63–64, 70.

⁹⁰³ Feld, “Gönci Amadé-vár,” 64.

⁹⁰⁴ Feld, “Gönci Amadé-vár,” 67. On the castle, its history and archaeological research see the whole study.

and were given as *honor* lands to Philip Drugeth, one of the closest, Neapolitan-born associates of Charles I.

By this time Gönc certainly became the second richest town in the county, the papal tithe list (1332-35) documented that the priest of Gönc paid five times more tax than an average parish of the region. In 1307 the bishop of Eger issued a charter from *villa Gunch*.⁹⁰⁵

After the death of Philip Drugeth (1327), his nephew William took the leadership in all the positions and properties his uncle had before. Moreover, in 1330 William's belongings, his treasures were listed in an inventory, which he kept in the small fortification of Gönc. In 1341 the castle was mentioned as the neighbor of Telkibánya.⁹⁰⁶ After 1391, the Bebek Family, Emeric and Detre were appointed as owners of the fortification by King Sigismund, which -by that time- was near the Pauline monastery.⁹⁰⁷ The *castrum* was mentioned several times (1371, 1384, 1407, 1428)⁹⁰⁸ in connection with the Pauline monastery, which laid *sub castro Gunch*. This is the last known data on the fort, apparently it was used until the second half of the fourteenth century and it appeared in sources next only in the eighteenth century.

Beside the *castrum*, the settlement of Gönc was also flourishing. King Louis I also issued charters from there (i.e. 1345)⁹⁰⁹, which a few decades later became an *oppidum*, had a weekly market on Fridays. Not only the Hernád valley, but the road from Telkibánya was also important, as two *viae magnae* were mentioned in the perambulation of Telkibánya in 1341: one from Gönc to Újvár, the other was from Gönc to Vereng/Vering.⁹¹⁰ (see Fig. 6.1., 6.7. also 6.3.25.) This perambulation is a very important source, however, there is no mention of the Pauline monastery, but several features, the boundary of Telkibánya can be identified.

At the end of the fourteenth century, not only the *castrum* but the town also became the land of the Bebek Family (1406),⁹¹¹ Besides, Gönc is mentioned several times as the seat of court (like in 1416, 1424⁹¹²). However, its development and flourishing period was cut by the appearance of the Hussites, namely Jan Žižka and later his followers, who resided in the county, permanently in Kassa for a long period. The wartime must have had a devastating impact on the lands here, the parish church was surely badly damaged. Its rebuilding was

⁹⁰⁵ ÁMTF 1, 55-57.

⁹⁰⁶ MNL OL DL 3402. AO 4, 122. 1.

⁹⁰⁷ KMTL 239.

⁹⁰⁸ MNL OL DL 5973, 7055, 8812, 8825, 11976. However, the later charters were copies of one from the fourteenth century.

⁹⁰⁹ Máriássy levéltár, Márkusfalva, 39. no.

⁹¹⁰ MNL OL DL 3402. Vereng can be identified on the maps as vámhely/vámházalja.

⁹¹¹ Zichy Okmánytár V. 442. 1.

⁹¹² MNL OL DL 24819

due even in 1474, when the town asked his new lord, King Matthias I, to allow them to build a mill on the river of Hernád and Gönc stream as well, wherever on those rivers they wished.⁹¹³ This issue had an impact on the Pauline mill, they complained at the royal sat about the townsmen's privilege since they already ran a mill on the Gönc stream (see Chapter 6.3.1.).

In the late Middle Ages, after the death of King Matthias, Gönc property became part of the fight over the Hungarian throne and different nobles (Szapolyai, Csetneki) demanded the ownership over the town. Finally, István Szapolyai, the *palatine* of Hungary left the town to the Chapter of Szepes in his testament/last will in 1499. In the next few decades, Gönc was flourishing and became a vivid merchant center, mostly dealing with wine.⁹¹⁴

Regarding the medieval land management and economy of the region, wine production and cultivating lands (arable for grain) were significantly present in the life of the people and the Paulines as well. As the monographer of the town, Béla Iványi highlighted it, stock-raising was not part of the economic profile here, since – as he notices it, even in written sources – there were no ideal meadows in the microregion.

Craftsmanship must have had its peak in the middle ages in Gönc: Urbanus stone-carver master carved the window frames of the St. John church and monastery at Bártfa and it seems that local stone of Gönc was used for the construction of the foyer of St. Giles parish church at Bártfa.⁹¹⁵

*Telkibánya*⁹¹⁶

The settlement was first mentioned in 1270 as *Teluky* village and mining settlement, as an asset of Füzér. The earliest written record of gold mining in Telkibánya dates back to 1341, when it was elevated to a mining town by King Louis – at the same time its boundary is perambulated.⁹¹⁷ (Fig. 6.7. and 6.8.). It is mentioned as *civitas* in 1344, 1346, and 1367. In 1447, Governor John Hunyadi donated Telkibánya to the Rozgonyi Family. After the depletion of the gold deposits near the surface, mining began to decline, and production ceased between 1574 and 1557. Telkibánya was part of the royal chamber of Szomolnok (Smolník, Slovakia) and from the fifteenth century, it was listed among the members of the “Alliance of Upper Hungarian Mining Towns”.⁹¹⁸ Although written

⁹¹³ MNL OL DL 17423. In 1470 the town receives immunity over taxpaying, in 1471 *oppidum nostrum Gewncz*, while in 1437 Gönc mentioned as part of the royal domain of Diósgyőr. Iványi, *Göncz*, 10.

⁹¹⁴ Iványi, *Göncz*, 13-17.

⁹¹⁵ Iványi, *Göncz*, 14.

⁹¹⁶ There is no historical monograph on the town of Telkibánya, it was studied mostly from the aspect of mining history: Benke, István (2001), *Telkibánya bányászatának története* [The history of mining at Telkibánya] (Miskolc – Rudabánya). The present summary, except other references, is based on Pusztai, “Telkibánya”.

⁹¹⁷ MNL OL DL 3402; AOkm. 4, 121–122.

⁹¹⁸ KMTL 668.

sources give only a slight information on the medieval mining here, a rich number of yet unstudied⁹¹⁹ landscape features report on the intensive near-surface or open cut mining here.

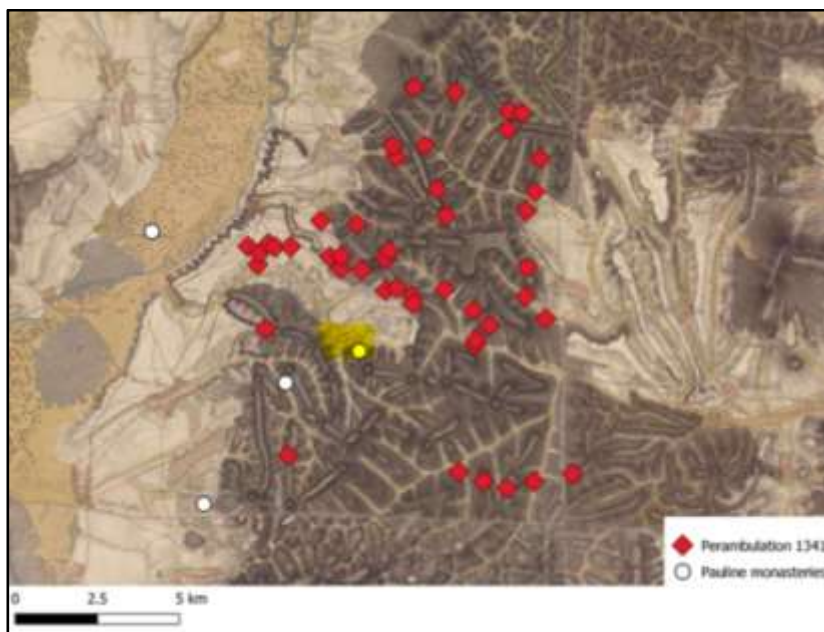


Fig. 6.7. **Zemplén–Abaúji–Hegyalja.** The possible reconstruction of the boundary at Telkibánya, based on the directions and stable fixpoint of the charter and toponyms. Telkibánya and the hospital highlighted with yellow. Work in progress. (last updated: 03-20-2023).



Fig. 6.8. **Zemplén–Abaúji–Hegyalja.** The so-called Radácsi-kő, Radácsi stone, the mark of miners (hammer and wedge) - medieval carving in one of the boundary stones at Telkibánya. Source: <https://akovekmeselnek.hu/2015/10/27/a-radacsi-ko-mint-banyaszattorteneti-emlek/> (last accessed: 04-04-2023)

Before 1367, a wooden chapel stood in the southern part of Telkibánya, when the town asked permission from the King to demolish it in order to build a hospital there (see its charters in Appendix

⁹¹⁹ Except the work of Tamás Pusztai. See Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Régészeti Adatbázis, Archaeological Database of the Hungarian National Museum <https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/36234>, (last accessed: 17-03-2023)

3/6.3.6. also Fig. 6.9.). Managing a hospital required a great deal of attention and resources from a community; this is why it was an important part of measuring the scale of urbanization in a settlement –even more important than to have a mendicant order or regular market.⁹²⁰

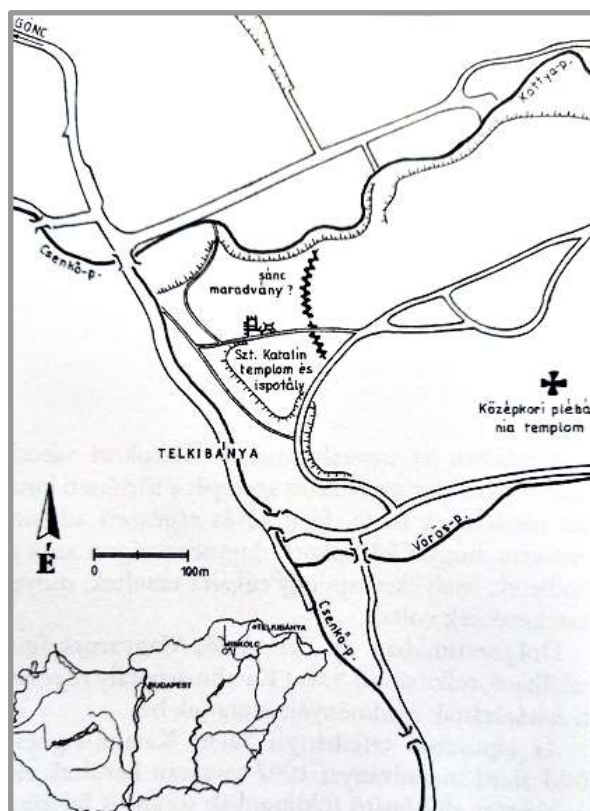


Fig. 6.9. *Zemplén–Abaúji–Hegyalja*. The location of the St. Catharine hospital (*Szt. Katalin templom és ispotály*) and the medieval parish church of Telkibánya (*Középkori plébánia templom*). Pusztai, “Telkibánya”, 430, Fig. 1.

Although the Paulines at Gönc were related to the civitas of Telkibánya since the first half of the fifteenth century,⁹²¹ the very first source that gives a clue on the properties of Gönc monastery at Telkibánya is dated to 1406, when King Sigismund ordered the town not to collect taxes from the three monasteries, including the Holy Virgin at Gönc (see the summary of exemptions in Chapter 6.3.1, 6.3.3 and especially 6.3.4.). The first known donation is dated to 1428, but the peak of the relation between the two institutions is dated from 1450/59, when Gönc took the St. Catherine hospital under its care – with a modest sum of assets as well. After this, there is no written data on the history of the hospital, only the excavations brought some further details to light.

⁹²⁰ Erik Fügedi, *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. [Begging friars, citizens, nobles. Studies on the Hungarian Middle Ages] (Budapest, 1981), 86. See more on this András Kubinyi, “Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében.” [Town network in late medieval Carpathian Basin] *Történelmi Szemle* 46/1-2 (2004): 1-30.

⁹²¹ It is possible that since its foundation, but written sources prove only the formerly given time period.

The church, which stood there before the hospital, had stone foundations, which was demolished and the hospital was erected there. (Fig. 6.10.) The church of the hospital was renovated by the Paulines in the second half of the fifteenth century; moreover, as the archaeologist Tamás Pusztai precisely pointed out, the monks built a long sanctuary, similar in size to the sanctuary of the monastery, which means that they rebuilt the sanctuary in accordance with their liturgy. (Fig. 6.11.) The sanctuary had a building attached to the north side of it, supported by two diagonal pillars. The function of these buildings is unclear, however, no traces of a monastery building (at least no traces of a stone building) were found in the excavations at Telkibánya. Around the former hermitage, burials began to take place from the mid-fifteenth century. It is not known whether this happened under the auspices of the local parish priest or of the Paulines.⁹²²

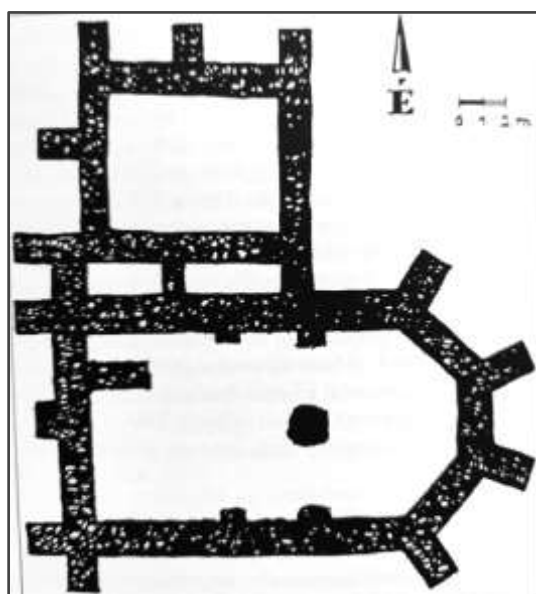


Fig. 6.10. *Zemplén–Abauji-Hegyalja. The St. Catherine hospital. Pusztai, “Telkibánya”, 432. Fig. 6.*

⁹²² Bodó–Pusztai, “Gönc 2004”, 342–43.

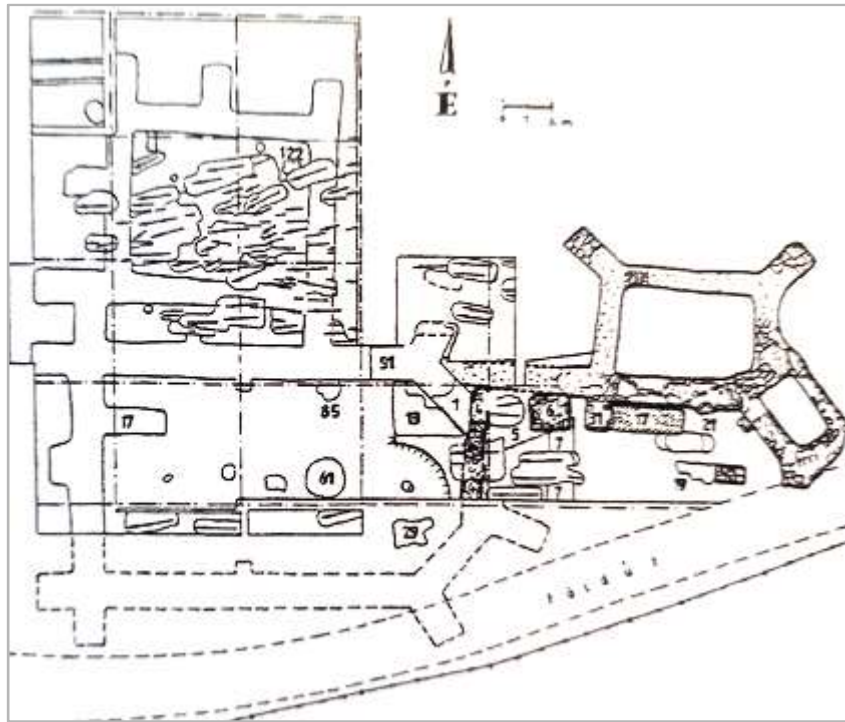


Fig. 6.11. **Zemplén–Abaúji–Hegyalja.** The elongated sanctuary and attached building, built by the Paulines in the second half of the fifteenth century (its northern part excavated). Pusztai, “Telkibánya”, 434. Fig. 9.

Zsujta

The first mention of an Árpád-era settlement was in 1219 in the Regestrum of Várad, where it is called *Sucta*.⁹²³ According to the document, Reynold of Sucta (Zsujtai) accused the people of Gönc of killing his son. In 1295 the village appears in written sources as *Sugta*, *Sugtha*, *Suht(h)a*, or *Sugkta*.⁹²⁴ At the time it was the *castellan* of Gönc, who owned the village.⁹²⁵ The charter was issued in a lawsuit because Zsujta was raided by the *serviens* of Edus, named Copoz (=Kopasz, meaning bold.)

It was a royal estate until 1262, when Stephen V, *rex iunior* at the time, donated it to Aladar, the queen’s man.⁹²⁶ In 1403, it was given to *comes* Petrus Perényi after the disloyalty of Michael, son of Leukus of *Suhttha* (Zsujta).⁹²⁷ Its population, as in the Perényi estates in general, became Protestant at the time of the Reformation. In 1441, in exchange for his release from Hussite captivity, János Perényi gave the castle of Nagyida and its villages, including Zsujta, to Giskra.⁹²⁸ After 1460, several

⁹²³ VR 5. §. (234.) ÁMTF 1, 158.

⁹²⁴ Perényi no. 18, 251, 257, 262, 413, 417, 418, 428, 431, 473, 495, 496.

⁹²⁵ For example see DL 75230

⁹²⁶ DF 248865.

⁹²⁷ DL 70870, 70740, 70781, later Perényi gave it to his second wife, DL 70853, see the testimony of Perényi: 70857/1–3., 70858, 70870. (1431).

⁹²⁸ DL 70859.

families gained a share in Zsujta, such as the Karsa, Puky, Zsujtai and Zsujtai families.⁹²⁹ During the Ottoman times, the settlement was almost completely depopulated and only slowly resettled.

Göncruszka

It was first mentioned in 1219, namely Seraphin of *Ruska* and the men of Ethenednek in the Regestrum of Várad, where it appeared again in 1272.⁹³⁰ In 1220, two of Ruska's village chiefs were expelled by Vizsoly, they were accused of being exploiters.⁹³¹ It was one of the German settlers' villages, which the king gave to Komis Benedek in the thirteenth century, possibly after the Mongol Invasion.⁹³² Next to Ruszka was Oroszi (now part of Göncruszka), which was first mentioned in 1280, when it belonged to the monastery of Széplak.⁹³³

The parish church was built in Romanesque style in the twelfth century, but has been rebuilt several times. At the end of the thirteenth century the sons of Benedictus Ruszkai *comes*: Petrus, Isyp, Benedictus and Casimir lived there. In 1332, Isyp of Ruszka claimed all of Ruszka as his own. In 1375, Demeter, the son of Nagy (Nagh) Ruszkai, pledges a quarter of his estate to Isyp's sons, Petrus (the one who donates lands and goods to the Pauline monasteries and the Franciscans at Kassa in 1428) and Ladislaus. By this time, several middle-landowners were already living in Ruszka. The fourteenth century is marked by the connection with the Pauline monastery in the boundary of Ruszka – probably the parish church was enlarged at this time. On the exterior wall there are traces of a contemporary fresco.⁹³⁴

Around 1403, Stephanus Debrő (*Debrey*) (King Sigismund's treasurer) conquered Ruska and joined it to the assets of Regéc castle– but this lasted for a short time, because King Sigismund confiscated his estates for his disloyalty, and returned Ruszka to his previous lord, *Isyp dictus Poli Chirke*, the son of Benedictus of Ruska. In 1405, King Sigismund confirmed the possession of the Kornis family, who from then on used the name Ruszkai. In 1407, the inhabitants of Gönc occupied the part of the Ruszka border inland from the stream. In 1409, the inhabitants of Ruszka complained to the nobility in Vizsoly, but this part of their boundary was used by the Bebek family afterwards, who a few years later, in 1424 were prohibited not only from the lands of Göncruszka monastery (Appendix 3/ 6.3.3.), but they were strongly advised by the Kornis family again.

⁹²⁹ DL 70910, 70911.

⁹³⁰ VR 116. §. (250.), vö. ÁMTF 1, 136-138, 599; Pesty 275; Bojtor Istvánné Toókos, *Göncruszka*, 19–20.

⁹³¹ Bojtor Istvánné Toókos, *Göncruszka*, 19.

⁹³² Pesty 275.

⁹³³ Cod. Dipl. 5/3. 61-62., ÁMTF 1, 126.

⁹³⁴ Bojtor Istvánné Toókos, *Göncruszka*, 20–21.

In 1429, Johannes and Ladislaus Kornis Poli Chirke (sons of Johannes Ruszkai) were installed into Ruszka estate, just like in 1471 Johannes Ruszkai was not only into Ruszka, but the neighboring Dobó property as well. In 1496 Benedictus, Nicholaus, and Margareta Kornis inherited Ruszka. Later, from the sixteenth century, the Semsey family and also Kassa owned parts of Ruszka.⁹³⁵

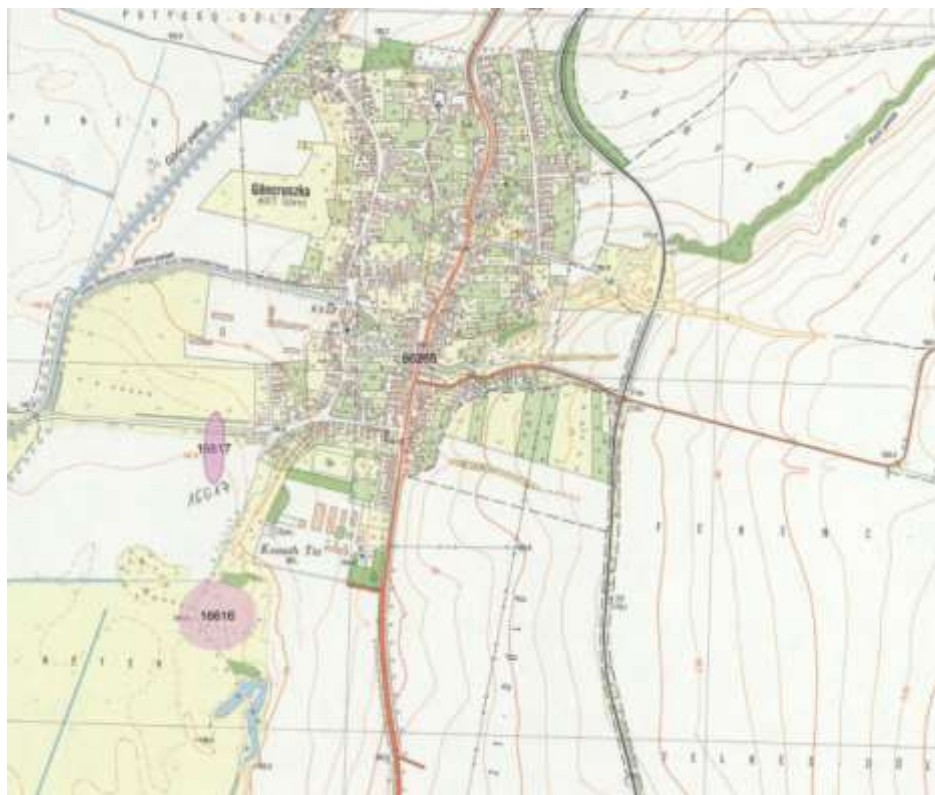


Fig. 6.12. *Zemplén–Abaúji-Hegyalja*. Two medieval sites south of Göncruszka.

Field surveys revealed medieval material south of today's Göncruszka, but Dobó's property must have been west of Ruszka, while Oroszi cannot be defined.⁹³⁶ It is also known that the medieval village of Ruszka was located on the northern side of today's settlement, which raises the possibility to define the archaeological sites –optionally– with Oroszi.

6.3. Monasteries and their individual spatial relations in the Zemplén hills

The following chapters give a detailed look into the monastic space of the region, based on the recent archaeological results and the written sources, mostly published as regestas by Zsuzsanna Bándi. However, in every single case the original charter was re-read and if necessary, corrected; the

⁹³⁵ Pesty 114, 276; Bojtor Istvánné Toókos, *Göncruszka*, 21–22.

⁹³⁶ HOM Régészeti Adattára 1764-85, 1766-85; HOM Itsz.: 72.2.1-19. Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 154.

main reason was, however, to gain more spatial data, toponyms, bits and pieces of information that could be relevant in the evaluation of the monastic space.

Two monasteries (closer to be defined as hermitages) of the six are unlocated, but the attempts of their contextualization brought a few scattered pieces into the already known data, also some areas of their possible location could be excluded at some level, due to the recently conducted LiDAR surveys. Besides, the context of their foundation and existence was worth a brief summary and re-evaluation in the present work. Telkibánya hospital was also added into the analysis; although it was not founded by the Paulines, but it was rebuilt and managed by them for decades, it was part of the medieval space in this region of the Zemplén hills.

The two monasteries near Gönc –Gönc and Göncruszka– were offering surprisingly much written evidence. Their re-reading and order into a system can only be regarded as a stable basis for further research, here only the basic spatial evaluation can be included in the dissertation. Further field surveys involving LiDAR detection and geophysics and more archival research on the region will result and reveal more data on local history and the Pauline monastic space.

6.3.1. Óhuta, St. Philip and James hermitage and monastery

The monastery of Óhuta or usually Regéc⁹³⁷ – as it was identified in sources and previous scholarship– is distinguished in the region by its origins and foundation. Although not much is known about the context of it, the possibility of the existence of a thirteenth-century eremitic group here is high, which puts the beginnings of this monastery into the time when the eremitic communities existed in a gradually developing context.

The monastery was first mentioned in 1307, when the church of St Philip and St Jacob got permission to have a forty-day long patronal festival from the Archbishop of Esztergom. The area where they inhabited was called Kőkenyes, which was regarded as the name of an earlier church or settlement, but as Wolf argued, it reflected the characteristic of the area, the quantity of blackthorne.⁹³⁸

The monastery of Óhuta was identified a while ago, but its archaeological research only had begun in the 2010s by Gábor Szörényi. The excavations targeted the church, but not the cloister area

⁹³⁷ It was close to Regéc castle (2 kms to the East from Regéc), just like the Holy Trinity monastery, so it is important to differentiate the two monasteries in this vicinity: although the Holy Trinity monastery did not survive, it should be mentioned and regarded in historical studies, and based on its proposed location (see Chapter 6.3.6.Ö, its relevant to call it after Regéc. Meanwhile the St. Philip and James monastery is located on the territory of Óhuta nowadays, also the archaeologists who publish their results call it the monastery of Óhuta, which was a relevant name to use in the present work as well. On the research history and localizations see Belényesy, *Abauj-Hegyalja*, 91-92.

⁹³⁸ Wolf, *Árpád-kori*, 151.

yet (see the Appendix 2/5.3.1., Archaeology...). The field where the ruin lies was used as an arable land, so the stone building could survive more or less in a state as they were left after the destruction of the monastery by Gáspár Serédy, a protestant nobleman, sometime before 1547.

There are two more crucial pieces of information on the immediate landscape of the monastery: a stable spring is located a few meters from the monastery, on the very same terrace and field, which has a small pond a few meters below, possibly ideal for a *vivarium*. Its precise origins or dating is unknown – however, except for a partial revitalization (of unknown circumstances), it has been there for many decades and Károly Belényesy, based on the dam just below the pond, proposed its medieval origins.⁹³⁹ The stream that originates in the spring, flows from the terrace to the direction of the valley, into the Huta-stream. (Fig. 6.3.1.)

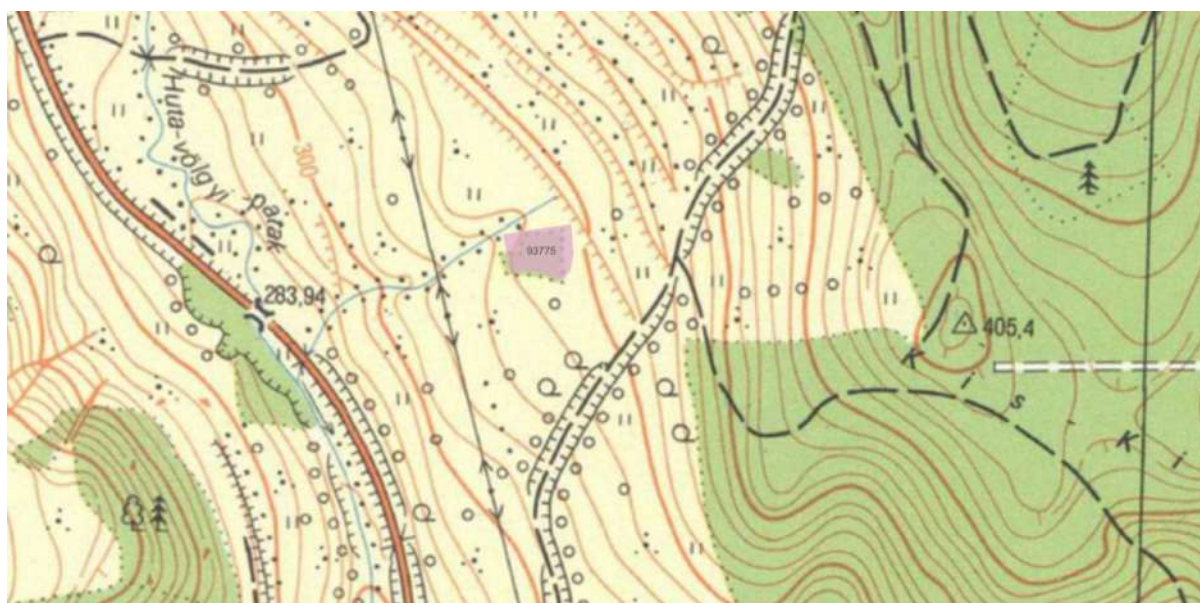


Fig. 6.3.1. Óhuta. The surrounding of the monastery ruins (coloured pink); next to the site, the stream is flowing into the Huta-völgyi stream.

By this time, the beginning of the fourteenth century, the powerful and ancient Aba family owned the castle and settlement of Regéc; however, the estate of the castle with all its assets was established later by royal order. This is why it is unsure how the hermitage, which lies on the border of two counties and possibly two properties managed by different families, managed daily life and by whose support. The permission for the indulgence was followed by another in 1311. The relics, permitted for Aegidius in 1319, were to be seen at Óhuta at the time of Gyöngyösi prior, who mentions the monastery as *supra Horwath*.⁹⁴⁰ (Fig. 6.3.2.)

⁹³⁹ Belényesy, *Abauj-Hegyalja*, 13-14, 37.

⁹⁴⁰ VF. Cap. 20.

The orientation and focus is clear from this charter and the next donation also can be used as a proof for the involvement of the Tolcsva kindred in the foundation of the monastery or at least in the regular and strong support of the monastery. However, this regionality in the case of Óhuta monastery can also be interpreted geographically, thus the fertile and ideal lands were more easily accessible in the region of Horváti than other areas to the north, west or east.

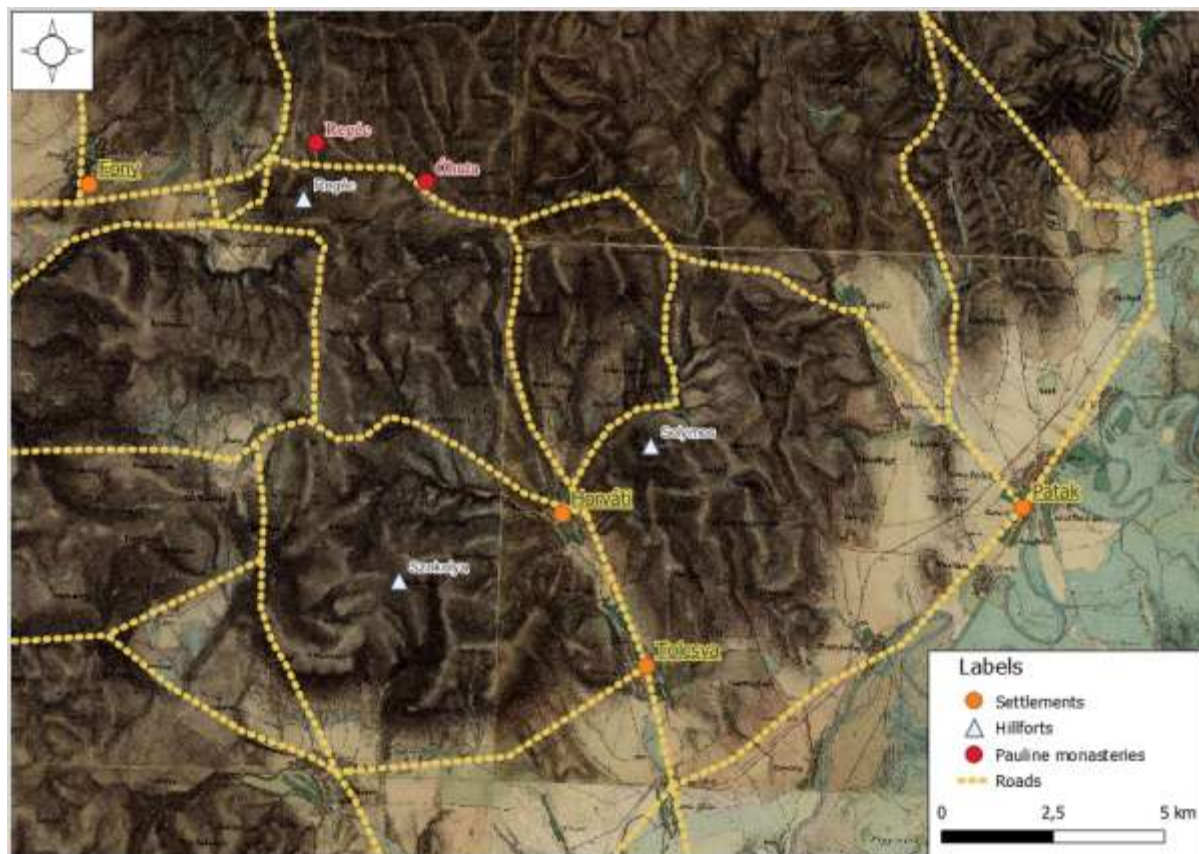


Fig. 6.3.2. *Óhuta. Óhuta and its vicinity (Horváti, Tolcsva) on the Second Ordnance Survey.*

The monks of Óhuta must have had properties around their house, mostly related to Regéc (as it is suggested by written sources), at least part of its area from the fourteenth century. The first valuable data on daily management refers to their vineyards: Queen Elizabeth exempted the Paulines of the monastery (also Göncruszka monastery) to pay taxes after their vineyards and vine that was located or harvested on their lands around [the castle] of Regéc (1384). The monks lightened their burdens further when King Sigismund exempted them from paying taxes after their products (1411). A year later they were exempted from paying all taxes on specific feasts. It must have been difficult for the Paulines to maintain their relationship with the castellans and people of Regéc since several charters report disagreements, mostly on paying taxes. Another episode was in this story when all the

Paulines in the region (Gönc, Gönruszká and Óhuta) asked to use the lands of the deserted Holy Trinity monastery freely in 1412.

King Sigismund's charter hints that some of the lands of Óhuta monastery were further from the monastery; as Belényesy highlights, there were some "background estates" of the Paulines, which were the key factors in their sustaining. In the fifteenth century it is more visible: a complex estate was formed in the region of Tolcsva, south-southeast of the monastery. (Fig. 6.3.4.)

First, a parcel (*unum fundus*) with a vineyard at Liszka was owned by the monks there. The latter was located in an area called Kútpataka, which appeared a hundred years later at the area of Tolcsva, where Blasius, a priest and later Pauline monk, donated a vineyard for the monastery. This Kútpataka probably refers to a stream that originated from a spring and was located somewhere between Liszka and Tolcsva, and also, it was ideal for vine cultivation. In regards to the more or less unchanged factors of ideal vine cultivation, this land was most probably located north to Liszka, where several small streams run from the heights of the hills into the direction of Bodrog valley, to the south-southeast. (Fig. 6.3.3.)

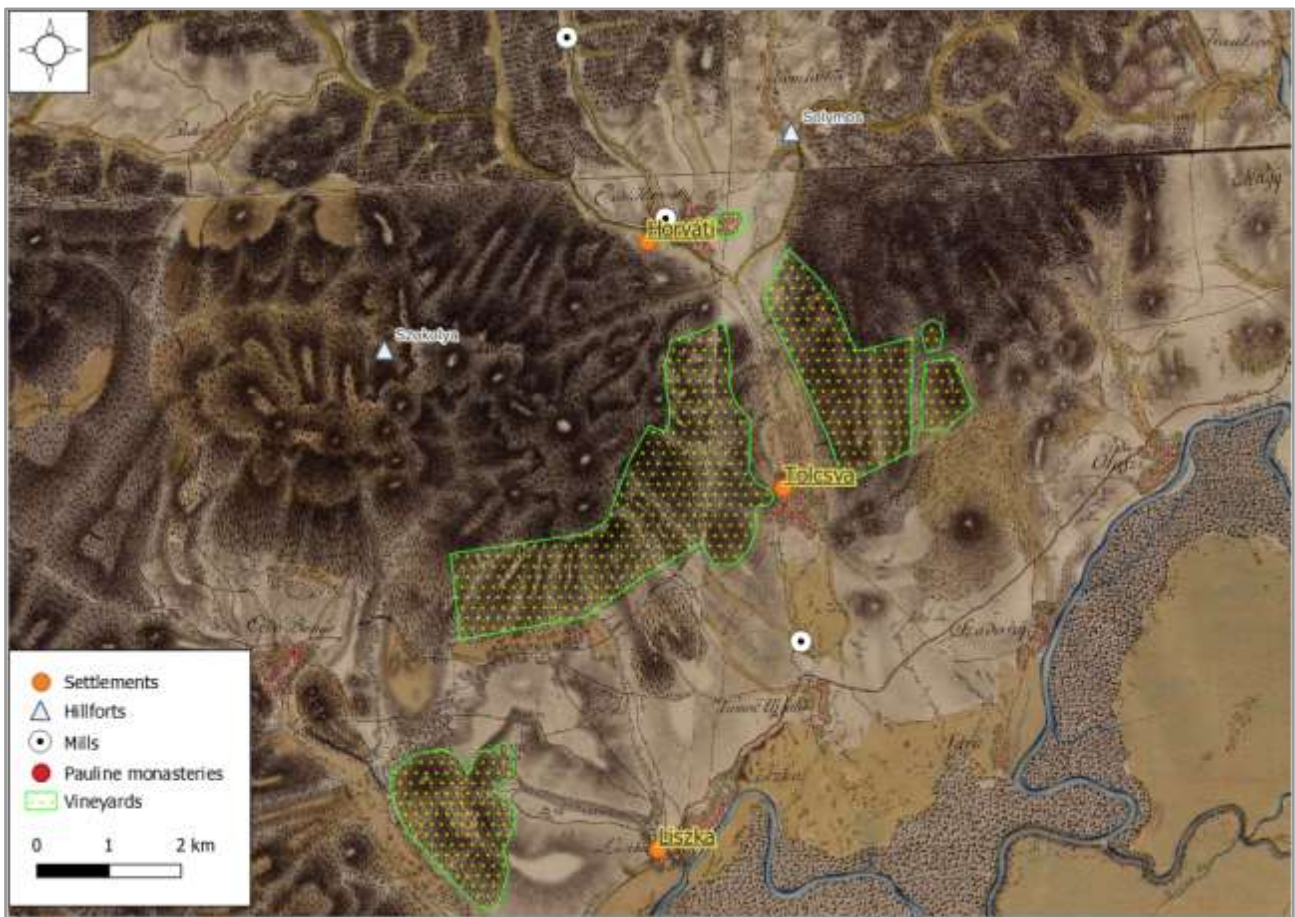


Fig. 6.3.3. *Óhuta*. The vineyards, mills around Horváti, Tolcsva and Lízka on the First Ordnance Survey.

Beside Kútpatáka, another area was specifically mentioned in a donation for the Paulines at Óhuta. Stephen Upor, a nobleman of Tolcsva donated certain lands to the monastery in 1438, a vineyard with parcels, two terras, and a *sessio* in the area of *Chrebeter*, which is yet to be identified,⁹⁴¹ but most possibly (because of the vineyard) must have been around the area where grapes could grow in ideal circumstances, which happened to be on either hills of Tolcsva, east and west to the settlement. (Fig. 6.3.3.). The vineyard was in the possession of the monastery until 1514 when it was sold to a local. Tolcsva and its region is known for its high quality and fertile lands for vine cultivation (as it is known as part of the world heritage area of Tokaj Wine Region), so the vineyards here were exceptionally valuable lands, especially from the sixteenth century.⁹⁴²

This area, where the Paulines could organize their southern estate, was Horvát or Horváti village. Imre Szapolyai donated a curia for them in 1465, so four decades later after the first known donation from the close vicinity, from Lízka. A year later a mill was given to them *super possessionem Horváth*. On the First Ordnance Survey, a lonely mill in the middle of the wooded area is visible. (Fig. 6.3.3.) Although the map was created three hundred years later, there is a slight possibility that the medieval mill was remodeled or at least its building material used in some ways. Another mill was bought by the Paulines in the village not so soon after, in 1469 – another mill on the First Ordnance Survey is depicted in the Horváti, which could possibly be related to the late medieval one. (Fig. 6.3.3.). During the same business, a *terra* became the asset of the Paulines at *Karlo* (Károlyváros/Karlsdorf, north to Patak? Fig. 6.3.4.), while they gave away in an exchange one of their vineyards, the one at *Gyopáros*, which is yet unlocated in the vicinity of Horváti.

Beside this region, two scattered data are known of the western part of the Zemplén, namely from Vilmány and Korlát. (Fig. 6.3.4.) A *possessio* was owned by the Paulines called Kis-Vilmány, possibly a small, village-like settlement, while in 1526, a heavily corrupted mill was sold by the monks, which was located somewhere on the territory of Vizsoly, but along a stream that flows from Korlát, and it is also specified that the mill faced the border of Regéc.

⁹⁴¹ The cadastral, historical, topographic and online available maps at Hungaricana Database were browsed, yet unsuccessfully.

⁹⁴² The flourishing period of the “Tokaji wine” started when the Ottoman armies occupied those lands in the southern region of the Kingdom, where the best quality vine was cultivated. Borovszky 1, 34.

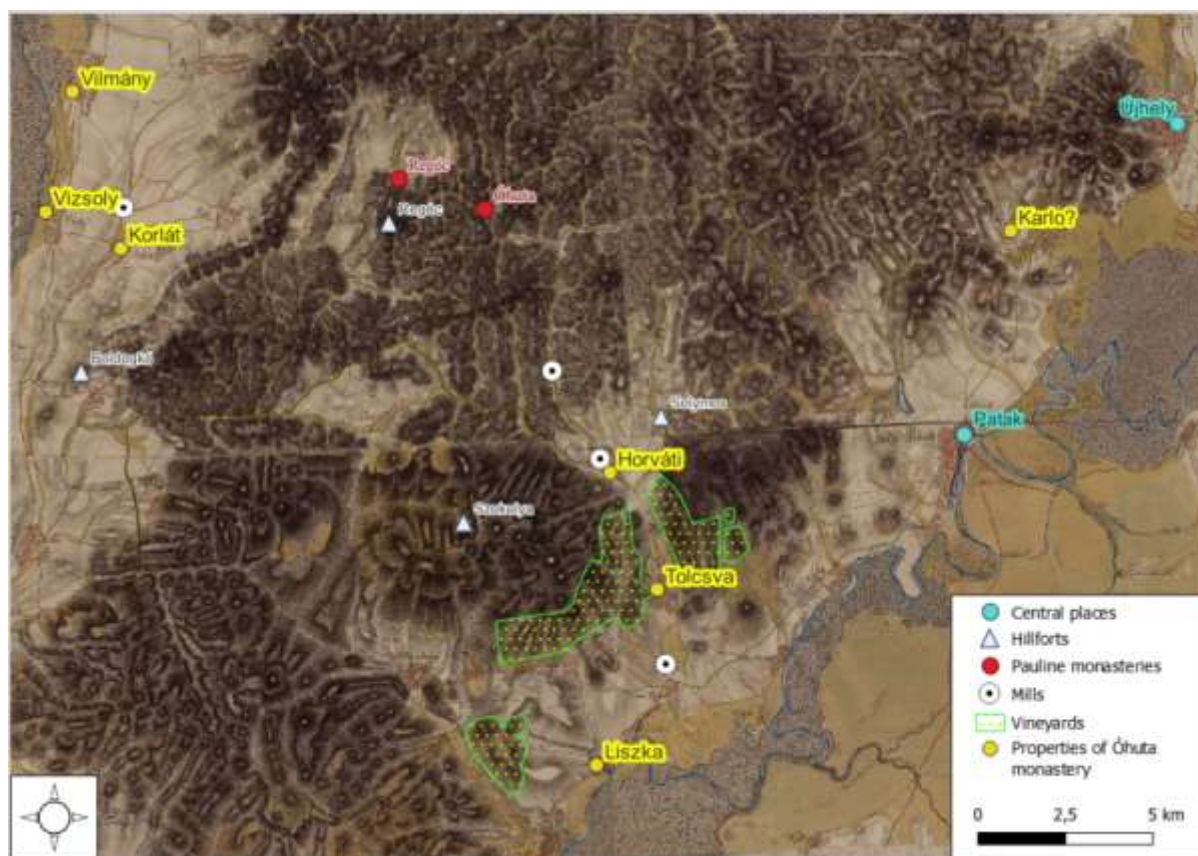


Fig. 6.3.4. *Óhuta. The vineyards, mills of the monastery on the First Ordnance Survey.*

To sum up, the mills and vineyards represented the core of the estate management of Óhuta, and surprisingly, really good written sources survived on the estate management of the monastery. In the wooded area, it was a must to search for a stable income, which first was sufficient by the close lands (including vineyards, surely meadows and arable lands), but by the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Paulines of Óhuta –just like most other monasteries– focused on establishing or strengthening their monetary income. The marketplace for vine was most possibly at Horváti for them, but several central places (like for example Patak) were located along the Bodrog valley. However, beside the financially beneficial assets (4+ vineyards, 3 mills, 1 curia), arable lands (3) and parcels/plots (2), also a village (1) appeared in their portfolio, which means that basic sustenance was still developed and managed in the late Middle Ages.

6.3.2. *Középnémeti, St. Ladislaus hermitage*

One of the most exciting challenges in eremitic and Pauline archaeology is the identification of this hermitage. It is located somewhere near Tornyosnémeti (medieval Középnémeti), most

possibly between today's Tornyos- and Hidasnémeti.⁹⁴³ (Fig. 6.3.5.) There are possible areas for a small island in the Hernád valley, but the meander and cut of the river changes very dynamically, so the chances are really low to find the hermitage. However, recently with the team in the Hungarian National Museum,⁹⁴⁴ a systematic LiDAR- and field survey have already been started and since one area was out-ruled in this project. (Fig. 6.3.6.)



Fig. 6.3.5. *Közepnémeti*. The area of the Hernád valley where the hermitage might be located.

⁹⁴³ Its current point data is based on the information, which was the courtesy of Tamás Bodnár, the deputy-director of the National Archive of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, who spent his childhood and youth at Gönc and the surrounding area, so he proposed a location for to be known as a high area along the Hernád river. A field and LiDAR survey is planned in Autumn, 2024. The area already surveyed was based on the information of the local historian, Tamás Thomka.

⁹⁴⁴ Team members: Tamás Látos, Zsiga Zsolt, Zsuzsa Pető.



Fig. 6.3.6. *Középnémeti*. The surveyed area south to Tornynosnémeti.

Although physically it is not available for further research and it was not specifically assigned to the Pauline order, it is interesting to have a brief look into the eremitic world of the early fourteenth century, a time when the Pauline order was dynamically developing, but sometimes also struggling. Here at Középnémeti, the hermit Aegidius founded and built the hermitage by his own hands (?) and expenses, also –miraculously– found a relic of St. Ladislaus at Buda-Felhévíz, and applied for indulgence not only from the Bishop of Eger, but before the Archbishop of Esztergom. (Appendix 3/ 6.3.2.)

His character and personal devotion must have been quite unique. Although he was fearless to fight for his chapel's existence, not much is known of its future after 1320 or when the relics were transferred to Óhuta (and from here to Tállya parish church where it still can be seen). The cult of St. Ladislaus was flourishing in the 1310s and 1320s, mostly in the royal court and western Hungarian bishopric seats, so not surprisingly, Aegidius must have caught the attention and approval of the highest clerics.⁹⁴⁵ However, this also gives a hint about the character and personal story of Aegidius: he must have been well-informed about the trends, which puts him into an interesting position. He was not only very agile but mobile as well: Aegidius was staying at Buda when he found the relics, later traveled to Eger, after Esztergom for approval. Also, he sponsored the construction of the chapel

⁹⁴⁵ https://epa.oszk.hu/02900/02970/00621/pdf/EPA02970_vigilia_1992_05_348-350.pdf

and hermitage by himself and offered it for the salvation of his parents. Most possibly he was of noble origin but at least coming from a wealthy family; he was possibly educated and definitely well-informed, also determined to reach his goal.

6.3.3. Göncruszka, St. Catherine monastery

Founded by the strong and wealthy inhabitants (originally *hospites*) of Ruszka in 1338, the monastery of St. Catherine was built upon an earlier church, which could have been a previous monastery but most possibly a(n unused) chapel or parish of an earlier settlement. Anyhow, St. Catherine of Alexandria was a very popular patron since the twelfth century in Hungary, but her cult was flourishing from the first decades of the fourteenth century.⁹⁴⁶

St. Catherine's appearance in the region needs a brief contextualization not only because it happened in the early fourteenth century (with an even earlier reference for its appearance), but a hundred year later the hospital at Telkibánya was also dedicated to Cathrine. Most probably, both cases were in relation with the *hospites* and the mining since Catherine is the *montanistarum patrona*, patron of miners.⁹⁴⁷ Based on this, the earlier ecclesial building there could have also been founded by the *hospites* or miners in the region. However, Dorottya Uhrin highlighted that beside the relation to the miners, the only Pauline monastery dedicated to St. Catherine could have been favored by the Paulines since Cathrine and the desert fathers all lived in Egypt, in the early centuries of Christianity, moreover, St. Catherine was regularly depicted with St. Anthony in trecento art.⁹⁴⁸

The monastery was located by Borovszky, later Genthon, but actually Tamás Guzsik and Rudolf Fejérváry identified its place, where no traces of building were detectable, but only a spring called Klastromkút (Cloister well) and a huge pond. Károly Belényesy also did a field survey there and collected a lot of mortar, also late medieval finds, potsherds and fragments of green-glazed stove tiles. The survey, again, could not detect particular remains of buildings or walls, and the size of the monastery could not have been estimated. In these circumstances it was obvious to use a LiDAR survey in the region.

⁹⁴⁶ See its specific veneration by the rulers of Hungary, amongst them the close relation of the Angevin rulers to Cathrine: Uhrin, Dorottya. "Szent Katalin mint az uralkodók patrónusa" [St. Katherine as Royal Patron] *Micae Medievalis* (2016): 243-262.

⁹⁴⁷ Most of the mining towns in northern Hungary dedicated their parishes to St. Catherine. See Uhrin, "Borbála és Katalin", 372. Also Benke 2018.

⁹⁴⁸ Uhrin, "Borbála és Katalin", 373. I would argue that this patron saint was only accepted by the Paulines, like all others, who were not so directly related to the desert fathers. Although there is no comparative study on the issue, as it is known, if a patron of a deserted church was known, it was changed only in rare cases.

Landscape remainsThe huge pond, which was documented by Károly Belényesy in 2003 just next to the supposed remains of the monastery, has been preserved in a really good shape. As Belényesy stated, “the large dam in good repair obviously could have been connected to the Paulines. The surrounding of this embankment was surveyed, which revealed that it padded the water of a spring east of the monastery. The well-built dams were connected to the precipitous hillside, forming an approximately 30 x 55 m artificial pond. The bottom of this fishpond is still wet (even in March 2024), soggy, and visibly filled up. The dike and the dams survived on their northeastern and southwestern parts, reaching two meters height in some parts. The structure was most striking in the closest neighborhood of the monastic complex. Near the northern corner, the floodgate (?) was destroyed, and at present the stream flows through it.”⁹⁴⁹ The status of the remains is approximately the same.

In 2023, a LiDAR survey was conducted by the Hungarian National Museum, Tamás Látos and Zsolt Zsiga. (Fig. 6.3.7.) Not only the most probable place of the monastic buildings, but the detailed survey of the pond was also documented. That exceptionally large pond, beside its size and excellent state, has another unusual feature: it was dramatically close to the buildings and it could possibly flood them. However, the truth was the contrary: it was created for serving as a defense system against seasonal runoffs from the hillside on the east and southeast,⁹⁵⁰ which is why it safely stood over the monastery and still remains the most significant part of the local landscape.⁹⁵¹ Moreover, Tamás Látos identified a channel from the southwest, which most probably channeled the water into the pond which is exactly how it protected the road below it from floods. That specific road led to the monastery from the south, from Hejce and Regéc, so possibly it has medieval origins.

An early eighteenth-century cadastral map of “Klastrompuszta”, meaning deserted cloister (just like the name of Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta) was of huge help in the understanding of the landscape because it preserved the details exceptionally accurately. (Fig. 6.3.7.) At the time, as the map inscription reports, the ruins were to be seen, which was also an interest of the LiDAR survey. Unfortunately, the area was densely covered with bushes and trees, so it was not possible (even during a winter-time scanning) to document the area precisely. (Fig. 6.3.8.) However, it was good enough to

⁹⁴⁹ Belényesy, *Abaij-Hegyalja*, 94–95.

⁹⁵⁰ Some charters were highlighted by Holub, which refer to catastrophes by building dams and bloating ponds on streams and rivers thus the water overflowed the safe level of the ponds. See Holub 1963, 53–54.

⁹⁵¹ The idea of Tamás Látos geographer and expert in Geoinformatics, yet unpublished. As a team, we are still processing geomorphological data on different sites.

see the rectangular marks of destruction, but the ground plan of the monastery can be recovered only through geophysics or excavation.

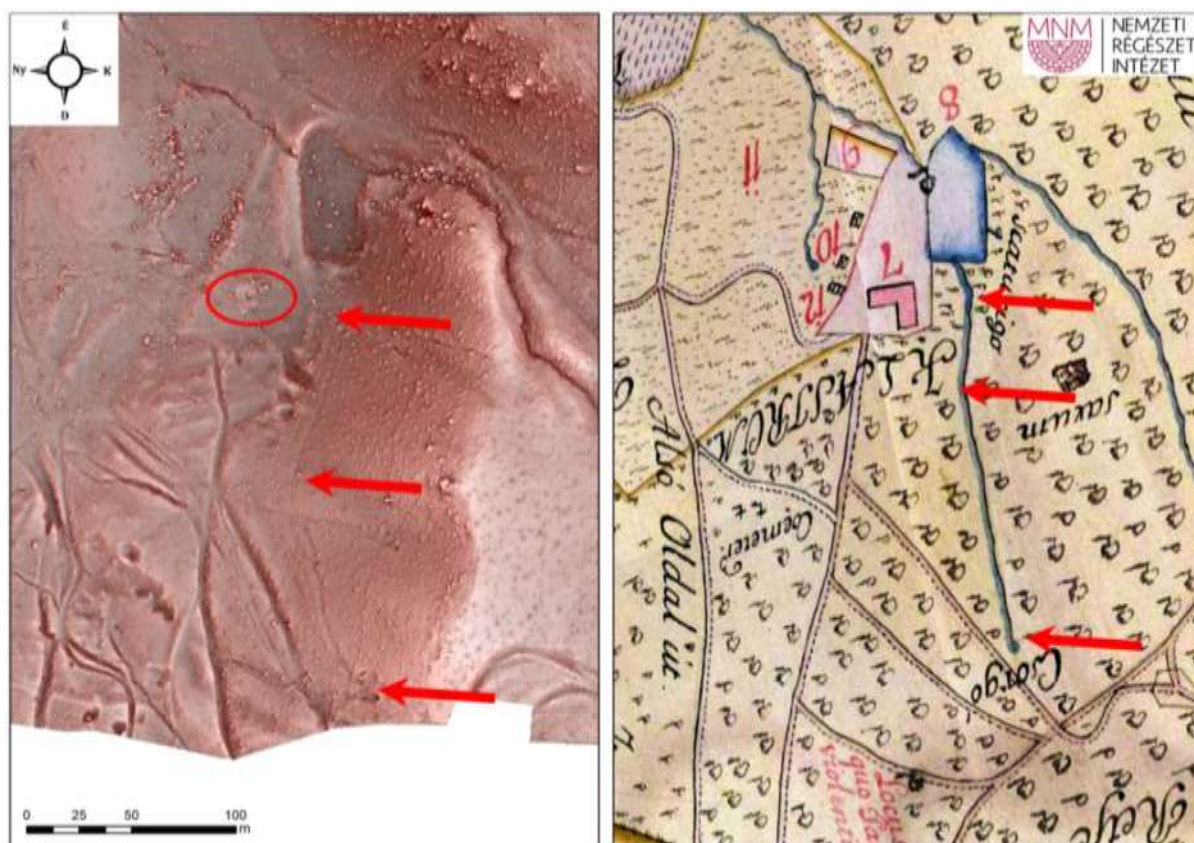


Fig. 6.3.7. **Göncruszka.** The LiDAR of the area and the map “Delineatio praedii Klastrom..” (Archbishopric Archive of Eger, gazd. lt. 152.) The channel from south and the place of the monastic buildings marked.



Fig. 6.3.8. **Göncruszka.** The area of the monastic buildings zoomed on the LiDAR and the very same map (see Fig. 6.3.7.).

Estate management of Göncruszka monastery

Although the monastery had been totally demolished throughout the centuries, it has an extremely rich source base: almost fifty individual pieces of data, mostly original charters, tell about the history of the monks here. There are many privileges, alms which were given in different forms. The exemptions from paying taxes got more extensive throughout the decades: the three monasteries (Óhuta, Göncruszka and Gönc) were exempted from ninth, or paying other *tributa* after vine or any food that served the monasteries. Even as late as in 1523 they received a vineyard at Szikszó, exempted of taxes. However, exemptions from dues applied only in the lay sphere, since the Paulines had a violent dispute over the ecclesial tax with the bishopric of Eger (see the sources in the Appendix 3/6.3.3., at 1484 and 1487).

There are other valuables which are worth mentioning: in 1410 an expensive *casula* was in the inventory of the monastery, also an altar cloth was possibly donated to them sometime in the fourteenth century.⁹⁵² The son of Ysep of Ruszka, Petrus in his last will⁹⁵³ left a silver ewer (worth 100 golden florins) to the monastery, also 150 florins along with the debts of Master Benedictus Zudar, but a complete animal farm as well: 43 pigs, a steed and a light bay horse. He also ordered that the latter two horses should pull his coffin at his funeral procession to the St. Catherine church of the monastery where he wished to be buried.

Of course, just like other local nobles (and occasionally the wealthiest nobles of the Kingdom) offered dozens of properties, Petrus left some lands (6-7 *funes*) to the Paulines as well. These were among the very few arable lands the Paulines received, while most of the donations and exchanges or purchases happened for mills. In the sixteenth century, a more stable estate management appeared in terms of further, complex possession – these were, just like in the case of Óhuta, the so-called “background estates or assets” at Kenéz, partially at Kéked, Karos, or at Tófűz. (Fig. 6.3.9.)

⁹⁵² The Angevin tapestry, known as the oldest altar cloth from Hungary, today kept in the treasury of the cathedral of Esztergom, may have been a donation from Queen Mary to the Pauline monastery. Regrettably, it was reshaped between 1938-1948, therefore, it is only partly original. Since its medieval form is not known, its relationship with Göncruszka is hypothetical. Belényesi, *Abaij-Hegyalja*, 107; Marosi (ed.), *Művészet*, 228. and 479-498.

⁹⁵³ The dating of the charter was unsure, however there are some fixpoints. the crops in Ruspud (land) he bequeathed to the church of St. Nicholas, or the (Franciscan) cloister of St. Nicholas of Kassa, which was founded in 1402 in Kassa, thus it seems that Magister Peter wanted to support the newly founded order and most probably the ongoing construction of the buildings.

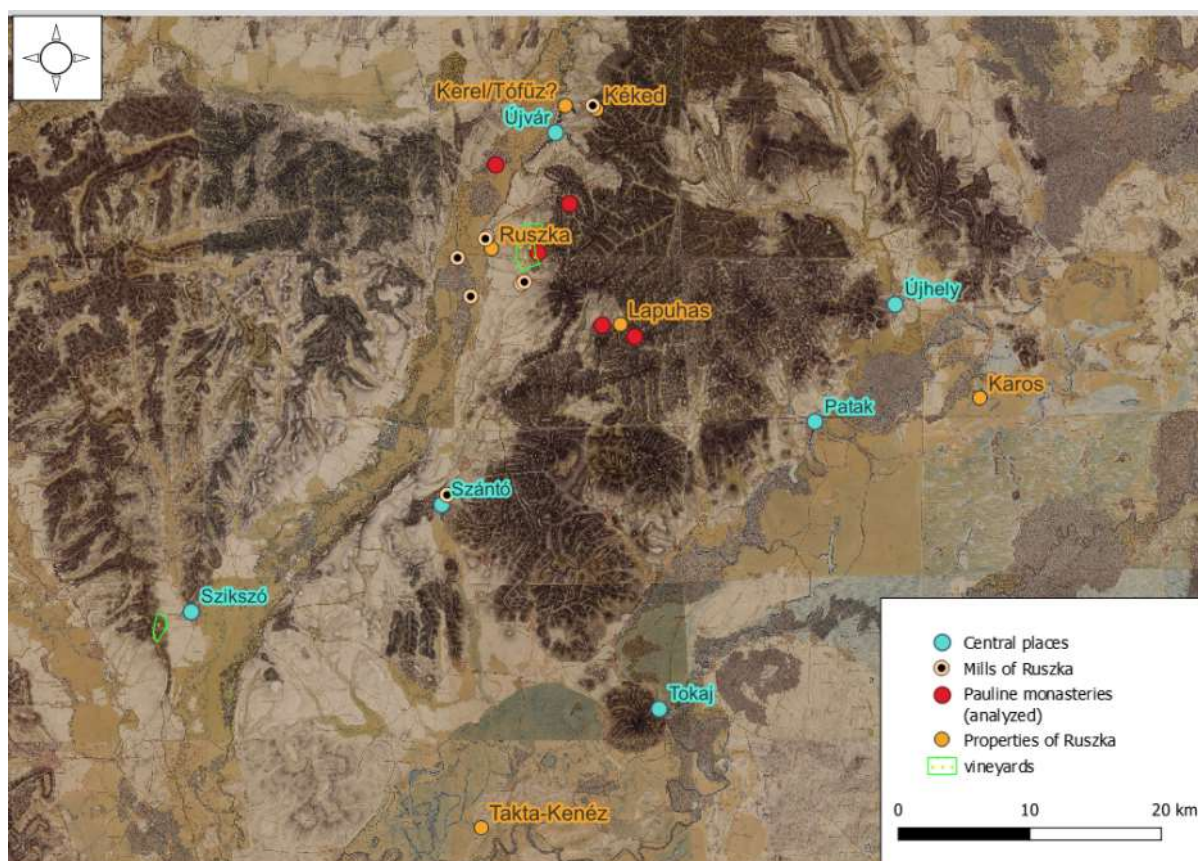


Fig. 6.3.9. *Göncruszka. Summary of the known properties of the monastery.*

Vineyards

Compared to other monasteries, vineyards appear less in the written sources related to Göncruszka monastery. Only three of them were mentioned, but they appeared from the very first charter until the very last one, just before the abandoning of the monastery. The very first properties of the monks were a mill and a vineyard in 1338, which provided the basic and stable income for the monastery. The first vineyard was possibly near the monastery at Ruszka, which had a part called Fewenes in 1484. (Fig. 6.3.10.).



Fig. 6.3.10. **Göncruszka.** The vineyards west of the monastery of the First Ordnance Survey.

The third vineyard was located in the southwestern boundary of Szikszó oppidum, called *Nyúlmál* (Hare hillside), which appeared even in the nineteenth century (Fig. 6.3.11.). Here, possibly with further archival research, the medieval ownership structure can be reconstructed in the future.

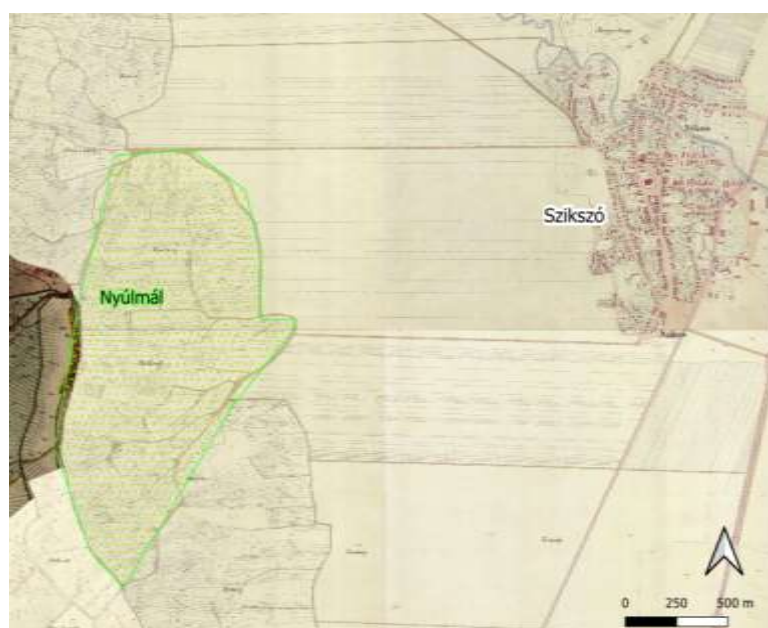


Fig. 6.3.11. **Göncruszka.** The Nyúlmál parcel near Szikszó on the nineteenth-century cadastral map.

Arable lands, meadows and plots

There is only a little data on such types of lands, since mostly these were around the monastery, without any specific mention of them. However, there were complex donations or specific cases, where these lands were mentioned near the monastery; actually, only one of them, a *fenetum* and a *sessio* (related to a mill!) were not located in the close vicinity of the monastery.

Among the sources, four plots of arable land (*terra*) are mentioned: all of them in the territory of Ruszka (1418, 1482, 1482b), but there was a bit more specific donation for the monks, providing some hints for localizing the lands. The crops/grain that were grown near the monastery of St. Catherine, containing 6 or 7 cords (*funes*) of wheat, Magister Peter, son of Izsép Ruszkai bequeathed to the monastery around 1402; at the very immediate vicinity on the earliest known map of the church, there are some arable lands that were ideal for cultivating at the time (see the map in Appendix 3, Archbishopric Archive of Eger, gazd. lt. 152.) - perhaps this was the same area in the Middle Ages, in the time of the will.

Properties

A few interesting pieces of information have been preserved in charters in regards to the further estates of the monastery. (Fig. 6.3.9.) While no details are known on Karos and Kerel and Tófüz are hardly identifiable, in the present subchapter I focus on the remaining one estate, Kenéz (today Taktakenéz), which was farthest away from the monastery and was a rather complex estate. The earliest document on the property reports that the *iobbagiones* of the Paulines were severely beaten in *Kokol* woods in 1455. The woods are not precisely known, but in 1461 the inhabitants of Dada, the neighboring village east to Kenéz, were strictly ordered by the king to not to cause any harm to the monks. (See Fig. 6.3.12., the possible area of Kokol woods was highlighted with yellow). However, the violent trespasses had not decreased: in 1477 the neighbors broke into the *curia* of the monastery and had severely beaten and wounded some of the Paulines' laborers – in 1482 King Matthias ordered an investigation about a violent intrusion here, which could have been another violation of the Pauline properties.

In 1509, the fishing sites are mentioned, which were owned by the Paulines. These were at *Zelep* and *KerezthEre* fishing waters (oxbow lakes), which were flowing from the Tisza (*Thicia*) river, which were preserved toponyms on the First Ordnance Survey (Fig. 6.3.12., *Zelep* is marked with a red rectangular, Kereszt Ér with a green one). Nota bene, maybe *Cselep*, marked southwest to *Zelep* ox, is a deformed version of the latter name.

In this charter also the fields and woods between *KerezthEre* and *Zentheffoka* fishing waters are mentioned, which were south (!) of the property of *Kynys*, next to the port of the Tisza. Unfortunately, *Zentefoka* is not depicted on any known historical maps yet, but if they were south of the settlement, Kenéz was possibly not located precisely where it is depicted on the First Ordnance Survey: the relocating of the settlers should be taken into consideration, which might have been either due to human or natural causes, yet it is unknown in my research.

The Second Ordnance Survey records an interesting feature (Fig. 6.3.13.): Kenéz was located north of the one on the previous map, ca. a hundred years back, while at the earlier site a port and a small settlement remained. If the charters described the area correctly, something similar might have been the structure of space in the late Middle Ages here, so Zentefoka might be somewhere in the region, west of Dada. (Fig. 6.3.13., blue rectangle)

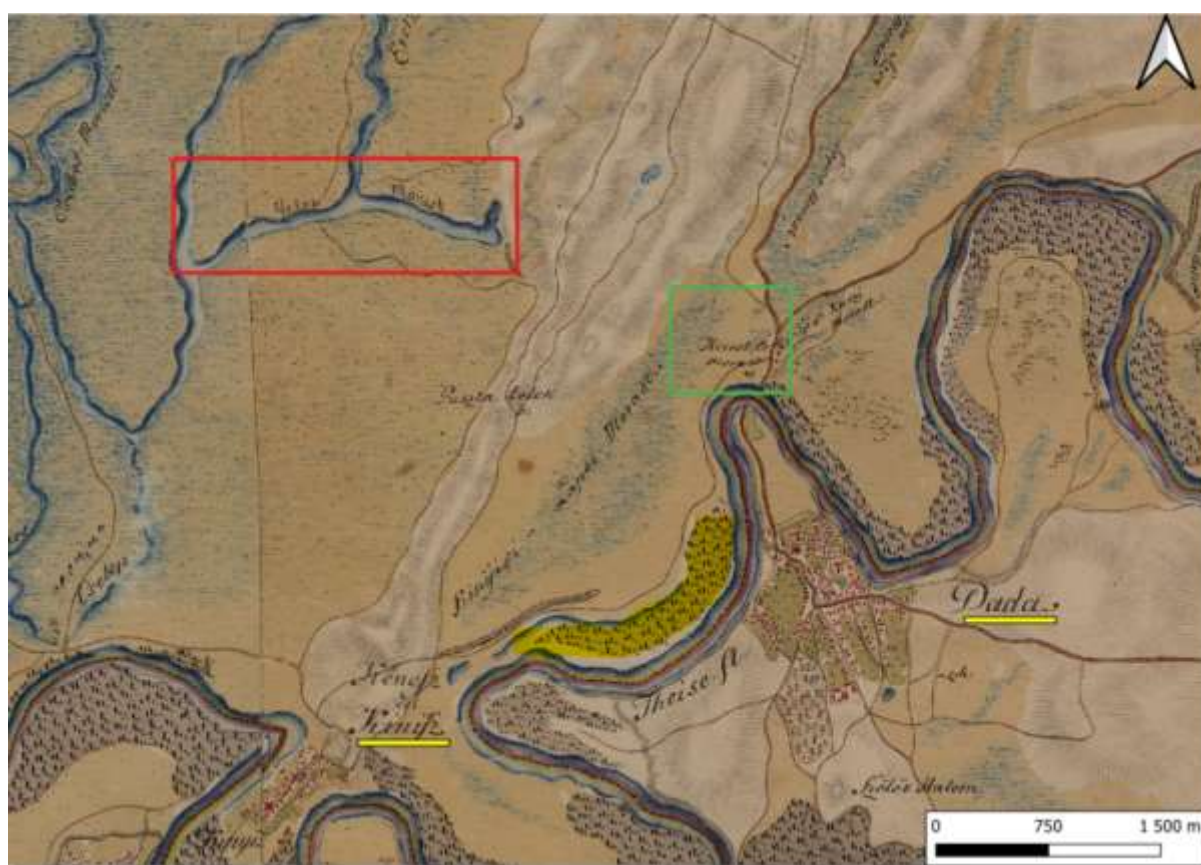


Fig. 6.3.12. *Göncruszka*. The area of Kenéz on the First Ordnance Survey.

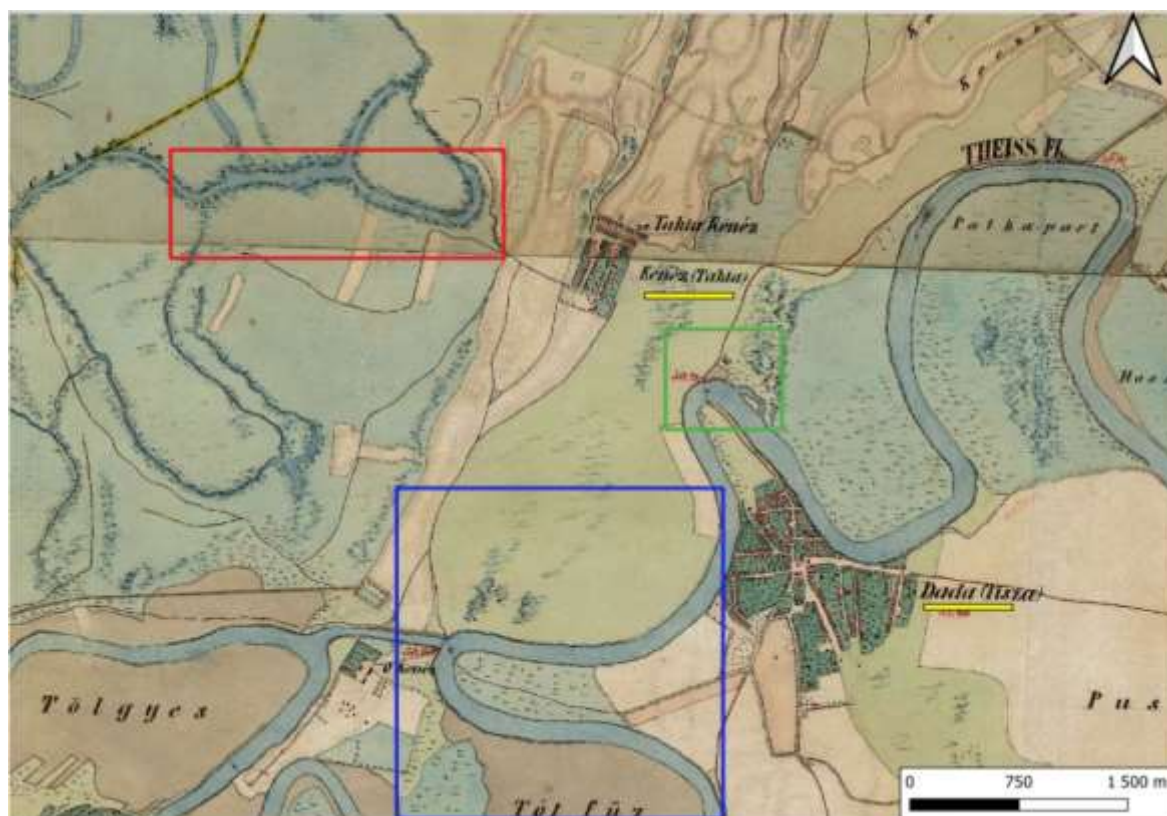


Fig. 6.3.13. *Göncruszka. The area of Kenéz on the Second Ordnance Survey.*

Mills

The monastery of Göncruszka had many mills all along the Hernád valley, but beside the river, the most valuable and stable streams were in their focus. (Fig. 6.3.14.) In written sources, altogether nine mills are mentioned: their shared ownership in two of them, while seven whole mills were maintained by them. They also asked for building material for repairs, which they had to do several times (for example one of their mills on Hernád was burned down three times! in 1495). Interestingly, sources mention specific types of material, like *thalpfa* (sleeper) and *gerendel* (joists), while also the necessary material (bushes, grove) for the mill dam and channel mentioned. Sometimes they exchanged properties or paid (or were endowed) to use those woods and lands of different owners, where these good materials were present (see 1482, 1486).



Fig. 6.3.14. *Göncruszka*. The mills, known from written sources, based on the First and Second Ordnance Surveys, also the nineteenth-century cadastral map.

Their earliest mill was donated at their foundation, most possibly at Ruzska or at river Hernád; just like later, when the monks acquired more and more, full or partial ownership in the mills there. Although their exact location is unknown yet (see Fig. 6.3.14. Ruzska and Hernád labels), the monks had interests in altogether four different mills (in 1338, 1482 twice, 1483, 1486-1506) in the closest vicinity of the monastery. It seems relevant to count the mill at Vilmány and the two mills at Hejce into this group as well.

The earliest known mill was in Vilmány (1388, 1461), the exact location of which remains unknown, but they also built two mills in Hejce (on mill places donated by the *hospites*), where (Fig. 6.3.15.) toponyms preserved Malomtó (Mill pond) area, possibly south of the church of Hejce.⁹⁵⁴



Fig. 6.3.15. *Göncruszka*. The ideal and possible area of the mill in Hejce on the topographical map

The mill at Szántó, on the stream of Aranyos is visible on the First Ordnance Survey, (Fig. 6.3.16.), but on the cadastral map, a two-storey mill channel was documented. (Fig. 6.3.17.)



Fig. 6.3.16. *Göncruszka*. The mill of Szántó (highlighted with yellow), Aranyos stream, on the First Ordnance Survey.

⁹⁵⁴ Juhász, Hejce, 107.



Fig. 6.3.17. **Göncruszka**. Two mill channels in Szántó village (its northeastern end) on the cadastral map, nineteenth century.

The vineyard on Kékéd also seems to raise concerns in regard to its location, although there is a really great key mark on the First Ordnance Survey. (Fig. 6.3.18.) There is a stream called *warm fluß*, which means hot stream in German, in the eastern boundary of (Felső)Kékéd. That was certainly the medieval *Toplyca/Melegvíz* stream, which was mentioned in the charters and along which the mill was located. It is not definite, where exactly was it established with a parcel/field and *sessio*, but on the Second Ordnance Survey (although the names of the settlements were swapped by each other, see Fig. 6.3.19.), there is another mill, close to that area where the First Ordnance Survey marks *warm fluß*.



Fig. 6.3.18. Göncruszka. The mill on the middle of (Felső) Kéked () and the stream possibly called hot water (warm fluß), highlighted with yellow on the southeastern corner.



Fig. 6.3.19. Göncruszka. The three mills depicted on the Second Ordnance survey.

6.3.4. Gönc, Virgin Mary monastery

The remains of the monastery at Gönc are one of the most well-preserved medieval ruins in Hungary. It was founded on royal lands (Fig. 6.1.), most probably by King Louis I. The very first charter that mentions the hermits *sub castro Gunch*, was definitely issued by the king himself in 1371

(8 Dec), while he stayed on the royal lands at Fony, near Regéc⁹⁵⁵ and Gönc.⁹⁵⁶ This document suggests that the monks had already been living there (*fratribus heremitis claustris beati gloriose m. virginis*), however, the exact date of foundation is unknown.⁹⁵⁷

In relation with this, several possibilities were mentioned by different researchers: Béla Iványi and others before him (e.g. Andreas Eggerer, Matthias Bél, Karl Gottlieb von Windisch) all trust that although the monastery was founded before 1371, and the founder must have been King Louis I. However, István Feld claimed that the monastery could have been founded by Philip Drugeth since he most probably supported the foundation at Regéc (=Óhuta) and definitely supported Aegidius at Középnémeti (Chapters 6.3.1. and 6.3.6.). Moreover, the Aba kindred could also have been involved,⁹⁵⁸ along the *hospites*/miners at Telkibánya as well.

There is some further data which contextualizes the monastery and its foundation in space and time. First, it is notable that although several features are mentioned near the location of the Holy Virgin monastery in the perambulation of Telkibánya in 1341, there is not even a hint of the Paulines or any other hermits or friars, who, were definitely the neighbors of Telkibánya and Gönc settlements. This hiatus is more striking if we consider that the *castrum* of Gönc is mentioned in the perambulation, as the neighbor of Telkibánya.⁹⁵⁹

Based on this observation, the monastery was founded sometime after 1341. Other data are helpful in narrowing down the dating: since mills represent the most essential, prime donations of Pauline monasteries, it is reasonable to assume that the monastery was founded not long before this donation of Louis in 1371. Also, it was as late as 1429 that the sanctuary of the monastic church was

⁹⁵⁵ Also, in the 1370s, King Louis stayed in the region several times, e.g. at Regéc castle for a while for hunting. As he did in 1377 as well (DL 52246). Although it was not compared with the itinerarium of other periods in his life, after 1372 he became the King of Poland as well, so this route and settlements became more important than before, just like his castle at Diósgyőr.

⁹⁵⁶ Concerning the place where the first charter was issued, the property of Fony - along with other possessions - was given by the King as *honor possession* to his very close friend, Péter Czudar after the death of his father-in-law, Balázs of Fony, who did not have a son, so his daughter, the wife of Péter Czudar was appointed as an heir by the King (*nova donatio*). Absolutely out of the present frame of work, but Péter Czudar founded the Pauline monastery of Lád, just after he asked for approval for this fortified castle at Ónod that he built without royal approval. Engel, Pál: A honor - A magyarországi feudális birtokformák kérdéséhez Századok 1981/1, Dr. Tomka Gábor: Ónodi vár. Ónod monográfiája. Kiadó: Ónod község Önkormányzata, 2000. 157–210.; Dr. Süttő Szilárd: Cudar Péter árulása. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, 1997. 2. szám 311–321.

Bíró Zsófia: A fiúsítás gyakorlata a Hármaskönyvig, FORUM: PUBLICATIONES DOCTORANDORUM JURIDICORUM 7: pp. 59-85

⁹⁵⁷ Besides, it is notable that the affiliation of the monks here was restricted to the Holy Virgin monastery, there is no mention of the Pauline Order itself.

⁹⁵⁸ DAP 1, 167, 216; DAP 2, 309; Feld, "Gönc-Amadévár", 70.

⁹⁵⁹ ÁÚO 1, 90-93, 346-351.

consecrated by Bishop Nicholas (Némedi de Gathal)⁹⁶⁰ of Vác (1419-1430)⁹⁶¹; all this puts the appearance of the monks sometime into the 1350s or 1360s.

Although it is not specifically related to the foundation, but to the support of the king himself, the presence of royal builders/stone carvers could be identified at Gönc in the construction of the nave, which can be seen today and was finished in the 1460s. The analogies of its carved stones are located in Nosztre, which was also founded by King Louis I on royal lands and heavily rebuilt in the first half of the fifteenth century, by royal support.

The question that arises here is whether there was a previous building/church before the 1460s or was this the first and last sacral building of the Paulines? Also, whether there were any other buildings before the 1360s? The archaeological research reflected these questions in detail. Before the 1460s, two medieval floor layers were identified by Judit Tamási, who opened a long trench across the church and sanctuary of the monastery in 1990.⁹⁶² Tamás Pusztai re-opened and evaluated it and along with the examination of the northern side of the northern nave wall and tower, and he concluded the followings:

- remains of an earlier wall (actually the earliest known at the site) were found where the church nave and the southern wing of the cloister intersect each other. This wall was built before the nave, most probably at the same time when the sanctuary and the tower was built (consecrated in 1429 by Bishop Nicholas).
- This earliest wall (most probably the southern wall of the cloister ambulatory) was demolished and the present nave was partially built upon it (consecrated in 1469 by the Bishop Johannes). The orientation of their foundation slightly differs from each other.
- In the new northern nave wall a door was constructed that led to the modified ambulatory of the cloister.
- The floor levels of the nave and the first period of the sanctuary was at the same height

⁹⁶⁰ The member of the northwestern Gathal/Gata gens, but in 1425 he received villa Nemeg (Kisnémedi today) from King Sigismund I, so he and his close relatives started to use Némedi in their names. On the gens Karácsonyi, *Nemzetségek* 2, 3–7.; *T. I/7*. On the donation DL 43654. His curriculum and relation to the Paulines is yet under research.

⁹⁶¹ Most probably Nicolaus Némedi of kindred Gata, the bishop of Vác. Although it is strange that not the bishop of Eger, who was Peter Rozgonyi at the time (1425-1438), was present at the consecration, bishop Nicolaus already had a relationship with the Paulines before. A year before the consecration of the church, in 1428, Bishop Nicholas procured a legal document of *Matheus de Vicedominis de Piacén(cia)* (doct. utr. iur., vicar of the Holy See at Esztergom) that regulated the share of what the Paulines and the local priests had from certain testimonials. DL 35524.

⁹⁶² Tamási 1990.

- It is unlikely that the Paulines were settling in an uninhabited area, since the partial archaeological research brought some late Árpáadian ceramic fragments to light that prove the earlier, thirteenth or early fourteenth century inhabitation of the area.

The latter can be a point in service of the earlier foundation of the monastery but it can also prove that a deserted Árpáadian settlement might have been there.⁹⁶³ It is also clear that the Pauline land and estate management was gradually broadening since 1371, which provided enough financial basis for the constructions, namely the sanctuary and the tower. Later, when the number of vineyards, lands, and most significantly the mills they received, also the donation in 1450 dramatically broadened their possibilities, they could finish the construction of the nave and also conduct a huge rebuilding of the St. Catherine hospital.⁹⁶⁴

Landscape remains

Beside the partial excavations, a LiDAR survey is also available on the broad area of the monastery (Fig. 6.3.20.). The area of the monastery lies on a small plateau, which was consciously chosen since although the whole area lies on an east-northeast slope, all the floods appeared to leave the area of the monastery intact. Beside the church the monastic buildings have not been excavated, but the ruins, covered with a bit of soil, suggest that the remains are significant there. The area is full of larger and smaller holes, some of them were dug by treasure hunters. One was possibly a small cistern or pond east of the buildings, but there was no visible evidence on the ground in this respect.

The cloister's vicinity is dense with roads, but the main road led on the north, in the valley of the Gönc stream, possibly to Telkibánya, as well as to the monastery, which was easily reachable from the east. In the northernmost area of the survey, in the Gönc valley, a pond was documented partially. Along the stream that flew into this pond, another road could lead to the monastery or west of it, a deep cut could be the remaining part of a historical road from Gönc to the monastery.

⁹⁶³ Also, there were some burials, which were partially destroyed during the building of the present nave. Tamás Pusztai, "Előzetes jelentés a telkibányai Szent Katalin ispotály 1997-98. évi feltárásáról." [Preliminary report on the excavation of the hospital at Telkibánya in 1997-98. *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 39: 117–134.

⁹⁶⁴ Pusztai, "Szent Katalin 2000", 125–134.

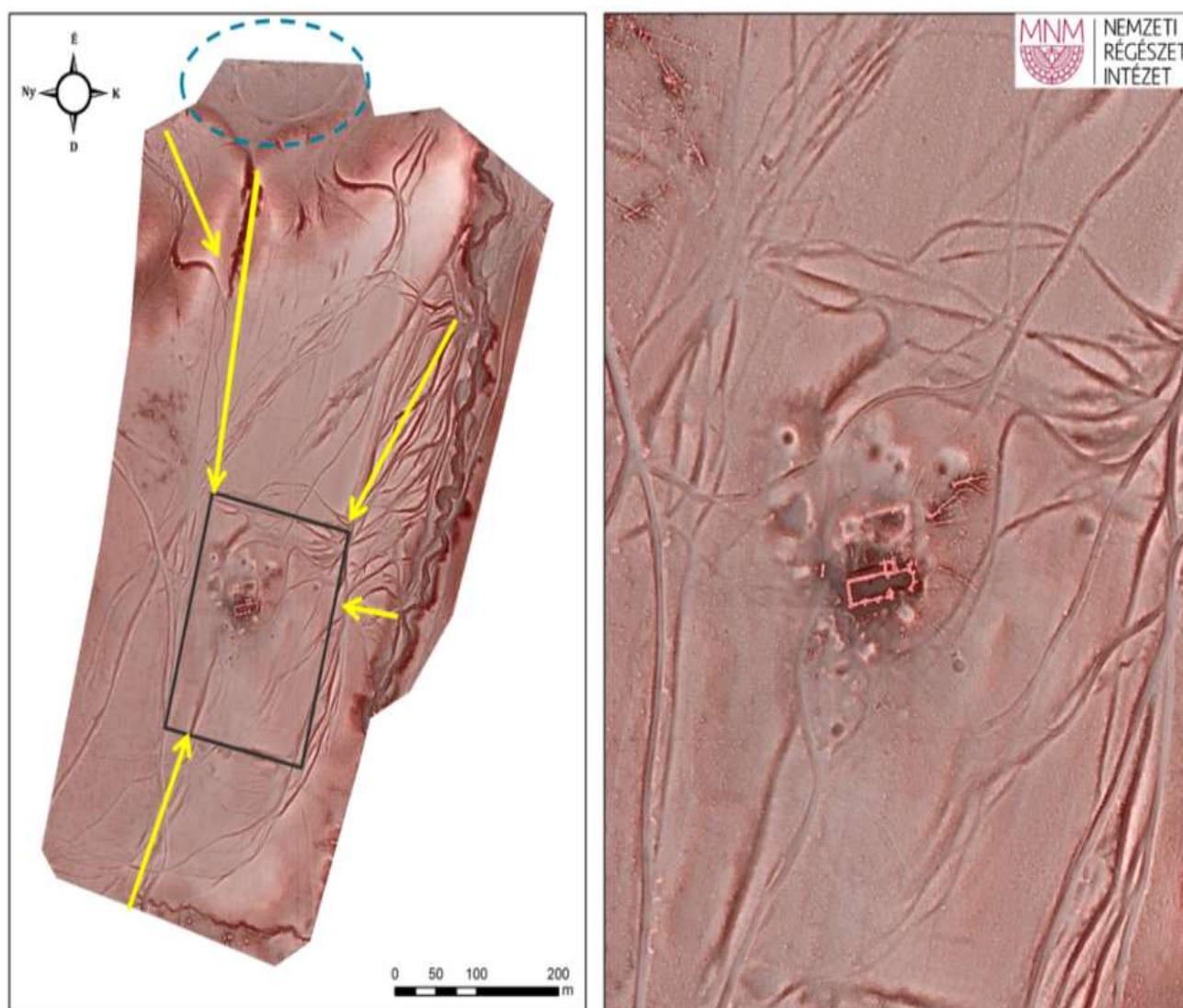


Fig. 6.3.20. *Gönc*. The LiDAR survey of the monastery. Yellow arrows: the possible ways to the monastery; gray square: possible fence; blue circle: pond with dam. Survey conducted and processed by Tamás Látos, Zsiga Zsolt (Hungarian National Museum)

Estate management of Gönc monastery – The Gönc-Telkibánya-Zsujta triangle

There are only ca. 20 entries in relation to the medieval history of Gönc monastery, also there are some repeatedly appearing properties in a yet unclear context (e.g. the donations of Gregorius Cuprar and the priest Matthias between 1438-1459), which makes it less possible to articulate the characteristics of the local economy, moreover, to firmly define their pillars. However, based on the remaining written sources (as Iványi highlighted it as well) and local geography, wine production and cultivating lands (arables for grain) were the key factors of the local economy.⁹⁶⁵ Also, some further documents indicate the details of their economy.

⁹⁶⁵ Iványi, *Gönc*, 14.

One of the very first charters prove that in the 1380s the Paulines at the Holy Virgin monastery already owned lands, vineyards and arable lands, which they most probably cultivated on their own or partially by tenant peasants, laborers. This charter was issued by the future king, Sigismund in 1383, at the time as the Margrave of Brandenburg and royal husband of Queen Mary of Anjou, ordering that no taxes (*nona*, *decima*, or other *tributa*) are allowed to be collected from the Paulines of Gönc by the castellans of Regéc. Just like in other cases in the region, the charter was issued when the king was staying in the region (see for example the already cited charter of King Louis I at Fony, 1371); in this case, Sigismund was at Boldogkövárja.⁹⁶⁶

Next year Queen Mary issued a charter to secure immunity for the Paulines, not only addressing the castellan of Regéc, but also Gönc and Boldogkő and she stated that the immunity is extended to the mills of the Paulines as well and that the castellans should protect the Paulines instead of harming their interests. Queen Elisabeth mentioned the immunity from the *nona*, and the exemption from paying taxes after the food that was transported to the monastery as supply for the monks. All these sources suggest that the routes of food transport and (most of) the properties (vineyards, arable lands and mills) were related to the jurisdiction of Regéc, also Boldogkő and Gönc, which all served as the centers of royal lands.

In 1406, Sigismund, as the king this time, drew the attention of the castellan of Regéc again and the town of Telkibánya to the Pauline immunity of paying different taxes – it was prohibited to collect it from the monks at Gönc, also Göncruszka and Óhuta this time. Since the castellan of Regéc and the town of Telkibánya were addressed, it suggests that they were the most eager, thus in the place of collecting taxes of the Paulines, also that several lands and properties owned by the monks were under the jurisdiction of the two in the time of King Sigismund's order.⁹⁶⁷ Six years after King Sigismund's charter, there was another issue that needed the cooperation of the three monasteries; it was in relation with the deserted Holy Trinity monastery's *fenetum* called *Lapohus*. Afterwards, there is no mention of joint legal cases.

A few decades later, in 1471, King Matthias issued a charter that gives immunity to the Paulines at Gönc from the *nona* and of the *collecta* after the meadows they received from Laurentius

⁹⁶⁶ This exemption was the first one among a series of such charters (including tax immunity after vine or food for the monks, prohibited for Telkibánya, also Regéc, Gönc and Boldogkő castellans), which were all re-issued and copied in 1419, ratified by Sigismund. See Appendix 3/6.3.1, 6.3.3. and 6.3.4.

⁹⁶⁷ But it also has to be highlighted that Gönc *castrum* was owned by the Bebek Family (after 1391), and around the same time Boldokő was put to pawn by Sigismund to the Czudar Family (1388). All the immunities and privileges were summarized in another charter, issued by King Sigismund in 1419.

Pros and Gregorius Gerewen; all the castellans and town judges of the region (Tokaj, Tállya, Boldogkő, Regéc, Gönc and Telkibánya) were ordered in this case.

Beside privileges, some goods were also donated to the monks. Just like in the case of uszka monastery (Chapter 6.3.3.), the last will of Magister Petrus, son of Izsép of Ruszka contains interesting data: a three years old horse (young stallion?), also a cattle with its calf and four pigs were given to the monastery at Gönc. Besides, the bequest of priest Matthias contains valuable properties, which were practically the assets of Telkibánya hospital: beside lands that are to be discussed in detail, a *curia*,⁹⁶⁸ and a bath were part of the donated properties.

The latter was most possibly located near where it was marked in the nineteenth century,⁹⁶⁹ on the cadastral map of Telkibánya. (Fig. 6.3.21.) Today there is also a bathing site, so most possibly there have always been springs, which were ideal for a bath. However, if it was related to the hospital, it should have been closer to it.



Fig. 6.3.21. **Gönc.** The nineteenth-century cadastral map, the monastery of Gönc, the hospital at Telkibánya a bath is marked; also the roads between the settlements are visible, following the valleys.

The last will of Matthias priest (also the bequest of Gregorius Cuprar, whose properties were basically inherited by the aforesaid Matthias), dated to 1459, is interesting from many respects, but the key factor is that although Telkibánya is neighboring the monastery, the donated properties were part of a background estate network, which was most possibly the part of estate management strategy

⁹⁶⁸ There are several highlighted houses on the detailed survey from 1784, see Appendix 3/ 6.3.6. Maps.

⁹⁶⁹ It was rebuilt after 1785, see its ground plan in the National Archive, Collection of Maps, T 62 No 268. A year before the plan it was depicted on a map, see Appendix 3/6.3.6. Maps.

at Gönc, just like the intention was present at Óhuta and Göncruszka monasteries. In the case of Gönc, this direction of management is not only proved by the aforementioned will of the priest, but most known data sheds light on the concentration of properties –through donations and purchases– north and northwest of the monastery, including the settlements of Gönc, Telkibánya, and Zsujta.

At Gönc, they had interests at least in three mills, some arable lands, and a vineyard, possibly further meadows and hay meadows. Most lands were mentioned in relation to Telkibánya, where beside the hospital and bath (see Fig. 6.3.21.), they had a *curia*, *Czeczez praedium/villa*, a sawmill and other mills, mill-places, also arable lands, vineyards and other mill places possibly. *Supra* Zsujta, another mill was theirs (1450). Beside these lands, three valuable properties were located further from the monastery: *Lapuhás fenetum* (1412), a vineyard at Szántó-Sátorhegy (1438), and undefined properties at Szada (1485).⁹⁷⁰ (see the map of the complex properties (villa, praedium, curia, bath, hospital Fig. 6.3.22.; also the detailed information on the properties selected by settlements Fig. 6.3.23.)

⁹⁷⁰ This is located in Taktaköz region, near the Bordrog valley.



Fig. 6.3.22. **Gönc**. The most valuable properties of the monastery (praedium, villa, bath, curia, hospital). Second Ordnance Survey.

	Gönc	Telkibánya	Zsujta	Szántó	Regéc
mills, mill-places	2 full (1371, 1450); one partial at Bányapataka (1446)	1 sawmill (1438), Ósva 1 mill and further mill-places (1450); Bányapataka 1 mill and mill-places (1459)	1 <i>supra</i> Zsujta (1450)	-	-
arable lands	4-5 <i>funes</i> (1402-1430), a quarter of a <i>terra</i> (1428)	15 <i>funes</i> of arable lands, plus another <i>terra</i> (1428), a <i>sessio</i> for a mill at Ósva (1450); 4 <i>sessios</i> and further arable lands (1459)	-	-	-
meadows	some (1471)	<i>prata</i> near Wagner vineyard (1450) some <i>feneta</i> , <i>prata</i> (1459); some (1471)	-	-	<i>Lapuhás fenetum</i> (1412)
vineyards	1 (1428), probably some more (1459)	1 Wagner (1450), some (1459)	-	1 (1438)	some (1383-1419)
others	-	1 hospital, 1 curia, 1 bath (1450–59) <i>Czeczez praedium/ villa</i> (1438-1459)	-	-	-

Fig. 6.3.23. *Gönc*. Summary of the known properties of the monastery until the second half of the fifteenth century.

It is undoubted that the Paulines in the region received the most significant donation in relation to Telkibánya and the assets of the hospital. The whole process is not entirely clear but worth having a detailed look on the chronology of the story, which was the following:

- First, Gregorius Cuprar (later also appears as Cuprer/Koprar, the relative of Gregorius Cuprer the pious *urburarius* of Telkibánya and his brother Konth, (founders of St. Catherine hospital)⁹⁷¹ bequeathed most of his earthly possessions to the Holy Virgin monastery, which were *villa Chechuz* in the territory of Telkibánya, the *vineyard* at Sátor-hegy, and a *sawmill* at Telkibánya. (Appendix/Appendix 3/6.3.4. 1438-05-22, DL 13191)
- However, six years after his charter, Cuprer changed his mind and left everything he had to the St. Catherine monastery and through the passing of his donator role to his stepson, the priest Matthias, he also became responsible for everything. (see Appendix 3/6.3.5. St. Catherine hospital, 1444 -11-22; DL 13819; Bándi 1985, 590, no. 22.).
- In 1450, six years after the second will of Cuprer, where his stepson was responsible for the St. Catherine hospital and all the possessions they inherited, Matthias priest passed the (by that time crumbling) hospital to the Holy Virgin monastery with all the

⁹⁷¹ Is he the founder's great-grandson? mentioned as heir of the founders of the hospital in 1450, DL 14390. See Appendix 3/6.3.4.

possessions and obligations: Cheches puszta, Waghner vineyard, further of it, in the valley meadow (pratum), also at the end of the valley a mill on the Ósva (Olchawa) stream with all assets at Telkibánya (a plot and mill-places in the boundary of the town) to the Holy Virgin monastery. (Appendix 3/6.3.4. 1450, DL 14390)

- However, there must have been some unknown circumstances around the assets since the whole process was only finalized in the will of Matthias the priest in 1459, when he took over the loans of Priest Boniface of Telkibánya, thus donated Chechewcz praedium to the Paulines at Gönc, along with his curia, four parcels (terra), a bath, a complete mill along with other mill places at Bányapathaka, further vineyards, meadows, arable lands and privileges related to the praedium and curia, just as it was possessed by Gregorius Koprar and as they were connected to the St. Catherine hospital in Telkibánya oppidum. (Appendix 3/6.3.4. 1459, DL 15368)

It is unclear why the priest of Telkibánya became indebted to the Paulines: it is possible that the priest took loans from the monks or they were helping the renovation of the hospital without receiving the promised assets (1450) to finance the constructions; it is unclear but it is strongly possible that the loan was related to the hospital. Beside the unknown reason for the nine-years gap, it is also impossible to reconstruct the circumstances and to decide when and which properties were actually given to the Paulines. Nevertheless, the following table summarizes those properties which were mentioned in the different charters, also the possible overlapping properties are coloured:

1438	1450	1459
<u>villa Czece</u> in the territory of Telkibánya,	<u>Cheches puszta</u>	<u>Chechewcz praedium</u>
the <u>vineyard</u> at Sátor-hegy,	<u>Waghner vineyard</u> ,	with <u>curia</u> , a <u>bath</u> ,
<u>sawmill at Telkibánya</u> .	further of it, in the valley <u>meadow (prate)</u>	<u>four parcels (loca sessionalia)</u>
	also at the end of the valley <u>a mill on the Ósva (Olchawa) stream with a parcel</u>	a complete <u>mill</u> along with other <u>mill places at Bányapathaka (=Gönci-patak)</u> ,
	and <u>mill-places in the boundary of the town</u>	further <u>vineyards</u> , <u>meadows (fenetum/pratum)</u> , <u>arable lands</u>

Fig. 6.3.24. **Gönc**. Summary of the known properties of the monastery at Telkibánya, in relation to the donations of Gregorius Cuprar and Priest Matthias.

There seems to be a deliberate order in the charters and its various copies (see the full list in the Appendix 3/6.3.4.) when the properties are listed: the key assets, especially strikingly in 1459, are listed from the western part of the town to the eastern part. *Csecsuz* or *Csecses praedium* is yet

unlocated but it is always listed first, which theoretically puts it somewhere on the area between Zsujta and Telkibánya, possibly close to Gönc or Újvár. (Fig. 6.3.25.)

This geographical order occurs in yet another donation, the one that was made by the heirs of Johannes Steytgesser in 1428: *in uno loco sunt 15 funes* [within the boundaries of the town of Telkibánya, downstream from the toll-paying place called *Vering*]. *Item a parte orientali est secunda terre, in cuius fine in ripa est fons. Item in territorio Gench circa vineam est quarta terra arabilis*. The fixpoint in this case was the toll-station of *Vering*,⁹⁷² which survived as a toponym throughout the centuries (Fig. 6.3.25.); today it is called Vámház, and Vámház-alja, meaning “toll-paying house” and “below toll-paying house”; just as the medieval charter indicates, it is located 5-700 meters of the main road between Újvár and Gönc (even today). (Fig. 6.3.26. and 6.3.27.) Beside the toponyms, near this area a field survey located the remains of a medieval settlement in the area, which could be optionally identified with *Csecses praedium*. (Fig. 6.3.27.) All the further lands, properties mentioned in the two huge donations (Steytgesser in 1428 and Cuprar-Matthias priest 1438-1459) are located and analyzed in the following subchapters.

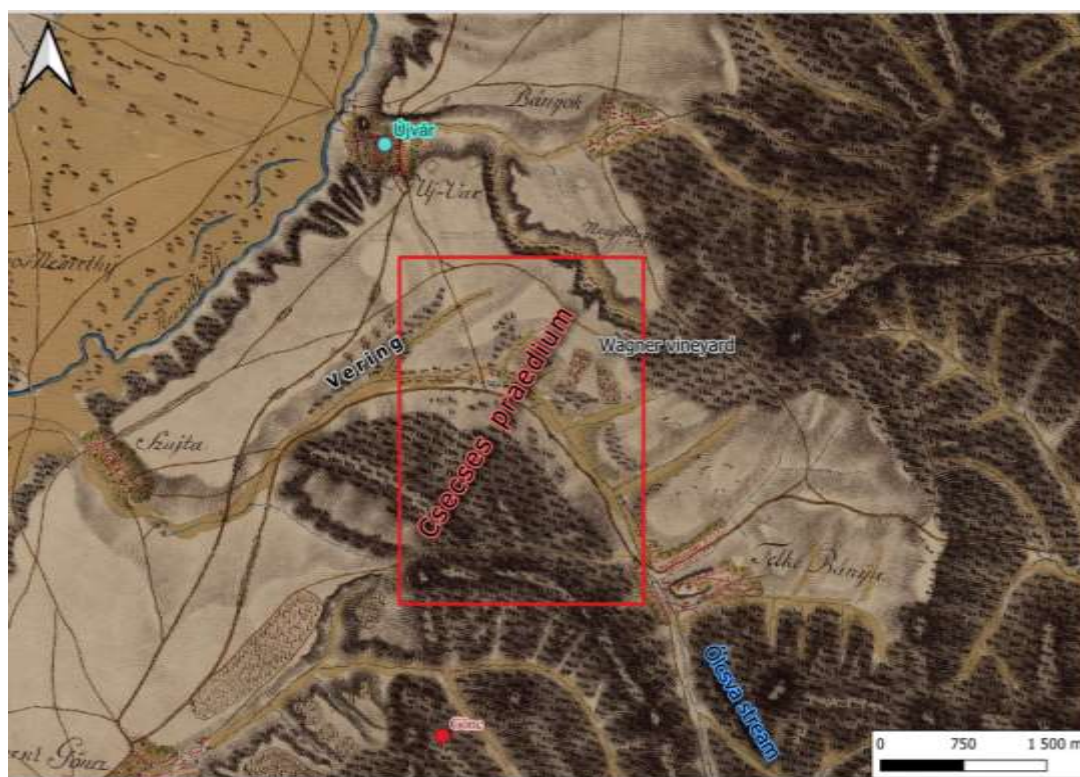


Fig. 6.3.25. **Gönc.** The area between Telkibánya, Zsujta (here Szujta) and Gön, the probable area of *Csecses praedium*, also *Vering* and probably Wagner vineyard.

⁹⁷² Its meaning could be related to a place where one needs to stop (in Dutch it means “suspension”).



Fig. 6.3.26. **Gönc.** The area of Vering (Vámház and Vámház alja) on the nineteenth-century cadastral map of Telkibánya.

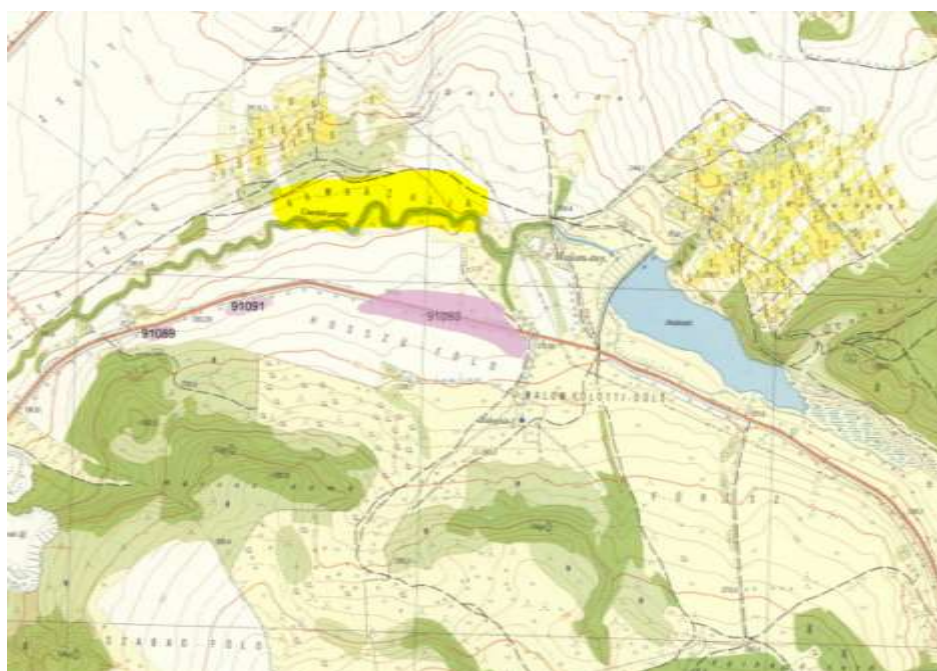


Fig. 6.3.27. **Gönc.** The topographical map between Telkibánya and Gönc today, including the settlement remains (91093) just below "Vámházalja", medieval Vering area (highlighted with yellow).

Arable lands, sessiones, and meadows

Meadows and arable lands were core of the property structure and management strategy of the Paulines, just like for the Holy Virgin monastery. The first lands were already received before 1371, but their first arable fields and meadows were mentioned only in the early fifteenth century. The *Lapuhás fenetum* near Regéc (Fig. 6.3.28.) was the first known hay meadow of Gönc monastery,

afterwards arable lands and meadows –although rarely, but– appeared along in the fifteenth century. The rest of the known *prata* and *feneta* are concentrated in the area of Gönc and Telkibánya, although none of them can be precisely located; only in the case of a *pratium*, located possibly east of a vineyard is marked in a more or less correct spot.

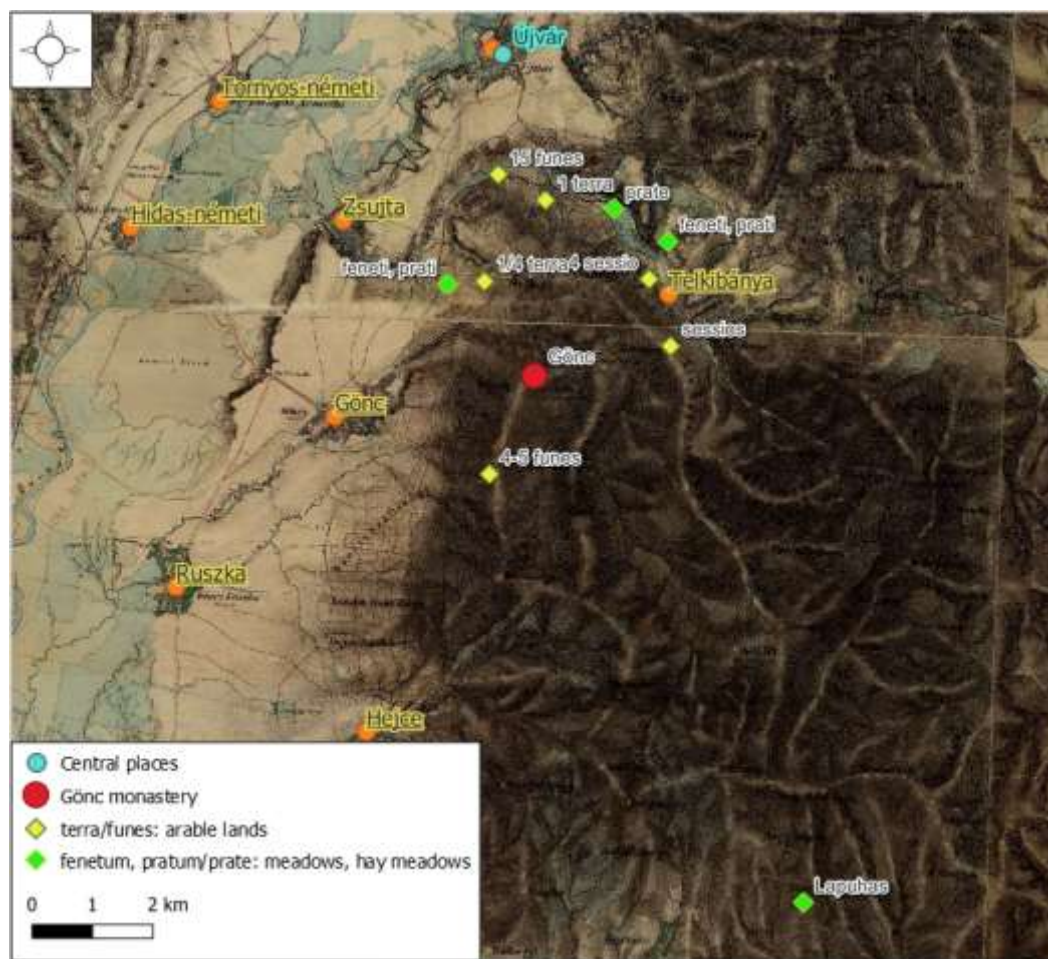


Fig. 6.3.28. *Gönc*. The meadows and arable lands of Gönc monastery. Second Ordnance Survey.

It is also rather hard to identify the arable lands, however, there are some hints in some cases. In the last will of Johannes Steytgesser some lands, 15 *funes* (ropes⁹⁷³) and a *terra*, are mentioned near *Vering* (see them marked in Fig. 6.3.28., reference for *Vering*, see Fig. 6.3.25-27.), most possibly related to Telkibánya, while a quarter *terra* of the Paulines was at territory of Gönc *oppidum* somewhere. The 4-5 *funes* of arable lands are quiet unsurely connected to Gönc (see the testimony of Petrus, son of Izsép of Ruszka, 1402-1430), but four *sessiones* and further more were located

⁹⁷³ This measuring is not identifiable since the measure of one rope was extremely various in different parts of the Kingdom.

somewhere at Telkibánya and along the stream *Olchawa*, which flows today south of Telkibánya (Ósva, see Fig. 6.3.25.)

Mills

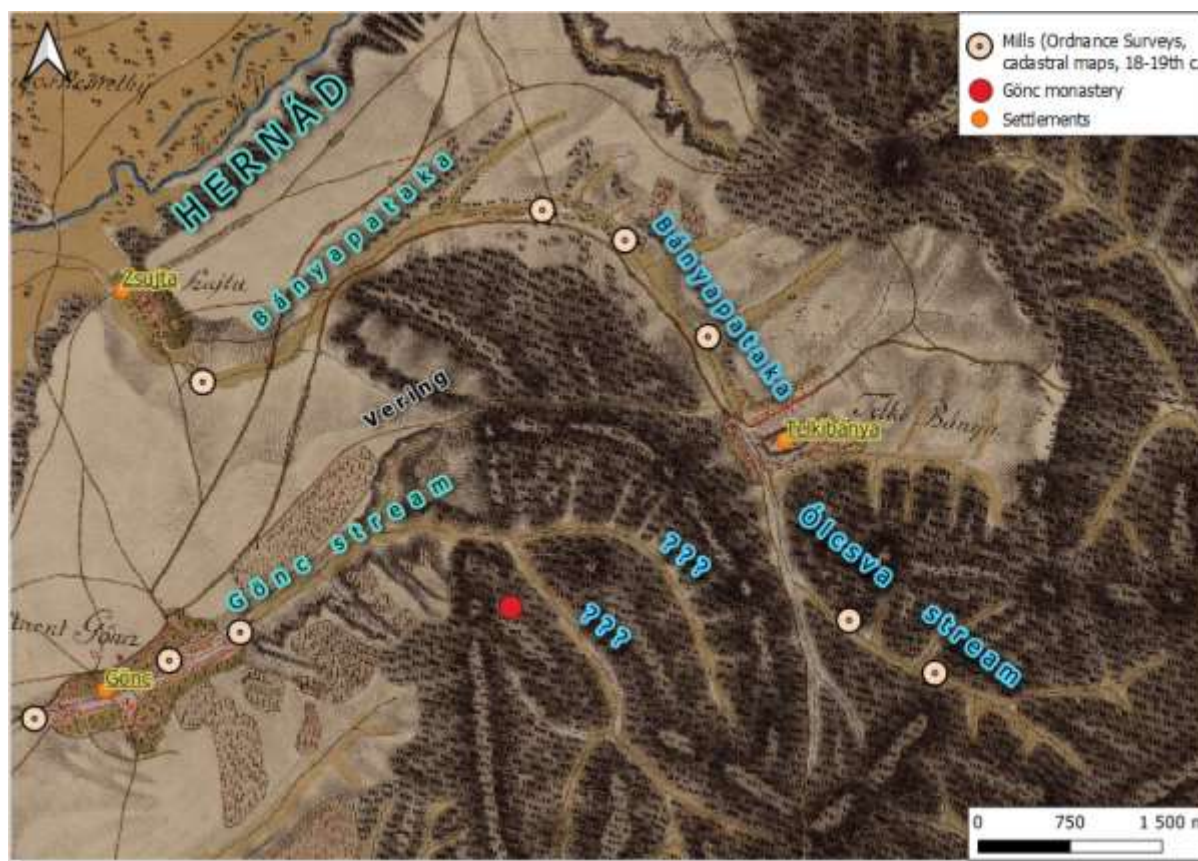
The number of mills suggests that a huge amount of grain was cultivated around the lands of Gönc and that not only the Hernád river, but (more) the smaller streams were ideal for establishing mills there. The dynamics in chronology, donations and constructions suggest a clear strategy: since the first decades of its existence, the monks in the monastery of Gönc pursued an active economy on the basis of several mills and part of mills.

The very first source in 1371 is a royal privilege about a mill that was supposed to be built by the monks wherever (!) they wish to place it along the later Gönc stream (*fluvio seu rivulo*). They surely built it, which became the core of the conflict that had always been there between the townsmen of Gönc and the monks of the Holy Virgin monastery. For example, a hundred and one years later, in 1472 a royal order⁹⁷⁴ ensured its proper operation by instructing the town of Gönc to deconstruct their mill since they had no right to build it and it completely undermined the operation of the Pauline mill on the stream. This unfriendly milieu in the relation between the *oppidum* and the monks was most probably common in the fourteenth century since in donations, people from all other settlements were mentioned, but (except Matthias priest, 1438), no one was directly from Gönc (probably Laurentius de Pros or Gregorius Gerewen in 1471).

This conflict must have been serious, but the economy of the Paulines was stable, due to the numerous mills as well: they received several mills and mill-places in other streams in the close region of the monastery: not only Gönc, but Bányapataka and *Olchwa* (=Ósva) streams were also mentioned in the charters. (Fig. 6.3.29-30.) Possibly, at Ósva stream, a dam identified by Tamás Pusztai (See Appendix 3/6.3.6. Earthworks) can be related to one of the mills here.

Gönc	Bányapataka	Ósva
1 mill to be built (1371)	1 sawmill (1438)	1 mill + 1 parcel + mill-places in the boundary of Telkibánya (1450)
the same was mentioned in 1472?	part of a mill (1446)	
1 supra Gönc (1450)	1 supra Zsujta (1450)	
	1 mill + mill-places (1459)	

⁹⁷⁴ In 1437 Gönc mentioned as part of the royal domain of Diósgyőr. Iványi, *Göncz*, 10.

Fig. 6.3.29. *Gönc. The mills mentioned in the charters.*Fig. 6.3.30. *Gönc. The mills and water-flows in the region. Base map: Second Ordnance Survey.*

A brief note should be put here: Bányapatak, although its name –which means “stream of the mine(s)” – could most possibly refer to the stream that flows through Telkibánya, its identification is slightly dubious. As Tamás Guzsik highlighted it, in some charters it is related to Gönc (like in 1446, it is referred as the mill on Bányapataka is in the boundary of Gönc!), but it is also mentioned in a line of properties at Telkibánya (see 1459, last will of Priest Matthias). As Tamás Pusztai and Balázs Bodó stated it, this is not an opposition: Bányapatak originates from south of Telkibánya and flows on the boundary of Zsujta and Gönc.⁹⁷⁵

Vineyards

The monastery of Gönc is located in a valley that is very cold and there is no ideal, southern slope nearby, which means that the close vicinity of the monastery was not ideal for cultivating vine. Most of the optimal territories must have been west and north of the monastery, between the

⁹⁷⁵ Bodó–Pusztai, “Gönc 2004”, 341.

settlements of Gönc and Telkibánya, more on the slopes east of Gönc oppidum; just like the maps suggest it since the First Ordnance Survey until nowadays.

Also, some hints are given in the sources regarding the town of Gönc: at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the vineyards of the *oppidum* were north of the town,⁹⁷⁶ they were mentioned in 1341, and the town in 1387 paid 500 barrels of wine for nona.⁹⁷⁷ The parish's *decima* was also noticeable. The Paulines also must have had vineyards (and arable lands) from their foundation, but the first source which refers to their vineyards in the territory of Regéc castle in 1383. (Fig. 6.3.31.)

The first private donation is known from 1428, when Johannes Steytgesser donated his vineyard (in the neighborhood of his son-in-law) to the monks for covering their candle costs; it is stated that it was in Gönc, which puts it northwest, west, or southwest of the monastery, (Fig. 6.3.32.) although it is possible that it was close to Telkibánya, since the further donations which his heirs gave to the monks were related to the area of Vering (Fig. 6.3.25.), where another vineyard was owned by the monks, called Wagner vineyard. *Nota bene*, just like Steytgesser vineyard, this latter was also named after a German *hospes* of the region.

There were certainly more vineyards in the promontories of the area, as a charter in 1459 (last will of Priest Matthias of Gönc) also suggests, but no specifics survived about them. Not like a vineyard on mount Chater [Sátor]⁹⁷⁸, in Santho [Szántó] (Fig. 6.3.33.), which the monks received from Gregorius Cuprar in his testament in 1438 on the following condition: the monks were obliged to plough the vineyard and give half of the yield to him while he was alive. This area and specifically this hill is still known to be extremely ideal for vine cultivation, which makes it really valuable; just like it was for the Paulines.

⁹⁷⁶ ÁÚO 12, 648; AOkl. 1, 192. 1. Cited in Iványi, *Göncz*, 13.

⁹⁷⁷ AOkl. 4, 122.

⁹⁷⁸ The name *sátor* means tent, which may mean the shape of the mountain or as it was described in the case of another Sátor mountain in Vörösberény, the Jesuits were having feasts in the woods of the mountain on special occasions, under their tents. Pesty 207.

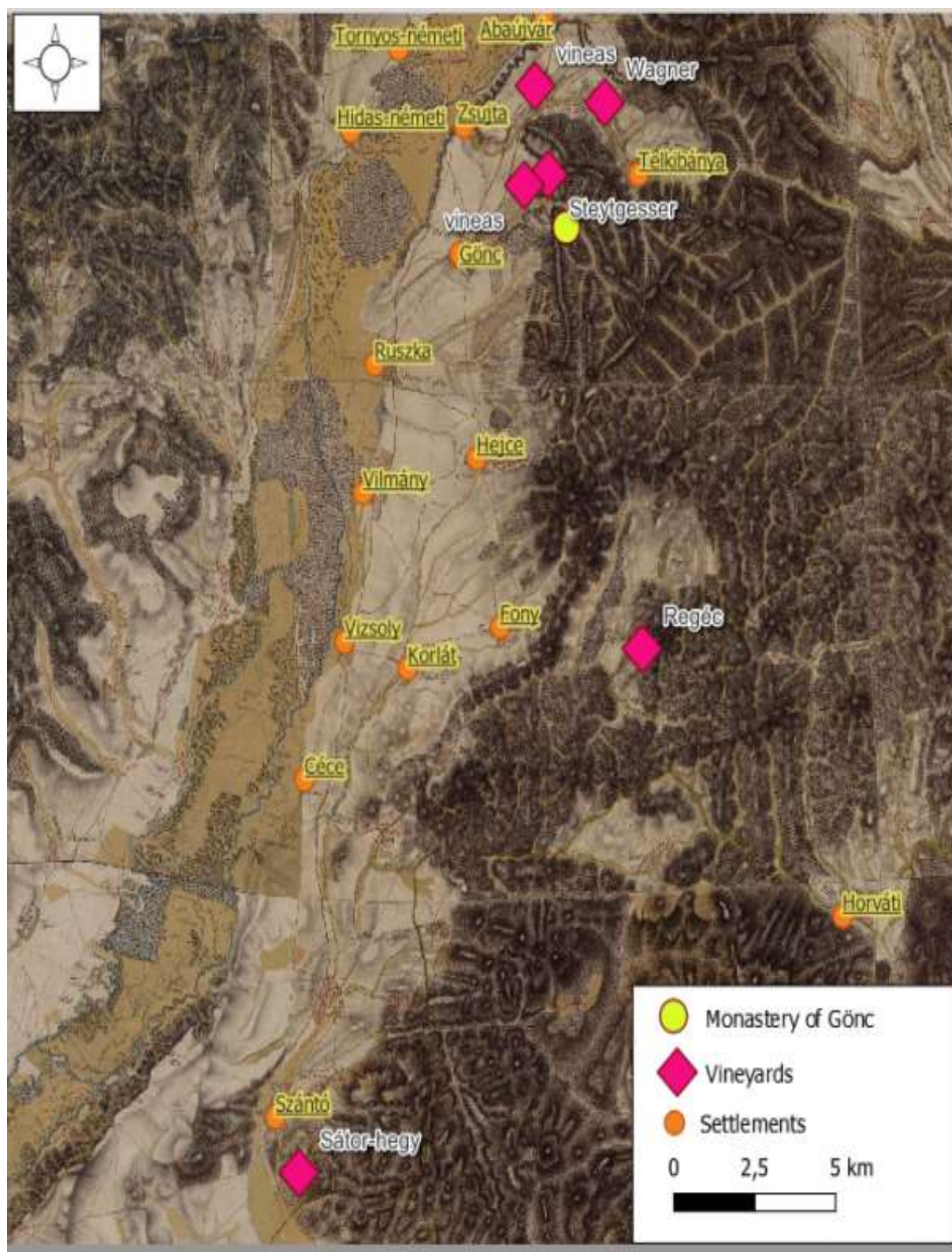


Fig. 6.3.31. **Gönc.** The vineyards of Gönc monastery. Base map: First Ordnance Survey.

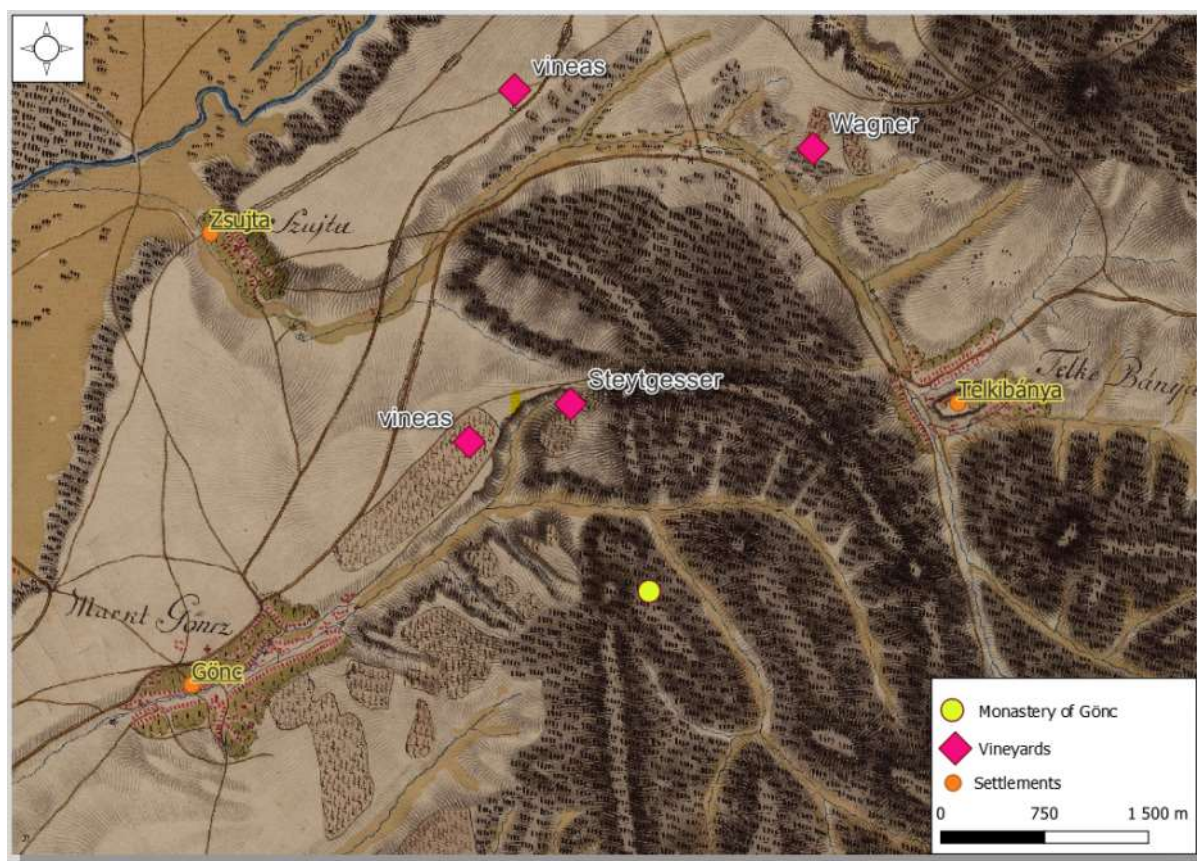


Fig. 6.3.32. *Gönc. The vineyards near the monastery. First Ordnance Survey.*

6.3.5. *Regéc, Holy Trinity monastery*

The Holy Trinity monastery's history and even its location is full of uncertainties. Basically it was recognized only in the shades of the St. Philip and James (=Óhuta) monastery, both mentioned as the ones at Regéc. Two field names, *Barát-láz-dűlő* at Regéc (Monks field) and *Barátok* (Monks/Friars) in the boundary of Óhuta, roughly one km further from Barát-láz were in the attention of historical and later archaeological research. But while significant, late medieval ruins were identified by Tamás Guzsik at the field near Óhuta, at Barátok, there was almost nothing to be identified for a long time; only the toponym preserved the precarious Pauline heritage here.

Written sources mention the monastery only after it has been closed down, only its *fenetum* is known from sources: it was called *Lapohus*, when in 1412 King Sigismund declared that the castellan of Regéc should not demand anything after the deserted Holy Trinity monastery from the monasteries of Gönc, Göncruszka and Óhuta. Sources suggest that it had been founded after the foundation of the three other monasteries,⁹⁷⁹ therefore, its active existence must have fallen in the period between 1371

⁹⁷⁹ Belényesy, *Abaúj-Hegyalja*, 99. Nota bene, the source which mentions the monastery does not give any hints.

and 1412. The monks most possibly moved to one of the neighboring monasteries shortly after their arrival to the Holy Trinity monastery.

However, there is a slightly earlier source, which might help to understand the circumstances of its destruction, or possibly its existence. In 1406, the three monasteries (Gönc, Gönruszká and Óhuta) were given a privilege by King Sigismund, in which the King reissued and broadened the exemption of the Paulines from paying certain taxes. Here the Holy Trinity monastery was not mentioned, which would suggest that it was uninhabited by that time. Interestingly, the earlier privilege charter on the latter issue, given by Queen Elizabeth in 1383, mentions the Paulines in general and no monastery specifically – which is rather strange in a case where specifically the castellan of Regéc was ordered, so it was a rather local issue. Anyhow, this leaves the floor open for further speculations in regards of the Holy Trinity monastery and its period of operation. Whenever it functioned, if it was built, there must have been something left of the buildings in the landscape.

It is unknown what indicated its foundation (the existing monasteries became overcrowded by monks?), how many properties it had or to what extent the monastic complex had been built out. Basically, it is unclear where exactly and what we should look for in search of the Holy Trinity community.

After the identification of the St. James and Philip monastery at Óhuta, József Laszlovszky focused on the boundary of Regéc, the Barát-láz-field, located ca. one km, northeast of the village (Fig. 6.3.33. and 6.3.34.) and has been a cleared woodland area, used as pasture for many decades. As Laszlovszky and after Belényesy proved, most possibly this was the hay field, called Lapuhas, mentioned in 1412: it appeared in cartographic data (1626, 1678), also a stream here is called Lapu. This hypothesis is not only supported by the seventeenth-eighteenth century cartographic data, but confirmed by the topographic position of the site; in other words, Lapuhas is identified as the location of the monastery.

Here the field surveys identified an area in the woods where many stones and possibly remains of stone-walls (built without mortar, dry-walls) were sparsely present, but no archaeological material was gathered –anyhow, it was worth to look at the area for further information. The first international archaeological project after the fall of the Iron Curtain, the Upper Tisza Project provided the possibility to conduct a geophysical survey in a wooded area (see Fig. 6.3.33. and Fig. 6.3.34.), which revealed some possible wall foundations, but unfortunately, still without any archaeological material or excavations to prove the existence of buildings here, this area and the monastery has been a mystery since.

In two sessions, 2016 and 2018, the Hungarian National Museum conducted a metal detector survey in the broad area, but both ended up without any archaeological material. Beside field surveys, a yet unpublished LiDAR-survey had been conducted in two periods (December 2023 and March 2024), yet only those dams appeared on them, which were already documented by Károly Belényesy, as some catchpoints in the question of localization. (Fig. 6.3.35. and Fig. 6.3.36.) There are still potential areas to be researched, so the Holy Trinity Monastery is yet an unfinished episode of Pauline research, which still holds the possibility of success.



*Fig. 6.3.33. **Regéc.** The area west to Regéc, northwest to Regéc castle which was surveyed by LiDAR in 2023 and 2024. The two areas, highlighted with yellow, were registered in scholarship as the monster (the one to the west is registered in the official database, called IVO, the one to the east is the middle of Barátláz-field).*

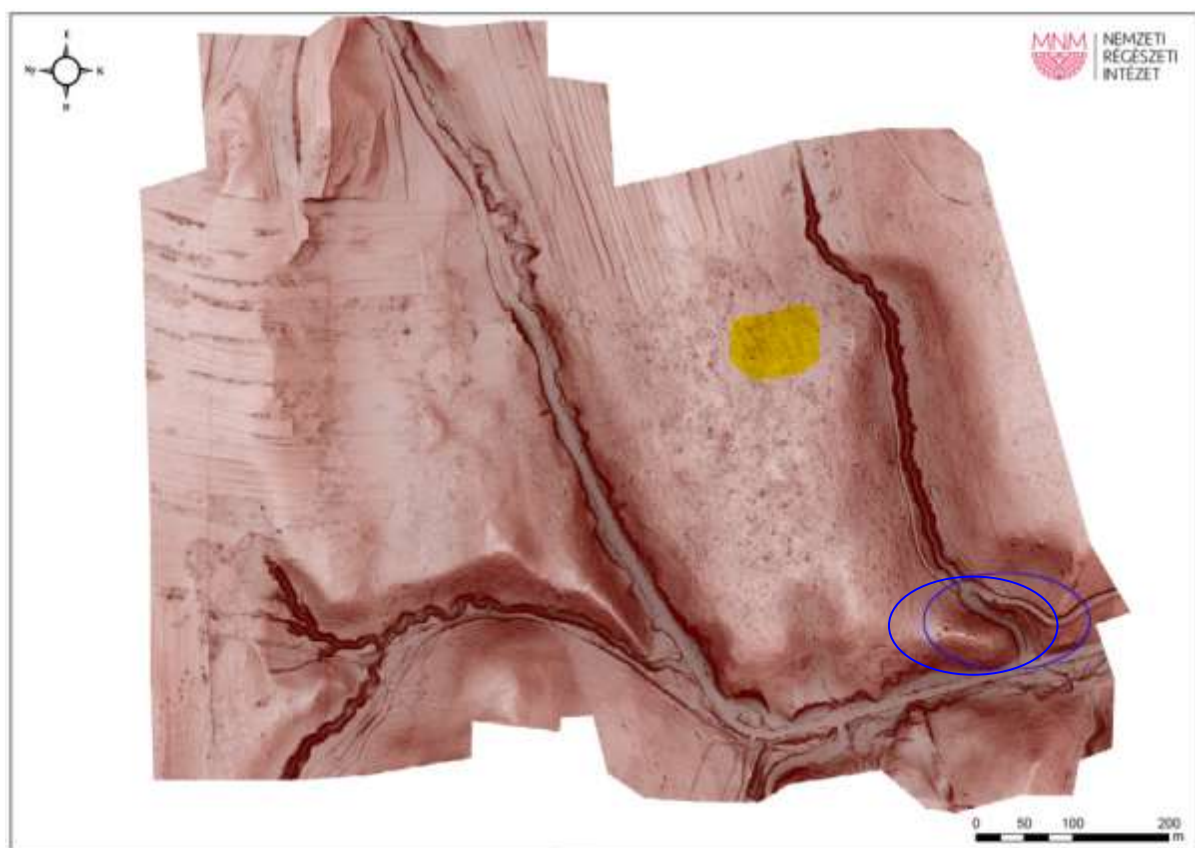


Fig. 6.3.34. **Regéc.** The LiDAR survey north to Regéc, yellow is the region where the geophysical survey was made, blue circle is where Belényesy identified one of the dams on Lapu stream and proposed the existence of a small pond once here. Courtesy of Tamás Látos (Hungarian National Museum)

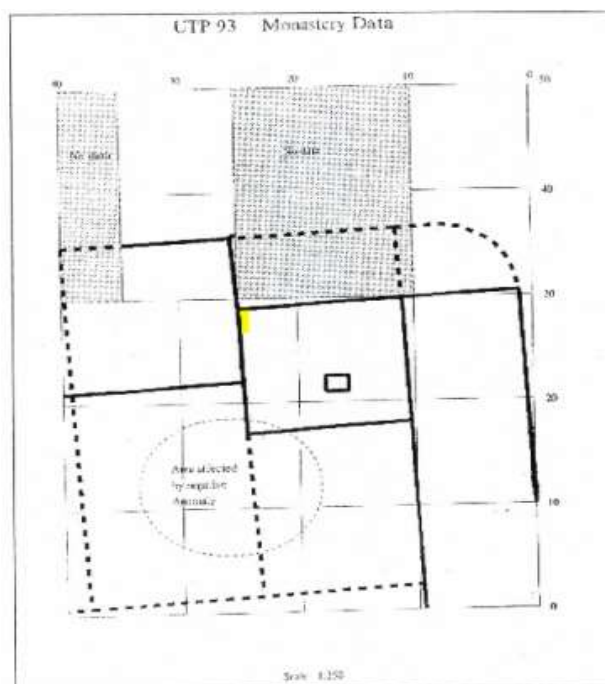
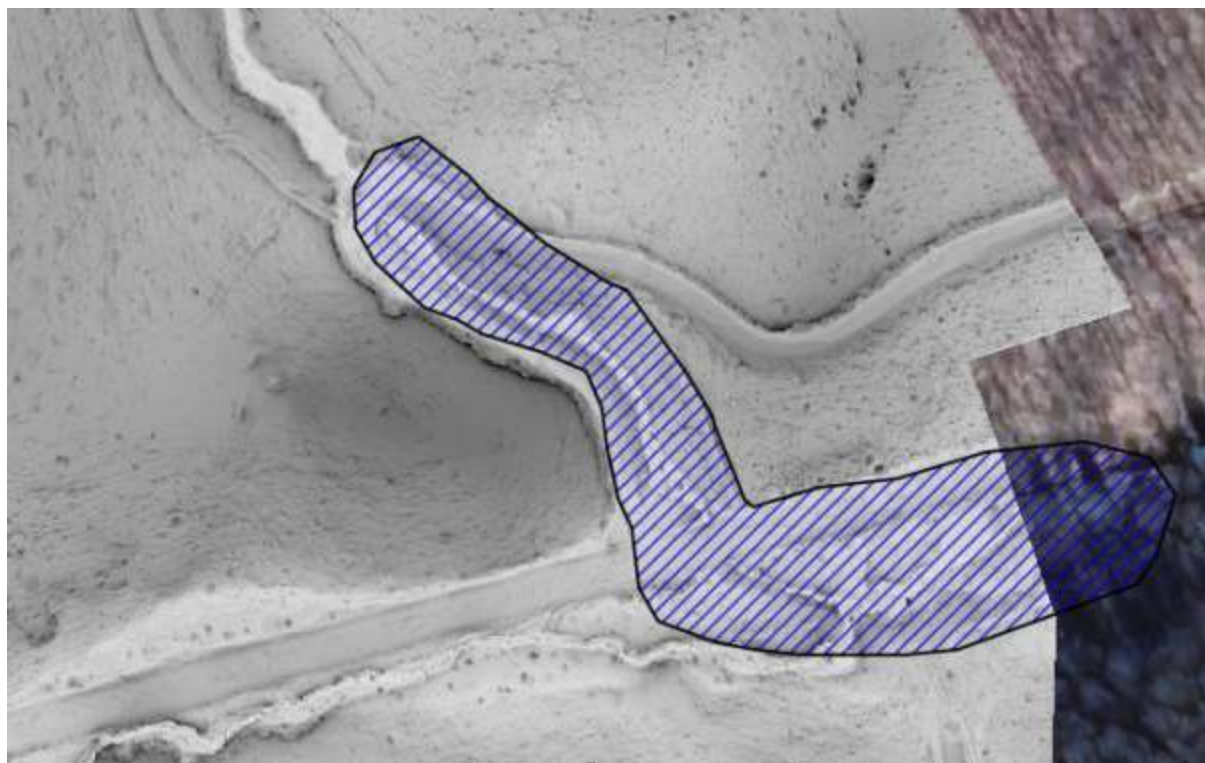


Fig. 6.3.35. **Regéc.** The geophysical survey made in UTP. Source: Belényesy, *Abauj-Hegyalja*, 34.



*Fig. 6.3.36. **Regéc.** The possible area of a past fishpond at the joint streams of Lapu and Huta-völgyi-patak.*

CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSION ON THE SPATIAL LEVELS OF PAULINE MONASTIC SPACE

7.1. The Balaton Uplands

At the Balaton Uplands, several specific and also general questions were addressed. General questions in terms of Pauline economy and land-management, but specific ones related to the features of the medieval Pauline space and the role that the Balaton Uplands had in the history of the Pauline order. Most of the insights that appeared in scholarship before originated from the study of the region, based on the numerous hermitages and later monasteries; even so, the region was not part of a detailed exploration before.

This region clearly had a spiritual impact on the order due to the thirteenth-century eremitic heritage, but it was not the only area in Hungary where hermits lived. However, due to the numerous hermitages here and their possibly unstoppable work on their aim to become something relevant and unified, the Veszprém Diocese definitely had a significance that even Gyöngyösi highlighted in his work on the history of the Pauline Order. Nevertheless, based on Gyöngyösi's work and insights, the Pilis royal forest and Blessed Eusebius was (and still is) regarded as the founding-place and founder of the Pauline Order. . . Probably these two regions, as part also close of the *medium regni*, were kept in the highest esteem in the medieval perspective of the world, at least in the early sixteenth century.

However, in the medieval times, especially in the fifteenth century the Pauline presence declined in the Balaton Uplands; only the foundation of Vázsony monastery in the late fifteenth century meant a renaissance in their role here. Several causes led to the assimilation of the Pauline monasteries here into the general hierarchy of the order, which had already started sometime in the last third of the thirteenth century. Generally, first the way to be regarded as an order, later the constantly appearing new challenges in management urged the late-thirteenth-century hermits and later the Pauline monks for new answers and solutions. This means that after the thirteenth-century impetus, the fourteenth and most of the fifteenth century definitely drew a completely new map and environment for the Paulines here. In the following chapters, these factors and the features of the regional Pauline estate management are described.

7.1.1. *Hermitages and monasteries at the Balaton Uplands: settling, supporters, and spatial distribution*

Three waves of foundations (with subphases) are definitely visible in regional scale: first the self-organization of hermits, and in the mid-fourteenth century the proper Pauline foundations, which was revived later, at the end of the fifteenth century, by Pál Kinizsi with the foundation of Vázsony monastery. In the thirteenth-century, St. Helen at Insula Pilup-Révfülp is definitely the earliest known hermitage (1221), but four decades later, in 1261, two other hermitages — St. James and St. Mary Magdalene— were also mentioned. Two years later, two other hermitages appeared along the previous ones: St. Elizabeth at Idegsyt-Tálod and St. Emeric at Badacsony were present in the census of Bishop Paul (Fig. 7.1.).⁹⁸⁰

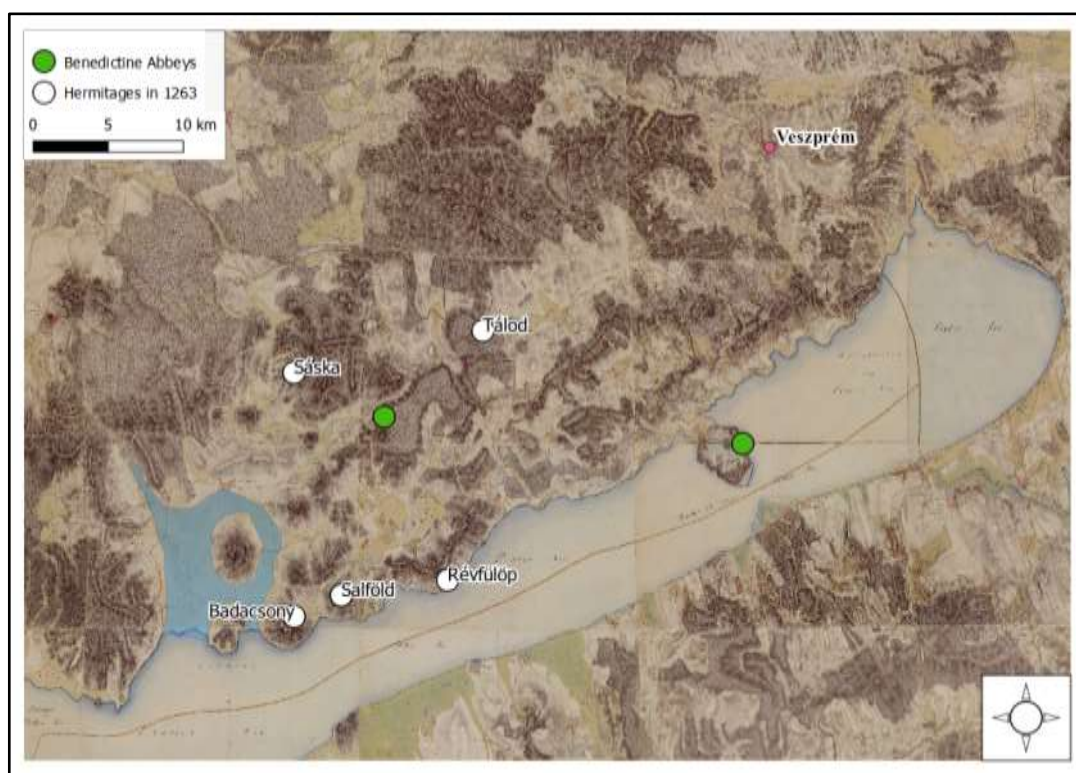


Fig. 7.1. The first hermitages at the Balaton Uplands in 1263 also the Benedictine Monasteries.

The circumstances of foundations and founders should be unfolded and studied in a detailed way since other clichés are widespread in scholarship. The most favored and cited among these ideas is what Ferenc Hervay and other scholars claim: Pauline (sic!) hermitages were founded

⁹⁸⁰ In 1261, as the Veszprém Chapter complained, three hermitages were to be occupied by the Austin order: St. Helen, St. James, and St. Mary Magdalene. This would suggest that only three of the seven hermitages existed two years before the inventory of Paul Bishop; however, I would argue against it yet, in regards to the short time between the two sources, although it is possible that there were undocumented stages in the creation of an eremitic community.

spontaneously here, in the Balaton Uplands and all other places as well.⁹⁸¹ This statement masks numerous important details and factors of the foundations.

First of all, it is undoubted that small communities were most probably gathered/clustered by their free will, inspired by the individual dedication of the hermits, also by their devotion to God and the desire to live a saintly, ascetic life, as far as it is possible (or practical?) from the secular space. However, besides the desire, the location and the possibilities of a prospering or at least sustainable life were affected by the contemporary medieval space, its possibilities and restraints.

The most important of such features were the owners of those lands where the hermits settled, since their approval was definitely vital in all cases. Although in most cases at the Balaton Uplands the founders are hardly known, one way of their most probable identification is that later written sources mention the landowning families of those certain lands, where the monks settled and/or gained their first known donation. Not only the first, it seems that most properties (see for example Sáska or Salföld), even many decades later, were still donated by the members of the founding families.

Royal lands or lands owned by ecclesial institutions were never settled by the hermits.⁹⁸² The very first eremitic communities of the Balaton Uplands were all founded and supported by the richest secular lords in the region, probably as part of their personal devotion.⁹⁸³ Supporting the hermits was something that most of the landowners in the region had to face at some point in time since such communities not only appeared on the lands, but they needed to be sustained with some goods: first of all with appropriate housing, which exclusively defined their location.

It is a popular *topos* that hermits lived in caves, which served as shelter for human beings since prehistoric times. But proper life in all seasons in the continental climate of the Carpathian Basin was absolutely unhealthy and inadequate in caves, which immediately leads to the conclusion that hermits lived in built houses or at least they had a built shelters in the woods, probably at the front of the cave or near it.⁹⁸⁴ (Fig. 7.2.)

⁹⁸¹ Hervay, “A pálos rend elterjedése”, 163.

⁹⁸² Although some ecclesial institutions possessed properties in some settlements near the monasteries, like Henye or Vállus (see Chapter 4.2.1.

⁹⁸³ After Holub 1929 see Szabó, *Pilis*, 143.

⁹⁸⁴ For example the poor and pious John, the hermit near Bél was obligated to build a shelter for himself and for travelers, since the Holy Cross chapter where he lived was along the road to Pannonhalma. See Szabó 2005, 145. Original source: AO 3, 468–469.



Fig. 7.2. Scenes from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary: Anthony the Great and St. Paul the First Hermit. Index of Medieval art.

A reasonable solution was to offer already standing buildings for the hermits. For example, at Vállus,⁹⁸⁵ Szemes⁹⁸⁶ (on the southern shore) and most probably at Salföld⁹⁸⁷ as well, objects (potshreds and wall fragments, etc.) connected to Árpáadian settlements were found;⁹⁸⁸ not to mention the only known written and also archaeological evidence at Pogányszentpéter (in Somogy County) monastery, where the monks received the ruined and uninhabited village of *Stregen* with its ruined church, built of stone, where the partial excavations revealed Árpáadian objects (related to settlements) at the monastery.⁹⁸⁹ Although the extent of this tendency is unknown, it definitely still appeared in the mid-fourteenth century as well.

Natural features were most probably a significant part of the site-selection for the hermits. As studies and previous scholarship suggest, beside caves, freshwater, e.g. springs were one of these essential and signature components of the eremitic, later Pauline monastic space; although it would have been important, the difference between the two eras is not underlined.⁹⁹⁰ However, in the case of the hermitages, the foundation and the features or motifs that were regarded at the time of site-selection, were most probably not as conscious as it was assumed. Not only because the location was

⁹⁸⁵ Chapter 4.3.8.

⁹⁸⁶ Klaudia Sziránszki, the student at Pázmány Catholic University, defended her BA thesis in the study of Árpáadian-age objects at Szemes monastery.

⁹⁸⁷ Chapter 4.3.2.

⁹⁸⁸ Sági ásatási jelentés 1964/XII/163 HNM Archive, Árpáadian age burials and a late Árpáadian age period of the church.

⁹⁸⁹ MNL DF 266355.

⁹⁹⁰ For example Hervay, “A pálos rend elterjedése”, 163.

defined by other features, but for example in the case of Salföld, which was probably a settlement or village before, no fresh water was available in the immediate (ca. in a 1,5 km) range of the monastery, only a cistern provided enough water for the monks.

Lake Balaton and the waters around it were also factors in the settling of the hermits. The first segment of it is the larger extension of the lake's waterbody in the Middle Ages, compared to how large it is nowadays. This forces scholarship to think in the frame of the medieval environment; for example the distance between the monasteries and the lake in the Middle Ages was shorter than it is nowadays, at some places transportation was impossible on a short way: for example from Badacsony to Keszthely the straight road was cut by a large bay of the Balaton, one had to travel north first. This leads to the conclusion that the Balaton and the surrounding area had a large role in the daily life of the hermits and monks there, e.g. in terms of supply or transportation.

Beside the natural effect of the Lake, the human features are also important: the roads along the shore and the ferries that provided connection between the north and south shores of the lake are equally important in the Pauline landscape. Based on the written evidence on the ferries and ports and the localization of the hermits, it seems that a cluster of the eremitic communities on the northern shore of the Balaton Uplands (Salföld, Badacsony and Insula Pilup) settled close to the port (or simultaneously ports) of Fülöp, which was definitely part of the eremitic site-selection. It was not as exposed as the ferry at Tihany by the Benedictine properties and although Tihany Abbey had properties in Révfülöp, the Atyusz kindred also had domains there, so it was surrounded by the secular properties. It is located along the most important road that led from Buda to Italy (on the remains of Roman roads).

At the northeastern end of the lake was Berény, in the vicinity of Veszprém, close to the land and the main roads (see Fig. 4.8 or 4.10., here Fig. 7.3.). The question of basic and regular sustenance must have also appeared, most probably at the time of the settling – however, written sources about properties are only known decades later after the foundations (or first mentions) of the communities in the Balaton Uplands. The only exception in the region is the first monastery in the conscription of Bishop Paul in 1263, which is St. Helena at *Insula Pilup*. The hermits received vineyards as early as in 1221, donated by *Sal comes* – this proves that *Insula Pilup* was the earliest known community in the Balaton Uplands, maybe in the entire Carpathian Basin, which was regarded as an early Pauline monastery by the order later. (see on vineyards in Chapter 7.1.3.)

The need for properties at the earliest possible time in the life of a hermitage was essential. The quest for property and sustenance was not an individual case at *Insula Pilup*, it had happened

before in the history of the hermitages and later Pauline monasteries also in other places. The earliest known property that was bought by such a hermitage, which later became a Pauline monastery, was owned by St. James community at Jakabhegy, Pécs, in the Mecsek hills. Here the approval of the Bishop of Pécs, named Bartholomew de Gros is dated to 1225⁹⁹¹ while nine years later, in 1234, the hermits at St. James bought a half of a mill.⁹⁹² This purchase makes it clear that by that time they already had a regular income – in 1250 their further vineyards, woods and other properties are mentioned.⁹⁹³

Jakabhegy was founded and properly supplied by Bartholomew, Bishop of Pécs of Burgundian birth, who was an ecclesiastic leader with a clear intellectual profile.⁹⁹⁴ He not only recognized the essentials for such hermitages, but he actively supported them in living an enclosed, eremitic, holy life. In contrast to Jakabhegy, *Insula Pilup* at the Balaton Uplands was founded most probably by one of the most educated and pious nobles of the time, Sal, who held the title of *comes* and supported ecclesial communities; alongside the Paulines, the Benedictine abbey of Almádi received a large property in his testament (see more in Chapter 4.3.1. and 4.3.2.). These two true supporters of the early hermitages had a key role in the sustenance of the communities in a long-term perspective.

Beside *Insula Pilup*, other hermitages are known only after the 1250s. The Pauline tradition discusses the Mongol Invasion in 1241/42 as one of the key factors in the decision of Blessed Eusebius and his fellows to continue the eremitic life, although it appears only in the seventeenth-century tradition of the *Vita ordinis*.

It was only partially discussed in local scholarship that some parts of the Mongol troops of the invasion in 1241-42, led by chief Kadan had robbed and destroyed some parts of the region, following the track of King Béla IV, who fled to Dalmatia with his family and the court.⁹⁹⁵ The volume of destruction is unknown, no written or archaeological evidence helps our understanding of it, thus the idea of men turning towards a pious eremitic life stays only an assumption.

Based on the scattered sources, despite the support of the founders, the survival and long-term prosperity of these hermitages was always ambiguous. In the inventory of Bishop Paul, gathered

⁹⁹¹ *VF Cap 3.*; DAP 2, 150.

⁹⁹² DL 195, *Inventarium* 21-22; DAP 2, 149-150. *Elenchus* 1750.

⁹⁹³ *Inventarium* 21-22; DAP 2, 149-150

⁹⁹⁴ László Koszta, “Egy francia származású főpap Magyarországon: Bertalan pécsi püspök (1219-1251)” [A bishop of French origins in Hungary: Bartholomew the bishop of Pécs] *Aetas* 9 (1994): 64-88.

⁹⁹⁵ Sándor Czuczor, *Tapolca városkörnyék kronológiája I. rész. Az őskortól 1301-ig* [The chronology of the vicinity of Tapolca. Vol 1. From prehistory until 1301] (Tapolca 1984), 28.

first time and granted by a regula, the order of the hermitages may have preserved something important for us, like the significance or even the order of their foundation, or perhaps the route of the visitor (see in Chapter 4.3.1./7.1.). It includes the following hermitages in this order of listing: *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae, Kewkwth Sanctae Mariae Magdalene, Bohon Sancti Jacobi, Idegsyt Beatae Elisabeth, Bodochn Sancti Emerici, Insula prope Ewrmenyes Elek Sanctae Mariae Magdalene, Zakach Sancti Dominici.*

The communities listed above had partially disappeared by the end of the thirteenth century, the monasteries of Szakácsi-St. Dominic, Sáska - St. James, Salföld-St. Mary Magdalene and Tálod near Pula (*Idegsyt* St. Elizabeth) survived and became properly operating Pauline monasteries. The precise reasons for the vanishing of the communities at Badacsony, Eleksziget and Pilup are unclear, but it is almost certain that they, like the other four hermitages, suffered from problems of provisioning, which may have played a major role in their demise.

The document issued by Bishop Paul in 1263 not only lists the hermitages and offers a simple regulation for their life, but clearly states that these communities were poor and scarcely provisioned, therefore Bishop Paul prohibited the foundation of further hermitages. This under-sustained situation seems to be the problem in all communities for decades, since the first known donations happened in the fourteenth century. Probably this is due to the lack of sources up to 1300, because for example at Tálod and Sáska, the lands given to the monks by the founders of the hermitages/churches were mentioned (Chapter 4.3.3. and 4.3.5. also Appendix 1/4.3.3. and 4.3.5.).⁹⁹⁶

However, nothing discouraged the hermits living in the Veszprém diocese, since in 1291, in the second census, we find two more communities: in 1291, when Bishop Benedict of Veszprém monitored and listed the communities again, despite the restriction, two other locations appeared on the list: the Holy Cross and St. Ladislaus communities in the Pilis.⁹⁹⁷ This also means that Paul's charter of Paul was regarded as a warning which was redressed and understood by the hermits, whose intention to improve their circumstances was definitely successful. Since the original seven hermitages were inhabited in the 1290s as well, they must have owned or used at least a minimum of income or regular donations, or perhaps lands for self-sustenance. Some references in late medieval

⁹⁹⁶ Also it is documented at Nagyszakácsi - it was clearly founded by multiple families, must have been donated by multiple lands, because when - due to lack of sources - it appears in 1359 first as a Pauline monastery, it already possessed lands. See its sources in Bándi,

⁹⁹⁷ However, this list, although it was proved and issued by Benedict, the Bishop of Veszprém and also the Archbishop Lodomer of Esztergom, survived only in the *Vitae Fratrum*. VF 45, Cap. 10; 52, Cap. 17.

sources in the case of Sáska or Tálod suggest that nearby properties were given to the hermits when the hermitages were founded. (See sources in Chapter 7./4.3.3., 4.3.5.)

After a while, the local landlords or founder families, sometimes less wealthy social strata realized their responsibility – in some cases at least. Salföld⁹⁹⁸ received a vineyard from the *iobagio*⁹⁹⁹ of the Chapter of Veszprém in 1307, Sáska¹⁰⁰⁰ was given valuable possessions in 1304 by the founding Rátót kindred, just like in the case of Tálod¹⁰⁰¹ in 1324. Sáska must have had a highlighted and strong connection to the kindred among the supported monasteries, maybe even stronger than Tálod, which would explain why Sáska was flourishing even in the 1400s while Tálod became inadequate for the Pauline order's residential requirements.

Salföld, on the contrary to the latter monasteries, most probably found new supporters since the hermitages in the immediate vicinity of the monastery simply vanished; the supporter Atyusz kindred separated into smaller families, like the Kőkút Family, who must have had their residence near the monastery, but lacked the previous, grandiose wealth and support (see more on the local topography and families in Chapter 4.3.2.). The local nobles at Nagyszakácsi supported the hermits for a very long time. These communities prospered because they established new connections and channels for support and mostly because they could also preserve their contacts to the original supporter/founder families, who still prospered in the late Middle Ages.

But there were unsuccessful stories as well: although *Insula Pilup* in 1291 still existed, it was not mentioned anymore in sources; nor Badacsony,¹⁰⁰² Elek, or *Idegysyt*¹⁰⁰³ (if it was not the same as Tálod monastery) appeared after the first years of the fourteenth century. *Insula Pilup* hermitage simply disappeared along with the significance and elite status of the Atyusz kindred in politics and power.¹⁰⁰⁴ It was most probably founded and supported by the descendants of Sal comes, probably the Kőkút/Köveskút family of the Atyusz kindred, who could only support the monks at Salföld, which was close to the family estate. *Insula Pilup* – if it was near Révfülöp – probably became isolated and was always too close to the properties of Tihany Abbey. In the case of Badacsony, the local noble families, most probably the Lád *genus*, became extinct or just merged into the mass of peasant society and lost its privileged status, but definitely its wealth. Elek was definitely moved to

⁹⁹⁸ Chapter 4.3.2.

⁹⁹⁹ Most possibly a noble retainer, not a tenant peasant.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Chapter 4.3.3.

¹⁰⁰¹ Chapter 4.3.5.

¹⁰⁰² Chapter 4.3.4.

¹⁰⁰³ Chapter 4.3.5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See on the history of the Atyusz kindred in Holub 1937.

another place, next to Zalacsány, probably because of environmental circumstances (probably the Zala river changed the conditions of living for example by an extremely high water level).

All those hermitages, which eventually became Pauline monasteries in the examined region, are clustered in the central and western part of the Balaton Uplands – even the ones south of Lake Balaton, in the Somogy hills. One reason for this orientation might be that most of the lands in the eastern part of the Balaton Uplands were the properties of the Veszprém chapter and the nuns at Veszprémvölgy, also the Tihany Abbey.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, known or yet unknown hermitages were also part of the regional ecclesial space. The hermits at Berény¹⁰⁰⁵ founded the Holy Cross hermitage/ecclesia, most probably in the second half of the thirteenth century. (Fig. 7.3. on the further hermitages see Chapter 4.3.9.) Berény, located in the vicinity of Veszprém, was also in connection with the shore of the Balaton. It was most probably founded by local nobles, perhaps royal retainers, who – due to the change in the social system - were not powerful and wealthy enough to rebuild the church when it got robbed and ruined. It is also possible that the density of ecclesial properties there was not in favor of the hermits. Although Oroszkő was also discussed in Chapter 4.3.9., s part of the hermitages in the region, its connection with the late thirteenth-century eremitic movement here is unclear; just like in the case of Arács, which could have been the hermitage of the Benedictines at some point.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Chapter 4.3.9.

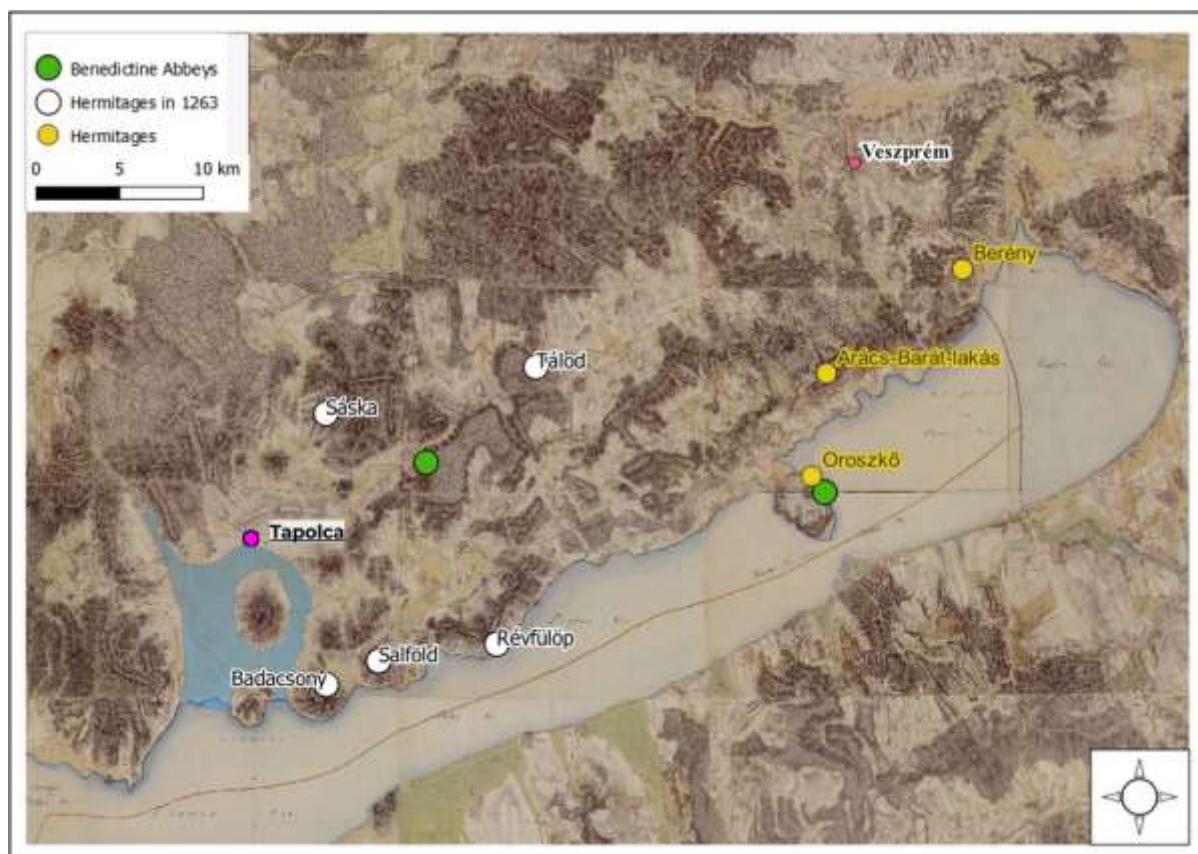


Fig. 7.3. The hermitages after 1263, until the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Besides Lake Balaton, András Kubinyi also highlighted the role of Tapolca as a central place with legal and supply advantages. This was probably also an important settling feature of the hermits since it was easily accessible from all hermitages and monasteries, and unlike Veszprém, it was not enclosed by ecclesial properties.

Among these communities, only St. James at Sáska, St. Elizabeth at Idegys-Tálod and the St. Mary Magdalene at Salföld survived, while St. Helen at *Insula Pilup*-Révfülöp, St. Emeric at Badacsony and the Holy Cross at Berény were not that successful, they vanished by the first decade of the fourteenth century. This happened around the time when the Brothers of the Holy Cross were supposed to be regarded as a united order by Cardinal and papal legate Gentile (See Chapter 3, here Fig. 7.4.).

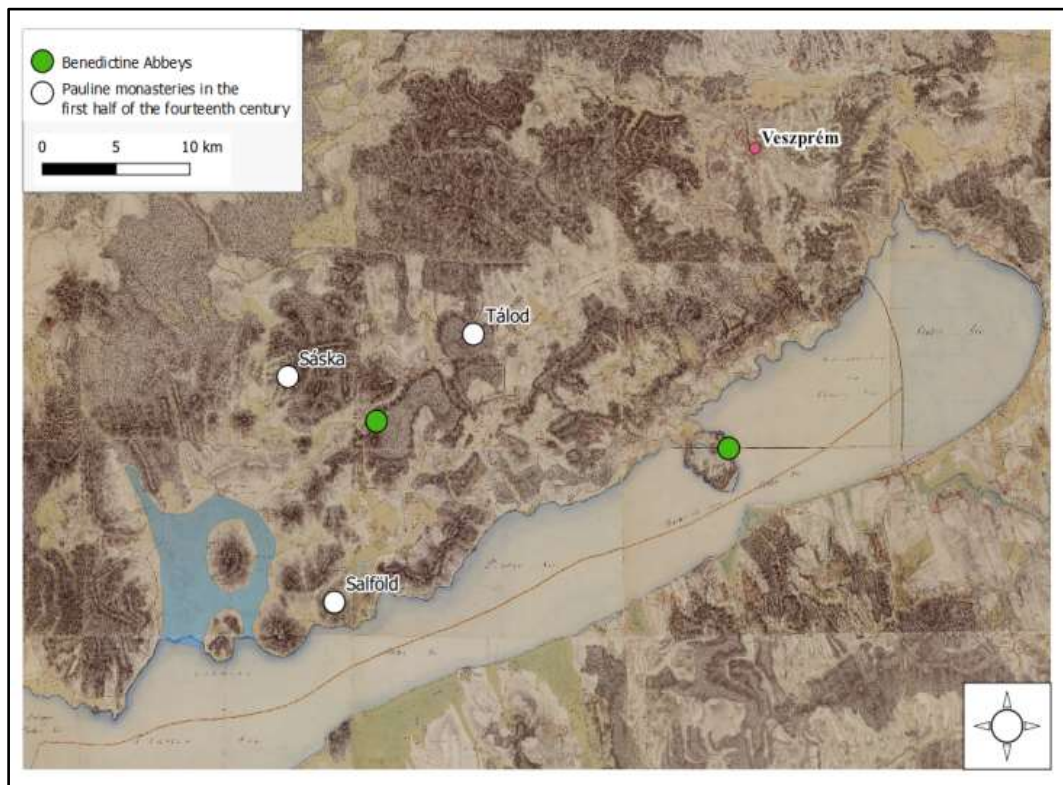


Fig. 7.4. Pauline monasteries in the first half of the fourteenth century.

To sum up the reasons behind the disappearance of some hermitages at the turn of the thirteenth century, it seems to be a key factor that the kindreds who were significant in the Árpáadian era and supported these communities vanished, while the oligarchs and a few years later the families and kindreds supporting the Angevins took over. The hermitages that survived usually never relinquished their connections with the founding families (see Tálod or Sáska). It is unclear when were the communities at Henye or Vállus founded just like when exactly did the weakened communities disappear, but the connection between the two phenomena cannot be excluded.

The site-selection of the hermitages cannot be regarded as spontaneous or driven only by eremitic values and perspectives. It was motivated by personal devotion but also affected by three factors:

- (1) a long-term, welcoming attitude of local landlords, also neighbors (extensive social relations);
- (2) access to a proper place for living (buildings for daily life and sacred space);
- (3) regular, stable sustenance (donated properties, and land to be cultivated).

However, these points summarize only the natural and secular environment of thirteenth-century eremitic life at the Balaton Uplands, but the clerical sphere needs to be taken into account as well. Although the only sources for this are the above-mentioned inventories of the two bishops of Veszprém, it is worth looking at the impact of the Diocese on the hermitages in a detailed way. Solymosi published a document from 1261, which is part of a long dispute between the canons of the Chapter and the priests of the Veszprém Bishopric over some properties.¹⁰⁰⁶ Among other things, it mentions three churches, dedicated to St. Helena, St. James, and St. Mary Magdalene. These were probably the same hermitages listed by Bishop Paul in 1263. The charter is a solid proof from 1261, two years before the inventory and regulation of the hermits that the Austine order wanted to occupy the places listed there. Since the lawsuit was closed in 1262, most probably the intention of the Austin order and the hermitages was in vain and against the interests of the Bishopric of Veszprém. However, the hermitages of the Diocese were not discouraged and despite the unsuccessful plan, they intended to get some order in their life; not only the three hermitages, but further four communities as well.

As the Charter and census of Bishop Paul in 1263 states, copied into the *Vitae Fratrum*,¹⁰⁰⁷ the hermits requested the right to receive the order of St. Augustine from the Pope himself. Pope Urban IV delegated the inquiry and census of these hermitages to the local bishop, who was Paul at the time. Maybe it was the appointment of Bishop Paul in 1262 that saved the future of these communities. His predecessor, Bishop Zlaudus of Kaplony (1244-1262) was most probably against any regulations, while Paul (1263-75) definitely acknowledged the hermits at some level, perhaps due to the Papal order and mediation.

It is adequate to cite here the *Vitae Fratrum* again:

“It is written elsewhere that Euseibius, the previously mentioned first prior, AD 1262, along with other brothers, requested an audience with Pope Urban IV and asked for the approval of the rules of St. Augustine [for them to be used]. It is also said that St. Thomas Aquinas helped him in the Papal court.”¹⁰⁰⁸

Although scholarship regarded this data as something that might or might not be correct, it is more probable that with a strong support, the hermits of the Bishopric – at least – could reach the highest ecclesiastic authority. They not only contacted the Austine order in 1261, right at the time of the order’s appearance in the Hungarian Kingdom,¹⁰⁰⁹ but also reached out to the papal court at the

¹⁰⁰⁶ DL 515, cited in Solymosi, “Pilupsziget,” 18–19.

¹⁰⁰⁷ VF Cap. 9.

¹⁰⁰⁸ VF, Cap. 9. translated by the author

¹⁰⁰⁹ The Hungarian province of the order was founded in 1262.

same time. Whether this happened with or without Eusebius and the Holy Cross monastery in the Pilis will probably remain a mystery forever.

Anyhow, the hermits received the attention of the Bishop of Veszprém and they were integrated into the structure of the Bishopric as well. It is also likely that the influence of the Bishopric remained strong here in the case of these hermitages in the Balaton Uplands, not only in the thirteenth century, but also later. For example, in the case of Salföld it is clearly true, where the Cardinal Gentile's permission for regular indulgence was only accepted by the Diocese with specific conditions in 1475 (see Appendix 1/4.3.2.). It is also revealing that the St. Ladislaus monastery in the Pilis became exempt from the Veszprém Bishopric in 1294, so being independent of the local system was a goal for the still developing eremitic community of the time. The second census of hermits by Benedict, the bishop of Veszprém in 1291, including the hermits of the Holy Cross and St. Ladislaus in the Pilis at the time, was ratified by the Archbishop of Esztergom in the very same year,¹⁰¹⁰ which served as an insurance for the hermits. In view of these developments the strictness of the bishopric towards the hermits may have been responsible for the shrinking and vanishing of the hermitages in the thirteenth century, and that only four of them survived through the 1310s while three became exempt of the authority of the Veszprém Bishopric.

The hermitages of the time struggled to form a developing individual sphere, but also a strong, united structure, an order for themselves: the monasteries had priors, and certain clusters of monasteries formed a vicariate, which was led by the vicar, who usually was the prior of the monastery, which was the vicariate center. The elected general prior led all the monasteries, who had its seat first at the Holy Cross, but from 1308, the St. Lawrence monastery.

The hermitages in the Balaton Uplands also had their fair share of difficulties that resulted in a mixed map of eremitic presence in the region. The relations between the hermits and the local monasteries, evidently with the Benedictines at Tihany or Almádi can only be surmised from indirect evidence.; Taking into consideration that the Benedictines supported the eremitic way of life (see Chapter 4.2.1. and 4.3.9.), and that their locations were close to the hermitages, they certainly helped the hermits in some ways. (See Fig. 7.1.). Regarding the monasteries, Almádi was surrounded by Pauline monasteries, which may indicate that the solitude that was present in the life of most Benedictine monks (even hermitages were founded, for example near Vityapuszta in Somogy or near Ganna, in the vicinity of Bél monastery in the Bakony Forest¹⁰¹¹), probably affected those, who were

¹⁰¹⁰ VF Cap. 9.

¹⁰¹¹ Szabó, *Forests*, 145.

willing to dedicate their life to become hermits. Unfortunately, written sources do not connect the hermitages, nor the Pauline monasteries to the Almádi Abbey, only to Tihany, for example in the case of Sáska (Chapter 4.3.3.) Just like natural and secular features, that is, the factors of sustainability, also the ecclesiastic space had a huge impact on the development of the hermits. The survival of their communities depended on their attention, reaction, influence-seeking and persistence.

The three later founded monasteries, Uzsa, Vállus and Henye were probably also founded on the basis of a previous settlement, however, it is unclear when did the hermits (or at the time Pauline monks) build and inhabit the monasteries (Fig. 7.5.). Nevertheless, they should definitely be separated from the first hermitages and the communities known in the second half of the thirteenth century. By this reason, these three sites can be regarded as part of another wave of foundation, which are likely to be dated around the first half or mid-fourteenth century, when, like in some previous cases, local noble families supported the monks, who by this time were part of the Pauline Order.

Henye was definitely close to existing monasteries (both Pauline and Benedictine), while Uzsa and Vállus were settling the western part of the Balaton Uplands (see Fig. 7.3.). Just like in the thirteenth century, the western region of the Uplands was inhabited, but the focus from the lakeshore had definitely moved to the inland. This was most probably influenced by several factors, which were, at least partially, the same environmental (the previously highlighted four natural and human-made) features as before. Additionally, probably the roads, Tapolca as an *oppidum*, the change of the supporting social stratas, also the character of estate management had roles in the foundation of the new monasteries.

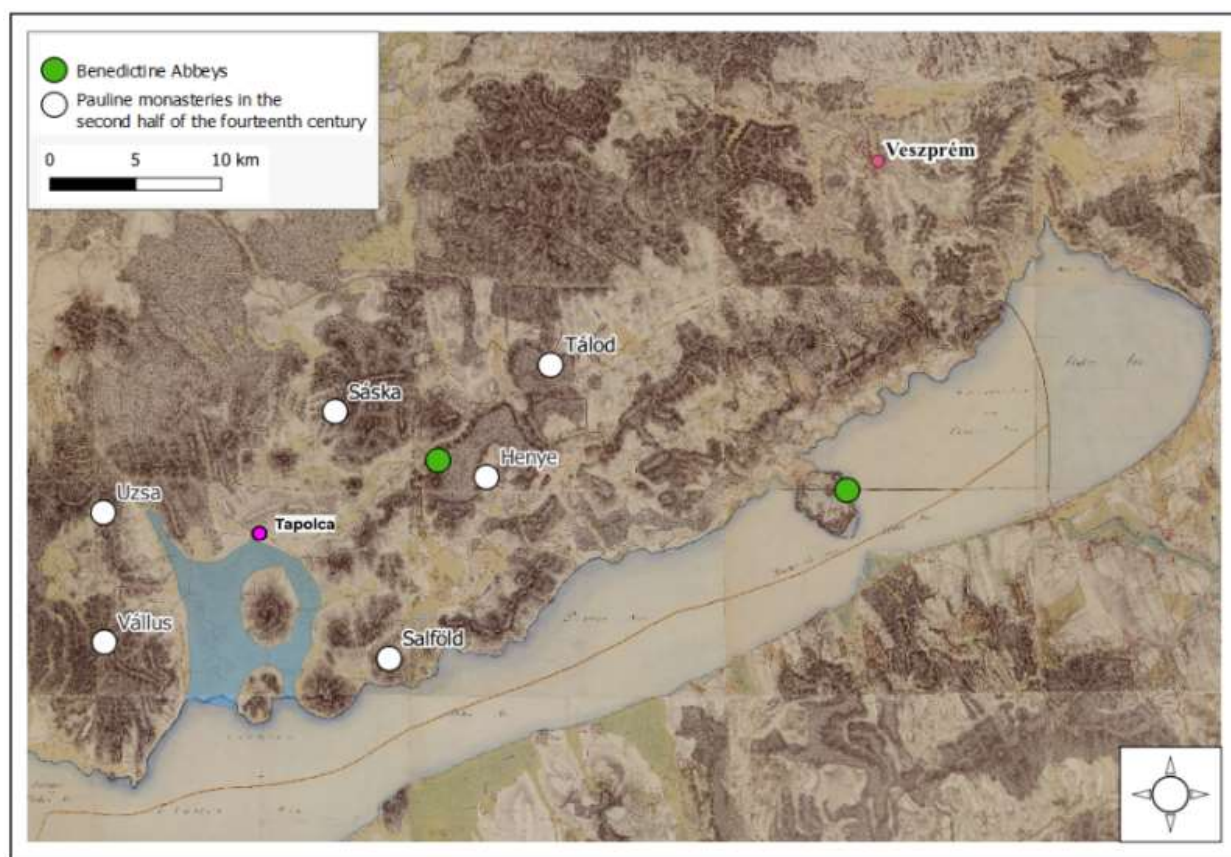


Fig. 7.5. The Pauline and Benedictine monasteries (Tihany and Almádi) at the Balaton Uplands in the first half of the fourteenth century.

The struggle of the monasteries for their sustenance was not solved even in the fifteenth century. Possibly the monasteries of Salföld, Uzsa and Tálod were lacking sufficient provisions, which led to their takeover and abandonment in the mid-fifteenth century. However, it is still a question, whether this insufficiency meant the location or the supplies (properties, income) of the monasteries, or both? Probably the latter, however, as the continuous re-donation of the mill on Egeregy stream¹⁰¹² indicates that only the monastery was left and offered to the Franciscans, while the properties and assets still remained in the possession of the Pauline order. Whether it was a unique case or a custom in such legal cases, it is yet unclear. Nevertheless, regarding the Pauline presence in the Balaton Uplands, the foundation of Vázsony (only 1 km from Tálod to the east) in the late fifteenth century was definitely a new wave and revival of the Pauline order.

¹⁰¹² It was donated first to Uzsa, afterwards to Kőkút, and when it was also left by the monks, lastly Sáska monastery received it. (see Appendix 1/4.3.2.; /4.3.3.; /4.3.7.)

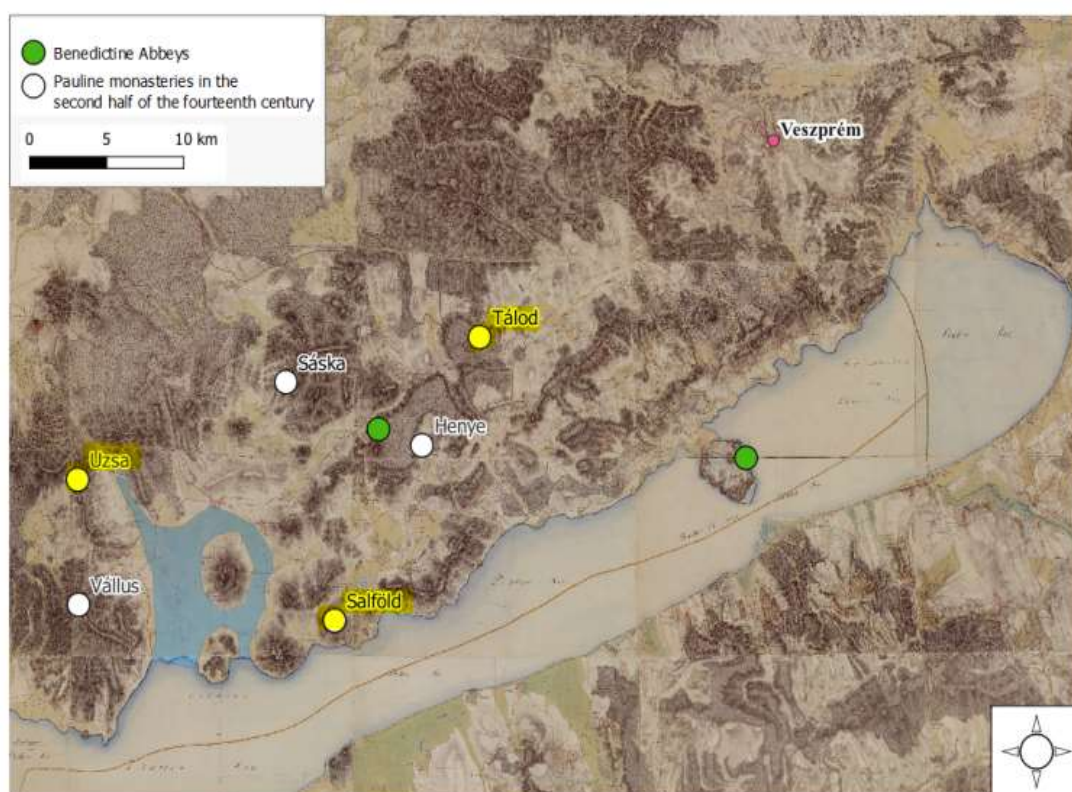


Fig. 7.6. The examined Pauline monasteries in the second half of the fifteenth century; Uzsa, Salföld and Tálod abandoned.

7.1.2. General spatial characteristics and land-management of the hermitages and monasteries at the Balaton Uplands

In terms of settlement network, hermitages and Pauline monasteries were founded in somewhat enclosed areas. It meant ca. an hour-long walk to the closest settlement in many cases; sometimes this distance was even less. Site-selection, as it was stated in the latter chapter, was not something that absolutely depended on the hermits in the thirteenth-century. It is not quite sure how it happened in the case of later foundations, like Henye or Uzsa, but earlier a deserted settlement or at least some buildings were most probably given to the hermits at the Balaton Uplands. (see the archaeological evidence at Vállus or Salföld). This means that the analysis of the hermits' site-selection is actually the examination of the Árpadian-age aspect of settling. The Pauline site-selection could be measured in other areas of the country and in the case of clearly (at least) late fourteenth-century foundations.

Natural environmental factors also must have had roles in the site-selection. Basic factors, like slope, aspect or altitude may draw a kind of pattern or shed a light on some characteristics of the eremitic or Pauline landscape.

Hermitage/Monastery	Date of foundation	Founder	Slope (extracted from Jaxa DEM)	Aspect (topography)	Aspect (extracted from Jaxa DEM)	Altitude (EOV topographical map/Jaxa DEM)
Révfülp	c. 1221	Atyusz gens	0,4°	plain, data ok, but not significant	304/NW	108/110
<i>Ilonakút</i>			3,5°	<i>S-E</i>	<i>101/E</i>	<i>265/274</i>
Salföld	c. 1221?	Atyusz gens	8,8°	N-W	11/N	200/207
Sáska	before 1263	Gyulaffy-Rátóth gens	6,5°	S-SW	169/S	360/380
Badacsony	before 1263	Lád gens	5,6°	E	79/E	257/266
Tálad	before 1263	Rátót gens	11,8°	E – NE	52/NE	250/269
Henye	mid-1300s?	locals	3,6°	SW	210,5/SW	260/245
Uzsa	early 1300s?	locals, Uzsa g.	13,6°	N – E	5/N	265/305
Vállus	mid-1300s?	?	11,2°	S/SW	186/S	369/397
Berény	1290s	locals	5,4°	N – W	348/N	180/184
Arács	?	?	1,75°	<i>SE (probably hilltop with full view)</i>	<i>215/SW</i>	<i>190/181</i>
Oroszkő	,	?	16,7°	<i>E</i>	<i>2/N</i>	<i>180/186</i>

Fig. 7.7. The table of geographical and historical data on the hermitages and monasteries at the Balaton Uplands. Yellow highlight: corrected data of aspect ratio by topographic respect.

Regarding altitude (Fig. 7.7.), the lowest locations of hermitages were Révfűlp, Arács, Berény and of course Oroszkő (colored with light yellow on Fig. 7.7.). These were all in a really close distance to the Balaton, which could have been a visual feature of the eremitic landscape in the case of Révfűlp, Oroszkő and Arács, but Berény was not immediately exposed to the lakeview. Possibly these locations were related to the main road on the shore, which provided easy transportation for not explicitly to the hermits but the previous settlements. However, it was a feature that was helpful for the hermits and monks as well.

Beside Sáska in the Bakony Forest, the monasteries at Henye, Vállus and Uzsa were on the highest inhabited parts of the region, which implies that the fourteenth-century Pauline site-selection included a certain absolute height of the terrain. However, it also should be examined whether these monasteries were built as new buildings in uninhabited areas or not.

Beside altitude, slope and aspect could be of interest. As might be expected, the hermitages and monasteries were built on plane surfaces, in most cases shaped by human force, but the extracted

data give a report on the immediate surrounding environment of the hermitages. The orientation of the terrain (aspect) is a raster data generated from a digital elevation model (JAXA and SRTM). Each raster cell/pixel has a data value which is equivalent with the no. of degree, thus the direction of the slope. Every location is marked by a point (vectoral data), while the aspect data was extracted from the pictorial data (raster layer), where the two data are overlapping each other. This is why a review was necessary, based on the topographical maps and field surveys. The corrected table reveals the excessive presence of northern (N, NE, NW=5) and the eastern (E, SE= 5) aspects of terrain, which is rather interesting and the reason behind should be examined more later in further context. (Fig. 7.8. and 7.9.)

Aspect	no. (JAXA)	no. (controlled aspect)
N (0-22,5; 337,5-360)	4	1
NE (22,5-67,5)	1	2
E (67,5-112,5)	3	4
SE (112,5-157,5)	0	1
S (157,5-202,5)	2	2
SW (202,5-247,5)	1	0
W (247,5-292,5)	0	0
NW (292,5-337,5)	1	2

Fig. 7.8. The sum of aspect data

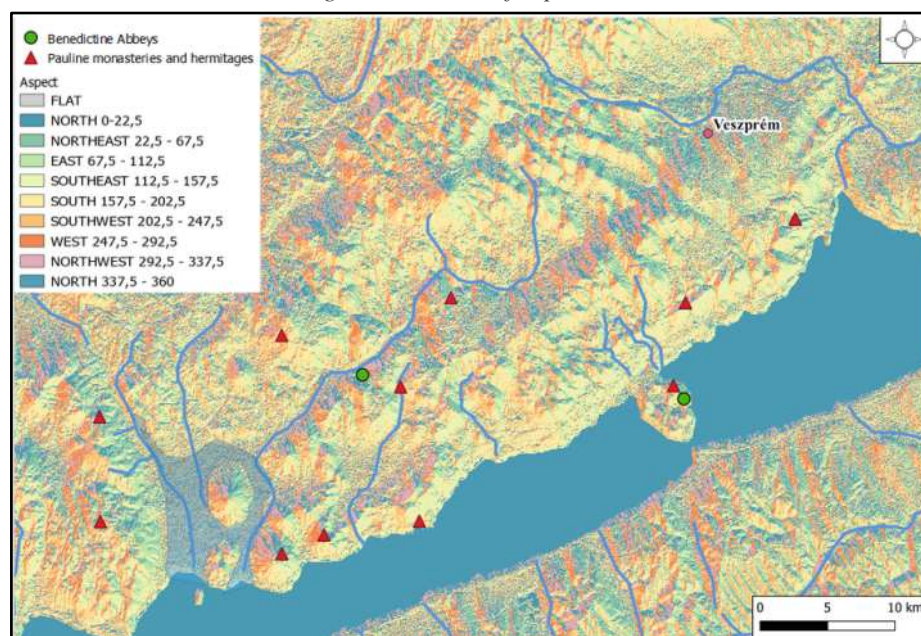


Fig. 7.9. The generated aspect map of the Balaton Uplands and the examined sites (equal with the ones listed in Fig. 7.7.)

Beside the orientation of the terrain, the slope category is of interest in the settlement of the holy men. (Fig. 7.10. and 7.11.) The slope categories are based on geomorphological standards and the results show that the surface of settlement was mostly plain or had a discrete steep slope in the

hilly regions. Steep terrain appeared in two cases, at Oroszkő and Uzsa. In several cases, extremely steep terrain was within a 200 meters radius: near Kőkút, Badacsony, Vállus, Uzsa, Arács and Oroszkő.

Slope (%)	no.
0-5	5
5-12	6
12-17	2
17-25	0
25-	0

Fig. 7.10. The sum of slope data, based on DEM.



Fig. 7.11. The slope map of the Balaton Uplands.

Beside the analyzed geomorphological aspects, the extreme hillshade of the DEM highlights that the hermitages and monasteries were located on the hilly areas of the region, however, it is yet unclear why the northern and eastern slopes were inhabited mostly by them.¹⁰¹³ As it is stated in the earliest geographic studies, the northern wind is the strongest in the region, which means that the buildings and the people who lived here were exposed to the harsh natural forces.

¹⁰¹³ Hereby I thank Katalin Szende for her following insight: probably the Paulines chose to cultivate the ideal areas instead of live on them.

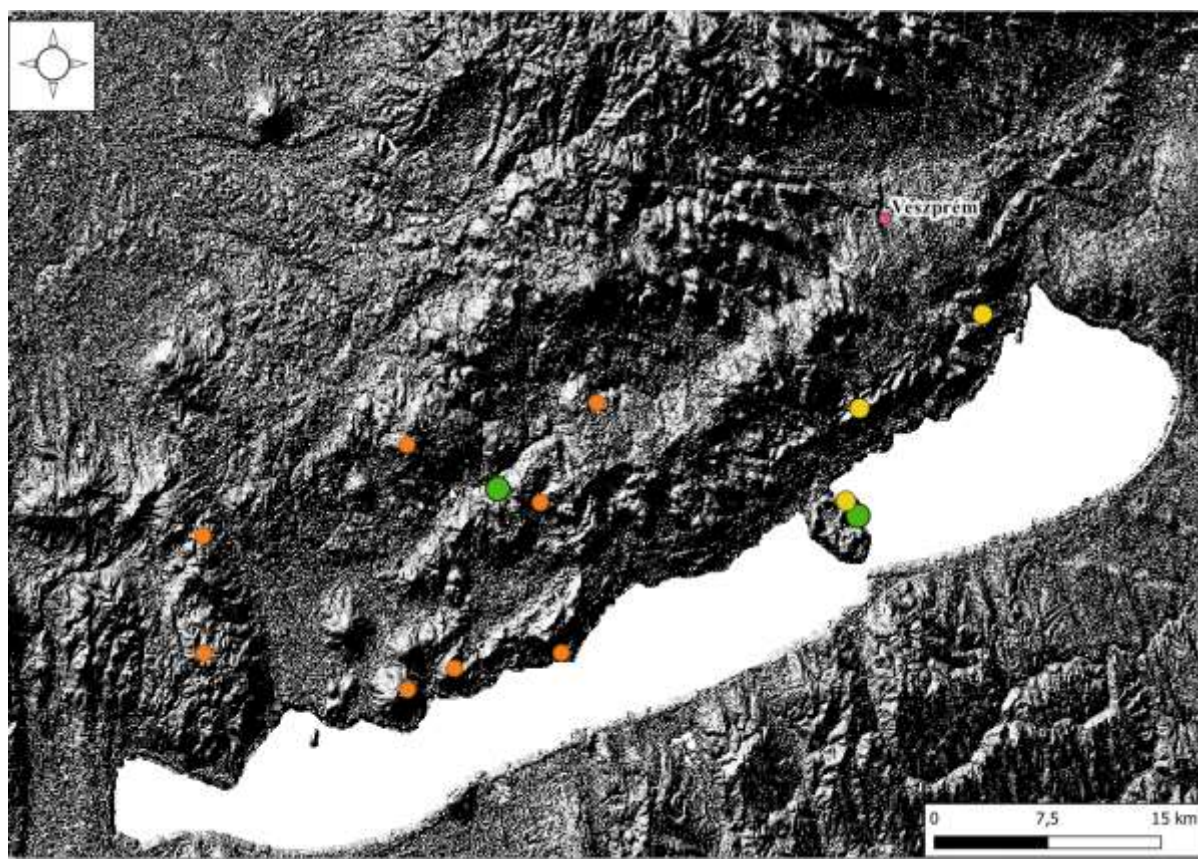


Fig. 7.12. Hillshade effect of the DEM.

Although scholarship tends to generalize it, the question of fresh water resources seems to be a complex question at the Pauline monasteries and hermitages. As the location of Salföld proved it (Chapter 4.3.2.), the geological and geographical background reveal the true nature and measure of difficulties in basic sustenance, which the people had to face in the Middle Ages. This is also one of the reasons why past and present springs should be evaluated carefully and with the cooperation of specialists in environmental geography and geology.

However, another form of water resource was revealed at Salföld and Vállus, where rain was collected in cisterns. A water-canal, probably collecting rain from the roof of the church, just like in Salföld, was excavated at Vállus while at Salföld, the rain was collected from the roof and directed to the cistern.

7.1.3. Land management

As the written source on Pauline economy demonstrated, analyzed and published by Beatrix F. Romhányi, the most precious properties were mills and vineyards as part of the self-sustaining character of the hermits, whilst these were the bases of late medieval monetary economy of the

Pauline order as well. Vineyards were primarily donated until the early fourteenth century, however, they appear later as well, but rarely. Mills were usually donated from the beginning of the fourteenth century, but later their number was gradually rising. Besides, although written sources only refer to them occasionally, arable lands, meadows, pastures and woods were fundamental assets of the monks for daily sustenance. Accordingly, such lands were sometimes recorded without any specific notes in charters related to donations or legal issues, just like in the sources related to Sáska or Tálod (Chapter 4.3.3. and 4.3.5.) monasteries.

However, in the late Middle Ages (late fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) a large number of arable lands and meadows appeared in sources, specifically at Henye, Sáska and Vállus (Chapter 4.3.3., 4.3.6. and 4.3.8.). These could be used as rentals for the monks, therefore also be pillars of the monetary management. A specific source emerges from the collection, namely the donation to the monastery of Henye in 1365 (Chapter 4.3.6.). The valuable assets provided regular financial income for the monks, while the arable lands and meadows were able to cater their basic need for grains or animal husbandry. This concept already shows the two pillars of late medieval Pauline economic strategy, where one part is self-sustaining, the other is based on monetary economy/exchange. This is the era, when the former was getting to be replaced by the latter and while it happened, both ideas served the local Pauline monastic communities.

From the late fourteenth–fifteenth century not only properties, but taxes of vineyards and lands were donated (in 1438 at Sáska, *tributum montis*) to the monks, but unlike in the Pilis-Börzsöny or Abaúj-Zemplén regions, in the Balaton Uplands it appears rarely. The Balaton Uplands region holds a variety of characteristics of Pauline economy and land-management. Although the data can be regarded as scattered, some valuable conclusions and patterns were revealed in the present analysis. Beside a few notable characteristics, not much is known of the thirteenth century; but the Paulines typically received properties that represented the most suitable areas of the asset; like precious vineyard at Csobánka and Badacsony, mills at Egregy stream.

<i>Hermitage/monastery</i>	vineyard	mill	arable land	sessio	meadow (fenile/pratun)	forest/woods	fishpond
<i>Insula Pilup</i> (1221-early 1300s?)	2 (1221)						
<i>Salföld</i> (1230s-1482)	1 (1307)	1 (1442-87)	2/several? (1482)				

<i>Sáska (before 1261-1540s?)</i>	3 (1304, 1324, 1484)	5 (1306, 1437, 1487, 1500, 1511)	min. 8 (1304, 1307, 1324, 1485)		multiple (1307, 1440, 1511) both	multiple (1307)	
<i>Badacsony (1263-1310s)</i>	1 (1313)						
<i>Tálod (1263-1480)</i>		3 [-1324]	[-1324]	[-1324]	[-1324]	[-1324]	
<i>Henye (1300s-1500s)</i>	4 [1365]	1 [1365]	34 [1365]		3 (both) [1365]		1 [1365]
<i>Uzsa (1330s-1442)</i>	1 (1392)	½ (1406)		1 (1455)			
<i>Vállus (1330s-early 1500s)</i>			24 (-1429)	5 (-1429)	70 (-1429)		

Fig. 7.13. The summary of properties amongst the hermitages, Pauline monasteries at the Balaton Uplands

Vineyards

Vineyards represented the most essential property of the thirteenth-century hermitages, just like later on the Pauline monasteries, but they were important assets of them throughout the Middle Ages. Even in the case of those hermitages which are lacking sources, there are sources on vineyards (e.g. *Insula Pilup*, Salföld, even at Badacsony, see Chapters 4.3.1, 4.3.2, 4.3.4.). It is definite that the hermits were not provided (at least possibly in the analyzed regions) with laborers in the thirteenth century, which means that the first vineyards were ideally in the vicinity of the hermitages (approximately 1-2 kms from them). This distance is rather interesting in the case of *Insula Pilup*, where the question of the localization of the hermitage might be re-evaluated by the location of the vineyards. (see Chapter 4.3.1.)

After the first two decades of the fourteenth century, vineyards appeared less in the sources, but their absence is more striking in the fifteenth century. This can mean two things: the monasteries reached the ideal number of vineyards in their assets, which they could cultivate and manage. Practically, they received more than it is represented in the sources, see Sáska or Henye, where fourteenth-century charters refer to earlier properties, including vineyards (Chapters 4.3.3. and 4.3.6.). But it also means that the focus shifted to other types of properties, e.g. mills.

Interestingly, two of the monasteries, namely Vállus and Tálod (Chapter 4.3.5. and 4.3.8.), which were inhabited throughout the late Middle Ages, were not knowingly in the possession of vineyards. However, only one charter survived in the case of each monastery, which means that the number of sources is not significant to draw any conclusions about the lacking properties.

Parcels, arable lands and meadows

These properties represented the base of Pauline land-management; extreme number of arable lands and meadows were mentioned in the charters of Vállus, which was partially for the self-sufficient daily life of the monks, supporting animal husbandry and arable farming –these lands were in a short walk of the monasteries, at least in the thirteenth-mid-fourteenth centuries. However, such properties further from the monasteries were of to lease them as well or cultivated by hired workers or the tenant peasants living at the parcels (*sessiones*). At Henye and Sáska both types of meadows (*fenile/pratum*) were mentioned, which not only helped their localization, but other types of lands could be placed by their relation to the meadows.

Woods rarely appear amongst the properties of the analyzed monasteries; however, the hermits should have received them since wood was an essential feature for self-sustaining life since prehistoric times. Probably as an essential property, it was given along with the space for the hermitages/monasteries. Sáska and Tálod were the two monasteries, where they were mentioned, but without any specific information.

Fisheries, fishpond

Although fish was the basic element of the monastic diet, not much is known about them or the fishponds from written sources, especially not in the Balaton Uplands. Although in the time of the thirteenth-century hermitages there is no mention of fishing sites nor fishponds, the hermitages probably, the monasteries definitely had *servatorum* ponds, possibly *vivarium* ponds as well. No matter the lacking sources, since most hermitages were in the vicinity of the Balaton, the monasteries possibly could have fish from the lake as well. Indirectly, the exceptional landscape of Salföld (Chapter 4.3.2.), without any solid proof for fresh water, also validates the latter presumption.

Although ponds are the first features that are connected with the Pauline order, only one source mentions a pond as a donated property at the Balaton Uplands and their remains in the landscape are also usually doubtful. Tálod is a refreshing example, where not only a fresh-water spring and reservoir still exists, but a large dam of a fishpond is still visible (Chapter 4.3.5.).

Mills

Although mills were amongst the earliest and most profitable properties of the Paulines, they appear gradually only from the fifteenth century. The only exception is Sáska, which had five mills dated from 1306 – three of them along the most powerful waterflow in the region, the Egregy stream.

As Holub highlighted it, the Egeregy or Egeregy stream was where most of the mills were documented until the nineteenth century in the whole region, which means that they returned quite a profit in the Middle Ages. No wonder that the few mills which were in the possession of a Pauline monastery, represented a significant value for them. Interestingly, amongst the known mills, two monasteries had a significant number of them (more than one); there were Sáska (5) and Tálod (3), which monasteries were far from the Balaton.

Mills even more than a day's travel were in their possessions in the fifteenth century, which means that the monks had appointed officials to run their errands and businesses there; in the case of Sáska it is connected with the cultivation of their vineyards as well.

7.2. The Pilis and Börzsöny Forests

Among the three selected and studied regions (moreover, among the later Pauline monastic regions) the Balaton Uplands was the first, which was inhabited by the hermits. Based on written sources, it happened at the beginning of the thirteenth century (the hermits of St. Helen in 1221, see Chapter 4.3.1.). The Pilis Forest appeared in sources a bit later, in the mid-thirteenth-century, by the foundation of the Holy Cross hermitage (see Chapter 5 and Chapter 7), which means that these regions, which were both equally important in different stages of the order's development, were the space of two separate waves of eremitic foundations.¹⁰¹⁴ Revealing the history of the areas individually, e.g. in this case in the Pilis-Börzsöny region, the different strategies and reasons of inhabitation are unveiled, which also reveals the characteristics of the whole process of transformation from hermitages to an order.

7.2.1. Monasteries in the region: location, founders and donators

The Pauline tradition points to the Pilis (see Chapter 5), precisely the Holy Cross monastery as the founding place of the order, but historically its significance lays in the fact that it was located in a royal forest, where the hermits and Pauline monks were in close and personal connection with the king and the royal court. After gaining the support of several bishops (Pécs, Veszprém, Eger), this must have had a key impact in the next level of the order's foundation process, which resulted in the archbishop's approval, later the support of Cardinal Gentile and above all, in 1323, the pope (on the history see Chapter 3). In fact, the monks inhabiting the royal forest, the personal property of the kings, fuelled the relationship between the order and the royal court throughout the Middle Ages.

¹⁰¹⁴ Szabó, *Forests*, 143.

When investigating the history and archaeology of the Paulines in the Pilis, several approaches can be used. On the level of the royal forest region, by examining the locations and changing importance of the hermitages, a draft on the dynamics of the region can be drawn. With the discontinuation of itinerant kingship, the role of the hunting lodges or *curiae regales* had changed; they were not as important for the kings as before. Therefore –as the symbolic representation of royal power in the Pilis– the kings donated these buildings to religious orders (to the Cistercians in 1184, and the Paulines in the second half of the thirteenth century).

In the second half of the thirteenth century the later-Pauline hermits enjoyed outstanding royal support, ensuring their stable presence and economy (or at the least, their self-sufficiency). Alongside royal support, their stable standing and the background of the order ultimately resulted in their official recognition by the highest ecclesiastic authority of medieval Hungary, the archbishop of Esztergom, in 1291. After this event, another incident confirmed the importance of the eastern region of the Pilis, namely, the political meeting in the St. Ladislaus Monastery held in 1308.

Royal power shifted from Esztergom to Buda and Visegrád in the mid-1200s; by that time Esztergom, lost its role as a place of royal representation. The Paulines “followed” the movement by their presence at the St. Ladislaus Monastery, halfway between Buda/Óbuda and Visegrád. By the end of the thirteenth century, the emphasis of royal power apparently moved to Buda, which was marked by the foundation of the St. Laurence Monastery nearby. This relationship of royal and ecclesial seats and the foundation of Pauline monasteries in the Pilis was reinforced by the location of centers and the monasteries, also their geographic relations to the roads of the Pilis. (Fig. 7.14.)

Although the Pilis, especially the Holy Cross monastery had lost its leading role in the history of the order, remnants of its importance are still tangible by further scattered data. For example, by the fact that the Monastery of St. Laurence was founded by the prior and monks of the Holy Cross Monastery. This was a spiritual and religious continuity, which is strongly evident from the name that the community used decades after the the St. Laurence monastery had gained primacy, namely *fratres sancte crucis de eremo*.¹⁰¹⁵ Even though the southern part of the Pilis area had lost its historical privileges (the leading role in the order and in this terms, the immediate relation with the king) in the Pauline network by the mid-fourteenth century, their sustenance was stable throughout the Middle Ages. (See more in Chapter 7.2.3.) Also, the royal presence can be documented in the monasteries in the fourteenth century.

¹⁰¹⁵ 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 eremitae*. Mályusz (1971), “Remeterendek,” 258. see also F.Romhányi, “Heremitae”.

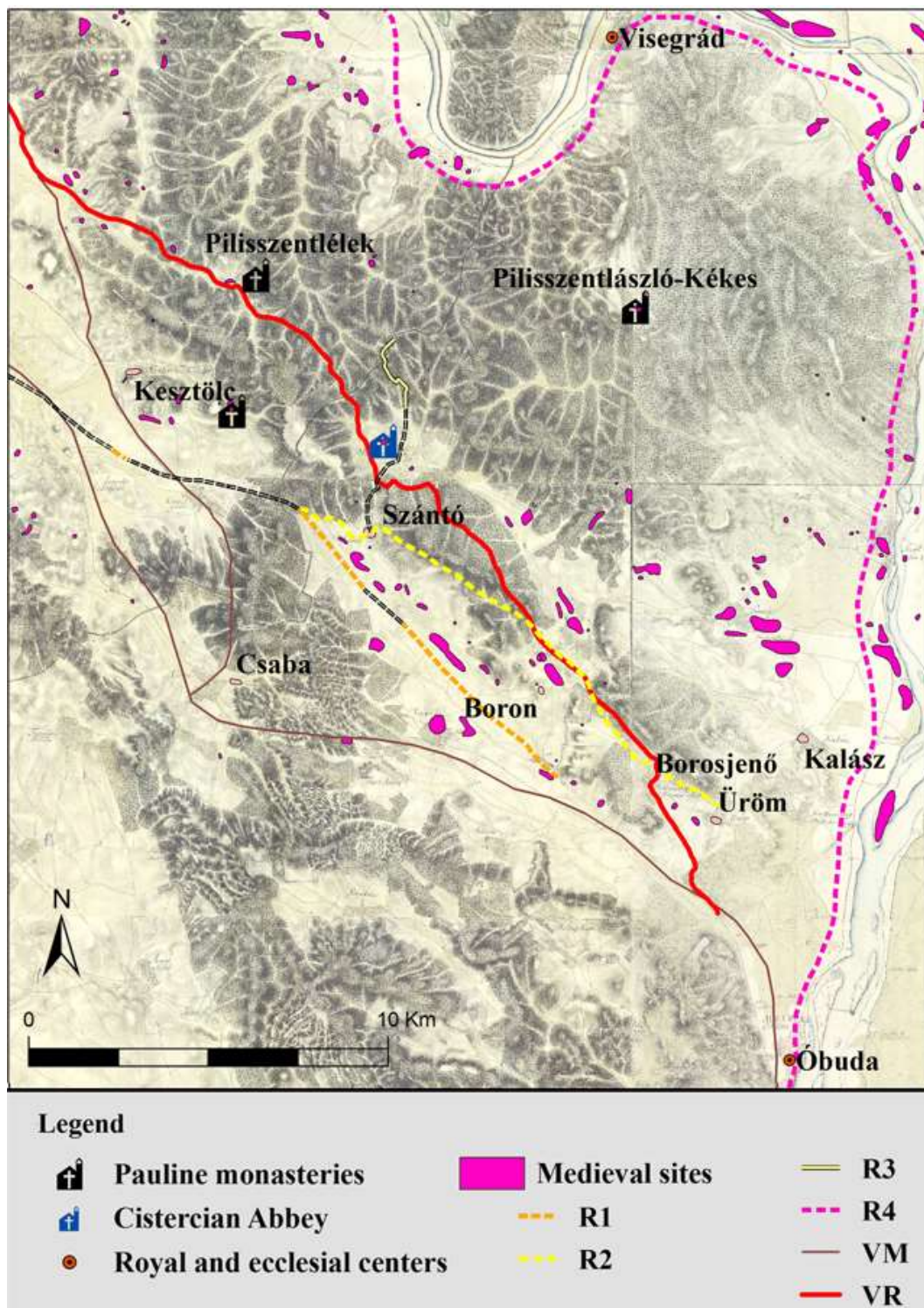


Fig. 7.14. The Pilis area, medieval sites and roads in the vicinity of the Pauline monasteries. Copy of Pető, "Roman or Medieval".

First, although King Charles was occupied with re-establishing the kingdom, it was part of his task to secure the development and operation of daily life, including the monasteries. After he visited

the St. Ladislaus monastery in 1308, in the peaceful time of his reign, the king confirmed the properties of the Holy Spirit Monastery while he visited the monks there in 1323. A few years later, in 1327, Charles secured and confirmed the properties of the Holy Cross Monastery, but it is unknown if he had been there personally. Most possibly the attention to Eusebius's community gradually faded and the Holy Spirit monastery became favored by the royalty, since not only Charles, but his son, King Louis spent Easter passion week there in 1378, interestingly, when further monasteries also were founded by the King himself. The royal visits ceased in the Pilis after the death of King Louis, when the king's focus shifted to another region close by.

By the mid-fourteenth century, the south Börzsöny region and the area of Visegrád had witnessed another level of royal attention, which was apparently marked by the foundation of Nosztra (Virgin Mary) and Toronyalja St. Michael) monasteries. Nosztra was especially in the focus since King Louis not only founded the monastery, but visited it several times (1379, 1381, 1382), just like later King Sigismund did, at least once (1388). Nosztra was a significant part of Pauline history, which had only recently been highlighted by scholarship.

Although the confirmation of the order, supported by King Charles I (Chapter 3), was a great success in the mid-fourteenth century, perhaps the translation of St. Paul the First Hermit's relic as a result of the Peace of Turin in 1381¹⁰¹⁶ had a more significant impact on the Pauline order and was considered to be the "crown jewel" of their existence at the time. Although this outstanding relic was originally promised to the local convent at Nosztra,¹⁰¹⁷ after all, the St. Laurence Monastery received it at Buda. The latter monastery dominated not only the Pauline hierarchy, but had a strong influence in the royal court as well.¹⁰¹⁸ Furthermore, by that time the royal *curia* had been built in Buda, which might have been essential in the decision about the final resting place of the relics.

Eventually, the impact of St. Paul's relics helped the monks at the Monastery of St. Laurence to preserve and strengthen their role as the verified leaders, not only amongst the group of neighboring monasteries, but in the order as well. After the translation, the political impact and access to financial resources became unquestioned and visible through many factors.¹⁰¹⁹ Also, as a pilgrimage site, the Paulines set an example for not only the other monasteries, but in the whole ecclesial system since by

¹⁰¹⁶ The the ailing king was busy finalizing the Peace of Turin at the time, which possibly settled the whole decision itself into the context of the Pauline Order.

¹⁰¹⁷ Pető, *Pilis*, 93-95; also in Chapter 5.3.4.

¹⁰¹⁸ A donated commodity that generated quite a high income for the Pauline order and some of the monasteries, was salt. According to Gyöngyösi, King Louis I donated salt worth of 300 guilders to the annual general chapter; the salt was delivered from the salt chamber in Máramaros. See more on this in Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 117-121.

¹⁰¹⁹ ... *in ipsa Ecclesia venerandum, cum summa reverentia deposuit*. From the work of the anonymous author and Valentinus Hadnagy, cited in Urbán, "Pálos zárándokhelyek," 72.

the end of the Middle Ages, almost ten percent of all the indulgences were related to Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian Kingdom.¹⁰²⁰

Nosztra, however, was offered the privilege to found the monastery of Jasna Góra in Poland, by the invitation of King Louis, also Ladislaus the Prince of Opole. That new monastery became a pilgrimage site itself just after its foundation (1382). A few decades later Nosztra aspired to become the “holiest and purest” monastery (see Chapter 5.3.4.), by the holy and pious life of Fr. Franciscus (1431), or later by Fr. Casparus de Ebes (1519).

King Sigismund I attempted to create another symbolic center near Visegrád, but it seems to have been unsuccessful (St. Sigismund, Chapter 5.3.6.). During the mid-1400s, mostly during the reign of King Matthias I, several monasteries were donated to the order that had been previously run by other religious orders unsuccessfully (for example Visegrád - St. Andrew monastery in the discussed region), but acquiring the Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome shows that their expansion outside the Kingdom of Hungary was also highly fruitful. By the sixteenth century, thanks to their brilliant self-management, strong royal and ecclesial support, the Pauline Order could stabilize its position and had overwhelming leverage in the Kingdom of Hungary.

Beside the founders and the royal support, further patrons were mentioned amongst the written sources, depicting a rather diverse picture of social interactions. Not only priests, but the archbishop of Esztergom also appeared amongst the donators. (Fig. 7.15.) Two archbishops offered certain donations for the monasteries, also the provost of Esztergom and the archdeacon of Komárom, but the priest of Vác appeared amongst the donators.

Usually the higher status the donator had, the more precious a property was. For example, the royals, high nobles and high-status clerics offered complete mills, valuable vineyards or possessions for the financial support of the monasteries, while the lesser distinguished people (local nobles, burghers, local priests) donated full vineyards or money sometimes for specific purposes (for example Petrus of Tahi left 100 florins to the recultivation of a fishpond at the St. Ladislaus monastery or Pál Csupor erected an altar and gave a property for its sustenance).

Regarding the monasteries individually and comparing them, some further notes are relevant to highlight in terms of donators and properties. The Holy Cross Monastery (Appendix 1/5.3.1.) first was doted by King Béla, surely by King Ladislaus IV, but later mostly local nobles and possibly persons in royal or ecclesiastical service donated possessions for the Paulines. However, it is notable

¹⁰²⁰ Urbán, “Pálos zárándokhelyek,” 62.

that two clerics, the provost of Esztergom and an archdeacon of Komarom endowed the monastery even in the late fifteenth century.

Hermilage/monastery	royal	archbishop	clerical	high nobles	citizens	wealthy lower class	hospes	noble
Holy Cross-Keszthely	1274-King Ladislaus (woodland)		1328-Michael archdeacon (Teszér property)			1307-Mikócia (Charlow property)		1308-Lady Gerwighe (vineyard)
	1289-King Ladislaus IV, (Üllőhá property)		1471-72-Ambrosius of Szendrő, provost of Esztergom (sponsored construction)			1360-Osper, son of Ivan (fecundum)		
Holy Spirit-Piliscentiálók				1336 - Johannes Wajda of Transsylvanus (Bucfalocsa ninth wine tax - 1403 - Laurentius vicetherzanarius et Bartholomaeus de Bessereu, provisor curiae regis	1425-Nicholaus Zambo (arable land)	1409-Paulus Csupor (altar-property)	1443-Konrad Krusovecz (properties)	
St. Ladislaus - Piliscentiálók	1358-King Louis (ruined mill)	1456-Dionysios (mill+parcel)	1457-Petrus Deacon (vineyard)		1418-Lady Margaret widow carnicis Vác (vineyard)	1458-Emeritus de Bogdan (mill+place Kátesparaka)	1458 - Thomas Cristel de Szentendre (mill exchange)	1493-Dionysios de Alagah (part of house)
	1475-King Matthias (mill at Kátesparaka)				before 1515, Ladislaus Szentpéter (house)	1473-Petrus of Tabu (100 florins)		
Mozsán	1366-King Louis (Gen-Chaz+mill)	1368-Nicholaus (mill at Geny)	1482-Matthias priest of Vács (PusztasOcsany)	1487-Johannes Chah of Lerna	1416-Michael, son of the jury of Vács (vineyard)	before 1404, Laurentius of Szob (vineyard+curia)	1404-Petrus Ragó de Szob (vineyard)	1477-Lady Scholastica SOLD her part of a mill in Géry
	1382-King Louis (Szob: taxes, curia)				1416-Johannes Kismester (butchery)	1504-Albertus Tóth de Csanada (one mill)		
	1453-John Hunyadi (parcel and properties at Szob)				1418-Lady Margaret widow carnicis Vács (vineyard)	KisGeron		
	1539-King John (curia)							
Törölyajta	1527-King John (Borvány property)				1418-Lady Margaret widow carnicis Vács (vineyard)			
	1539-King John (house)							

Fig. 7.15. The donors of the monasteries in the Pilis and Börzsöny royal forests.

The Holy Spirit monastery (Appendix 1/5.3.2.), most probably its close relation with the royal court (see the discussion on royal presence before) had donators among the office-holder high nobles. Besides, the donators (*hospites* and other local people) were coming from urbanized areas, most possibly from Visegrád or Esztergom.

The St. Ladislaus monastery (Appendix 1/5.3.3.) had several mills and vineyards, basically these two represented the base of a monetary-based estate management slightly, a few years earlier (just like the Holy Cross monastery with Tészér or the Holy Spirit with Bajon possession) than it started to appear in other monasteries amongst the studied areas. The monks of the St. Ladislaus monastery successfully managed to establish and maintain a fruitful relationship with not only the kings, but the clerical world, including archbishops; also many locals from the eastern shore of the Danube (Tahi, Bogdán, Szentendre), further people from Vác also offered donations to them.

The Holy Virgin monastery (Appendix 1/5.3.4.) at Nosztra was founded in the flourishing era of the Paulines in the mid-fourteenth century and its royal support faded only after the death of King Sigismund. However, nothing was taken from them as far as it is known, but no further, large-scale royal donations arrived to Nosztra after the beginning of the fifteenth century. John Hunyadi was not too fond of the Paulines,¹⁰²¹ but his son, King Matthias had again a close relationship with the general prior of the order at Budazsentlőrinc – so the relation of Nosztra with the royal court was closely attached to the shift of the Pauline central power to Budazsentlőrinc. This also affected the donations; after the end of the fourteenth century, the high nobles and mostly the local people (clerics, also *hospites* and burghers of Vác and the landowners at river Garam) became the fundamental supporters of the monastery at Nosztra.

Toronyalja monastery (Appendix 1/5.3.5.) received only a part of a vineyard in 1418, beside it leased a mill at the neighboring Szokolya. The royal attention appeared only in a specific era, after the battle of Mohács by King John Szapolyai. This monastery must have had a daily life in a solitude, which means that their properties, beside the mill and the vineyard at Kelemenhegye, must have been near the monastery.

An extremely rare data appears in connection the hermits of the Holy Cross: frater Petrus, *heremita de Sancta Crucis de silva Pelys* donated properties (*quandam vineam suam et curiam, seu domos suas de suburbio castri Strigoniensis in villa Petthen*) to the Holy Virgin altar in the St.

¹⁰²¹ see the debate with the pope in the case of the provostry of Dömös, in Györffy, “Adatok”.

Adalbert basilica in 1297. One of those rare data, when a hermit, a later Pauline offered his values to another party and the medieval social surroundings can be documented briefly.¹⁰²²

Petrus, most possibly, was a nobleman who sought to follow a holy life in the Pilis amongst the hermits, whose community had been distinguished by royal support and the approval of the bishop of Veszprém, also recognized by the Archbishop of Esztergom. It is interesting that instead of giving his property to the monastery, he donated it to the Holy Virgin altar. This was probably an act of gratitude and respect from Petrus in regards to the foundation of the Holy Cross monastery, which was definitely related to the archbishopric seat. However, living amongst the hermits, poverty had to be a basic requirement, which meant that his possessions were better placed at another institution. Although the monks were gathering lands and by the end of the thirteenth century had a locally broad set of properties, such donations were probably restricted to come from their own members.¹⁰²³

7.2.2. Properties and general spatial characteristics in Pauline monastic network and properties in the region

Analyzing the spatial attributes of medieval features and trying to discern the supposed logic behind them can help us to articulate or sometimes even reformulate the role of the Pauline Order, Pauline monasteries and hierarchy, and the dynamic changes within their primary spatial sphere. Regarding general trends, it has been proven by written sources that the Paulines wanted to unify their lands (mostly arable lands, vineyards, and mills) close to their monasteries.¹⁰²⁴ In regards to the Paulines in the Pilis and Börzsöny, this referred to the preference for intraregional properties, whereas a one or two day journey –to a productive property– should not have been a cause of problems for the monks. (Fig.7.16.)

¹⁰²² Actually, yet no data from those donations is known yet, when a Pauline monk doted his order.

¹⁰²³ See for example the regula of the Archbishop, the bishop of Eger, or the Augustine regula itself, in VF. Cap. 7-11.

¹⁰²⁴ F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 54.

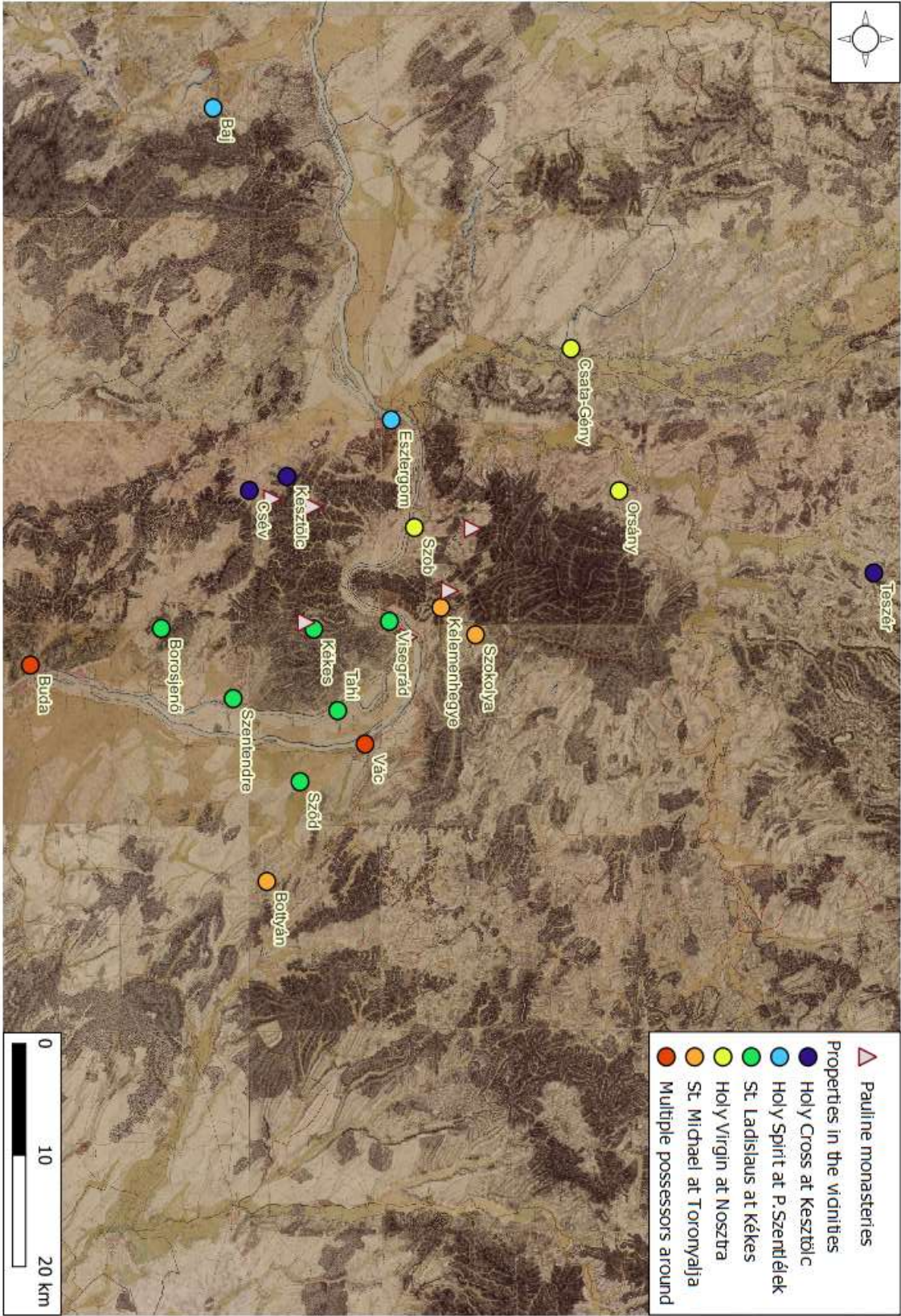


Fig. 7.16. The properties of Pauline monasteries of the Pilis and Börzsöny forests.

This was true in general, however, some exceptions were present in the region. The scope of Teszér property, which the Holy Cross monastery received in 1328, is unknown, the only property with this name is located north of the Ipoly river, now called Hontianske Tesáre in Slovakia (Fig. 7.16.). Teszér settlement and its property was valued in the late Middle Ages, which means that the archdeacon, who donated the monastery with the land there must have been related to a wealthy family. (see about the founders and donators before in Chapter 7.2.1.) Rather dubious is the identification of Bajon, where the property of the Holy Spirit monastery was located. Probably it is related to Baj, which is near Tata, 33 kms west of Keszthely.

In both cases, the known properties cover the near areas or the northern and western parts of the region's vicinity. The only exception is the city of Buda, where all three monasteries of the Pilis had houses. Interestingly, although Esztergom was also an important city, the Holy Cross and Holy Spirit monasteries shared instead a house at Buda, which meant half as much income but half as much duty as well for the monks.¹⁰²⁵ The investment in Buda is understandable in the case of St. Ladislaus monastery, who owned houses in the capital beside a parcel at Visegrád, so basically it maintained interests in the urbanized areas in its vicinity.

Beside the parcel and the houses, the St. Ladislaus Monastery¹⁰²⁶ had vineyards at Borosjenő¹⁰²⁷ and Vác¹⁰²⁸, also a mill with a parcel at Sződ,¹⁰²⁹ so owned properties north and south of the monastery and also on the other side of the Danube. The Danube was not regarded as a strict significant border in the sense of contemporary mental geography, which means that these lands were acquired along all the other properties that were located in the southern and northern vicinity of the monastery (Fig. 7.16. and 7.17.). The mills and vineyards of the monastery were in those regions that were known of their beneficial environment, e.g. both Kékes and the Rákos streams had ideal flows for mills and the wine was well-known at Buda from the Buda hills (Borosjenő name contains the word "wine" within), Szentendre or even Vác.

¹⁰²⁵ It was not easy to manage houses from a certain distance, as the example of Örményes monastery at today's Zalacsány report, see sources in DAP 2, 138-148.

¹⁰²⁶ See data on the properties of the monastery in Appendix 2/5.3.2.

¹⁰²⁷ DL 4230, also DL 4231. These medieval sources are cited in F. Romhányi (2010), *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 56. also in Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, The name of the settlement may refer to the vineyards there.

¹⁰²⁸ 1418, 1457, two of them, see Appendix 2/5.3.3.

¹⁰²⁹ The Paulines sold a vineyard at Szentendre to purchase the mill.

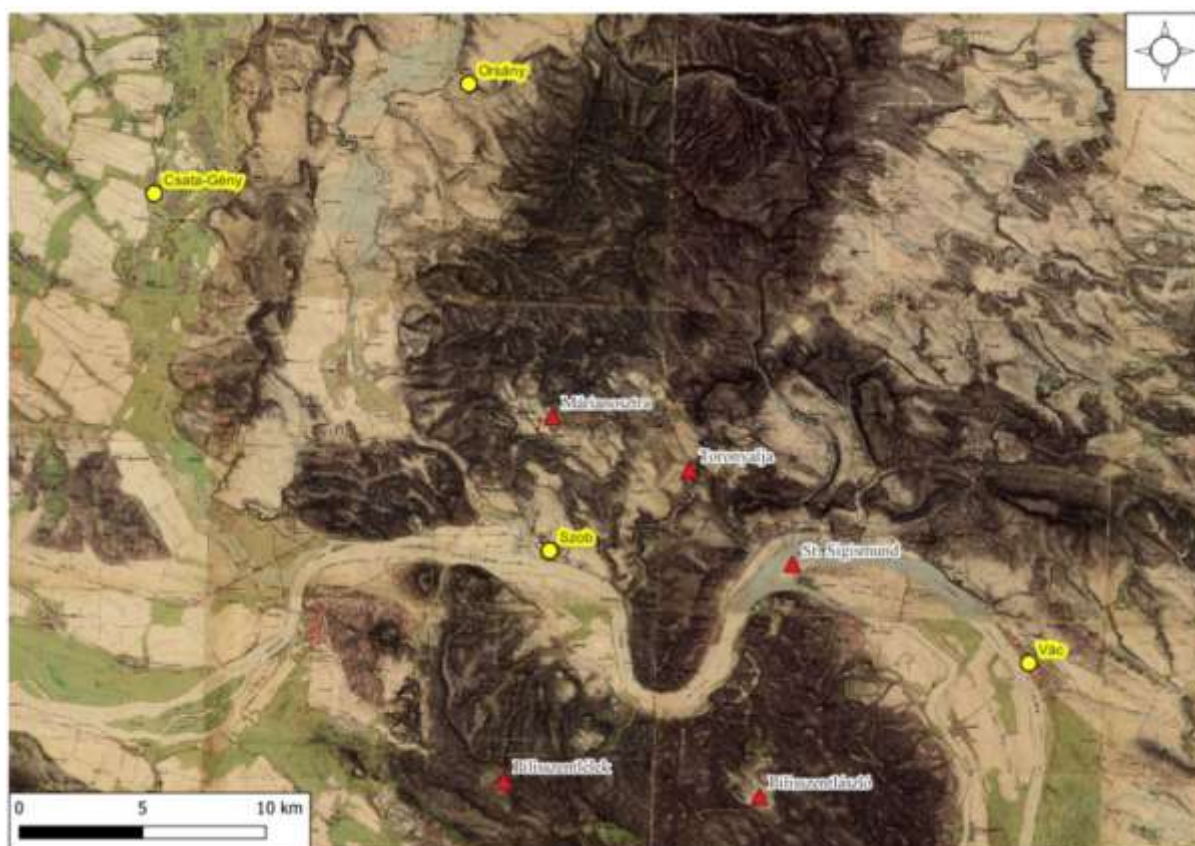


Fig. 7. 18. The properties of Nosztra Second Ordnance Survey.

On this spatial level other questions could be researched concerning the Paulines' relations with the lay sphere, like the connection between the monasteries and settlements, but there is no complete database for these examinations yet,¹⁰³⁰ only scattered information shed light on some impressions on the question. As previous investigation on the roads has revealed, most of the monasteries could easily reach each other. The *via regis*, connecting the Cistercian Pilis Abbey and the Pauline Holy Spirit Monastery, also offered a northern branch towards the Holy Cross Monastery; although the two Pauline monasteries were close to each other. Monks living in the latter monastery could use the *via magna* as well.

The St. Ladislaus Monastery was part of a different spatial microregion, which is clear not only from the location of its properties but through the regional road network and further written sources as well. Besides the royal centers, the Danube and its eastern side was also easily reachable by the monks of the monastery, which is why the written sources mention people from Szentendre or

¹⁰³⁰ The archaeological evidence of the settlements of the Pilis have been summarized by Péter Szabó recently. See Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 105–110.

Tahi. This strengthens the existence of a close, daily connection with the inhabitants of the eastern region of the Pilis Forest as well.

The connection of the two regions, the Börzsöny and the Pilis Forest are related at one point by properties, namely two vineyards, which were donated by Lady Margaret, the wife of Jakus butcher of Vác in 1418. She donated them to Nosztra, Toronyalja and Kékes monasteries, which puts the vineyards into an area in between them, possibly somewhere near the southern slopes around Vác. Also, the priors of the monasteries were usually appointed in a rotating basis, or at least traces of this are suggested in the *Vitae Fratrum*. A notable event happened in 1372, when Fr. Tristan the prior of St. Ladislaus monastery at Kékes and Andreas, the prior of Nosztra, filed a lawsuit at the Archbishop of Esztergom against the prior of the Carthusians at Lövöld, since they took too many Pauline fathers into their order and monastery, though they were not allowed to do so.

Founders in the region were in all cases the Kings, most possibly: Béla IV, Ladislaus IV, Louis I and Sigismund I. Definitely, the provided areas and houses defined the eremitic settling in all cases. The houses in the Pilis were most definitely founded on such, also Toronyalja, and probably Nosztra also had some kind of “pre-history”, at least the village of Nosztra was possibly in the close vicinity of the newly constructed monastery in 1352. This means that although the royal manor houses were in areas of solitude and served as perfect areas for hermits, their geographical attributes are appearing in the analysis, and just like in the case of the Balaton Uplands, this could shed only a very limited light to the true attributes or factors of Pauline inhabitation.

Hermitage/ Monastery	Date of foundation	Founder	Slope (extracted from Jaxa DEM)	Aspect (topography map)	Aspect (extracted from Jaxa DEM)	Altitude (Jaxa DEM)
Kesztölc- Klaspompuszt a	After 1263 (1260s)	King Béla IV	8,6°	NW-W	304,2157/ NW	309
Pilisszentlélek	After 1263 (1280s?)	King Béla and Ladislaus IV	3,1°	SW-W	248,198593/W	357
Pilisszentlászl ó	After 1263 (1270s?)	King Ladislaus IV	2,9°	flat, bit to the North	0/N	366
Márianosztra	1352	King Louis I	4,4°	S-SW	258,7/W	238
Toronyalja	After 1352	King Louis I ?	1,7°	SE-S	90/E	204
St. Sigismund	After 1430	King and Emperor Sigismund	3,8°	NW/N	333,4/N	108

Fig. 7.19. The table of geographical and historical data on the hermitages and monasteries at the Dunakanyar region. Yellow highlight: corrected data of aspect ratio by topographic respect. Elevation color code: 1., light yellow background below 200 m, 2., blue background below 300 m, 3. green background above 300 m.

Aspect	no. of monasteries
N (0-22,5; 337,5-360)	2 (Pilisszentlászló, St. Sigismund)
NE (22,5-67,5)	0
E (67,5-112,5)	1 (Toronyalja)
SE (112,5-157,5)	0
S (157,5-202,5)	0
SW (202,5-247,5)	2 (Pilisszentlélek, Márianosztra)
W (247,5-292,5)	0
NW (292,5-337,5)	1 (Klastrompuszta)

Fig. 7.20. The sum

of aspect data.

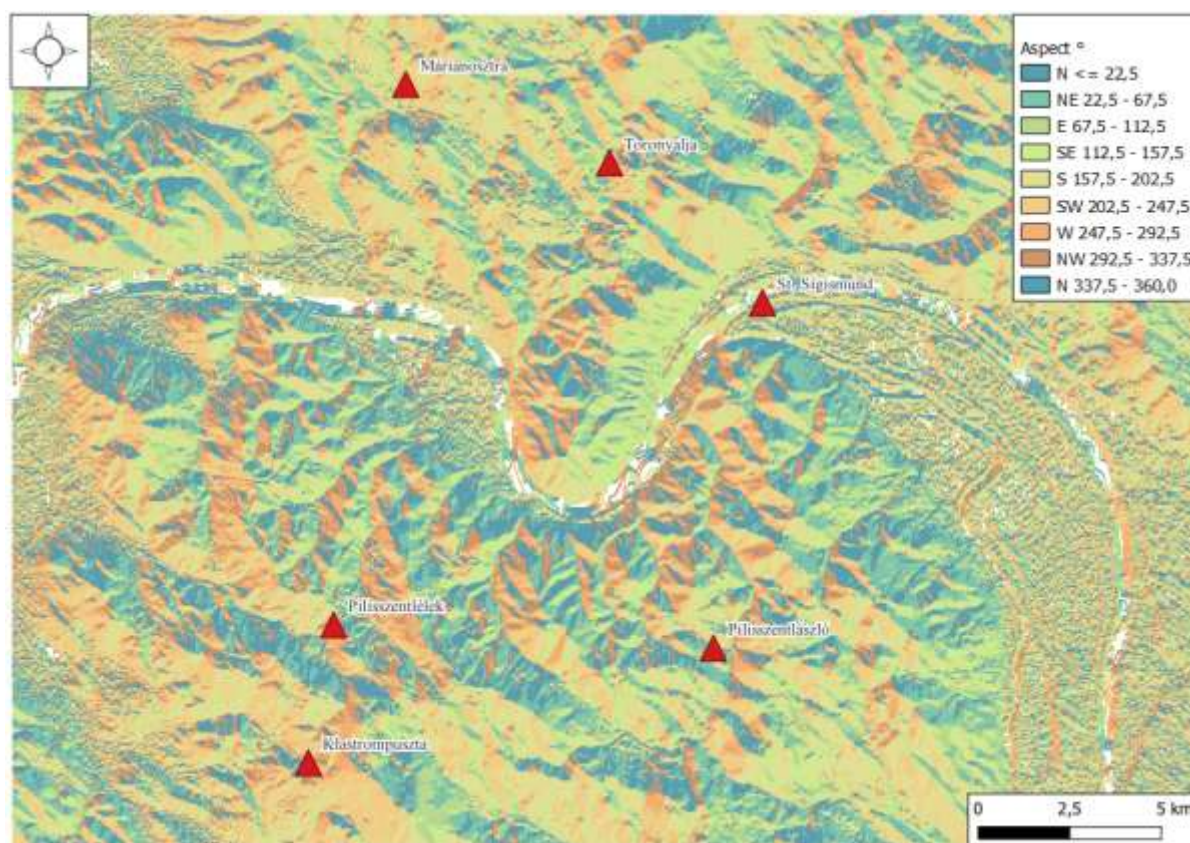


Fig. 7.21. The generated aspect map of the Dunakanyar region and the examined sites (equal with the ones listed in Fig. 7.19.)

Beside the orientation of the terrain, slope category also show a diverse picture in terms of region or chronology. (Fig. 7.19-23.) The slope categories are based on geomorphological standards and the results show that the surface of settlement was mostly plain or had a discrete steep slope in the hilly regions (max 12%, but generally below 5%). A seemingly steep terrain only appeared at

Kesztölc-Klastrompuszta. Extremely steep terrain appeared in the close vicinity of the monasteries in the Pilis Forest and taking altitude into account, the monasteries there were located beyond 300 meters, which, surprisingly was not true in the Börzsöny Forest.

Slope (%)	no.
0-5	6
5-12	1
12-17	0
17-25	0
25-	0

Fig. 7.22. The sum of slope data, based on DEM.



Fig. 7.23. The slope map of the Dunakanyar region.

7.2.3. Land-management

Managing lands in the royal forests had some similarities and differences compared to each other or even to the Balaton Uplands. There are significantly more sources in regards to the immediate

monastic space and the properties than in the previously analyzed region. However, the beginning of the documented eremitic self-management in the second half of the thirteenth century in the Pilis is related to the general trends of the Pauline economy at the time: the lands were mostly in the close vicinity of the monasteries and beside woods and parcels, mostly vineyards represented the key source of income for the hermits.

The immediate monastic space is studied by archaeology for a long time here, however, written sources are lacking. The most striking difference to the Balaton Uplands is that here, in the Pilis Forest, the possessions are located further from the monasteries from the beginning of the fourteenth century, which is a much earlier appearance of complex estate management than in the Balaton Uplands, following up the trend established by the hermits at Jakabhegy (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 7.1.1.).

Regarding the description of the monasteries, the main goal was to systematically list the known features of the space (fishponds mostly), and to record their status. Another goal was to find new features in the targeted areas surrounding the monasteries (for example fishponds, dams, millplaces). Along with the written and pictorial sources, their systematic summary has revealed new features behind their foundation, and helped to outline the frame of their life and local history.

<i>Hermiage/monastery</i>	vineyard	mill	arable land/terra	possessio	meadow	forest	fishpond	hunting lodge	money	house
<i>Holy Cross-Kesz-től</i>	5 (1308, 1336/1396, 1346, 1376)		4 (1289, 1307, 1358, 1455)	1 (1328) Teszér	1 (1306)	1 (1274)		1 (1260s)	lease	0,5
<i>Holy Spirit-Pilisszentlélek</i>			4 (1409, 1425, 1433, 1467)	1 (1467) Bajon				1 (1287)	ninth, lease	0,5
<i>St. Ladislaus - Pilisszentlászló</i>	at least 3 (1351, 1457, 1457)	4 minimum (+1? 1456, 1458, 1358, 1458, 1473, 1475) mill-place 3					1 (1473)	1?		2 (+1place)
<i>Nosztra</i>	7 (1404, before 1404, 1416, 1418, 1482)	6 (1366, 1368, 1376, 1380, 1471/77, 1504)		3 properties at Gen, Chata, Pusztasorsan with church (1366,1487)				castle	tributum, sold properties, 2 butcheries (1416, 1482)	4: (1382, Szob., curia with sessio),(curia at Szob-1404 before); (1453:parcel for curia, new curi 1504)
<i>Toronyfalva</i>	2 (1418, 1504)	2 (Szokolya, 1381, 1539)		1 (Bottyány, 1527)						1 (Szokolya, 1539)

Fig. 7.24. The properties of the monasteries in the Pilis and Börzsöny forest. Based on the sources in the Appendix 2/5.3.1-5.3.6.

Vineyards

As it was clear in the analysis of the monasteries (Chapters 5.3.1-6.), most possibly all of them had vineyards in their surroundings. Besides, except the Holy Spirit monastery,¹⁰³¹ all of them received further vineyards through donations; furthermore, amongst the analyzed areas these monasteries were donated with the most number of vineyards.¹⁰³² However, all of them are only mentioned since the fourteenth century, which is rather striking. The St. Ladislaus monastery obtained valuable lands at Pilisborosjenő (with a wine press!), Vác and Szentendre, but sources mention them only from the mid-fourteenth century. The value of these vineyards are represented by the status of donators and the buyers as well: the nuns at Óbuda, a Decan, a widow of a wealthy butcher, a *hospes* of Szentendre were all among the donators of vineyards.

Although it is also sure that the monastery of Nosztra received vineyards from donators in the fourteenth century, vineyards appear in written sources only in the 1400s. The donators were from different social status, but mostly the elite of Vác and its surrounding area; such were for example the judge and the priest of Vác. Toronyalja was possibly founded sometime at the end of the fourteenth century, although its vineyards were also mentioned only since the 1400s: the only donator who was known was the widow of the butcher of Vác, Lady Margaret, who donated two of her vineyards to three monasteries, one of them was the St. Michael monastery of Toronyalja: the location of the chosen cloisters indicate that the vineyards were possibly somewhere around Vác.

Mills

The most varied sources in the region were about the mills of the Paulines. Except the two monasteries close to Esztergom, the Holy Cross and Spirit, who mostly dealt with meadows, arable lands and vineyards, were most probably not managing mills in the region. Not like the St. Ladislaus monastery, which received mills from royals (King Louis- 1358, King Matthias- 1475) and an archbishop (Dionysios, 1456), but from the mid-fifteenth century, also from people who were living in the vicinity of the monastery: in Tahi (1473), Bogdán (1458), or in Szentendre (1458). The latter might have been due to the close connection of the Paulines, possibly explicitly of the St. Ladislaus monastery with the royal court since in 1460 Elisabeth, the mother of King Matthias also issued an order in favor of the monks.

¹⁰³¹ The only written source on its vineyards is when the release of paying decima after their vineyards was mentioned in 1345. See Appendix 2/ 5.3.2.

¹⁰³² In the case of the Holy Cross monastery, a minimum number of vineyards are only three: probably the one received in 1308 was mentioned in 1336 and 1346 and the third in 1346 at Szentkereszt and a third in 1376.

There were two mills (with 4 grindingstones, 1366/1368) at Csata-Ghém properties, which provided a decent sum of income for the monastery of Nosztra. Although monetary-based estate management became common in the era of Sigismund, but a monastery on royal land and support, the monks at Nosztra must have had to focus on a stable estate management. The royal and archbishop's support of these mills and properties was broadened by a purchase soon after (1375) at a nearby stream; possibly, the possession far from the monastery were hardly defensible for the monks, which is why they tried to multiply the number of mills nearby (1380, 1405). Soon after, the sources report on several issues that took place in relation with the Paulines and their mills or mills of other owners (1417, 1466-67, 1471-73). These issues were solved and most probably the monks of Nosztra stabilized and even increased their presence in the region: they acquired another mill near Gény (1471-77) and another one at Csuda (1504).

Toronyalja monastery also acquired a mill at Szokolya in 1381, which was their first known property in the broad vicinity of the monastery. Beside the vineyards, these mills and the one near the monastery should have provided a small but sufficient income for the small monastery.

Woods, arable lands and meadows

Compared to the Balaton Uplands, the sources are rather poor in relation to such properties that were necessary for daily self-sustenance. The only wood is related to the Holy Cross monastery, dated to 1274, two arable lands are known, related to the Holy Cross (1307) and Spirit (1425) monasteries, and only one meadow of the Holy Cross (1360 or 1306) is known, a *fenetum*. Obviously, these lands were important in the daily life of the two, more regular monasteries than the other ones (St. Ladislaus, Nosztra or Toronyalja), and possibly their earlier foundation, also the slow decrease of their esteem hints at the existence of a more rural-like economy in the fourteenth century at the Holy Cross and Holy Spirit monasteries. These properties were all given by lower or mid-status people, but most definitely not by wealthy nobles. The only exception is the woods given by the King Ladislaus IV, but in the thirteenth century that royal donation, also other royal lands meant only the support of the eremitic life, not a highly distinguished act or attention.

Fishponds, butcheries

Although all of the monasteries had fishponds nearby the house in the studied region, (see archaeological surveys of Holy Cross, Holy Spirit, St. Ladislaus, also Nosztra and Toronyalja in the

Appendix 2/5.3.5.), only one written source mentions a pond, which was near the St. Ladislaus monastery and in need of reconstruction in 1473.

In the Pilis, beside the Pauline monasteries, a Cistercian house was located, where remains of *Acipenseridae*, sturgeon are known. It can be presumed that the Paulines also met with them, since they were also close to the Danube, where sturgeons were available. From this respect, it was not a luxury food for the monks, nor for the people living in the area of the Danube.¹⁰³³

Butcheries were not only providing direct monetary income for the owners but beside raw meat, the domination of the meat market bestowed a broad possibility of the market, especially in the light of the ascending cattle market in the late fifteenth century. The monks at Nostra owned two of the butcheries at Vác by the end of the fifteenth century, later the Cumans paid ninth for them, which could happen in livestock as well; not to mention the undocumented business of the butcheries. Also, butcheries provided fish in the markets, so the Paulines definitely had an interest in sturgeons as well.

Houses, parcels, possessions

The characteristics of monetary-based economy are rather definite but much stronger in the case of Nosztra monastery since its foundation (e.g. possessions at river Garam), but doubtlessly, it started to dominate in the fifteenth century (for example houses at Buda, butcheries at Vác), just like in other areas of the Kingdom. In the case of those properties that required constant presence of the owners but were located far from the monasteries, it is highly possible that local commissionaires were managing and maintaining the possessions and daily life there.

The signs of monetary economy were clear in the case of the analyzed monasteries from very early on, since the Holy Cross monastery received Üllőkő in 1289 and Teszér property in 1328; however, the clear path of estate development in this sense appeared only in the fifteenth century, when the first houses of the monasteries were bought and donated in Buda by the Holy Cross and Holy Spirit monasteries. Their properties at Csév and Bajon appeared in the late fifteenth century, which were in correlation with the country-wide standards, also following the example of Nosztra, who managed his lands at Gény-Csata as part of a large-scale estate management. Toronyalja and other monasteries received such donations only from the end of the fifteenth century, if at all.

¹⁰³³ László Bartosiewicz – Clive Bonsall, “Complementary taphonomies: Medieval sturgeons from Hungary” in *Archéologie du poisson: 30 ans d'archéo-ichtyologie au CNRS. Hommage aux travaux de Jean Desseet de Nathalie Desse-Berset, XXVIIIe rencontres internationales d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Antibes*, ed. P. Béarez, S. Grouard, and B. Clavel (Éditions APDCA, Antibes, 2008), 37.

Interestingly, the St. Ladislaus monastery was lacking such possessions (however, possibly the mills at Sződ were managed more like these further possessions).

Urban houses meant a stable income for the monasteries in the Pilis: beside the co-owned house with the Holy Spirit monastery in Mindszent utca at Buda since 1425, the Holy Cross monastery received a house in Esztergom in 1476. Instead of a proper urban house, the St. Ladislaus convent owned a parcel for a house near the parish church of Visegrád until 1412, which still shows the monastery's close relation to the royal seat in the Danube region. However, at the end of the fifteenth century, a total focus-shift is tangible in its strategy: not only one, but two houses (one full and a partial) were acquired by them at Buda in 1493 (Olasz utca) and before 1515 (Schüler Gasse).

Interestingly, the monastery of Nosztra was not managing any urban houses as far as the sources reveal, instead, similarly to the estate management of the monastic orders, the possessions in the broad vicinity of the monastery were providing the main income for the monks. However, they received a *curia*, which was sometime taken away from them at Szob (see the privilege of John Hunyadi, offering another place for the *curia* they were promised by King Louis). Another small stone-built house was donated to them by King John of Szapolyai just before his death, at the same time when Toronyalja received a mill and a *curia* in Szokolya from him. For further and detailed data see specifically Chapter 7.2.2. and Chapter 5.3.4. possessions of Nosztra.

Alms, taxes, financial revenues

The advantages in tax-paying appeared very early in the Pilis Forest: the Holy Spirit and Holy Cross monasteries were exempted from the ninth tax as early as 1336. Beside them, Toronyalja received exemption after its vineyards at Kelemenhegye in 1505. Further and varied forms of monetary support appeared in the sources until the beginning of the fifteenth century: the Holy Spirit monastery received the ninth of a vineyard at Bőd-palota in 1326, while Nosztra received the taxes gathered at Szob (1382), which, as the house was located along the Danube, must had meant a large amount of income for the monastery. At the very end of the fifteenth century, the Cumans paid ninth to Nosztra.

Other types of financial sources appeared in the written documents, related to space: the construction of an arcade (or possibly a rather proper ambulatory) in the cloister was financed for the Holy Cross monastery, but also an altar was erected through an offering in 1409 in the church of the Holy Spirit monastery. An interesting data is that the St. Ladislaus monastery was exempted from the Bishopric of Veszprém in 1294, which means that the eremitic communities in the Pilis Forest

endeavored not only an ecclesial politically/administratively but also economically free system for themselves.

7.3. The Zemplén hills, Abaúj-Hegyalja Region

The third selected region and cloister-cluster served as a comparative material, a control area, where monasteries with various backgrounds appeared: there is one monastery developed from a hermitage (Óhuta) since the late Árpadian era, an isolated hermitage (Középnémeti), which could not sustain itself in the 1320s, a monastery founded by local middle-class nobles (Göncruszka) around 1338, a most possibly royal foundation (Gönc) ca. 1371, and probably a *filia* of other monasteries (Regéc), which was an unsuccessful attempt in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Although originally this area was analyzed by the reason to understand the goals and strategy of the Paulines compared to their territories, which were highly important in regards of the development of the order (Balaton Uplands, and Pilis&Börzsöny Forests), the Abaúj-Hegyalja region also helped to understand the different (regional) strategies, the specific characteristics that the Paulines had. More precisely, this region sheds light on the chronological and territorial features of Pauline monastic space and estate management.

However, here the reconstruction of the medieval space, the context of the monasteries was rather difficult: although a great deal has been done and published, most data surely need to be revisited (for example crossing and toll-paying areas along the Hernád river, or the local settlement histories), so only a limited contextualization could be done so far. In the frame of the present work, only a few of such historical gaps were filled in by the brief introduction of Gönc, Göncruszka, Zsujta and Telkibánya (Chapter 6.2.2.).

7.3.1. Hermitages and monasteries in the Abaúj-Hegyalja region: settling, supporters, and spatial distribution

First and foremost the location of the monasteries should be reviewed, which was strongly related to their foundation and founders, also the support system (donators, properties)¹⁰³⁴ of the monks. The earliest hermitage among them was in the place of Óhuta monastery, which had been on the territory of the Amadé or Tolcsva kindred at the time, both wealthy oligarchs at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, when the hermits possibly appeared on their lands.

¹⁰³⁴ Belényesy, *Abaúj-Hegyalja*, 106-108. summarized this in detail, my arguments are not differing from his conclusion in terms of social background, although I intended to use the list of donators from different perspectives, related to the foundation and stable economic background of the Paulines.

Along with other hermitages in the area of the Eger Bishopric, as the *Vitae Fratrum* states, Laurentius the prior of Holy Cross monastery and Stephanus the general prior (along with not specified others) asked Andreas, the bishop of Eger to give a regula for the hermits living in his territory in 1297, similar to what the archbishop of Esztergom had already issued for them.

Bishop Andreas certainly provided for them a detailed rule, (most possibly accepted and re-issued the one that the hermits already had), which was copied into the *Vitae* thus known for us in detail. It contains some spatial references of the built structures, (see Chapter 2.2.1.), which prove that the hermitages in the Eger Bishopric were quite developed at the end of the thirteenth century, just like the others in the Veszprém Bishopric, so most possibly Óhuta hermitage also was sufficiently built for the hermits.

By the first decades of the 1300s, Óhuta became part of Regéc domain, governed from the castle – this connection with the lay sphere must have been rather troublesome for the monks, at least from the second half of the fourteenth century. Around and by this time more monasteries were founded in the vicinity of Regéc (Göncruszka and Gönc already by the mid-fourteenth century, Holy Trinity at Regéc possibly at the time), which appeared to provoke financial conflicts between the monks and the castellans of Regéc, but also with Boldogkő, Gönc, and the town of Telkibánya.¹⁰³⁵

The donators of Óhuta monastery were mostly locals throughout the Middle Ages; however, until the mid-fifteenth century, only ecclesial indulgences and royal privileges. There were two exceptions: Michael Priest gave lands at Liská to the Paulines and the nobleman Stephanus Upor (*de Wapor*) donated properties at Tolcsva to the monks. In 1465 Emericus Szapolyai (who freshly received a large part of the area from King Matthias in those years) seems to have been a great donator, while later locals (the Liskai and Bátka families) were supporting the Paulines.

Középnémeti, where on an island the hermit Aegidius lived, is regarded as a Pauline hermitage, although nothing is known on the circumstances of their lives, only that Aegidius built it at his own expenses and he personally obtained indulgence from the bishop of Eger and the archbishop of Esztergom, also he enjoyed the support of Philip Drugeth, the influential landlord of the region. The St. Ladislaus relic was transferred to Óhuta sometime after 1320 but possibly before the foundation of Göncruszka monastery,¹⁰³⁶ which supports the close relation between Aegidius's hermitage and the hermits at Óhuta, who were definitely contemporaries of each other.

¹⁰³⁵ Or it could also mean that the sources of the previous decade (between the 1310s and 1380s) simply did not survive.

¹⁰³⁶ It is probable that the hermits knew each other at Középnémeti and Óhuta, both existing before the Pauline movement. This must have been also a reason why the relics were transferred to Óhuta, they were the keepers of Aegidius's legacy in the region. Also, probably they were the closest hermits at the time of the *translatio*: although Göncruszka is closer to

Göncruszka was founded around 1338, by the local wealthy nobles of Ruszka, who offered a chapel of St. Catherine to the Paulines, which was probably built by the *hospites* of the region before; just like there was another chapel dedicated to the patron saint of miners at Telkibánya, made of wood and later offered to be the hospital of the town.

The monastery at Göncruszka had a stable patronage and support throughout the Middle Ages, although it surely faced some difficult times (for example the *decima* was demanded by the bishop of Eger from them, which they were late to pay, see the issues in the Appendix 3, 6.3.3. and 1484 and 1487). This strong and flourishing economy must be due to two reasons: the local nobility, the key supporting social strata of the Paulines, lived in the region for centuries and until the protestant reform movements at the beginning of the sixteenth century, they meant a stable background for the monastery. Also, by the second half of the fifteenth century (after 1459) the monks were engaged with other noblemen in the region (Perényi, Hejcei, Kékedi families), also the king himself. However, the royal support might have been embodied in other forms, see about the *antependium* in Chapter 6.3.1.

The fourth monastery in the line, the one at Gönc was most probably founded by the king, which is demonstrated by its first donation by King Louis and the fact that it was located between Gönc and Telkibánya, a royal mining town and a royal oppidum, so it was on royal land. However, it must be considered that the townsmen of Telkibánya were always closely related to the monastery, so it is possible that they initiated the foundation of Gönc, which was so close to the monastery at Göncruszka. Was it possibly a *filia* of Göncruszka? (cf. Holy Cross and Holy Spirit monasteries in the Pilis.) Actually, the lands and thus the economic interests of the monastery might have been in conflict with the estates of Göncruszka monastery, but they were not. Also, the *castrum* at Gönc is a spatial feature that should be taken into account. It was already shrinking at the time, causing possibly a gradually growing spatial gap, which appeared approximately at the time of the monastery's appearance. It is definite that more archeological field surveys and excavations, also a deeper search for written sources would articulate the history of the mid-fourteenth-century here; until it happens, there features and processes are all theories.

As sources are lacking in the first decades of the monastery's operation, it should only be assumed that Gönc, just like other monasteries, should have had its own essential properties around

Középnémeti, the relics were not received by them, which is why it is probable that they were moved before its foundation, which was around 1338. Probably the hermitage at Középnémeti closed its doors due to the death of Aegidius or he could not support its operation after some time, so it could have already happened in the 1320s.

the monastery around the time of its foundation. After the royal donation in 1371, a nobleman from Göncruszka donated Gönc, but afterwards the close relation with Telkibánya became obvious from the written sources, especially after 1438 and 1450, when the Paulines took over the maintenance and governance of St. Catherine hospital.

Some aspects of the relation within the local Pauline cluster are also preserved in documents: although there are individually issued royal privileges exempting the monasteries of Gönc, Göncruszka and Óhuta from different taxes, soon after the first attempts (1383), the three monasteries represented their interests together, forming an alliance of such (see the charters in Appendix, 6.3.1., 6.3.3. and 6.3.5.: at the dates of 1384-06-02; 1406-12-21/1 and /2, 1419-04-24 - here the monastery at Dédes is also listed!; or in 1412 in the case of *Lapuhás*). These were issued mostly when the kings traveled in the region, for example King Louis was at Fony in 1371, King Sigismund in Tokaj, Boldogkőváralja or Kassa. Beside such documents, a joint donation survived in a charter, issued by Petrus, the son of Yzep of Ruszka in 1422, who offered donations to the monastery at Gönc and Göncruszka, but also to the Franciscans at Kassa.

The foundation and the location of the Holy Trinity monastery are both mysteries, also it is unclear why it was unsuccessful. Károly Belényesy claimed that the region could not supply more monasteries here, there was no more social support for them.¹⁰³⁷ It seems to be a possible reason behind the story, because all three remaining monasteries had to evolve individual strategies and covered different areas with their properties.

However, it should be acknowledged that the number of monks in the region, who were already supported by the locals, was the same before and after the foundation, since most possibly the Holy Trinity monastery at Regéc was a *filia* of a monastery in the vicinity. Not to mention that it was somewhere on the land of Regéc castle, which was owned by King Louis and after King Sigismund, which indicates that its foundation was supported by the royals, so possibly the unsuccessful foundation or rather the long-term operation of the monastery had other reasons, besides the inadequate background.

Moreover, Belényesy highlighted that the area was not inhabited by monastic orders until the end of the thirteenth century, which he connected again to the insufficient economic and social background (see Fig. 6.4.). This area is definitely lacking monasteries, the closest were located at Kassa and Patak in the Árpadian ages, where several orders settled. However, this could be articulated in several ways, but the key problem of each theory is that there is not much to be known on the

¹⁰³⁷ Belényesy, *Abaij-Hegyalja*, 108.

settlement network and density of population before the thirteenth century (or even in the thirteenth century).¹⁰³⁸ Most probably the king and queen settled the *hospites* there because it lacked the dynamism and development or was sparsely inhabited before; the extent of destruction after the Mongol Invasion is also unclear. Except for the hermits at Óhuta, who were supported by the noble landlords, the settling of the Paulines happened at the beginning of the flourishing era in the region, which reached its peak when Telkibánya became a royal urban town in 1341. This also means that the relevance of Regéc monastery, its foundation in the second half of the fourteenth century, must have been built on a thoughtful consideration by the monks and the locals, which is why further research is needed in this case as well.

Despite not much is known in the broader regional Pauline network, it is necessary to briefly introduce the nearby monasteries of the analyzed cluster, which were at Újhely and Tokaj. (Fig. 7.25.) The latter was founded by Emericus Szapolyai around 1470, the one who donated the ninth of his vineyard at Szántó to the monastery of Gönc. Tokaj monastery was destroyed in the first half of the sixteenth century and unfortunately, nothing is known of the relationship with the analyzed monasteries. Hermits at Újhely, however, appeared in the mid-thirteenth century and kept an outstandingly good relationship with the royals and high nobility, also the inhabitants of Újhely throughout the Middle Ages. It is known from the *Vitae* and the list of Pázmány that it served as the vicariate center in the region, although it is documented from the sixteenth century.¹⁰³⁹ Only one document relates to its connection with the monasteries at Abaúj-Hegyalja: in 1402, the priors of Óhuta and Göncruszka, Aegidius and Michael applied to the Chapter of Buda to re-issue a privilege of Újhely monastery, which was received by King Louis in 1358.¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁸ Although Mária Wolf published an essential summary on the basis of scattered archeological data in 1989, it should be refreshed and extended because many new archeological and historical data have been revealed since. Wolf, *Abaúj*.

¹⁰³⁹ DAP 3, 70-158; Hervay 1984, cited in Belényesy, *Abaúj-Hegyalja*, 105.

¹⁰⁴⁰ DL 4711, Bándi 1985, 700, no. 40.

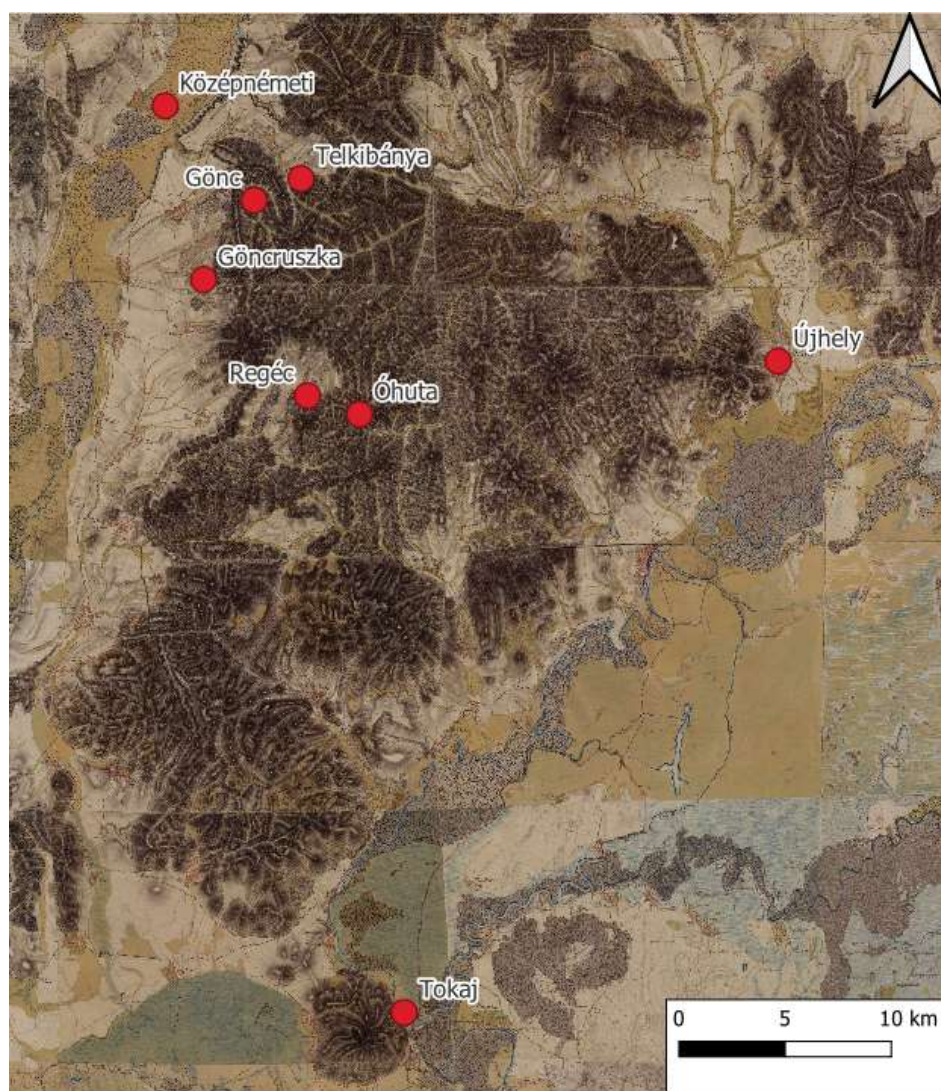


Fig. 7.25. Pauline monasteries in the vicinity of the analyzed area.

7.3.2. Spatial characteristics and land-management of the hermitages and monasteries at the Abaúj-Hegyalja region

The location (or probable location) of the monasteries provides the opportunity to shed light on some basic geographical characteristics, namely the aspect, slopes and altitude of the sites. (Fig. 7.26.). Unfortunately, this analysis is extremely limited. It is especially interesting that all three known and long-term operating monasteries were settled higher than 300 meters above sea level, which means that less agricultural activity appeared around them, so the area was most possibly covered with woods throughout the Middle Ages, just like today. Since the whole area of Regéc is also above 300 meters, it is highly possible that the Holy Trinity monastery was also located in a place similar to Óhuta; the present location is even beyond 400 meters above sea level. Középnémeti hermitage was on an island, along the Hernád, which is ca. 150 meters above sea level.

Hermitage/ Monastery	Date of foundati on	Founder	Slope (extracted from Jaxa DEM)	Aspect (topography)	Aspect (extracted from Jaxa DEM)	Altitude (EOV topographical map/Jaxa DEM)
Gönc- Telkibánya (hospital)	1350s/ 1450s	locals	8,8	SW-S	W 264,5	266
Gönc	1360s	local? royal?	10,4	NE	NE-E 67,6	334
Göncruszka	1338	locals of Ruszka?	14,2	W	W 288,4	361
Óhuta	13- fourteent h c.	local: Tolcsva or Aba kindred	5,0	SW-W	W 253,6	318
Regéc ?	end of fourteent h c.	?	8	all	all	407

Fig. 7.26. Summary of geographical and basic historical data.

In regards to aspect, (Fig. 7.26. and 7.27.) the monastery of Göncruszka was directed to the valley of Hernád (west), Óhuta to the valley of Háromhuta-stream (southwest-west), but Gönc seems to be located in a segmented area, covered with high hills all around, blocking most of the sun from the monks; only the stream valleys north and east of the monastery provided a decent way in the woods. Slope categories (Fig. 7.26. and 7.28.) are also surprising, Gönc and Göncruszka are located in steep areas, while Óhuta was built on a relatively flat terrace.

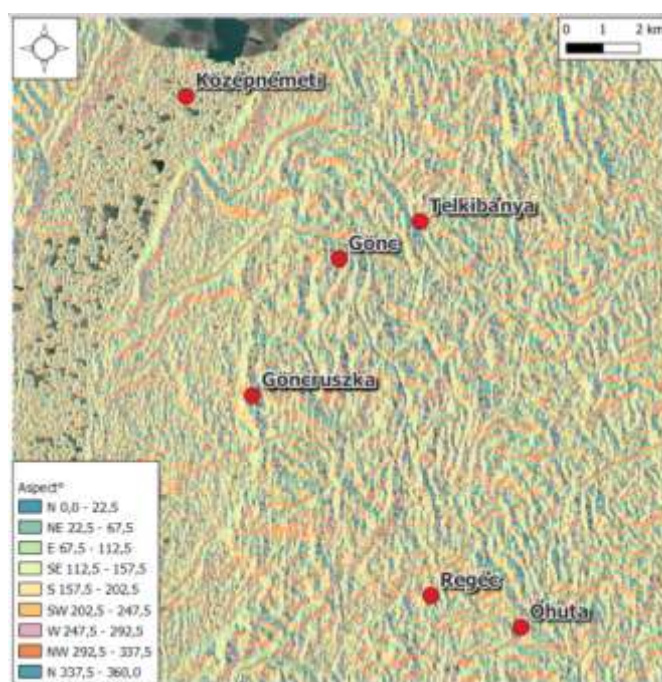


Fig. 7.27. Aspect of the region.

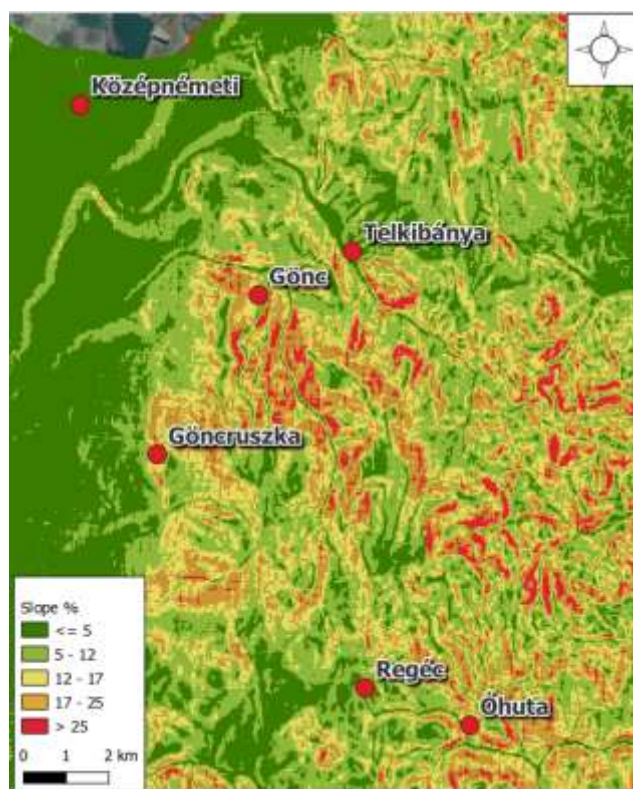


Fig. 7.28. Slope categories in the region.

There are some spatial characteristics of the properties as well, which are worthy of a brief introduction. In his work on the region, Belényesy claimed that beside the capability of adapting their economy to the possible resources, there was a certain alliance of the three monasteries, more an interdependence between them.¹⁰⁴¹ The friendly atmosphere was certainly present amongst the Paulines and the statement was certainly true when they acquired their privileges, but these were temporal allegiances (just like in other parts of the Kingdom).

However, one of the key point in this argument is that their sustaining strategies were developing independently from each other, strictly not overlapping certain areas:

- Göncruszka had a complex and broad range of estates;
- Gönc preferably relied on Telkibánya, adapting to a complex role by managing the hospital in the town;
- the Paulines at Óhuta, where the woods were ideal for a truly eremitic life, had to focus their attention and economic background to the south-southeastern lands from their location.

¹⁰⁴¹ Belényesy, *Abaij-Hegyalja*, 105.

Not only the location, but the character of their estate management were slightly distinctive from each other. Óhuta monastery with its lands at Hegyalja, developed a background, secondary estate and governed several vineyards and mills *via* a local *curia* at Horváti. Only one mill and a *possessio* was owned by the monastery at Vilmány, close to the border of Regéc, possibly at the end of the Middle Ages.

Göncruszka monastery had an irregular management with its broad territorial scope of its properties. All the known, numerous mills were close to the monastery, while vineyards happened to appear not only in the vicinity of the cloister, but much further as well; but all of these were exceeded in distance and complexity by the properties, especially by Kenéz. Here the estate was governed from a *curia*, which provided not only fish, but direct connection to Tisza river, one of the most important waterways in the Carpathian Basin; thus, this meant a connection to transport and business for the Paulines.

The properties of Gönc were in a really close distance of the monastery (north and west to the cloister), mostly by the courtesy of the local noblemen and *hospites*, who donated their own possessions for them, sometimes full villages, e.g. Csecses praedium. At Telkibánya, the Paulines took over most of the tasks and roles that other orders could have filled in; they served as the “monks of the town”, instead of other monastic or mendicant orders, who usually inhabited towns.

In regards to towns, not only Telkibánya was close: Kassa was in a day’s journey to Gönc (ca. 30 kms), but Patak and Újhely were also in the vicinity. However, unlike other areas, there were no houses owned by the monks, only *curiae*, (Fig. 7.29.) which appeared among the properties of all three monasteries. Sometimes these were further from the cloister than towns would be, thus they served as estate centers; possibly the purpose of these properties was (partially at least) similar to the houses in towns, they were the places of business as well.

<i>Hermitage/monastery</i>	<i>Óhuta (before 1307)</i>	<i>Göncruszka (1338)</i>	<i>Gönc (1360s)</i>
vineyard	4+ sum: 1 Tolcsva-Chrebeter (1438) 1 Lízka-Kópataka (1422) multiple Regéc (1384) 1 Horvát-Gyapáros (before 1469) 1 Tolcsva-Kópataka (1520)	3+ sum: 1 (1338), some Ruszka (1424), 1 Fewenes-Ruszka (1484), 1 Szikszó-Nyúlmál (1523)	3+ sum: 1 (1428), probably some more (1459) 1 Wagner (1450), some (1459) 1 (1438) some (1383-1419)
mill	3 sum: 2 Horváti (1466, 1469) 1 Vizsoly (until 1526)	7+ in 9 mills sum: 1 Ruszka (1338), 1 Vilmány-NRuszkai (1388-1461), 2 Hejce (1421), 1 Szántó (1465), 1 (1482, two 1/2 at Hernád), 1/4 Hernád (1486-1506), some part Hernád (1483), 1 Kéked (1496-1507)	6+ in 7 mills sum: 2 full (1371, 1450); one partial at Bányapataka (1446) 1 sawmill (1438), Ósva 1 mill and further mill-places (1450); Bányapataka 1 mill and mill-places (1459), 1 supra Zsujta (1450)

arable lands	3 sum: 2 Tolcsva (1438) 1 Horváti-Karlo (1469)	3+ terra also 6-7 funes sum: 1 terra Ruszka (1418), 6-7 funes Ruszka (1402-30), some (1424), 1 terra (1482) 1 terra near Oroszvölgy and Thywes (1482)	20 funes + 1,1/4+ terra sum: 4-5 funes (1402-1430), a quarter of a terra (1428), 15 funes of arable lands, plus another terra (1428), and further arable lands (1459)
parcels	2 sum: 1 sessio Tolcsva (1438) 1 fundus Liszka (1422)	2 sum: 1 sessio Vilmány (1482), 1 sessio Kékéd (1507)	5 sum: a sessio for a mill at Ósva (1450); 4 sessios (1459)
meadows	1 sum: Lapuhas fenetum (1412)	2+ sum: Lapuhas fenetum (1412), some (1424), 1 fenetum Kékéd (1507)	2+ sum: Lapuhas fenetum since 1412, some (1471) prate near Wagner vineyard (1450) some feneti, prati (1459); some (1471)
forests		1+ sum: some Göncruszka (1424), Kokol? (1455) at Kenéz	some (1459)
fishponds		at Kenéz, fishing at Tisza oxes	
possessio	1 sum Kis-Vilmány (1510)	4 sum: Kenéz (1455), Kerel, Tófüz (1458), Karos (1507)	2 sum: Czechez praedium/ villa (1438-1459) + Szada possessio (1485)
curia	1 sum - Horváti (1465)	1 Kenéz (1477)	1 curia + 1 bath - Telkibnya (1459), 1 hospital (1450)
tax/money	exempt of ninth, taxes on feastdays, on tributum after wine and food	exempt of ninth, taxes on feastdays, on tributum after wine and food	indulgences, exempt of ninth, taxes on feastdays, on tributum after wine and food

Fig. 7.29. *Zemplén/Abauj-Hegyalja. Summary of estates, properties in the region.*

Vineyards

The area of good vineyards was limited in the wooded area of Abauj-Hegyalja. Some lands were definitely cultivated around the monasteries, like a source suggests at Göncrucka (1484, Fewenes). However, most of the good or even outstanding vineyards happened to be in the Hegyalja region, along the road from Tokaj to Újhely, where the monastery of Óhuta had several of them. Since this monastery was located along the way through the wood between Hegyalja and Abauj-Hegyalja, it was a low-cost travel for the monks to travel to their vineyards, also the tenant peasants and laborers at their *curia* at Horváti could manage them directly.

Gönc and Göncruszka were related to the Hernád valley region, where good vineyard areas were also present, but most possibly they were limited. This could be the reason that besides their local properties, further areas like Szántó (precisely the *nona* from the vineyards) and later even Szikszó appear among their incomes. However, their main income was most probably from other properties; it seems that from mills and complex estates (Göncruszka- Kenéz, Gönc-Telkibánya).

Mills

It is quite rare in Pauline research to have a glimpse on the details of buildings, which appeared here in the case of mills, their building material. Two times (1482 and 1486) the monks at Göncruszka

incorporated their need for building material into documents: *talpfa*, (sleeper) and *gerenda* (joist) appear them, also thorny bushes for the mill channels (from Dobóföldre, which layed west of Göncruszka). The mills were regularly burnt down in the region, also needed regular maintenance, which could be very expensive. Instead of money, the building material was sufficient enough for the Paulines as guaranteed privilege, however, they must have had their own resources as well.

Several mill-places were owned by them, three mills were actually built by them (two at Hejce by Göncruszka monastery ca. 1421, one at Gönc stream by Gönc monastery after 1371) and one rebuilt (Göncruszka at Szántó, 1465). Although all monasteries had mills, Göncruszka and Gönc had an outstanding number of them, which all were located and established in their close vicinity (except the one at Szántó). The concentration is more visible in the case of Gönc, who owned mills along Ósva-Bányapataka and Gönc streams; meanwhile Göncruszka had more interests along the Henrád river.

Parcels, arable lands, meadows, forests, fishponds

Just like in most analyzed cases, the sources are rather scarce on other properties than mills or vineyards. These basic types of lands were not necessarily inserted/mentioned in charters, usually, if they were donated to the monks, they were just listed after some highlighted and valuable possessions (see Gönc in 1459, or in 1471, Göncruszka in 1424).

Beside *terra*, the measure of *funes* (meaning ropes) appears in many sources; unfortunately, a unit of rope widely different from region to region, which is why it is impossible yet to esteem its size. Fishponds are lacking in the written sources, however, at the field, they could be identified in the close neighborhood of the monasteries. Meadows (both *fenetum* and *prate*) appear only twice; *Lapuhas* (1412) must have provided good hay since Óhuta, Göncruszka and Gönc also wanted to use it on the territory of Regéc. Naturally, in this area forests were easily accessible by the monks, maybe this is why they appeared in charters without any specifics (see 1459 Gönc, or Göncruszka 1424) – except Kokol at Kenéz, which is dubious if it was a Pauline property or not (Göncruszka, 1424/1455).

Some parcels, usually a small farm place (*sessio*) appears among the properties of all three monasteries. These were mostly related to mills, which the miller could cultivate and provide food for himself. Not much is known here on the difference of *sessio* and *fundus* (Liszka, 1422, Óhuta) since without specifics both are the synonyms of simple parcels, households or plots for the tenant

pesants (*iobbagiones*); however, it is possible that a *sessio* was a plain parcel, while a *fundus* had a proper house and all features of household farming built.¹⁰⁴²

Property complexes

Among the three studied regions, these monasteries had the largest number of properties, estates with assets. These appear from the second third of the fifteenth century (Csecses villa in 1438 first), but mostly related to the second half of the 1400s. Among all the studied monasteries, Göncruszka had the broadest network of properties and the sources on its Kenéz *possessio* are one of the most detailed ones in the studied frame. Some small possessions, namely Kerel, Tófüz, or the area at Kéked and Karos, cannot be located yet precisely. Gönc had its history with Csecses villa since 1438 and finally received it in 1459. Although its most complex property was definitely the hospital, the monastery acquired interest at Szada by 1485, which was near the Tisza, also it was the neighbor of Kenéz, the possession of Göncruszka. This could also be evaluated as indirect evidence of cooperation between the two monasteries at the end of the Middle Ages.

7. 4. The medieval space of the Pauline Order: comparison of the Pilis-Börzsöny Forest, Balaton Uplands, and Abaúj-Hegyalja region

The Pauline landscape holds many important, though only partially revealed, historical features in the space, which were aimed to be revealed from different types of sources (Chapter 3.2.), organized on several spatial layers (Chapter 3.4.) and contextualized in a broad sense (Chapter 4-7.) on a digital platform (Chapter 3.4.3.).

The remnants of medieval, human-made environment in the landscape (Level 3-4, see Chapter 3.4.2.) are more or less already vanished; the present work aimed to reveal them through archival, cartographic and field survey, also non-destructive methods (geodesy, LiDAR). Such features were for example fishponds, roads, mill-places, in a few cases remains of monastic gardens, and in terms of properties, different lands were identified as well (arable lands, vineyards, etc.); in the contextualization of these data, GIS-based analyses were also used. This frame of medieval Pauline monastic space was analyzed throughout in Chapters 4-6, each targeting a specific region.

The three studied regions (Level 5, see Chapter 3.4.1.) were important for different reasons, and were inhabited densely in different time periods; however, their evolution overlapped with each

¹⁰⁴² Pallas Lexikon, “Úrbéri birtok”.

other, which means that it was possible to study and compare several factors and layers with each other. The Balaton Uplands were part of this process from 1221, the Pilis Forest from the 1260s, the Zemplén area probably a few decades later (1291?), while the Börzsöny Forest only from the 1350s. A modest number of regional characteristics were also revealed, thanks to the regional GIS datasets, which were particularly compelling at the Balaton Uplands (Chapter 7.1.), but some new aspects were also highlighted in the Pilis-Börzsöny region (Chapter 7.2.), also at Abaúj-Hegyalja (Chapter 7.3.). However, numerous new data may appear in the future, which will definitely broaden or even modify the spatial context of the Pauline monasteries.

This all allows now to outline not only the characteristics of pre-Pauline hermitages, but of Pauline economy and estate management; furthermore, it draws attention to important events and features of their history, which shed light on how the holy men living in the woods became the hermits of the people and of the king.

The spread of hermitages and monasteries: the Pauline history in the light of the dynamics of the analyzed regions (twelfth–mid-fifteenth c.)

The history of the Pauline order, no matter which segment is regarded, is a chronicle about the power of faith and unstoppable eagerness, especially in regards to the beginnings of the order. The study of the first hermitages and the whole process of development is certainly important and rather fascinating, because the Pauline Order is the only monastic order, founded in the Carpathian Basin and it still operates even nowadays. Scattered or absolutely lacking sources make it hard to outline the history of hermits and hermitages in the area,¹⁰⁴³ and related to this, it is also delicate to define the beginnings of the later Pauline monasteries, to determine the pre-Pauline period¹⁰⁴⁴ of the hermitages. In the absence of information, merely artificial chronological lines and clusters can be labeled/identified, also partial answers can be given to questions related to when and which hermitages are to be regarded as pre-Pauline or Pauline hermitage/monastery, under what kind of circumstances.

In this work, some possible aspects of thirteenth-century hermitages were understood in general on the basis of written sources and spatial features. Due to the chronological frame of the work and also the studied sites, all hermitages and monasteries were selected on simple (and

¹⁰⁴³ F. Romhányi, “Heremitae”, 9-20.

¹⁰⁴⁴ In the current analysis the Pre-Pauline period is dated from the beginning of the thirteenth century until 1309. On the official recognition of the Pauline order see Chapter 3.

compared to previous scholarship, only slightly broadened/modified) ideas. There were some, which were

- regarded as Pauline communities by the Paulines themselves in the late middle ages (especially in *Vitae Fratrum* or in the *Inventarium*); or
- anytime mentioned in relation with them, (pl. Középnémeti); or
- some of its attributes were related to the previous two groups (for example the Holy Spirit hermitage at Berény).

However, the chronological frame can be articulated for further reasons than these, because especially in terms of organization, a certain and crucial change of attitude can be discovered around the early 1200s. In the first half of the thirteenth century, various small groups of hermits, namely at Jakab-hegy at Pécs, as well as the St. Helen (*Insula Pilup*), James (Sáska) and Marie Magdalene (Salföld) in the Balaton Uplands (Chapter 7.1.) articulated and organized their lives according to certain rules.

This was partially initiated by clerics, especially Bartholomeus and Achilles, bishops of Pécs, but the hermits themselves also aspired to organize their life; the earliest known hermitages in Veszprém Bishopric applied to the Austin order in 1261, while later Bishop Paulus gave an individual rule for all the hermits living on his territory.

Meanwhile in daily life, the hermits won over the people step-by-step, thus their support became a pious act in the eyes of the world, including human and heavenly. Although there is scattered data of various hermitages all over in the Kingdom, (see the Pauline (eremitic) communities before 1241 in Fig. 7.30. also 7.31., the hermitages and monasteries around 1300) the first analyzed area, the Bishopric of Veszprém appears to be highlighted in the Pauline tradition and thus in scholarship as well.

There must have been several reasons behind the Balaton Upland's early importance; amongst them is that this region was the first Christianized area of the Hungarian Kingdom by the settling of the monks at Pannonhalma and other locations; the monastic and settlement network was also denser here than in other regions; stable and wealthy kindreds governed the lands; and finally, as it was physically closer to the western part of Central Europe, certain influences¹⁰⁴⁵ could possibly reach the hermits who lived here more strongly than in other regions. Also, the area is well-documented

¹⁰⁴⁵ Alison I. Beach, Isabelle Cochelin (2020), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), especially Part III, Hermitism in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries.

compared to other areas of the medieval Kingdom in spite of the large-scale destruction of medieval sources during the centuries.

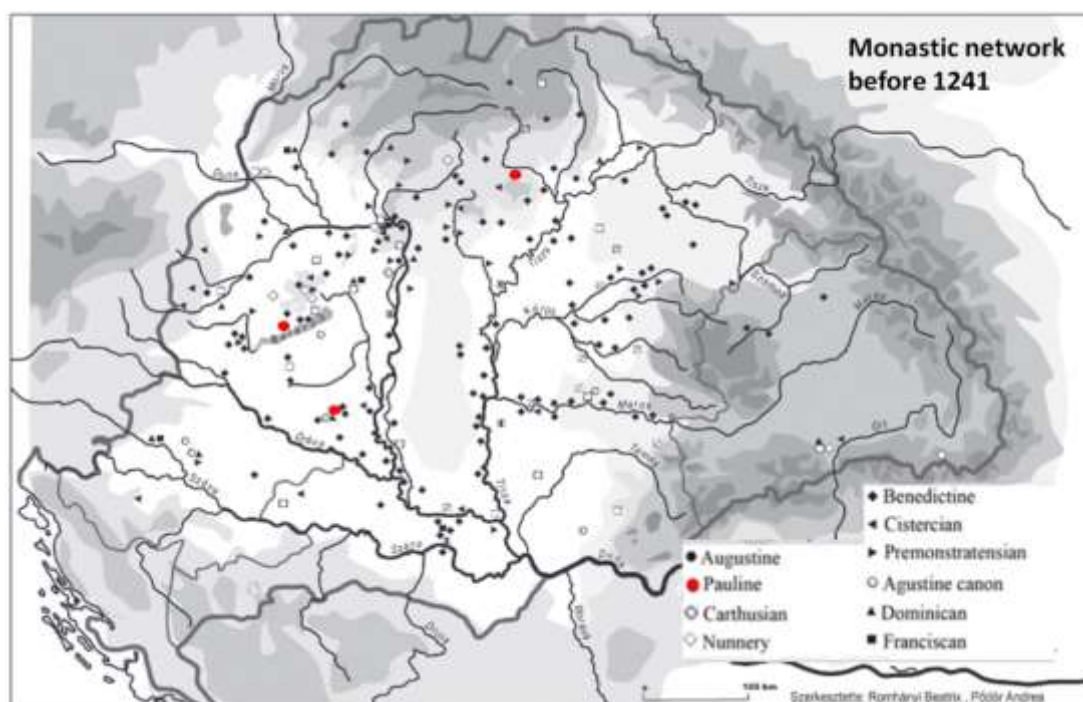


Fig. 7.30. **Summary.** The monastic network before 1241, the Mongol Invasion. Beside *Insula Pilup*, Pécs-Jakabhegy on the south and Dédes in the northeastern area are marked. Based on F. Romhányi, “Kolostorhálózat”, 17, Fig. 4.

These individual attempts in the different dioceses needed strong support; after the two inventories in Veszprém bishopric, 1263 and 1291, the cluster of hermits definitely had a slowly, but gradually developing self-representation, a nucleus with a regula and a leader, who was involved in the bishopric administration at a certain level (the prior of the hermits was invited to the annual chapters). By the end of the thirteenth century not only a strong ecclesiastic support, the confirmation of the archbishop, and due to the hermits in the Pilis, the support of the kings as well strengthened the hermits (by the fourteenth century, the brothers of the Holy Cross). The role of the royal court and especially the king's favor has always been a guarantee not only for protection and support, but it was a sphere of innovation as well, which means that a regular relationship with the leader of the country could lead the hermits, later the Paulines, to develop sufficient strategies for themselves.

Another important data is related to the gradually growing self-organization. As it is reported in the *Vitae fratrum*, the prior of the Holy Cross monastery and the general prior both introduced the archbishop's rule (1291) to the bishop of Eger, who confirmed it in 1297 as relevant on his territory as well. At this time the latest, such earlier hermitages like Dédes and possibly Óhuta, could also be part of the eremitic network, which was to be called the Brothers of the Holy Cross for decades.

Apart from such scattered data, precisely the approval of the different bishoprics, there is no more lead yet to reconstruct the gradually broadening network of the Holy Cross order, not even later ca. until the mid-fourteenth century. In other words, it is not clear when and which communities joined the Holy Cross/Pauline order in the first half of the fourteenth century. Although the land management schemes of the eremitic communities must have been the same in the country, the analysis of all available sources enables us to define specific features or anomalies among them, which might be signs of their joining of the eremitic movement, led by the prior in the *medium regni*.

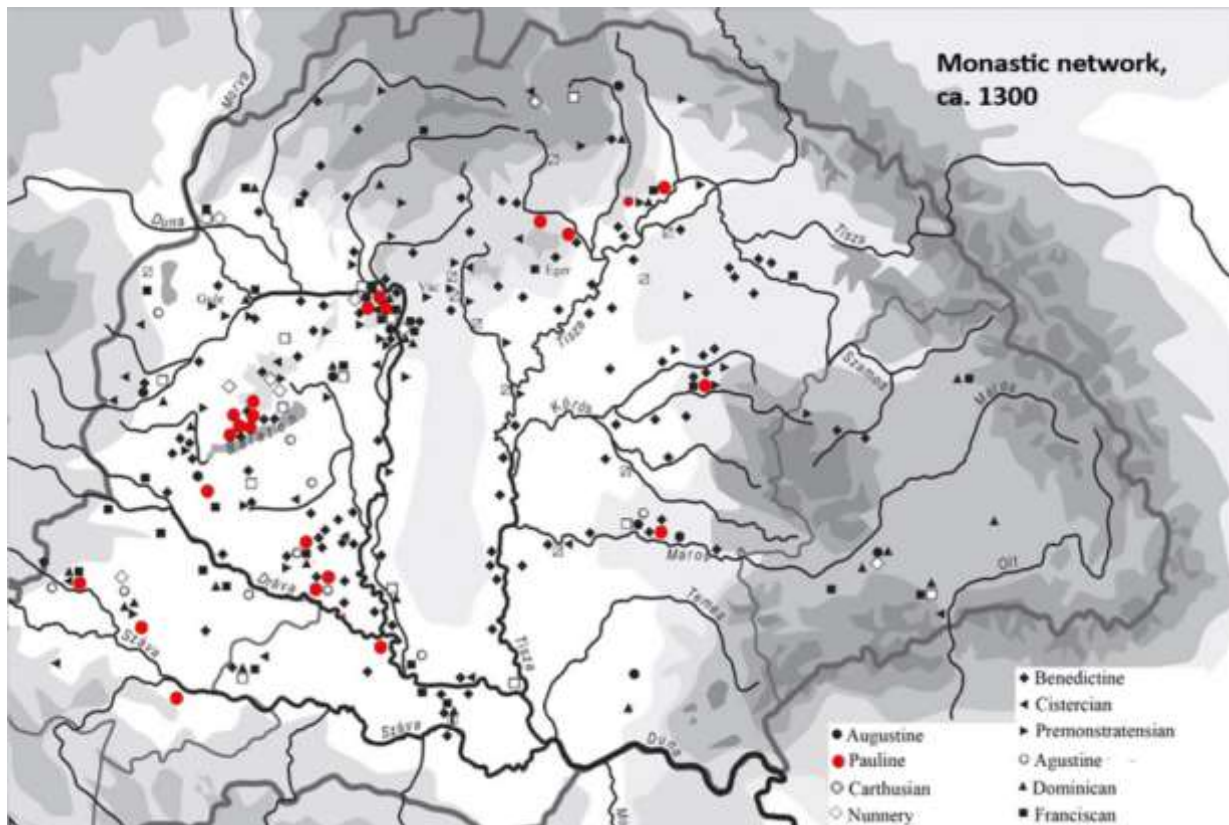


Fig. 7.31. *Summary. The monastic network around 1300, based on F. Romhányi, "Kolostorhálózat", 21, Fig. 7.*

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the leading role of the Holy Cross monastery and the Pilis region shifted to the St. Laurence monastery at Buda, where the royal seat soon developed as well; since 1308, that had been the seat of the general prior, also the place of general chapters. Meanwhile, the systemic involvement of hermitages continued in the country, but radical changes also appeared: some hermitages vanished from the surface, for example at the Balaton Uplands only three monasteries (Sáska, Tálod and Salföld) operated by the first half of the fourteenth century, which sheds light on the fragile existence of these communities.

the analysis of all available sources enables us the instability of the local support systems. This is why both the surviving and the newly founded monasteries (perhaps by this time Henye and Vállus, probably Uzsa) were focusing on the management of their relationship with the local landlords and noble families. This appears to be the case in the Zemplén as well, where after Óhuta monastery, the Paulines at Göncruszka appear around 1338, but unlike the communities at the Balaton Uplands, these monasteries were successfully operating.

The order was most likely struggling to consolidate its structures in the first half of the fourteenth century (See Chapter 3), until internal reforms, strict ecclesial regulations¹⁰⁴⁶ and the close relationship with King Louis (1342-1382) secured their survival and development. Before, King Charles I (1301/1310-1342) also supported the monks, although he had to spend decades to stabilize the Kingdom. This politically unsteady era could also affect the status of the monastic orders, including the Paulines and their relatively fresh elevation to a higher and appreciated status at the time.

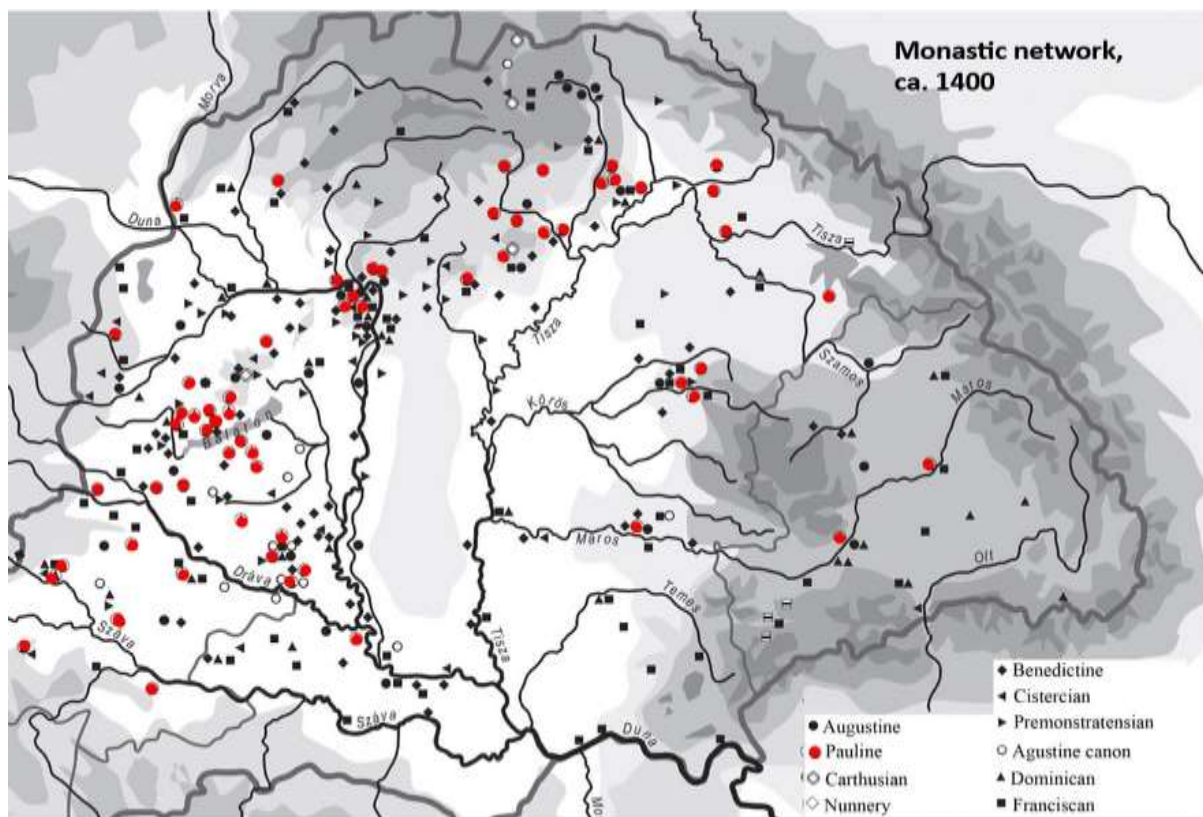


Fig. 7.32. *Summary. The monastic network around 1400, based on F. Romhányi, “Kolostorhálózat”, 23, Fig. 9.*

¹⁰⁴⁶ See the joint ecclesial lawsuit, filed by the prior of St. Ladislaus in the Pilis and Nosztra monasteries in 1372, Appendix 2/ 5.3.3.

By the first decades of the mid-fourteenth century, the Pauline Order stabilized their network: in 1328 there were approximately thirty monasteries, but beside them, there were several hermits, who would be hard to count, as the Archbishop of Kalocsa reported to the Pope's inquiry. This could mean that the reason why the Pauline order is hard to defined is that Paulines at the time were still regarded as some kind of collective representatives, or more likely reservoirs of the hermits in the kingdom. In the next level of research the different layers of eremitism, also hermits and hermitages (like Aegidus at Középnémeti) in general should be studied in this century as well.

The mid-fourteenth century is the time when the monastery at Nosztra and possibly at Gönc appeared, both on royal lands but for different reasons: Nosztra attempted to become the most distinguished monastery of all, while Gönc emerged as the spiritual (and after 1450 the physical) helper of the miners at Telkibánya. Both Nosztra and Gönc acquired some of their most precious properties in the fourteenth century. At Gönc, along with all the other monasteries in the region, the monks obtained privileges for limiting their deficit caused by the different taxes and tolls (distinguishably *nona* and further *tributa*).

The zest of the Pauline prospering era in the second half of the fourteenth century led to further monastery foundations. Some of them were unsuccessful, like the Holy Trinity at Regéc, or even the royal foundation of the St. Sigismund monastery in the *medium regni*, but some communities survived, possibly by the protection of others, which could have happened in the case of Toronyalja monastery in the shadow of Nosztra. The first decades of the fifteenth century were spent by stabilizing the monastic estates, which in some cases happened by joint strategies (for example the shared house of the Holy Spirit and Holy Cross in the Pilis).

This is the era when grangia-like estates also emerge on the estates of some monasteries, like Nosztra or Göncruszka; meanwhile in the Balaton Uplands, the Pauline monasteries were struggling, Tálod, Uzsa, and Salföld were offered to the Observant Franciscans, thus only Vállus, Sáska and Henye could stabilize its presence in the region. This means that unlike other studied areas, at the Balaton Uplands the eremitic network completely changed; only the monastery at Sáska with the stable supporting background could survive and even flourish undisturbed from the first decades of the 1200s until the Ottoman wars in the mid-sixteenth century.

Founders of the hermitages and Pauline monasteries

The very first eremitic communities (who happened to appear in all studied regions, also see the ones before 1241 in Fig. 7.30.) were most probably founded, or more likely first just supported as

part of a fashion of individual devotion among the most influential kindreds, like it is proven in the Balaton Uplands and possibly in the Abaúj-Hegyalja (Óhuta) as well.

The involvement of the Pilis Forest and the king was a complete game changer in Pauline history, because by the recognition of the ruler, the possibility of an organized and independent (of the bishopric), also gradually developing monastic life opened for them. After the fourteenth century, at that time already as part of the *imitatio regni*, the trend of Pauline support was flourishing again among the mid- and high nobility in all regions: beside the Balaton Uplands (Uzsa, Vállus, Sáska), in the case of the Zemplén area the Paulines were present on royal lands and supported by the local nobles, and *hospites* (settlers and later burghers) as well.

Here the case of Sáska and Óhuta are worthy for a quick note: these two hermitages were among the earliest pre-Pauline hermitages, both located in a fairly wooded area, supported by local nobles, and preserved their sustenance until the end of the Middle Ages. However, while in the case of Óhuta the supporters probably (!) had changed (from Aba or Tolcsva kindred to Tolcsva(!), to the less influential and smaller groups of Horváti and Liskza families), Sáska is a unique monastery because the Gyulaffy kindred never stopped supporting it.

The approval of other ecclesial institutions, like the presence and support of the bishops is vaguely documented but some crucial observations still could be made. Only the first communities were supported by the ecclesial leaders in every sense: the bishops Bartholomeo de Gros and Achilles of Pécs not only legally supported the hermits at Jakab-hegy, but ensured their further prosperity and stability by giving properties for them as well.¹⁰⁴⁷ A few decades later, but still in the thirteenth century, the bishops Paulus and Benedictus of Veszprém and Andreas of Eger gave regulations for the hermits, but no data is known on any privileges or properties. This is why all the communities had to find their own background and strategy.

A bright exception among the unsupportive bishops was the bishop of Eger, Nicolaus Dörögdi, who was not only the founder of Almárvölgy monastery near Eger, but graciously supported it and Veresmart as well. Also Michael, the bishop of Vác, although there were no monasteries on his territory, gave a hand to the Pauline priors at Nosztra and Szentlászló (See Chapter 5), or in other case, also the bishop of Vác ordained the sanctuary in the monastery of Gönc (Chapter 6.3.5.).

¹⁰⁴⁷ Pető, “Charters”.

Remarks on the Pauline site-selection in the studied regions

In most cases the hermitages, even Pauline monasteries, were built on earlier chapels or churches. At the Balaton Uplands archaeological evidence was brought to light at Vállus and Salföld, while in the Pilis and Börzsöny Forest beside the results of excavations, – written evidence also proves the previous inhabitation of the sites at the Holy Spirit monastery (royal *curia*), Toronyalja (village) and also at Nosztra (village+demolished *castrum* used as building material). In the Abaúj-Hegyalja region, only Göncruszka was deliberately built upon a chapel. (Fig. 7.33.)

It is possible to compare further human and natural factors in the question. Although the Balaton Uplands and the Pilis Forest were settled around the same time, the mid-thirteenth-century, these were two separate waves of foundation.¹⁰⁴⁸ The earlier wave of foundation took place in specific areas of the Balaton Uplands: exclusively on private lands, owned by the local nobility. Those areas were never settled by the Paulines which were owned by ecclesial institutions, like the Chapter of Veszprém or the Benedictine Abbeys. All of the monasteries are concentrated in the center and western part of the Balaton Uplands –even the ones on the southern area of the Balaton. It is also should be noted that the foundation and the support of a hermitage (possibly also the Paulines until some time, ca. fourteenth century) required a much less investment of the founders, which rather elevated their popularity amongst the people.¹⁰⁴⁹

However, further sub-groups could be identified in the western cluster of the Balaton Uplands as well. Some of the first hermitages (Salföld, Badacsony, Révfülöp) were located on the lakeshore, which could be explained by the closeness of water as part of the eremitic landscape, but also with the closeness of ports and ferries. This elevates the lake to the settling features from spiritual and practical perspectives as well. Beside the transportation on the lake, the roads along the shore and in the valley from Veszprém to Tapolca (Tálod, Sáska, Henye) were highly important factors, relatedly the *oppidum* of Tapolca could have also been important (Uzsa, Vállus); just like great mills near Tapolca, on Egregy stream (especially for Sáska). Also the close vicinity of Almád Abbey was possibly favored by the hermits and monks (Sáska and Tálod, also Henye).

The monasteries in the Pilis were founded on the basis of royal hunting lodges, by the king himself.¹⁰⁵⁰ In the Pilis, the hunting lodges, the roads and the royal centers represented the key factors not only in the locations, but in the chronological order of foundations. Of course, the royal hunting

¹⁰⁴⁸ Szabó, *Woodlands and Forests*, 143.

¹⁰⁴⁹ I am grateful for the insight of Katalin Szende.

¹⁰⁵⁰ In the Bakony Royal Forest, in the case of Porva Pauline monastery, most probably also a royal hunting lodge and chapel was the basis for the Paulines. See Szabó, *Woodlands and Forests*, 143–144.

lodges, which served the royal court before, all were founded on the advantages of the land and its features. The Holy Cross Monastery is regarded as the first monastery of the Paulines possibly due to its close connection with the king and its leading role in organizing the hermits. However, it rather had symbolic preeminence, as is attested by the traditional history of the order and several contemporary documents. The changes in royal policy led to the end of the supposed leadership of the Holy Cross Monastery. Its closeness to Esztergom was also important not because of the king, but the archbishop and it was the closest town to it.

Near to the Holy Cross, the Holy Spirit Monastery seems to have had the smallest regional impact since its beginnings, but the site itself says a lot about the circumstances of its foundations; it was built upon a royal curia and along a road through the Pilis, from Óbuda to Esztergom. By the fourteenth century its size and character were similar to the Holy Cross Monastery. The location of the St. Ladislaus Monastery is related to the north-south road from Óbuda's region to Visegrád, which also sensibly defines its focal area; it operated separately of the two other monasteries in the Pilis Forest, sometimes even working or sharing properties with Nosztra and Toronyalja. While the Holy Cross and Holy Spirit for example managed houses at Buda together, the St. Ladislaus monastery did it on its own.

The site-selection in the Abaúj-Hegyalja region is related to a huge gap in the monastic network and roads again; the northeastern-southwestern oriented Hernád valley (Göncruszka, Gönc, Középnémeti), also the Huta stream, which meant the only reasonable eastern-western transport through the dense woods of the Zemplén hills, between the Abaúj-Hegyalja and Hegyalja regions. Most possibly the hermits settled at Óhuta not only because of the road, but the modest desolation the forest provided for them.

General remarks on land-management¹⁰⁵¹

The Pauline economy and land management originates in eremitic traditions, which in some respect and global sense, they never had exceeded. Maybe this was the key to their success considering that their self-sufficient lifestyle domesticated into something that was possibly equal with any kind of secular land-management. The Pauline know-how was not a steadily decided strategy, but rather the strategy of adaptation to any kind of preferences that a region had. Also as a golden rule, these

¹⁰⁵¹ Partially compared with Chapter 2.2.1. Except caves, all features were reflected. Caves appear only in two certain cases: at Klastrompuszta, Holy Cross monastery and most possibly indirectly at Nosztra and they were never addressed in contemporary sources of the studied timeframe. Their significance could not be measured in this work, a broad comparative analysis could reveal more on the symbolic and practical use of the caves among eremitic communities.

communities, no matter how close they were to each other, never crossed one's properties or interests –or at least written and spatial material is lacking such issues.

Domus, curiae, possessiones. Regarding houses, only the monasteries in the Pilis acquired some at Buda; all the other analyzed monasteries were lacking them or instead, they owned *curiae*, which usually served as estate centers further from the monastery. Most monasteries, but especially the ones in the Pilis appeared to maximize their palette of properties in the fourteenth century, while in the fifteenth century the estates and houses (sometimes in appealing neighborhood, like the St. Ladislaus monastery, who had a house near John Corvin and another in front of the Dominican monastery at Buda), in other cases the grangia-like possessions (sometimes a whole *villa, praedium*) appeared to be the next level of economic character in the Pauline economic history.

Not many monasteries managed estates or grangia-like complexes, but in the case of Nosztra, also Göncruszka and Óhuta this intention was clear by the second half of the fifteenth century. Most possibly these estates could operate properly if they were managed locally: a stable house, a *curia* served sufficiently as a center for them locally. This kind of economy appeared in the first decades of the fifteenth century (at Nosztra it started much earlier, soon after its foundation in mid-fourteenth century); the same time all the monasteries acquired more and specific properties to stabilize their income, meaning more mills and houses, sometimes vineyards. This all relates to the change of management, when the dominance of goods was changed to money.

Fig. 7.33. Summary of the analyzed written sources related to the monasteries.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	<i>Isztula Philip</i> (1221-early 1300s?)	<i>Saalfeld</i> (1230s- 1482)	<i>Széka (before</i> <i>1201-1340s?)</i>	<i>Budacsory</i> (1203-1310s)	<i>Tálad</i> (1203- 1480)	<i>Kiastrompuz</i> in (ca. 1203)	<i>Pszentlélek</i> (ca. 1280)	<i>Pszentlászló</i> (before 1201)	<i>Ohina</i> (13th c. end)	<i>Herpe</i> (1300s- 1500s)	<i>Utsa</i> (1330s- 1442)	<i>Váhu</i> (1330s- early 1500s)	<i>Göncnyuzsika</i> (1358)	<i>Nozatra</i> (1352)	<i>Gönc</i> (1500s)	<i>Toronyfalva</i> (before 1381)
vineyard 13	2 (1221)															
vineyard 14		1 (1307)	2 (1304, 1324)	1 (1313)		5 (1308, 1336, 1396, 1346, 1376)		1 (1351)	multiple Regec (1384) 3 1. Tolcsva- Cinebeter (1438) 1: Lászka- Kópátaka (1422) 1: Horvát- Gyapáros (before 1469)	4 [1365]	1 (1392)		1 (1338)		some (1383- 1419)	
vineyard 15			1 (1484)					2 (1418, 1457)	1 Tolcsva- Kópátaka (1520)				some Ruzsika (1424), 1 Fewenes-Ruzsika (1484),	7 (1404, before 1404, 1416, 1418, 1482)	3+ sum: 1 (1428), probably some more (1459) 1 Wagner (1450), some (1459) 1 (1438)	1 (1418)
vineyard 16													1 Szeksző- Nyulnád (1523)			1 (1504)
mill 13													2 1 Ruzsika (1338), 1: Vilmany- NRuszkai (1388- 1461),			
mill 14			1 (1306)		3 [-1324]			1 (1358)		1 [1365]			5 and some in 7 mills: 2 Hejce (1421), 1 Szanó (1465), 1 (1482, two 1/2 at Hernád), 1/4 Hernád (1486- 1506), some part Hernád (1483), 1 Kékéd (1496- 1507)	4 (1366, 1368, 1376, 1380)	1 (1371)	1 (1381)
mill 15		1 (1442- 87)	4 (1437, 1487, 1500, 1511)					5+ (1456, 1458, 1358, 1458, 1473, 1475) mill- place 3	1 Vizsoly (until 1526)		1/2 (1406)		1 (1471)		1 (1504)	1 (1504)
mill 16														1 (1504)		
arable land 13						1 (1289)										
arable land 14			min. 8 (1304, 1307, 1324)		[-1324]	2 (1307, 1358)				34 [1365]						

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	<i>Beula Philip</i> (1221-early 1300s?)	<i>Safold</i> (1230s- 1482)	<i>Saba before</i> (1261-1340s?)	<i>Budaczony</i> (1263-1310s)	<i>Talod</i> (1263- 1480)	<i>Kilampopus</i> <i>zta</i> (ca. 1263)	<i>P-senilelek</i> (ca. 1280)	<i>P-senilelek</i> (before 1291)	<i>Ohua</i> (13th c. end)	<i>Herpe</i> (1300s- 1300s)	<i>Usta</i> (1330s- 1442)	<i>Vilike</i> (1330s- early 1500s)	<i>Görncuska</i> (1338)	<i>Nozara</i> (1332)	<i>Gone</i> (1300s)	<i>Toronyaj</i> (before 1381)
		2/several ? (1482)	several						3 sum: 2 Tolcsya (1438) 1 Horvát- Karlo (1469)				3+ terra also 6-7 funes sum: 1 terra Ruszka (1418), 6-7 funes Ruszka (1402- 30), some (1424), 1 terra (1482), 1 terra near Orozslégy and Thywes (1482)		20 funes + 1,1 /4+ terra sum: 4.5 funes (1402-1430), 1/4 terra (1428), 15 funes + 1 terra (1428), and further (1459)	
arable land 15					1 (1455)							24 (-1429)				
seccio fundus 13														1 (1382, Szob., cuia with sessio)		
seccio fundus 14					[-1324]			1 sessio at Vizegrad								
seccio fundus 15									2 sum: 1 sessio Tolcsya (1438) 1 fundus Liszka (1422)		1 (1455)	5 (-1429)	2 sum: 1 sessio Vilmany (1482), 1 sessio Kéked (1496-1507)	1 (sessio for cuia in 1453)	5 sum: a sessio for a mill at Osva (1450), 4 sessios (1459)	
fenetum/prate 13																
fenetum/prate 14		multiple (1307) multiple (1440, 1511)			[-1324]	1 (1306)				3 [1363]					2+ sum: Lapubas fenetum since 1412, some (1471) prate near Wagner vineyard (1450) some fenet., prati (1459), some (1471)	
fenetum/prate 15												70 (-1429)				
forest 13						1 (1274)										
forest 14			multiple (1307)		[-1324]								1+ sum: some Görncuska (1424), Kókol? (1455) at Kenéz		some (1459)	
forest 15																
fishpond 13																
fishpond 14										1 [1363]						
fishpond 15													at Kenéz, fishing at Tisza oxes			

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	<i>Incule Philip</i> (1721-early 1800s?)	<i>Safbold</i> (1790- 1852)	<i>Saba (before</i> <i>1761-1840s?)</i>	<i>Bodacorn</i> (1763-1810s)	<i>Tolod</i> (1763- 1880)	<i>Klennompuc</i> <i>via (ca</i> <i>1763)</i>	<i>P-zenidek</i> <i>(ca. 1780)</i>	<i>P-zenidek</i> <i>(before 1791)</i>	<i>Ohua</i> (17th c. end) (1500s- 1500s)	<i>Honye</i> (1500s- 1447)	<i>Uza</i> (1530s- 1447)	<i>Vallus</i> (1530s- early 1500s)	<i>Gonowich</i> (1538)	<i>Nozna</i> (1552)	<i>Gow</i> (1560s)	<i>Torontalia</i> (before 1581)
possession (praedium villa) 13																
possession (praedium villa) 14					1 (1328) Teszér									2 properties at Gen, Chata (1366)	2 sum. Czececz praedium/ villa (1438- 1459) + Szada possession (1485)	
possession (praedium villa) 15						1 (1467) Bajon							3 sum. Kenéz (1455), Kerel, Toftiz (1458)	1 Pusztatoran (1487)		
possession (praedium villa) 16								1 sum Kis- Vilmany (1510)					1 Karos (1507)			1 Botlyany (1527)
money/privilege 13																
money/privilege 14						exemptio of noma/ noma of vineyard		exempt of noma/ noma of vineyard	exempt of noma, taxes on tributum after wine and food				exempt of noma, taxes on tributum after wine and food		indulgences, exempt of noma, taxes on tributum after wine and food	
money/privilege 15					lease		lease	lease	exempt of noma, taxes on tributum after wine and food				exempt of noma, taxes on tributum after wine and food	tributum, sold properties, 2 butcheres (1416, 1482)	exempt of noma, taxes on tributum after wine and food	
house/curia 14													1 (1382, Szob., curia with sessio)			
house/curia 15						0.5	0.5	2	1 sum - Horvati (1465)				1 Kenéz (1477)	2 (before 1404, after 1453, Szob)	1 bath - Telkibanya (1459), 1 hospital (1450)	1 (Szokolya, 1539)
house/curia 16																
previous building		church/sett lement				1 hunting lodge (1287)						church/sett lement		castrum Nostre		

Further spatial and economic features also were sometimes surprising. The remains of **water management systems and ponds** in written sources were rather scarce in the studied regions. (see their usual appearance in Chapter 2.2.1.) However, field surveys gradually extended the number of features in this sense, including past excavations and survey, or rather new ones (LiDAR).

Scattered data were available on the internal water management of the cloisters (see for example Vállus or Sáska excavations, also a *lavabo* was still built in the ruined wall of the sacristy at Sáska), but there were various types of ponds and their sizes were also diverse in the close vicinity of the monasteries. Small ponds (especially with stone beds) might serve as reservoirs—water storage lakes—like the one next to the monasteries of Tálod and probably was at Óhuta, where they were sustained with fresh water from springs; such could serve as *servatorium* or possibly were not related to fishkeeping at all. But not every monastery had ponds around (Salföld), only cisterns, while some created water reservoirs because of climatic or for water regulation (Göncruszka).

Usually, grand ponds, possibly used as a *vivarium*, appeared within a few hundred meters of the monasteries; see for example the monasteries in the Pilis (especially St. Ladislaus and Holy Spirit monasteries), Börzsöny (Nosztra and Toronyalja), also the Abaúj-Hegyalja region (Gönc, Göncruszka, Regéc) or Tálod at the Balaton Uplands. These were usually located in valleys, which were usually not narrow enough to identify them as specific valley ponds (see Chapter 2.2.1., *Fishponds*). Except Tálod, the Balaton Uplands is rather undocumented in this sense. Such ponds were developed with the help of geographical conditions, close to the monasteries, but these were never mentioned in written sources. In the studied region only a fishpond called *Haltó*, a fishpond along the local stream was mentioned at Henye directly. Sometimes the charters mention the price of their repair (supposedly the construction of moats and dikes, cleaning the bend, etc.), as in the case of the St. Ladislaus Monastery in the Pilis. This means that they were part of a basic, essential property set around the monastery, just like vineyards or arable lands and meadows. I hereby thank Katalin Szende for the following explanation: the monks possibly built their fishponds, which is why these were not mentioned, only scarcely in the written sources.

An interesting spatial character of the fishponds is that mills were usually attached to them – however, Holub raised awareness to this possibility as a general tendency.¹⁰⁵² Both written and archaeological investigations have pointed out this characteristic. Károly Belényesy verified that this

¹⁰⁵² For example the bishop of Veszprém had a small pond in Sümeg “que volvit molendium”. Holub 1963, 61.

phenomenon occurred around many monasteries, just like Andrea Kékedi verified the correlation between mills and fishponds.¹⁰⁵³

Several times dikes were used as roads, which doubled their usefulness. An 80–100-meter long dike, which contained Roman ceramics, was constructed close to the Pauline monastery at Tálod. Near the Pauline St. Michael monastery at Nagyvázsony, one of two large dikes was built by stone and was mentioned in a charter as serving as a road over a stream. Another type of dike (supposedly medieval) was detected in Nagyvázsony (Hungarian Határvölgyi-gát, Boundary valley dike); it sheds lights on some of the constructions and reconstructions at the site, which were mentioned in the charters, namely, that the embankment was supported with a wooden structure made of panels.¹⁰⁵⁴

Fishing could happen not only in ponds; although it is unknown but it certainly was an issue for the monks at the Balaton Uplands to go fishing into the lake, however, no Pauline fishing site is known from written evidence. The Paulines in the Pilis and Börzsöny definitely had fishponds near them, but the Danube also could provide fishing opportunities. A refreshing data surfaced in the sources of Göncruszka monastery, which had a complex property, including probably fishing sites at Kenéz, on the shore of Tisza river.

Vineyards¹⁰⁵⁵ played a leading role since the beginnings of the Pauline economy, although in the thirteenth century only one donation is mentioned (*Insula Pilup*, 1221). The reasons behind this are more or less clear: at first the work with laborers was prohibited in the order, so vineyards could be cultivated by the Pauline monks themselves. It also provided wine but money as well: they could sell the wine or receive money or grapevine from their tenants, which provided regular income for them.

Sometimes the charters mention the tools that were used at vineyards, such as barrels, cellars, rams, etc. (see St. Ladislaus monastery, Borosjenő vineyard) Most of the sources describe and localize the vineyards relatively precisely, mentioning neighbors and great roads; it is a great help in their localization that cultivating grapes for fine wine has always been geographically (and therefore spatially) conditioned. The Paulines, like anyone else, tried to own the best properties, where the soil was good and the terrain's inclination was adequate; usually these were the southern slopes and in most cases, they had their properties in the most ideal areas, which are still regarded as great vine

¹⁰⁵³ Summary and literature in Pető, *Pilis*, 22.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Pető, *Pilis*, 34.

¹⁰⁵⁵ This section based primarily on Romhányi (2010), Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban, 55–72, 130–142; Pető (ed.), *Pálosok*, 54–55.

regions (for example Sáska monastery at Csobánc, St. Ladislaus at Borosjenő, Kesztlőc in its vicinity, but Óhuta at Tolcsva).

Furthermore, the cultivation of such lands meant that the Paulines had to invest a large amount of money, and until the first return of their financial and physical efforts, many years would pass. Therefore, vineyards were stable properties of the Pauline economy, and thus a stable spatial feature as well. This was expressed by contemporaries when they mentioned large areas of vineyards (*promontorium*).¹⁰⁵⁶

Beside vineyards, **mills** represented the most common valuable property of the monks since the fourteenth century. A spatial characteristic of mills is alluded to in a charter that verifies and summarizes the needs of the Paulines at Bereg in 1359.¹⁰⁵⁷ It points out that mills could not be built near the mills of Paulines. This is because, on the one hand, the original mill might not function well after connecting another mill to the system (depending on local circumstances), but on the other hand, the existence of another, competing mill near the Paulines' mill would endanger the Paulines' revenue from rent. Such issues happened at the monastery of Gönc, where the place of the Paulines' mill(s) was a reason for violent conflict between the monks and the townsmen. An outstanding number of mills were acquired by the monasteries of Sáska, St. Ladislaus in the Pilis, Nosztra, Göncruszka and Gönc monasteries, but most of them appear only in the fifteenth century, which correlates with the broadening monetary-based economy in the order.

Usually one or two mills served a monastery, but they might have more than one wheel, as was verified by several sources.¹⁰⁵⁸ Regular maintenance was essential for the mills, just as in the case of the ponds, because the wooden part of the wheels should be changed regularly (see the sources of Göncruszka). Mills were used in daily life mostly for milling corn, but there is evidence for the existence of a woolen mill, a sawmill, and a mill that was milling leguminous crops; a timbermill was mentioned specifically among the properties of Gönc.

Other buildings and parcels (*sessio, fundus*) were attached to these mills or sometimes curiae, which served the farmyards for the one living in the mill or the curiae. If the mill was located near a fishpond, these attendant structures were sometimes located there. In other cases, there were also structures inside or next to the walls of the monasteries, which might have had similar functions, or

¹⁰⁵⁶ E.g., the monasteries of Budaszentlőrinc, Fehéregyháza, Garics, Ruszka, Zágráb. F. Romhányi, *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban*, 55.

¹⁰⁵⁷ DAP I, 10.

¹⁰⁵⁸ F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 78.

as they are usually interpreted, functioned as workshops. This has been suggested at Nagyvázsony by the topographical surveys¹⁰⁵⁹ and at the Holy Spirit Monastery in the Pilis as well.¹⁰⁶⁰

Arable lands (*terra/funes*), meadow (*fenetum/prata*) and forest (*silva*) were the base of survival for self-sufficient communities, like the hermits and monks were. However, only single data on an arable land and some forests (Klastrompuszta, Holy Cross monastery) are dated to the thirteenth century. Unlike forests, the mentioning of meadows and arable lands increased in the fourteenth century, but the peak was in the fifteenth century. The charter describing the lands of Henye monastery is extremely rich in regards of lands, while a record number of meadows appear at Vállus monastery.

Privileges, money-based economy. Secular privileges and ecclesiastic indulgences were sometimes very important for the monks, usually when large-scale constructions were required in the monastery (e.g. Salföld or Gönc). Privileges, like exemptions of certain taxes (for example Abaúj-Hegyalja region), definitely lessened their weights and provided a slow, but gradually growing economy for the monks. It is notable that although the number of donations in money was growing from the fifteenth century, the number of their lands was not decreasing, moreover, they turned them into profitable leases or estates.

The most stable resource for the Paulines were definitely mills and from the fifteenth century the houses (later the estates), which tended to be more and more significant from the mid-1300s and 1400s, as the estate management tendencies show an order to develop a monetary economy for their needs.¹⁰⁶¹ Their income was grown by certain privileges that resulted in immediate income for the Paulines (like the taxes after salt received by King Louis), but individual cases also appeared: Nosztra monastery, for example, could collect tolls along the Danube and Ipoly rivers at Szob.

Reflection to the outcome of the work

The detailed analysis and the comparison of the selected regions not only revealed more layers of Pauline economy, but served as a solid basis for discovering certain patterns on the colorful history of the order. The most valuable information were the updated sources, including charter evidence, visual sources –from historic maps to LiDAR– and certain GIS analyses in context of broad archaeological data and landscape archaeology. Unfortunately, there was not enough information to adequately reflect all identified characteristics, related to the period of the thirteenth to mid-fifteenth

¹⁰⁵⁹ Kékedi, *Nagyvázsony*, 60.

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Lázár, “Pilisszentlélek műhelyház,” 219.

¹⁰⁶¹ F. Romhányi, *Pauline economy*, 73.

centuries. Although much had been revealed concerning the eremitic development, there is a certain gap in the first half of the thirteenth century, which should be analyzed in other areas as well; in our case although five monasteries (Uzsa, Henye, Vállus, *Középnémeti*, Gönc) were included, but they were mostly just *possibly* established around that time. Beside their varied appearance, there was hardly anything delicate to highlight in this time period, unless they were sustained like any other monasteries in the fourteenth century.

It was sometimes hard to draw a sharp line as the end point of this survey in the mid-fifteenth century; in almost every time it was possible to briefly look outward the given line, but the originally raised questions and the analyses were definitely focusing on the given time period. The late medieval comparison was beside the focus and it would be essential to broaden the regional analyses for it.

Nevertheless, although the present attempt has left many questions unanswered, it definitely shed a light on one thing: the hermits, living in medieval Hungarian Kingdom, were consciously present in their time and space, attended their own needs, but also eagerly guarded the future generations of monks, who were part of their chosen, holy family: the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit. The hermits, who were pioneers in organizing, were not conscious at the time that their work would live for many centuries onwards by the same attention for survival. This is why the order always adapted at a certain level to the social and economic possibilities of the Hungarian Kingdom, being the most important religious order founded in medieval Hungary. This is how the hermits became the monks of the people and the king.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources and Source Collections

Ambrosius de Cori: *Chronica Ordinis*. Roma, 1481.

Bakács, István, ed. *Hont vármegye Mohács előtt* [Hont County before Mohács]. Budapest, 1971.

Bakács, István. *Iratok Pest megye történetéből, 1002-1437* [Documents on the history of Pest County, 1002–1437]. Budapest: Pest Megyei Levéltár, 1982.

Bándi, Zsuzsa. “Északkelet-magyarországi pálos kolostorok oklevelei (regeszták)” [Charters (regesta) of the Pauline monasteries of Northeastern Hungary]. *Borsodi levéltári évkönyv* 5 (1985): 557–726.

Bártfai, László Szabó. *Pest megye történetének okleveles emlékei 1002–1599* [Documentary records of the history of Pest County 1002–1599]. Budapest, 1938.

Csánki, Dezső and Antal Fekete Nagy, ed. *Magyarország történeti földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [The historical geography of Hungary in the Hunyadi era]. Vols. I–V. Budapest, 1890–1913.

Dreska, Gábor. *A pannonhalmi konvent hiteleshelyi működésének oklevéltára I. (1244-1398)*. [The charter collection of the place of authentication of the chapter of Pannonhalma] Győr: Győri Egyházmegye, 2007.

Eggerer, Andreas (1663). *Fragmen Panis Corvi...* Vienna.

Engel, Pál and Norbert C. Tóth. *Királyok és királynék itineráriumai (1382-1437)* [The itineraries of kings and queens]. Budapest: MTA, 2005.

Fejér, György. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*. Vols. 1–11. Buda: Regiae Universitatis Hungariae, 1829–1844.

Gutheil, Jenő, ed. *Veszprém város okmánytára. Oklevelek a veszprémi érseki és káptalani levéltárakból (1002–1523)* [The documents of Veszprém, charters from the archbishopric and chapter archive (1002–1523)]. Veszprém, 2007.

Gyéressy, Béla et al. *Documenta Artis Paulinorum*. Vols. 1–3. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1975–1978.

Gyöngyösi, Gregorius. *Decalogus de beato Paulo primo heremita comportatus*. Cracow: Florianum Unglerium, 1532.

Gyöngyösi, Gregorius. *Vitae Fratrum Eremitarium Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae. Ed. Ferenc Hervay. Bibliotheca Medii Recentisque Aevorum. Series Nova IX*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1988.

Edited translation:

Gyöngyösi, Gregorius. *Arcok a magyar középkorból*. [Characters from the Middle Ages]. Ed. Ferenc Hervay. Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1983.

Györffy, György. *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [A historical geography of Hungary in the Árpadian period]. Vols. I–IV. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964–1998.

Hadnagy, Valentinus. *Vita divi Pauli primi heremite*. Venetie: Matthias Milcher. Metropolitan Ervin Szabó Library, 1511. Budapest Collection, warehouse note: B 0941/271, inv. no. B/29752.

Published edition:

Gábor Sarbak, ed. *Miracula Sancti Pauli primi heremite. Hadnagy Bálint pálos rendi kézikönyve*, 1511. Debrecen: Kossuth Egy. Kiadó, 2003.

Kandra, Kabos. *A váradi regestrum*. [The Regestrum of Várad]. Budapest, 1898.

Knauz, Ferdinand. *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*. Vol. 2. Esztergom: Horák, 1882.

Kristó, Gyula. *Anjou-kori oklevéltár* [Angevin-era charters]. Vols. I–XL. Budapest, 1990–2014.

Kumorovitz, L. Bernát. *Veszprémi regeszták (1301–1387)* [Regestas from Veszprém]. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, 1953.

Küküllei, János: *M. Chronicon de Ludovico rege ChronicaSchwandter J. G.: Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. tom. Vindobonae, 1746.

Lukcsics, Pál. *XV. századi pápák oklevelei* [The charters of fifteenth-century popes] Budapest: Római Magyar Történeti Intézet kiadványai, 1931–1938.

Mályusz, Elemér, ed. *Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár* [Charters from the Sigismund era]. Vols. I–XI. Budapest, 1951–2009.

Nagy, Imre, ed. *Anjoukori okmánytár* [Angevin-era documentary records]. Vols. I–VI. Budapest, 1878–1891.

Nagy Imre et al. *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára. Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeo*. III. Pest, 1874.

Nagy, Imre, Dezső Véghely, and Gyula Nagy, eds. *Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár*. [History of Zala County. Charters]. Vols. I–II. Budapest, 1886–1890.

Sarbak, Gábor, ed. *Miracula Sancti Pauli primi heremite. Hadnagy Bálint pálos rendi kézikönyve*, 1511 [The Pauline handbook of Bálint Hadnagy]. Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2003.

Pázmány, Péter. *Acta et Décréta Synodi Diocesiana Strigoniensis*. Bratislava, 1629.

Romhányi, Beatrix, and Gábor Sarbak, eds. *Formularium maius ordinis Sancti Pauli primi Heremite*. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2013.

Thuróczy, János: *Chronica Hungarorum*. 1488, Augsburg, Print: Erhard Ratdolt, Publisher: Theobald Feger, Augsburg, 1488. Manuscript. National Széchényi Library, Budapest. Inv. ID: Inc. 1143.
 Tringli, István. *A Perényi család levéltára 1222–1526* [The archive of the Perényi Family 1222–1526]. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2008.

Weinrich, Lorenz. *Hungarici monasterii ordinis Sancti Pauli primi heremitae de urbe Roma. Instrumenta et priorum registra*. Roma, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Rome, 2000.

Windeck, Eberhard. *Kaiser Sigismund Buch*. Manuscript. Hannover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek. Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms XIII 917.

online: <http://digitale-sammlungen.gwlb.de/resolve?id=1769380140> (last accessed: 05-2-2024)

Secondary Sources

Altmann, Júlia et al., eds. *Medium Regni. Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats*. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999.

Aradi, Csilla. “Előzetes beszámoló jelentés az 1999. évi Gálosfa-Kistótvárosi ásatásokról” [Preliminary report on the excavation at Gálosfa-Kistótváros in 1999], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (2000): 269–273.

Aradi, Csilla. *Somogy megye Árpád-kori és középkori egyházzervezetének rekonstrukciója. Somogy megye középkori templomainak adattára* [The reconstruction of Árpadian and medieval ecclesial system of Somogy County. The catalog of medieval churches of Somogy County]. Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Megyei Hatókörű Városi Múzeum, 2016.

Aston, Michael. *Interpreting the Landscape: Landscape Archaeology and Social Studies*. London: Batsford, 1985.

Aston, Michael, ed. *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*. British Archaeological Report, British Series, 182. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988.

Aston, Michael. *Monasteries in the Landscape*. London: Tempus, 2000.

Ádám, Iván. “A túskevári pálos templom” [The Pauline church of Túskevár], *Archaeológiai Közlemények* 12 (1878): 24–44.

Ádám, Iván. “A badacsonyi pálos kolostor romjairól” [On the ruins of the Pauline monastery of Badacsony]. *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 8 (1888): 64–66.

Ádám, Iván. “Románkori pálos épületmaradvány Bakony-Szent-Jakabon” [A Romanesque ruin at Bakonyszentjakab]. *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 8 (1888): 151–155.

Bakács, István. *Hont vármegye Mohács előtt* [Hont County before (the battle of) Mohács]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971.

- Balázsik, Tamás. “A sopronbánfalvi karmelita kolostor kutatása” [The research of the Carmelite nunnery at Sopronbánfalva]. *Soproni Szemle* 2010/2: 153–180.
- Baranyai Béláné. “Adatok a XVIII. századi márianosztrai pálos művészetéhez” [Data on the eighteenth c. Pauline art at Márianosztra], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 6 (1957): 65-74.
- Bartosiewicz, László. “Halfogyasztás az esztergomi érseki rezidencián” [Fish consumption at the archbishop's residence in Esztergom] In: *A Kárpát-medence környezettörténete a középkorban és a kora újkorban* [Environmental history of the Carpathian Basin in the Middle Ages and Early Modern times], edited by Elek Benkő and Csilla Zatykó, 433–463. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2021.
- Bartosiewicz, László - István Vörös. “Veszprém megye ős- és régészeti állattana” [The paleo- and archaeozoology of Veszprém County]. In *Veszprém megye monográfiája I. Természeti viszonyok* [The monograph of Veszprém County I. Environmental factors]. Ed. István Galambos, 137–216. Veszprém: Veszprém megyei Önkormányzat, 2009.
- Bándi, Zsuzsanna. “Északkelet-magyarországi pálos kolostorok oklevelei” [Written evidence about the Pauline monasteries in the friaries of Northern Hungary]. *Borsodi Levéltári Évkönyv* 5 (1985): 586–802.
- Beach, Alison I. and Isabelle Cochelin. *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Belényesy, Károly. *Pálos kolostorok Abaúj-Hegyalján* [Pauline Friaries in the Abaúj Hegyalja Region]. Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum 2004.
- Belényesy, Márta. “A földművelés fejlődésének alapvető kérdései a XIV. században” [Questions of agriculture in the fourteenth century] *Ethnographia* 65 (1954-55): 387–415; 66. 57–98.
- Belényesy, Márta. “Az állattartás a XIV. században Magyarországon” [Animal husbandry in fourteenth-century Hungary]. *Néprajzi Értesítő* 38 (1956): 23–59.
- Bencze, Ünige. “Late Medieval Graphite Ware in the Târgu Mureş Franciscan Friary and the Study of Imported Pottery in Transylvania”. *Marisia* 30 (2010): 205-212.
- Bencze, Ünige. “Das Zisterzienserklöster Kerz. Neue Betrachtungen zu Gründung, dynastischen Verbindungen und Zisterzienserideal”. *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 35/2 (2012): 121-133.
- Bencze, Ünige. “Reconstructing a Monastic Landscape: The example of the Cistercian Abbey Cârța (Kerz, Kerc)”. In *Monastic Life, Art and Technology in the eleventh -sixteenth centuries*, ed. Ileana Burnichioiu, 29-45. Alba Iulia: Mega Publishing House, 2015.
- Bencze, Ünige. “A Medieval Pauline Monastic Landscape in the Szekler Land”. *Transylvania Nostra* 9/2 (2015): 10-17.

- Bencze, Ünige. “The Abbey of Meszes: New Insights on the Location”. In *Genius Loci. Laszlovszky 60*, eds. Dóra Mérai et al., 68–71. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2018.
- Bencze, Ünige. “On the Border: Monastic Landscapes of Medieval Transylvania (Between the Eleventh and Sixteenth Centuries)”. *Dissertation in Medieval Studies and History*. Budapest: Central European University, 2020.
- Bencze, Ünige and Oana Toda. “Tájhasználat a kolozsmonostori bencés apátság Kajántó-völgyi birtokain” (Land use on the Kajántó Valley properties of Kolozsmonostor Benedictine Abbey). *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából* (New series) X-XI/2015-2016 (2019): 101–118.
- Bencze, Zoltán and György Székér (1993). *A budaszentlőrinci pálos kolostor* [The Pauline monastery at Budaszentlőrinc]. Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum.
- Benda, Judit. “Marhakereskedelem, és mészárszékek a késő középkori Budán, Pesten és Óbudán” [The cattle trade and butcher shops in late medieval Buda, Pest, and Óbuda]. In *Mesterségek és műhelyek a középkori és kora újkori Magyarországon: tanulmányok Holl Imre emlékére*. Ed. Benkő, Elek., 125–148. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2017.
- Bendefy, László – V. Nagy Imre. *A Balaton évszázados partvonalváltozásai* [The changes of shoreline of the Balaton]. Budapest: Műszaki Könyvkiadó, 1969.
- Benke, István. *Telkibánya bányászatának története* [The history of mining at Telkibánya] Miskolc – Rudabánya, 2001.
- Benke, István. ”Szent Katalin, az ércbányászok védőszentje.” [St. Cathrine, the patron saint of ore miners] *Bányászattörténeti Közlemények* 25-26 (2018): 92–100.
- Benkő, Elek. “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*. Eds. Klára Kövári and Zsuzsa Miklós, 115–119. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011.
- Benkő, Elek. “Udvarházak és kolostorok a pilisi királyi erdőben” [Manor Houses and Cloisters in the Royal Forests of the Pilis Region]. In *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén”*. [Archaeological, art historical, and historical researches “in the middle of the Kingdom”]. Eds. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz, 727–753. Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015.
- Benkő, Elek. “In medio regni Hungariae.” In *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén”*. [Archaeological, art historical, and historical researches “in the middle of the Kingdom”]. Eds. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz, 11–27. Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015.
- Benkő, Elek. “A Szent Kereszt remetéinek korai kolostorai a Pilisben” [The early cloisters of the hermits of the Holy Cross in the Pilis]. In *Pálosaink és Pécs* [Our Paulines and the town of Pécs]. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 25–40. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2016.

- Benkő, Elek, et al. (2021). “Marosszentkirály: egy középkori pálos kolostor és környezete” [Marosszentkirály (Sâncraiu de Mureș): a Pauline monastery and its environment in the Middle Ages]. In *A Kárpát-medence környezettörténete a középkorban és a kora újkorban : Environmental history of the medieval and early modern Carpathian Basin*. Eds. Elek Benkő and Csilla Zatykó, 331–355. Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány.
- Benkő, Elek and Csilla Zatykó, eds. (2021). *A Kárpát-medence környezettörténete a középkorban és a kora újkorban – Environmental history of the medieval and early modern Carpathian Basin*. Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány.
- Bernhardt, John W. *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Bertók, Gábor, and Csilla Gáti. *Old Times – New Methods. Non Invasive Archaeology in Baranya County (Hungary) 2005–2013*. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014.
- Bertović, Kristian. “The Pauline Pattern of Monastery Site Selection in Medieval Croatia under Frankapan Patronage.” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU / Central European University, Budapest, Departement of Medieval Studies* 21 (2015): 265–75.
- Békefi, Remig (1891–1892). *A pilisi apátság története 1184-1814* [A history of the Pilis monastery 1184-1814]. Pécs.
- Békefi, Remig. *A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban* [Churches and castles around Lake Balaton in the Middle Ages]. Budapest, 1907.
- Békefi, István. *Zalai utak* [Roads of Zala]. Zalaegerszeg, 1978.
- Bodó, Balázs – Tamás, Pusztai (2004). “Jelentés a gönci pálos kolostor tornyának 2004. évi régészeti kutatásáról” [Report on the archaeological research of the tower of the Pauline monastery of Gönc in 2004]. *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 43 (2004): 321–348.
- Bogdán, István. *Magyarországi hossz- és földmértékek a XVI. század végéig*. [Length and land measurements in Hungary until the end of the sixteenth century]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.
- Bogdán, István. *Magyarországi űr-, térfogat-, súly- és darabmértékek 1874-ig*. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1991.
- Bojtos, Anita. *A pálos rend XVII. századi története, különös tekintettel a rend szellemiségére*. [The seventeenth-century history of the Pauline Order, with a special attention to the spirituality of the order]. PhD dissertation. Budapest: Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2018.
- Bojtor Istvánné Toókos, Uzonka. *Göncruszka*. Sárospatak: Kazinczy Ferenc Társaság, 2005.

- Bond, James (1989). “Water Management in the Rural Monastery.” In *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*. Eds. Roberta Gilchrist and R. Mytum, 83–112. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports 20.
- Bond, James (2000). “Landscape of Monasticism.” In *Landscape: The Richest Historical Record*. Ed. Della Hooke, 63–74. Birmingham: Society for Landscape Studies Supplementary Series 1.
- Bond, James (2004). *Monastic Landscapes*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Bozóki, Lajos. “‘Gótikus’ építkezés a XVIII. században Márianosztrán” [“Gothic” architecture in Márianosztra in the eighteenth century]. *Műemlékvédelem* 43/2 (2003): 128–132.
- Breitenstein, Mirko. “Der ‘Liber, qui dicitur informacio religiosi’ aus dem Paulinerkloster Grünwald: Eine bisher unbekannte Redaktion der ‘Formula novitiorum’ des David von Augsburg”. In *Der Paulinerorden. Geschichte – Geist – Kultur*. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 307–315. Budapest Szent István Társulat, 2010.
- Bhreathnach, Edel, Malgorzata Krasnodebska-D'Aughton and Keith Smith (eds.). *Monastic Europe. Medieval Communities, Landscapes, and Settlements*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019.
- Butler, Lawrence. “The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries in England and Wales.” In *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*. Eds. Roberta Gilchrist and Harold Mytum, 1–27. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1989.
- Buzás, Gergely. “A pilisszentléleki pálos kolostor kőfaragványai” [Stone fragments of the Pauline monastery of Pilisszentlélek]. In *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies on the history of the Pauline Order]. Vol. 1. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 181–183, 267, 280–283. Csorna: Private Edition of Vince Árva, 1994.
- Buzás, Gergely. “A Jakab-hegyi pálos kolostor” [The Pauline Monastery at Jakab-hegy]. *Várak, templomok, kastélyok* (August 2007/4): 8–11.
- Buzás, Gergely. “Királyi rezidenciák a szálláshelyek a késő középkori Magyarországon” [Royal residences in late medieval Hungary]. In *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén”*. [Archaeological, art historical, and historical researches “in the middle of the Kingdom”]. Eds. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz, 705–723. Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015.
- Buzás, Gergely, and Bernadett Eszes. “XI. századi görög monostor Visegrádon” [Eleventh-century Greek monastery in Visegrád]. *Altum Castrum*, archaeological e-magazine. Last accessed December 6, 2017.
- <http://archeologia.hu/xi-szazadi-gorog-monostor-visegradon>, or In *Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben (Arhitectura religiosă medievală din Transilvania)* [Medieval ecclesial architecture in Transylvania]. Vol. 4. Eds. Péter Levente Szőcs and Adrian Andrei Rusu, 49–93. Satu Mare: Szatmárnémeti Múzeum.
- Buzás, Gergely, Katalin Boruzs, Szabina Merva, and Katalin Tolnai. “The Issue of Continuity in the Early Medieval Middle Ages in Light of the Most Recent Archaeological Research on the

- Late Imperial Period Fort in Visegrád.” *Hungarian Archaeology*, Spring. Last accessed August 3, 2014.
http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/eng_buzas_14TA.pdf.
- Buzás, Gergely, József Laszlovszky and Orsolya Mészáros. *The Medieval Royal Town at Visegrád. Royal Centre, Urban Settlement, Churches*. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014.
- Cabello, Juan, Csaba László, and Zoltán Simon. “A Háromhegyi Boldogságos Szűz Mária Pálos kolostor régészeti kutatása” [Archaeological investigation of the Pauline monastery dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary at Háromhegy]. *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 47 (2008): 147–168.
- Currie, Christopher K. “Fishponds as Garden Features, c. 1550-1750”, *Garden History* 18/1 (1990): 22-46.
- Cholnoky, Jenő. A Balaton hidrográfiája. A Balaton tudományos tanulmányozásának eredményei I. kötet. [The hydrography of the Balaton - The results of the scientific study of the Balaton, Vol. I.] Budapest: Franklin és Társa, 1916.
- Czegléd, Ilona. “A kurityáni pálos kolostor” [The Pauline monastery of Kurityán]. *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 25–26 (1988): 211–228.
- Czuczor, Sándor. *Tapolca városkörnyék kronológiája* I. rész. Az őskortól 1301-ig [The chronology of the vicinity of Tapolca. Vol 1. From prehistory until 1301]. Tapolca 1984.
- Csánki, Dezső, and Antal Fekete Nagy, eds. (1941). *Magyarország történeti földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [A historical geography of Hungary in the age of the Hunyadi family]. Vol. 4. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.
- Degré, Alajos. *Magyar halászati jog a középkorban* [The Hungarian law of fishing]. Budapest 1939.
- Dobó, István and Zoltán Zétényi, eds. *Erdők a közjóért* [Woods for the common good], Budapest: Országos Erdészeti Egyesület, 2007.
- Dobrossy, István and Gyula Viga, eds. *A pálosok építészeti és művelődéstörténeti emlékei Borsodban* [The architectural and cultural history of the Paulines in Borsod County]. Miskolc: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár, 2000.
- Dobrovits, Dorottya Cs. “A csatkai volt pálos templom építészettörténeti problémái” [The architectural problems of the pauline church at Csátka]. *Építés-Építészettudomány* 5/3-4 (1974): 305–313.
- Dornyay, Béla – Vigyázó, Ferenc. *A Balaton és környéke részletes kalauza* [The detailed inventory of the Balaton and its vicinity]. Budapest, 1934.
- Dorina, Dudás and Zoltán Tóth. “Pálosok gazdálkodása Heves megyében – Agricultural activities of members of the Pauline order in Heves County” *Agria* 52 (2019): 306–323.

- Elm, Kaspar. *Die Bulle "Ea quae iudicio" Clemens' IV. 30. VIII.1266. Vorgeschichte, Überlieferung, Text, und Bedeutung*. Heverlee-Louvain: Institut Historique Augustinien, 1966.
- Elm, Kaspar. "Eremiten und Eremitenorden des 13. Jahrhunderts." In *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens (Berliner Historische Studien, Vol. 32, Ordensstudien 14.)* Eds. Kaspar Elm, Dieter R. Bauer, Elmar L. Kuhn, Gábor Sarbak, and Lorenz Weinrich, 11–22. Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2000.
- Elm, Kaspar. *Religious life between Jerusalem, the desert, and the world*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Erdélyi, László. *A tihanyi apátság kritikus oklevelei* [The charters of the Abby of Tihany]. Budapest: 1906.
- Éri, István. "Veszprém megye középkori településtörténeti vázlata" [The draft of the medieval settlement structure of Veszprém County]. *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (1969): 199–216.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Pytheas, 2000.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "Die Pauliner im mittelalterlichen Ungarn." In *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*, edited by Kaspar Elm and Dieter R. Bauer, 143–46. Duncker & Humblot, 2000.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "Pálos gazdálkodás a 15-16. században" [Estate management of the Pauline order in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries]. *Századok* 141 (2007): 299–351.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "A pálos rendi 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* 50/3 (2008): 289–312.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. *A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatóak fenn – Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban* [Spirits cannot be sustained without earthly goods – Estate management of the Pauline order in the Middle Ages]. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 2010.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "A középkori egyházi épületek kutatása, eredmények és feladatok" [The results and tasks of the research of medieval ecclesial monuments]. In *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon I.* [The archaeology of the middle ages and the post middle ages in Hungary] Vol. 1. Eds. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács, 255–270. Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2010.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "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.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. "Pálos kolostorok a Pilisben" [Pauline monasteries in the Pilis]. In *Laudator Temporis Acti – Tanulmányok Horváth István 70 éves születésnapjára*. [Studies for the

seventeenth birthday of István Horváth]. Edit Tari, 223–227. Esztergom: Balassi Bálint Múzeum, 2012.

- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. “Life in the Pauline Monasteries of Late Medieval Hungary.” *Periodica Polytechnica* 43 (2012): 53–56.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. “Kolostorhálózat – településhálózat – népesség. A középkori Magyar Királyság demográfiai helyzetének változásaihoz” [Monastic network – settlement system – population: on the demographic changes of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom]. *Történelmi Szemle* 57 (2015): 1–49.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. “Ceperuntque simul claustralem ducere vitam. A pálos rend és a Medium Regni kapcsolata” [The relationship of the Paulien Order and Medium Regni]. In *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén”* [Archaeological, art historical and historical researches ‘in the Middle of the Kingdom’]. Eds. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz, 756–764. Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. “Heremitae – monarchi – fratres. Szempontok a pálos rend történetének újragondolásához” [Perspectives for rethinking the history of the Pauline Order]. In *Pálosaink és Pécs* [Our Paulines and the town of Pécs]. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 9–24. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2016.
- F. Romhányi Beatrix, “The Ecclesiastic Economy in Medieval Hungary.” In *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*, eds. József Laszlovszky et al., 307–334. Leiden: Brill, 2018,
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek: Koldulórendi gazdálkodás a késő középkori Magyarországon* [Begging friars, managing monks: Mendicant economy in late medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2018.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix (2020). “*The Spiritual Cannot Be Maintained Without The Temporal ...*” *Pauline Economy in the Middle Ages*. Leiden–Boston: Brill.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. “Kálmán herceg és a pálosok” [Prince Coloman and the Paulines] *Ruscia – Hungaria – Europa : Ünnepi kötet Font Márta professzor asszony 70. születésnapjára*. Eds. Dániel Bagi et al., 529–535. Pécs: Kronosz Kiadó, 2022.
- F. Romhányi, Beatrix. *Kolduló barátok, gazdálkodó szerzetesek: Koldulórendi gazdálkodás a késő középkori Magyarországon* [Begging friars, managing monks: Mendicant economy in late medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2018.
- Fehérvári, Rudolf. “Az uzsaszentléleki pálos monostor” [The Pauline monastery at Uzsaszentlélek], *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (1979): 203–213.
- Feld, István. 1985. “A Gönci Amadé-Vár.” [The castle of Gönc-Amadévár] *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 22–23 (1985): 59–73.
- Ferenczi, László. “Észrevételek a topuszkói (toplicai) ciszterci apátság birtokstruktúrájával kapcsolatban” [Notes on the estate structure of the Cistercian abbey at Topuszkó (Toplica)].

In A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában. Vol. 5. Ed. Barnabás Guitman, 277–292. Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009.

- Ferenczi, László. “Molendium ad Aquas Calidas. A pilisi ciszterciek az állítólagos Fehéregyházán. Történeti, topográfiai és tájrégészeti kutatás a pilisi apátság birtokán” [The Cistercians in the Alleged Village of Fehéregyháza. Topographical and Landscape Archaeological Investigations on the Estate of the Pilis Abbey] *Studia Comitatus* 1 (2014): 145–161.
- Ferenczi, László – Deák, Márton – Kohán, Balázs – Látos, Tamás. “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben: tájrégészeti-tájtörténeti vizsgálatok térinformatikai háttérrel”. [Research into Historical Road Networks in the area of the Pilis hills – Landscape historical research using GIS] Térinformatikai Konferencia és Szakkiállítás, Debrecen, konferenciakötet, 2015. 121–129.
- Ferenczi, László. “Water Management in Medieval Hungary.” In *The Economy of Medieval Hungary* (Series: East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, Volume: 49). Eds. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó, and András Vadas, 238–254. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Ferenczi, László, Márton Deák, Balázs Kohán, and Tamás Látos. “Történeti útvonalak kutatása a Pilisben: tájrégészeti-tájtörténeti vizsgálatok térinformatikai háttérrel” [Research of historical pathways in the Pilis: landscape archaeological and landscape historical examinations with GIS]. Manuscript, Budapest, 2013.
- Ferenczi, László, and József Laszlovszky, “Középkori utak és határhasználat a pilisi apátság területén” [Medieval roads and landscape management on the estate of the Pilis Abbey]. *Studia Comitatus* 1 (2014): 103–124.
- Ferenczi, László, and Csilla Zatykó. “Ways of Adaptation: Causes and Effects in Human Landscape Interaction in Medieval Hungary.” In *26th EAA Virtual Annual Meeting: Abstract Book*, (2020): 26–26.
- Fodor, László. “A Felnémet-Almárvölgyi Mária Magdolna kolostor feltárásának eredményei” [The results of the excavation of the Marie Magdalene monastery in Felnémet-Almárvölgy]. In *Varia Paulina. Pálus Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies on the history of the Pauline Order]. Vol. 1. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 165–170. Csorna: Private Edition of Vince Árva, 1994.
- Fügedi, Erik. *Kolduló barátok, polgárok, nemesek. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. [Begging friars, citizens, nobles. Studies on the Hungarian Middle Ages]. Budapest, 1981.
- Füzes, Miklós. “Előzetes jelentés az 1967. évi pogányszentpéteri kolostor-ásatás XVI. század eleji gabonaleletéről” [Preliminary report on the sixteenth-century grainfind from the 1967 excavation of Pogányszentpéter cloister]. In *A Thúry György Múzeum jubileumi emlékkönyve (1919–1969)* [The Jubilee Volume of the Thúry György Museum (1919–1969)]. Ed. Gyula Kiss, 285–290. Nagykanizsa: Thúry György Múzeum, 1972.
- Genthon, István. *Magyarország művészeti emlékei I–II* [The artworks of Hungary]. Bp. 1959–61.:

- Gerevich, László. "The Royal Court (Curia), the Provost's Residence and the Village at Dömös." *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 83 (1983): 385–409.
- Gerevich, László. *A pilisi ciszterci apátság [The Cistercian Abbey at Pilis]*. Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1984.
- Gerevich, László. "Dömös." *Műemlékvédelem* 36 (1992): 73–80.
- Glaser, Lajos. "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata" [The medieval road network of Transdanubia]. *Századok* 1929-30: 138–167, 257–286.
- Glaser Lajos. "A római utak nevei középkori okleveleinkben" [Roman roads in medieval charters]. *Magyar Nyelv* 27. (1931) 317–319.
- Gondán, Felicián. *A középkori magyar pálos rend és nyelvméltékei (Festetich- és Czech-kódexek)* [The medieval Pauline order and its monuments (The Festetich and the Czech codexes)]. Pécs: Printed by József Taizs, 1916.
- Grimm, Gerald Volker, ed. *Kleine Meisterwerke des Bilddrucks. Ungeliebte Kinder der Kunstgeschichte. Handbuch und Katalog der Pfeifentonfiguren, Model und Reliefdrucke*. Aachen: Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, 2011.
- László Szabolcs Gulyás, "A középkori szőlőművelés és borkereskedelem információ-történeti vizsgálatának lehetőségei" [The role of information flow and literacy in medieval viticulture and wine trade]. *Aetas* 27 (2012/4): 155–175.
- Guzsik Tamás. "Veszprém megye középkori templomépítészetének kutatási kérdései" [Forschungsprobleme der mittelalterlichen Kirchenarchitektur im Komitat Veszprém]. *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (1979) 163–202.
- Guzsik, Tamás. "Eltűntnek hitt pálos építészet Somogy megyében (Die verschollen gedachte Architektur der Paulinerorden im Komitat Somogy)". *Somogy megye múltjából* 17 (1986): 5–26.
- Guzsik Tamás. "A pálosok és a "koldulórendek" (későgótikus építészet Magyarországon)" [The Paulines and the mendicants (late Gothic architecture in Hungary)]. In *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies on the history of the Pauline Order]. Vol. 1. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 137–153. Csorna: Private Edition of Vince Árva, 1994.
- Guzsik, Tamás. "A pálos rend "születési anyakönyvi kivonata". Az 1263-as kolostorösszeírás topográfiai és építészeti érdekessége" [The "birth certificate" of the Pauline order – the topographical and architectural curiosities of the monastery inventory of 1263]. *Architectura Hungariae*: 2000 s.p. http://arch.et.bme.hu/arch_old/epitesz5.html#1 (last accessed 27 July 2022)
- Guzsik, Tamás. *A pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon* [Pauline architecture in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2003.

- Guzsik, Tamás–Rudolf Fehérváry. “A pálos rend építészeti emlékei a középkori Magyarországon – összefoglaló és katalógus” [The architectural heritage of the Pauline Order in medieval Hungary – summary and catalogue]. University notes. Budapest: Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem, 1979.
- Guzsik, Tamás and Rudolf Fehérváry. “A magyar pálosrendi építészet kialakulása, első periódusa” [The evolution of Hungarian Pauline architecture, its first period]. *Építés-Építészettudomány* 12 (1980): 193–228.
- Guzsik, Tamás and Rudolf Fehérváry. “Eltűntnek hitt pálos kolostorhelyek Zala megyében” [Pauline monasteries believed to be lost in Zala Co.]. In *Közlemények Zala megye közgyűjteményeinek kutatásaiból, 1980-1981*. Ed. Degré Alajos, 33–49, Zalaegerszeg: Zala megyei Levéltár, 1981.
- Guzsik, Tamás – Reóthy, Ferenc. “Balatonszemes község középkori története” [The medieval history of Balatonszemes] In *Szemes*. Eds. Reóthy –Stirling, 103–119. Balatonszemes: Önkormányzat, 1990.
- Grynaeus, Tamás. “A pálosok orvosló tevékenységének egy elfeledett emlékeről” [On the forgotten memories of the Pauline medical care]. In *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies on the history of the Pauline Order]. Vol. 1. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 234–236, 294–298. Csorna: Private Edition of Vince Árva, 1994.
- Györffy, György. “Adatok a Pilis megyei monostorok középkori történetéhez” [Data on the medieval monasteries of Pilis County]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 5/4 (1956): 280–285.
- Gyulai, Ferenc. “Veszprém megye régészeti-növénytan leletei” [The archaeobotanical remains in Veszprém County]. In *Veszprém megye monográfiája I. Természeti viszonyok* [The monograph of Veszprém County I. Environmental factors]. Ed. István Galambos, 55-81. Veszprém: Veszprém megyei Önkormányzat, 2009.
- Harkányiné Székely, Zsuzsa. “A vízrajz térképi ábrázolásának történetéből” [On the history of mapping hydrography]. In *Történeti tájak - vizes élőhelyek. Régészet, örnezettörténet, tájvédelem* [Historical landscapes - waterscapes. Archaeology, Environmental history, Land Protection]. Eds. Erzsébet Jerem and József Laszlovszky, 29–40. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2017.
- Harlov, Melinda, “Műemlékvédelem, kapocs a világgal” [Monument protection, key to internationalism], *Múltunk* (2016): 114-135.
- Havasi, Krisztina. “A kácsi bencés apátság román kori kőfaragványai” [The Romanesque carved stones of the Benedictine Abbey of Kács], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 64 (2015/1): 5–43.
- Hervay, Ferenc Levente, “A klastrompusztai rom eredete: Adatok a pálos rend történetéhez” [The origins of the ruins in Klastrompuszta: Data on the history of the Pauline order]. *Esztergom Évlapjai* (1981): 59–76.
- Hervay, Ferenc. “A pálos rend elterjedése a középkori Magyarországon” [The expansion/development of the Pauline Order in Medieval Hungary] In *Mályusz Elemér emlékkönyv. Társadalom és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok* [Honoring Elemér Mályusz. Social and cultural historical

studies]. Eds. Éva. H. Balázs, Erik Fügedi Erik and Ferenc Maksay, 159–171. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984.

Hervay, Ferenc Levente (2005), “Pálosok” [Paulines]. In *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon*, 10. kötet [Hungarian Catholic Lexicon, Vol. 10]. Eds. István Diós and János Viczián, 484–489. Budapest: Szent István Társulat.

Hervay, Ferenc Levente. “A Pálos Rend eredete” [The origins of the Pauline order]. In *Decus solitudinis: Pálos évszázadok* [Pauline centuries]. Eds. Gábor Sarbak and Sándor Öze, 57–65. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007.

Hesz, Árpád Attila. “Magyar és portugál pálosok egyesülése a XVI. században” [The join of Hungarian and Portugese Paulines in the sixteenth century]. *Magyar Sion* (2018/2): 205-224.

Hesz, Árpád Attila. *A Pálos Rend eltörlése Magyarországon 1785-ben* [The abolition of the Pauline Order in Hungary in 1785]. PhD dissertation. Budapest: Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2019.

Hesz, Árpád Attila. “Boldog Özséb, a pálos rend alapítója a történeti irodalom tükrében” [Blessed Eusebius, the founder of the Pauline Order, in light of the historical literature]. *Magyar Sion* (2021/1): 41-61.

Hoffmann, Richard C. “Fish and Man: Changing relations in Medieval Central Europe”, *Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich* 15 (1999), 188.

Holl, Imre. “Középkori városi élet - városi építészet”, [Medieval life in towns – architecture]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 114 (1989): 52-76.

Holl, Imre – Parádi, Nándor. *Das mittelalterliche Dorf Sarvaly, Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae*. Budapest, 1982.

Holler, László. “A veszprémi püspök egy 1263. évi okleveléről”. In: *Decus Solitudinis – Pálos Évszázadok* [Pauline Centuries]. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 121–133. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007.

Holler, László. “Egy XIII. századi remetekápolna – Idegsýt Beatae Elizabeth – lokalizálása Nyelvészeti vizsgálatok a séd és kút szavak körében” [*Idegsýt Beatae Elizabeth* - Locating a thirteenth-century eremitic ecclesia by the linguistic examinations of *séd* and *kút*]. *Magyar Nyelv* 2009/2: 17–29.

Holt, Richard. *The Mills of Medieval England*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988.

Holub, József. “Zala vármegye vámhelyei és úthálózata a középkorban” [The toll paying places in Zala county in the Middle Ages]. *Századok* 51/ 7-8 (1917): 45–60.

Holub, József. *Zala megye története a középkorban* [Zala County in the Middle Ages].

- Holub, József. *Zala megye története a középkorban III. Községek*. [The history of Zala County in the Middle Ages III. Settlements.] Manuscript. Zalaegerszeg, 1933.
- Holub József: *Az Atyusz nemzetsége* [The Atyusz kindred]. Turul, 55, 1937.
- Holub, József. “A bortermelés Zala megyében 1526 előtt” [Viticulture in Zala County before 1526] *A Göcseji Múzeum jubileumi Évkönyve*. Zalaegerszeg, (1960): 181—203.
- Holub, József. *Zala megye középkori vízrajza* [The medieval hydrology/water space of Zala County]. Zalaegerszeg: Göcseji Múzeum, 1963.
- Horváth, Illés. “Volt egyszer egy Szent Zsigmond-kolostor” [Once upon a time in the Monastery of St. Sigismund] *Pontes* (2021): 265–301.
- Horváth, István, “Klastrompuszta – a pálos rend bölcsője (Adatok a pálos rend kialakulásához)” [Klastrompuszta – the cradle of the Pauline order (Data on the evolution of the Pauline order)]. *Vigilia* 39/9 (1974): 611–615.
- Horváth, István. “A klastrompusztai rom eredete: Adatok a pálos rend történetéhez” [The origins of the ruins in Klastrompuszta: Data on the history of the Pauline order]. *Esztergom Évtapjái*: (1981): 59–76.
- Horváth, József. *Vörösberény története* [The history of Vörösberény]. Vörösberény: n.a., 1979.
- Hóman, Bálint. *Magyar Pénztörténet* [History of coins and money in Hungary] 1000-1325. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia. online version, last accessed: 03-01-2024.
<http://mek.niif.hu/07100/07139/html/0004/index.html>
- Ikits, Tamás. *Veszprém megyei közutak története*. [The history of roads in Veszprém County]. Veszprém: Veszprémi Közúti Igazgatóság, 1990.
- Ila, Bálint – József Kovacsics. *Veszprém megye helytörténeti lexikona* [The local history lexicon of Veszprém County]. Budapest: n.a., 1964.
- Illéssy, János. *A Mikófalvi Bekény család leszármazása és története* [The genealogy and history of the Mikófalvi Bekény Family]. Budapest: Hunnia nyoda, 1902.
- Iványi, Béla. *Göncz szabadalmas mezőváros története*. [The history of the privileged oppidum, Gönc] Debrecen: A debreceni Tisza István Tudományos Társaság, 1926.
- Jakab, Gusztáv - Sümegi, Pál - Benkő, Elek. “Tógazdálkodás emlékei a középkori Magyarországon” [Remains of pond cultivation in Hungary]. In *Alkalmazkodó Vízgazdálkodás*. Eds. Jakab, Gusztáv et al., 61–65. Debrecen: 2018
- Jerem, Erzsébet and József Laszlovszky, eds. *Történeti tájak - vizes élőhelyek. Régészet, környezettörténet, tájvédelem* [Historical landscapes - waterscapes. Archaeology, Environmental history, Landprotection]. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2017.

- Joó, Tibor (2000). “A sajóládi pálos kolostor” [Tee monastery of Sajólád]. In *A pálosok építészeti és művelődéstörténeti emlékei Borsodban* [The architectural and cultural history of the Paulines in Borsod County]. Eds. István Dobrossy and Gyula Viga, 77–120. Miskolc: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megyei Levéltár, 2000.
- Juhász Ágnes. Hejce településnéprajza [Settlement description of Hejce] In *Néprajzi tanulmányok a Zempléni-hegyvidékről*, ed. József Szabadfalvi, 105-124. Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 1965.
- Kanyó, Ferenc. “Elméletek az Árpád-kori királyi Magyarország székvárosairól (fikció, és valóság)” [Theories on the centers of the Árpadian Hungarian Kingdom (fiction and reality)]. MA Thesis in History. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University of Science, 2010.
- Karácsonyi, János. *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig*. [The Hungarian Kindreds until the mid-fourteenth century] Vols 3. Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1900-1904.
- Karlinszky, Balázs. *A veszprémi káptalan a középkorban. A veszprémi székeskáptalan középkori birtokai* [The chapter of Veszprém in the Middle Ages. The properties of the chapter]. Phd Dissertation Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba, 2013
- Karlinszky, Balázs. *A veszprémi székeskáptalan archontológiája 1079–1556* [The archontology of the chapter of Veszprém]. Veszprém: 2021.
- Katona, Vilmos ed. *Építészettörténeti írások Guzsik Tamás emlékére. Középkoron innen és túl* [Historical architectural essays on the memory of Tamás Guzsik. Within and beyond the Middle Ages]. Budapest: Holnap Kiadó, 2019.
- Kárpáti, Gábor. “A jakabhegyi pálos kolostor” [The Pauline Monastery at Jakab-hegy]. In *Kövágószőlős*, ed. Füzes, Miklós, 51–60. Kövágószőlős: Önkormányzat, 2001.
- Keevill, Graham, Michael Aston, and Teresa Hall, eds. *Monastic Archaeology: Papers on the Study of Medieval Monasteries*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001.
- Keglevich, Kristóf. *A garamszentbenedeki apátság története az Árpád- és az Anjoukorban, 1075–1403* [The history of Garamszentbenedek Abbey in the age of the Árpáds and Angevins]. Capitulum 8. Szeged: STTI, 2012.
- Kelényi, Ottó. “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): 87–110.
- Kékedi, Andrea. “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: Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, Budapest, 2008.
- Kisbán, Emil. *A magyar pálos rend története* [The history of the Hungarian Pauline Order]. 2 vols. Budapest, 1938-1940.

- Koczó, József. “Búcsújáró és templomos hely emlékei Peröcsény határában” [Remains of pilgrimage sites and churches in the area of Peröcsény]. *Honismeret* 48/3 (2020): 79-84.
http://epa.niif.hu/03000/03018/00260/pdf/EPA03018_honismeret_2020_03_079-084.pdf
- Koppány, Tibor. “A Balaton-Felvidék román kori templomai” [Romanische Kirchen des Balatonoberlandes], *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 1 (1963): 91–114.
- Koppány Tibor. “Középkori templomok és egyházas helyek Veszprém megyében I. Mittelalterliche Kirchen und Ortschaften mit Kirchen im Komitate Veszprém.” *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1967): 117–150.
- Koppány Tibor. “Középkori templomok és egyházas helyek Veszprém megyében II. Mittelalterliche Kirchen und Kirhdörfer im Komitate Veszprém.” *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1967): 117–150.
- Koppány Tibor: *A Balaton környékének műemlékei* [Historical monuments in the vicinity of Balaton]. Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993.
- Kosztai, László. “Egy francia származású főpap Magyarországon: Bertalan pécsi püspök (1219-1251)” [A bishop of French origins in Hungary: Bartholomew the bishop of Pécs] *Aetas* 9 (1994): 64-88.
- Kovalovszki, Júlia. “A pálos remeték Szent Kereszt-kolostora (Méri István ásatása Klastrompusztán)” [The Pauline monastery of the Holy Cross (the excavation of István Méri at Klastrompuszta)]. *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1992): 173–207.
- Kovács, Éva. *A Tihanyi összeírás mint helynévtörténeti forrás* [The inventory of Tihany as historical topographical source]. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetem Kiadó, 2015.
- Kovács, Olivér – Buzás Gergely. *Az Árpád-házi uralkodók sírjai* [The tombs of Árpadian kings]. Visegrád: MNM Mátyás Király Múzeuma, 2019.
- Kubinyi, András. “A király és a királyné kúriái a XIII. századi Budán” [The curiae of the kings and queens at Buda in the thirteenth century]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 89 (1962): 160–171.
- Kubinyi András. “A középkori magyarországi városhálózat hierarchikus térbeli rendjének kérdéséhez.” [Remarks on the spatial hierarchy of medieval Hungarian townsnetwork] *Településtudományi Közlemények* 23 (1971): 58–78.
- Kubinyi, András. “Költözés, helyváltoztatás, utazás a késő középkori Magyarországon” [Moving, mobility, and travelling in late medieval Hungary]. *A Tapolcai Városi Múzeum Közleményei* 2 (1991) 229–242.
- Kubinyi, András. “Főváros, rezidencia és az egyházi intézmények” [Capital, residence and ecclesial institutions]. *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Évkönyv* 1 (1994): 57–70.

- Kubinyi, András. “Vásárok a középkori Zala megyében” [Markets in Zala County] In *Zala Megye Ezer Éve* [The Thousand Year of Zala County]. Ed. László Vándor, 53–60. Zalaegerszeg, 1996.
- Kubinyi, András. “Előszó. Az ‘ország közepétől’ a fővárosig.” [Foreword. From the heart to the center of the country] In *Medium Regni*. Eds. Júlia Altmann et al., 5–8. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1996/1999.
- Kubinyi, András. “Orvoslás, gyógyszerészek, fürdők, ispotályok a késő-középkori Magyarországon”. [Remedy, apothecaries, bathes, hospitals in late medieval Hungary]. In *Főpapok, egyházi intézmények és vallásosság a középkori Magyarországon* [Clericals, ecclesial institutions and piety in medieval Hungary]. Ed. András Kubinyi, 253–267. Budapest, 1999.
- Kubinyi, András. “A királyi vár és lakói a középkorban.” *História* 9–10 (2002): 14-18. <http://www.tankonyvtar.hu/en/tartalom/historia/02-0910/ch04.html>
- Kubinyi, András. “Városhálózat a késő középkori Kárpát-medencében.” [Town network in late medieval Carpathian Basin] *Történelmi Szemle* 46/1-2 (2004): 1-30.
- Kubinyi, András. “Ispotályok és városfejlődés a késő középkori Magyarországon” [Hospitals and urban development in late medieval Hungary]. In *Várak, templomok, ispotályok. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Castles, churches, hospitals. Studies on the Hungarian Middle Ages], edited by Tibor Neumann, 187–95. Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó–Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2004.
- Kürucz, Antal. *A magyarországi pálos rend története* [The history of the Hungarian Pauline order]. 2 vols. Budapest: Hunyadi Mátyás Printing-house, 1889.
- Laszlovszky, József. “Field systems in medieval Hungary.” In *The man of many devices, who wandered full many ways: Festschrift in honor of János M. Bak*. Eds. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebők, 432–444. Budapest: CEU Press, 1999.
- Laszlovszky, József. “Középkori kolostorok a tájban, középkori kolostortájak” [Medieval monasteries in the landscape, medieval monastic landscapes]. In *Quasi liber et pictura: Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára* [Studies for the seventeenth anniversary of András Kubinyi]. Ed. Gyöngyi Kovács, 337–349. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, 2004.
- Laszlovszky, József. “The Medieval Royal Seat and Forest at Visegrád: A Proposed World Heritage Site and its Heritage Aspects”. In *Archaeological and Cultural Heritage Preservation: Within the Light of New Technologies*. Eds. Erzsébet Jerem, Zsolt Mester, and Réka Benczés, 83–94. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2006.
- Laszlovszky, József. “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.

- Laszlovszky, József. “Ciszterci vagy pálos? A Pomáz-Nagykovácsi-pusztán található középkori épületmaradványok azonosítása.” [Cistercian or Pauline? Interpretation of the medieval architectural remains at Nagykovácsipuszta, Pomáz]. In *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában*. Vol. 5. Ed. Barnabás Guitman, 191–208. Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2009.
- Laszlovszky, József. “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*. Eds. Gergely Buzás and József Laszlovszky, 207–218. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013.
- Laszlovszky, József. “Agriculture in Medieval Hungary”. In *The Economy of Medieval Hungary* (Series: East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, Volume: 49). Eds. József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Péter Szabó, and András Vadas, 79–112. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Laszlovszky, József, and Péter Szabó, eds. (2003). *People and Nature in Historical Perspective* (CEU Medievalia 5.) Budapest: Central European University, 2003.
- Laszlovszky et al. “The ‘Glass Church’ in the Pilis Mountains”. *Hungarian Archaeology*, Winter 2014. Last accessed August 3, 2017.
http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/?page_id=279#post-5582
- Laszlovszky, József–Balázs Nagy–Péter Szabó–András Vadas, eds. *The Economy of Medieval Hungary*. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018.
- László, Csaba. “A porva pálos kolostor temploma” [The church of the Pauline monastery of Porva]. In *Építészettörténeti írások Guzsik Tamás emlékére. Középkoron innen és túl* [Historical architectural essays on the memory of Tamás Guzsik. Within and beyond the Middle Ages]. Ed. Vilmos Katona, 109–120. Budapest: Holnap Kiadó, 2019.
- Látos, Tamás – Pető, Zsuzsa. “Fehér barátok nyomában a gömöri erdők mélyén – a hangonyi pálos kolostor” [On the track of white fathers in the woods of Gömör - the Pauline monastery of Hangony], Brief research summary in *The Hungarian National Museum Blog*, 02/02/2022
<https://mnmm.hu/hu/cikk/feher-baratok-nyomaban-gomori-erdok-melyen-hangonyi-palos-kolostor>
- Lawler, Jennifer. *Encyclopedia of the Byzantine Empire*. London: McFarland, 2004.
- Lázár, Sarolta. “A pilisszentléleki pálos kolostortemplom kutatása” [Archaeological investigation of the Pauline Monastery at Pilisszentlélek]. In *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies on the history of the Pauline Order]. Vol. 1. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 177–180. Csorna: Private Edition of Vince Árva, 1994.
- Lázár, Sarolta. “A pilisszentléleki volt pálos kolostortemplom kutatása 1985-86” [Archaeological investigation of the Pauline Monastery at Pilisszentlélek, 1985–1986]. *A Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 5 (1997): 493–518.

- Lázár, Sarolta. “A pilisszentléleki pálos kolostor kályhacsempéi” [The stove tiles of the Pauline monastery of Pilisszentlélek]. *A Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 8 (2001): 167–180.
- Lázár, Sarolta. “A pilisszentléleki pálos kolostor műhelyháza [The workshop of the Pauline monastery at Pilisszentlélek]. In *Laudator Temporis Acti – Tanulmányok Horváth István 70 éves születésnapjára* [Studies for the seventeenth birthday of István Horváth]. Ed. Edit Tari, 213–222. Esztergom: Balassi Bálint Múzeum, 2012.
- Le Goff, Jacques. “Le desert-forêt dans l’Occident medieval”. In *L’imaginaire medieval*. Paris: Édition Gallimard, 1985.
- Ligeti, László. *A Balaton szabályozása* [The regulation of Balaton]. Budapest: Vízügyi Dokumentációs és Tájékoztató Iroda, 1974.
- Lovag, Zsuzsa. *Az Esztergom-prímás szigeti apáca kolostor feltárása* [The excavation of the nunnery at Esztergom-Prímás sziget]. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2014.
- Luckhurst, David. *Monastic Watermills: a study of the mills within English monastic precincts*. London: Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, 1964.
- Mag, Hella. “Finds related to the installation of the well”. In: *Paulines. Exhibition Catalog*. Ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 107–119. Budapest: Pauline Order–Hungarian National Museum, 2023.
- Mag, Hella–Zsuzsa Pető. “The well of Toronyalja Monastery and its finds”. In: *Paulines. Exhibition Catalog*. Ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 106–107. Budapest: Pauline Order–Hungarian National Museum, 2023.
- Magyar, Kálmán. “Fonyód története az őskortól a középkorig” [The history of Fonyód from prehistoric times to the Middle Ages]. In: *Fonyód története* [The history of Fonyód]. Ed. József Kanyar, Fonyód, 1985.
- Majer Zsófia. “A bakonyszentjakabi pálos kolostor az évszázadok tükrében” *Várak, Kastélyok, Templomok Évkönyv* (2017): 68-71.
- Majer, Zsófia “A bakonyszentjakabi pálos kolostor fémleletei” [Metal finds from the Pauline friary in Bakonyszentjakab. *A Laczkó Dezső Múzeum Közleményei* 30 (2022): 195–214.
- Majorossy, Judit, and Katalin Szende, “Hospitals in Medieval and Early Modern Hungary.” In *Europäisches Spitalwesen*. Ed. Martin-Sommerlechner Scheutz et al., 409–454. Wien München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2008.
- Majorossy, Judit, 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 goodCommemorate Gertrude of Merania, 1213-2013. Historical Touring Exhibition, Museum Booklet]. Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2013.

- Marosi Ernő, ed. *Magyarországi Művészet 1300-1470 körül. I —II.* (Hungarian Art Around 1300-1470). Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1980.
- Mašić, Boris – Pleše, Tajana. “O dijelu numizmatičkih nalaza otkrivenih uz crkvu Blažene Djevice Marije u Remetama” [On the group find of gold coins next to the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Remete]. *Numizmatičke vijesti*, 61 (2008): 223–230.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, pt. 1.” [Charters of medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian National Archives]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 3 (1925): 100–191.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, pt. 2.” [Charters of medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian National Archives]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 5 (1927): 136–209.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, pt. 3.” [Charters of medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian National Archives]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 6 (1928): 87–203.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, pt. 4.” [Charters of medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian National Archives]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 7 (1929): 278–311.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, pt. 5.” [Charters of medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian National Archives]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 8 (1930): 65–111.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, pt. 9.” [Charters of medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian National Archives]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 11 (1933): 58–92.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, pt. 10.” [Charters of medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian National Archives]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 12 (1934): 111–154.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “A szlavóniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, pt. 11.” [Charters of medieval Slavonian and Croatian Pauline monasteries in the Hungarian National Archives]. *Levéltári Közlemények* 13 (1935): 236–252.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “A Pálos rend a középkor végén” [The Pauline order at the end of the Middle Ages]. *Egyháztörténet* 3 (1945): 1-53.
- Mályusz, Elemér. “Remeterendek” [Hermit Orders]. In *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*, 254-274. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971.
- Máté, Klaudia, Sallay, Ágnes, & Mikházi, Zsuzsanna. A Balaton-felvidék lehatárolásai [The boundaries of the Balaton Uplands]. *Tájökológiai Lapok* 15/2 (2017): 99–114.

- Mezey, László. “Csútmonostor alapítástörténete és első oklevelei, 1264–1271” [The history of foundation and the first charters of Csút monastery, 1264–1271]. *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 15 (1963): 7–42.
- Mező, András. *Patrociniumok a középkori Magyarországon*. [Patrocinium/Church dedication in medieval Hungary] Budapest: Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség (METEM), 2003.
- Méri, István. *A klastrompusztai legendák nyomában* [On the track of legends in Klastrompuszta]. Dorog: József Attila Művelődési Ház, 1961.
- Méri, István. “Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta, pálos kolostor. Ásatási jelentés. 1959” [Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta, Pauline monastery. Report on the excavations of 1959]. Hungarian National Museum, Archive, 334.K.IV. 1959a
- Méri, István. “Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta, pálos kolostor. Ásatási napló 1959” [Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta, Pauline monastery. Field diary 1959]. Hungarian National Museum, Archive, III/196/53. 1959b
- Méri, István. “Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta, pálos kolostor. Fotódokumentáció 1959” [Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta, Pauline monastery. Photo documentation 1959]. Hungarian National Museum, Archive, II/1960/73. 1959c
- Mészáros, Orsolya. *A késő középkori Visegrád város története és helyrajza* [The history and local topography of the late medieval town of Visegrád]. Visegrád: MM Mátyás király Múzeum, 2009.
- Mészáros, Orsolya. “Városi élet a visegrádi királyi városban” [Life in the Royal Town of Visegrád] In *In medio regni Hungariae. Régészeti, művészettörténeti és történeti kutatások “az ország közepén”*. [Archaeological, art historical, and historical researches “in the middle of the Kingdom”]. Eds. Elek Benkő and Krisztina Orosz, 629–645. Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2015.
- Meyvaert, Paul. “The medieval monastic garden”. In *Medieval Gardens*. Ed. E. D. Macdougall, 23–53. Washington DC: Trustees for Harvard University, 1986.
- Miklós, Zsuzsa. “Középkori épület és kőbánya a nagymarosi Malom-völgyben” [Medieval Building and Quarry in the Malomvölgy of Nagymaros. *Studia Comitatus* 17 (1985): 479–498.
- Miklós, Zsuzsa. *Falvak, várak, kolostorok a Dél-Börzsönyben*. [Villages, castles, monasteries in the southern Börzsöny hills]. Vác: Tragor Ignác Múzeum, 1997.
- Miskolci, Melinda, and Gábor Szörényi. “A miskolc-szentléleki pálos kolostor 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. [StudyVolume of the 4th Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists.

Studies of the 4th Conference of Young Medieval Archaeologists, 22–24 November 2012, Kaposvár]. Ed. Máté Varga, 83–91. Kaposvár: Rippl-Rónai Múzeum, 2013.

Melinda Miskolczi. “Pauline Monastery in Diósgyőr”. In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*. Ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 87–89. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.

Molnár, Ernő. *A nagyjenő-tüskevári pálos kolostor* [The Pauline monastery of Nagyjenő-Tüskevár]. Budapest: Egyházmegyei Könyvnyomda, 1936.

Mordovin, Maxim. “New results of the excavations at the Saint James’ Pauline friary and at the Castle Čabrad’ ”. *Dissertationes Archaeologicae* (2015): 269-284.

Müller, Róbert. “A pogányszentpéteri ásatás” [The excavation at Pogányszentpéter]. In *A Thúry György Múzeum jubileumi emlékkönyve (1919–1969)* [The Jubilee Volume of the Thúry György Museum (1919–1969)]. Ed. Gyula Kiss, 265–282. Nagykanizsa: Thúry György Múzeum, 1972.

Nagy, Szabolcs Balázs. “A bakonyszentjakabi pálos kolostor feltárásának első eredményei” [The first results of the excavation at the Pauline monastery of Bakonyszentjakab]. *Várak, kastélyok, templomok*. [Forts, castles, churches]. Annual Studies. Ed. Pál Kósa, 56–59. Pécs: Talma Kiadó, 2014.

Neitmann, Klaus. “Was ist eine Residenz? Methodische Überlegungen zur Erforschung der spätmittelalterlichen Residenzbildung.” In *Vorträge und Vorschungen zur Residenzfrage*. Ed. Peter Johanek, 11-43. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1990.

Nováki, Gyula. 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.

Ny. Nagy, István. *Pesty Frigyes* kéziratosa helynévtára. Történelmi Veszprém Vármegye. Pápa: Jókai Mór Városi Könyvtár, 2000.

Orosz, Krisztina. “Várak és kolostorok konyhái a középkori Magyarországon” [Kitchens of Castles and Monasteries in Medieval Hungary]. In *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon 2*. [The archaeology of the middle ages and the post middle ages in Hungary] Vol. 2. Eds. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács, 562–596. Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2010.

Ortvay, Tivadar. *Magyarország földrajzi leírása a XIV. század elején* [The geographical report of Hungary in the fourteenth century]. Vol. 1. Budapest: s.n, 1891.

Padányi-Gulyás, Gergely – Máté Stibrányi – Gábor Mesterházy – Márton Deák (2012), “Familiar Road, Unfamiliar Ground. Archaeological Predictive Modelling in Hungary,” in: *CAA2012 Proceedings of the 40th Conference in Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, Southampton, United Kingdom, 26–30 March 2012*. 694–709.

- Paládi-Kovács, Attila (1979). *A magyar parasztság rétgazdálkodása* [Meadow cultivation of the Hungarian farmers]. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Papp, Attila (2019). “A tálodi Szent Erzsébet kolostor – A 2018-as kutatás előzményei és eredményei”. [The monastery of St. Elizabeth at Tálod – Previous research and the results of the survey in 2018] BA Thesis in Archaeology. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest.
- Papp, Attila (2022). “A tálodi kolostorkert” [The monastic garden of Tálod]. In: Pálosok, építészet, régészet [Paulines, architecture, archaeology]. Ed. Balatincz, Anna and Anna Nagy, 103–111. Budapest: Szent István Társulat.
- Patton, Gábor (2009). “A bajcsi pálos kolostor Baranya megyében” [The monastery of Bajcs in Baranya County]. *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 10: 43–55.
- Patton, Gábor (2013). “A szentlászlói pálos kolostor a baranyai Olasz község határában” [The Pauline monastery of Szentlászló in the boundary of Olasz village in Baranya]. *Egyháztörténeti Szemle* 15: 8–21.
- Pákay, Zsolt – Károly Sági. “A szőlőművelés hatása a Balaton-környék életére és településére”. [The affect of wine production on the area of the Balaton vicinity]. *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 10 (1971): 95-109
- Pesty, Frigyes. *Magyarország helységnévtára* [The collection of Hungarian settlement nomeclatura]. Budapest, 1864.
- Pető, Ákos and Csilla Gáti (2016). “Data on the geoarchaeological and topographical research at Pécs-Jakab-hegy – A Summary” *Hungarian Archaeology* (2016): 14–23.
- Pető, Zsuzsa. “The medieval landscape of the Pauline monasteries in the Pilis forest”. MA thesis. Budapest: Central European University, 2014.
- Pető, Zsuzsa. “Roman or Medieval? Historical Roads in the Pilis Forest” *Magyar Régészet / Hungarian Archaeology E-Magazine*, 2014/Autumn
http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/eng_peto_14O.pdf
 [22.07.2022]
- Pető, Zsuzsa. *Hermits in the Heart of the Hungarian Kingdom: Medieval Monastic Landscape of the Pauline Order in the Pilis (Series Minor)*. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2014.
- Pető, Zsuzsa. “Feltárul a pálos múlt – régészeti kutatások 2019-ben” [The past revealed – archaeological researches in 2019]. *A Fehér Barát* 21/3 (2019): 4–6.
- Pető, Zsuzsa. “Charters from the thirteenth century”, In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 44–47. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.

- Pető, Zsuzsa. “Copy of the seal of Bishop Pál Szécsi (1262–1275)” In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 44–47. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.
- Pető, Zsuzsa. “The monastery complex and the monastic landscape” In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 69–71. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.
- Pető Zsuzsa. “Medieval tap from Klastrompuszta” In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 44–47. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.
- Pető, Zsuzsa, ed. *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.
- Pető, Zsuzsa – Tamás Látos – Tamás Péterváry. “A pálosok nyomában Salföldön” [In the wake of Paulines at Salföld]. Under Press, publishing in July 2004, in relation to the “A fehér barátok nyomában” [On the footsteps of the white friars] conference on Pauline archaeology in Hungary
- Pinczés, Zoltán. A Tokaji-hegység geomorfológiai nagyformái [The grand characteristics of Tokaji hills]. *Földrajzi Értesítő* 47/3 (1998): 379–393.
- Pisk, Silvija. “Pavlinski samostan Blažene Djevice Marije na Gariću (Moslavačka gora) i njegova uloga u regionalnoj povijesti” [Pauline monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Garić (Moslavina mountain) and its role in regional history] *PhD dissertation*, University of Zagreb, 2011.
- Pleše, Tajana. “Comparative ground-plan analysis of Pauline monasteries in Late Medieval Slavonia”, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis* 19 (2015): 113-130.
- Pleše, Tajana. “*Ordo Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae*: Monasteries and the Shaping of the Late Medieval Slavonian Cultural and Historic Landscape prior to the Battle of Mohács (1526)”. In *Monastic Europe. Medieval Communities, Landscapes, and Settlements*. Eds. Bhreathnach, Edel, Malgorzata Krasnodebska-D'Aughton and Keith Smith, 383–405. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019.
- Prokopp, Mária. “Zala megyei középkori falképei” [Medieval frescos from Zala] In *Zala Megye Ezer Éve*. [A Thousand Year of Zala County], Ed. László Vándor, Zalaegerszeg: 1986.
- Pusztai, Tamás. ”Előzetes jelentés a telkibányai Szent Katalin ispotály 1997-98. évi feltárásáról.” [Preliminary report on the excavation of the hospital at Telkibánya in 1997-98. A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve 39 (2000): 117–134.
- Pusztai Tamás. “A Telkibányai Szent Katalin ispotály” [The St. Catherine hospital]. In *Quasi liber et pictura. Tanulmányok Kubinyi András hetvenedik születésnapjára*. Ed. Kovács Gyöngyi et al, 413–429. Budapest 2004.

- Pusztai, Tamás. “A gönci pálos kolostor 2005. évi régészeti kutatása” [The archaeological research of the Pauline monastery at Gönc in 2005]. *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 45 (2006): 139–157.
- Pusztai, Tamás. “A gönci pálos kolostor 2004-2005. évi kutatása” [The research of the Pauline monastery at Gönc in 2004-2005]. In *Decus Solitudinis. Pálos évszázadok* [Pauline Centuries]. Ed. Gábor Sarbak, 515–536. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007.
- Rackham, Oliver. *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape*. London: Phoenix, revised edition, 1996.
- Rainer, Pál. “Az Eger-völgye középkori települései” [The medieval settlements of Eger-valley] In *Előadások az Eger-völgye településeinek történetéből* 1. Csigakönyvek 1, Kapolcs 1996. 9-22.
- Rainer, Pál. “Szarberény és Kisberény története a középkorban” [The medieval history of Szarberény and Kisberény], In *Balatonalmádi és Vörösberény története* [The history of Balatonalmádi and Vörösberény] 143–146. Balatonalmádi: Almádiért Alapítvány, 1995.
- Rainer, Pál (ed.), *Veszprém megye egyházi élete a középkorban* [Ecclesial life in Veszprém County in the Middle Ages]. Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, 2009.
- Rainer, Pál. *Ádám Iván veszprémi kanonok pálos kolostorokról készült rajzai a veszprémi Laczkó Dezső Múzeumban* [The drawings of Iván Ádám Canon of Veszprém on Pauline monasteries, located in the Lackó Dezső Mueum at Veszprém]. Veszprém: Lackó Dezső Múzeum, 2016.
- Rácz, György . Zala megye birtokviszonyai az Anjou- és a Zsigmond-korban. Zala Megye Ezer Éve. Tanulmánykötet a magyar államalapítás milleniumának tiszteletére (Zalaegerszeg, 1996) Zala megye kialakulásától a török háborúk kezdetéig (1000–1540-es évek), 43-48.
- Roberts, B. K. “The Re-discovery of fishponds”. In *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*. Ed. Michael Aston, 9-26. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988.
- Rómer, Flóris. “Román- és átmenetkoru építmények hazánk területén” [Romaneque and transitioning buildings in our country] *Archaeologiai Közlemények* 10/2 (1876): 1-61.
- Sági, Károly. Ásatási napló. XII.163/1964. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Központi Adattár, Régészeti Adattár. Dokumentáció. 1963 [Excavation Diary in the Archaeological Archive of the National Museum]
- Sándor, Tibor. “Collection of processed miracles of Saint Paul the First Hermit by Bálint Hadnagy, Venice, 1511”, in: *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*. Ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 135. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.
- Sarbak, Gábor, ed. *Varia Paulina. Pálos Rendtörténeti Tanulmányok* [Studies on the history of the Pauline Order]. Vol.1. Csorna: Private Edition of Vince Árva, 1994.

- Sarbak, Gábor. “Pálosaink írásbelisége a középkor végén” [Pauline scripts at the end of the Middle Ages]. *Vigilia* 66/2 (2001): 112–119.
- Sarbak, Gábor, ed. *Decus Solitudinis. Pálos évszázadok* [Pauline Centuries]. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007.
- Sarbak, Gábor. “Prior General Gregory Gyöngyösi and the History of the Pauline Fathers in the Early sixteenth Century”, in *Infima Aetas Pannonica: Studies in Late Medieval Hungarian History*, ed. Péter E. Kovács and Kornél Szovák (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 2009), 250–260. n.v.;
- Sarbak, Gábor, ed. *Der Paulinerorden. Geschichte-Geist-Kultur*. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2010.
- Sarbak, Gábor, “Gyöngyösi Gergely, 1472–1531: Correctio correctionis”. In *Ghesaurus. Tanulmányok Szentmártoni Szabó Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára* [Studies honouring the 60 years old Géza Szentmártoni Szabó], ed. István Csörsz Rumen, 115–122. Budapest: rec.iti, 2010.
- Sarbak, Gábor, “Gyöngyösi: Vitae Fratrum”, In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető 15–16. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.
- Sarbak, Gábor, “Inventarium”, In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető 51. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022).
- Sarbak, Gábor, “The more extensive book of samples of the Pauline Fathers (Formularium maius Ordinis Sancti Pauli Primi Heremite), 1530s”, In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető), 244–245. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022
- Solymosi, László. *A földesúri járadékok új rendszere a 13. századi Magyarországon* [The new system of landlord supplies in the thirteenth-century Hungary]. Argumentum Kiadó: Budapest, 1998.
- Solymosi, László. “Pilissziget 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*. Eds. János Angi and János Barta, Jr., 11–23. Debrecen: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó, 2005.
- Spekner, Enikő. “Pálosok és domonkosok Szent Ágoston regulája és a konstitúciók tükrében” [Paulines and Dominicans as reflected in the Augustinian rule and the constitutions]. In *Decus solitudinis: Pálos évszázadok* [Pauline Centuries]. Eds. Sándor Óze and Gábor Sarbak, 313–26. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2007.
- Spekner, Enikő. *Hogyan lett Buda a középkori Magyarország fővárosa?* [Hogy did Buda become the capital of medieval Hungary?]. Budapest: BTM, 2015.

- Spekner, Enikő. “Buda before Buda: Óbuda and Pest as Early Centers,” in *Medieval Buda in Context*. Ed. by Balázs Nagy et al., 71–91. Brill: 2016.
- Stegena, Lajos, ed. *Lazarus secretarius. The First Hungarian Mapmaker and His Work*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.
- Sümegi, Pál – Gusztáv Jakab – Elek Benkő, “A pilisi királyi erdő a középkorban” [The Pilis Royal Forest in the Middle Ages]. In *A Kárpát-medence környezettörténete a középkorban és a kora újkorban: Environmental history of the medieval and early modern Carpathian Basin*. Eds. Elek Benkő and Csilla Zatykó, 249–330. Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 2021.
- Szabó, Noémi Gyöngyvér. “A kolozsmonostori bencés apátság gazdálkodása a késő középkorban” [The economy of the Benedictine Abbey of Kolozsmonostor in the later Middle Ages]. Ph.D. diss., University of Debrecen, 2013. <https://dea.lib.unideb.hu/dea/handle/2437/161252>
- Szabó, Péter. “Pilis: A Hungarian Forest in the Middle Ages.” MA Thesis in Medieval Studies: CEU, Budapest, 1999.
- Szabó, Péter. “Pilis: Changing Settlements in a Hungarian Forest in the Middle Ages”. *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU for 1997–1998* :283–293.
- Szabó, Péter. *Woodland and Forests in Medieval Hungary*. BAR International Series 1348. Archaeolingua, Central European Series, Vol. 2. Oxford: Basingstoke Press.
- Szakács, Béla Zsolt. *The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Central European University Press, 2016.
- Szakáll, Sándor. A Zempléni (Tokai)-hegység földtani viszonyai. [The geomorphology of Zemplén (Tokaj) Hills] *Zempléni Múza* 4/4 (2004): 43–48.
- Szende, Katalin. “Stadt Und Naturlandschaft Im Ungarischen Donauraum Des Mittelalters.” In *Europäische Städte Im Mittelalter*. Eds. Oppl, Ferdinand–Sonnlechner, Christoph 365–397. Innsbruck–Wien: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Studien Verlag, 2010.
- Szepeszy, Géza. “Levél a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumnak (1959. február 9.)” [Letter to the Hungarian National Museum – Report on the archaeological findings at Kesztlőc-Klastrompuszta, 9th February, 1959. Hungarian National Museum, Archive, 456. K. VI. 1959
- Szilágyi, Magdolna. “The Sequence of Roman and Medieval Communication Routes in Transdanubia” *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 13 (2007): 241-262.
- Szilágyi, Magdolna. “Medieval Roads in Transdanubia – The methods and potentials of their historical and archaeological investigations. MR/HA 2012/Summer http://www.hungarianarchaeology.hu/?page_id=279#post-2651 [22.10.2015];
- Szilágyi, Magdolna. *On the Road: The History and Archaeology of Medieval Communication Networks in East-Central Europe*. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2015.

- Szilágyi, Magdolna. “Római utak a középkori Dunántúlon. Az utak nevei és szerepük a középkori térszervezésben [Roman roads in Medieval Transdanubia. The names of Roman roads and their role in Medieval space organization]. *Történelmi Szemle* 56/1 (2014) 1–25.
- Szilágyi, Magdolna. “A Dunántúl középkori úthálózatának jellegzetességei. Szombathely útsomóponti szerepe a 13-14. században”. 2016
- Szoboszlay, Gergely – Olivér Gillich. “Gothic stone carvings from the Pauline monastery of Keszölc-Klastrom-pusztá in the collection of the Hungarian National Museum” *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 2023 (December): 243-75. <https://doi.org/10.54640/CAH.2023.243>.
- Szörényi, Gábor. “Az óhutai pálos kolostortemplom kutatása” [The research of the Pauline monastery of Óhuta] *Várak, kastélyok, templomok* 2017/2: 16-19.
- Szörényi, Gábor András. “Several handfuls of nails: the chroniclers of the destruction of Pauline monasteries (an example from northeast Hungary)”. In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*, ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 178. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.
- Szörényi, Gábor András and Melinda Miskolczi. “Pauline Monastery in Dédes/Bükkszentlélek”. In *Pauline Fathers - Exhibition Catalogue*. Ed. Zsuzsa Pető, 92–94. Budapest: Order of St. Paul the First Hermit – Hungarian National Museum, 2022.
- Tamási, Judit. “A gönci pálos kolostor régészeti kutatása.” Manuscript (HOM-RégAd. 2283-93), 1990.
- Tari, Edit, and Endre Tóth, eds. *Laudator temporis acti. Tanulmányok Horváth István 70 éves születésnapjára* [Studies for the seventeenth birthday of István Horváth]. Budapest: Martin Opitz, 2012.
- Taylor, C. C. “Problems and possibilities”. In *Medieval Fish, Fisheries and Fishponds in England*. Ed. Michael Aston, 465–474. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1988.
- Thúry, László. “Az uzsai pálos kolostorrom kutatása” [The research of the monastery of Uza]. *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 11/1–2 (2001): 262-264.
- Timár, Péter. “A szerdahelyiek Somogy megyei birtokai. 1. rész: Szerdahely” [The properties of the Szerdahelyi Family in Somogy Co. Part 1. Szerdahely]. *Somogy megye múltjából* 27 (1996): 69–85.
- Torma, István. “Mittelalterliche Ackerfeld-Spuren im Wald von Tamási (Komitat Tolna).” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33 (1981): 245–256.
- Torma, István ed. *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája. Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája* [The archaeological topography of Hungary. The archaeological topography of Komárom County: Esztergom and Dorog districts]. Vol. 5. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979.

- Torma, István, ed. *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája. Pest megye régészeti topográfiája: A budai és szentendrei járás* [The archaeological topography of Hungary. The archaeological topography of Pest County: the Buda and Szentendre districts]. Vol. 7. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986.
- Torma, István et al., ed. *Magyarország Régészeti Topográfiája 9. Pest megye régészeti topográfiája: A szobi és a váci járás* [The archaeological topography of Hungary 7. The archaeological topography of Pest County: Szob and Vác districts], Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993.
- Török, József. *A magyar pálos rend liturgiájának forrásai, kialakulása és főbb sajátosságai (1225 — 1600)* [The main sources, the foundation and key characteristics of the liturgy of the Hungarian Pauline Order]. Budapest: Római Katolikus Hittudományi Akadémia, 1977.
- Török, József. *A tizenharmadik század magyar egyháztörténete* [The Hungarian ecclesial history of the thirteenth century] Budapest: Mikes Kiadó, 2003.
- Tóth, Tibor. “A legismertebb somogyi kolostor” [The most well-known Pauline monastery], *Tabi Kilátó* (1996-1997), online edition
https://www.sulinet.hu/oroksegtar/data/telepulesek_ertekei/tab/tab_i_kilato_1996_1997/index.htm
- Tóth, Péter. “Somogy vármegye leírása 1812-ből” [The description of County Somogy in 1812], *Somogy megye múltjából* (1998): 41-92.
- Tringli, István. *Sátoraljaiújhely*. Budapest: MTA, 2011.
- Uhrin, Dorottya. “Szent Katalin mint az uralkodók patrónusa” [St. Kathrine as Royal Patron] *Micae Medievalis* (2016): 243-262.
- Uhrin, Dorottya. “Szent Katalin és Borbála, a felvidéki bányavárosok védőszentjei” [St. Catherine and Barbara, the patron saints of northern Hungarian mining towns] In *Hatalom, adó, jog. Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Power, tax, law. Economic historical studies on medieval Hungary], edited by Boglárka Weisz and István Kádas, 369-386. Budapest: MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, 2017.
- Urbán, Máté. “Pálos zarándokhelyek a későközépkori Magyarországon” [Pauline pilgrimage sites in late medieval Hungary]. *Vallástudományi Szemle* 5/1 (2009): 63–85.
- Urbán, Máté. “Pusztasivatag és Paradicsom kert – 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.
- Vadas, András. “Terminológiai és tartalmi kérdések a középkori malomhelyek körül.” [Terminological and contextual questions around the medieval mill-places]. *Történelmi Szemle* 2015/4: 619–648.
- Vadas András, Some Remarks on the Legal Regulations and Practice of Mill Construction in Medieval Hungary. In: *Wasser in der mittelalterlichen Kultur. Water in Medieval Culture*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017, 290–314.

- Vadász, Judit MáriaMagdolna. *A fényes kolostor: A márianosztrai pálos kolostor és templom története (1352-2012)* [The luminous monastery: The history of the Pauline cloister and church of Márianosztra (1352-2012)]. Budapest – Márianosztra: Ecclesia Szövetkezet – Magyar Pálos Rend Boldog Özséb Konventje, 2018.
- Valter, Ilona. *Romanische Sakralbauten Westpannoniens*. Eisenstadt 1985.
- Valter, Ilona. “Egyházszervezés, kolostorok, templomok a 11–13. században” [Ecclesial network, monasteries and churches in the 11-13th c.] In *Zala Megye Ezer Éve* [A thousand year of Zala County]. Ed. László Vándor, 61-65. Zalaegerszeg: 1996.
- Végh, András. “Adatok a budai kisebb Szűz Mária, másnéven Szent Zsigmond-templom alapításának történetéhez” [Data on the foundation of Holy Virgin, or St. Sigismund church]. *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): 25–34.
- Végh, András. *Buda város középkori helyrajza 1* [The Medieval map of Buda]. Vol. 1. Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2006.
- Végh, András. *Buda város középkori helyrajza 2* [The Medieval map of Buda]. Vol. 2. Budapest: Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2008.
- Vida, Beáta. “A lövöldi karthauzi monostor története” [The history of the monastery at Lövöld], In *Szerzetesrendek a veszprémi egyházmegyében* [Monastic orders in the bishopric of Veszprém]. Ed. Balázs Karlinszky, 83-108. (Veszprém: 2015).
- Wenzel Gusztáv. *Magyarország mezőgazdaságának története* [The history of Hungarian agriculture]. Budapest, 1887
- Wheatley, David, and Mark Gillings (2002). *Spatial Technology and Archaeology: the archaeological applications of GIS*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Windecke, Eberard. *Eberhard Windecke emlékirata Zsigmond királyról és koráról* [The diary of Eberhard Windecke of King Sigismund and his era]. ed. and translator by Renáta Skorka. Budapest: MTA, 2008.
- Wolf, Mária. *Árpád-Kori Eredetű Települések Abaúj Vármegye Déli Részén*. [Árpadian age settlements on the southern area of Abaúj County]. Miskolc: Herman Ottó Múzeum, 1989.
- Wolf, Mária.. “Újabb Kutatások Az Abaújházi Várban.” [Recent research in the fort of Abaújház]. *Castrum* 25 (2022/1-2): 5–22.
- Zákonyi, Ferenc. *A szántódi rév története* [The history of the ferry of Siófok]. Siófok, 1981.
- Zatykó, Csilla. “Medieval Villages and Their Landscape.” In *People and Nature in Historical Perspective*, eds. Laszlovszky et al, 343–375. Budapest: 2003.

- Zatykó, Csilla, “Reconstruction of the settlement structure of the medieval Nagyszakácsi (Somogy county).” *Antaeus* 28 (2004): 367–431.
- Zatykó, Csilla. “Természeti Táj – Emberformálta Táj: A Középkori Környezet Rekonstrukciójának Lehetőségei.” [Natural Landscape – Man-made Landscape: Possibilities for reconstructing the medieval environment]. In *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon 2.* [The archaeology of the middle ages and the post middle ages in Hungary] Vol. 2. Eds. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács, 839–852. Budapest: MTA Régészettudományi Intézet, 2010.
- Zatykó, Csilla. “Aspects of Fishing in Medieval Hungary.” *RURALIA: REVISTA ARGENTINA DE ESTUDIOS AGRARIOS* 8 (2011): 399–408.
- Zatykó, Csilla (2011). “Lelőhely és település kapcsolata a középkori Nagyszakácsiban” [Relation of archaeological site and settlement in medieval Nagyszakácsi]. In *“Fél évszázad terepen”.* *Tanulmánykötet Torma István tiszteletére 70. születésnapja alkalmából.* Eds. Klára Kövári and Zsuzsa Miklós, 101–108. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2011.
- Zatykó, Csilla (2015). “People beyond landscapes: past, present and future of Hungarian landscape archaeology”. *Antaeus* 33 (2015): 369–388.
- Csilla Zatykó, István Juhász and Pál Sümegi (eds.), *Environmental Archaeology in Transdanubia.* Budapest: MTA, 2007.;
- Csilla Zatykó and Pál Sümegi, “Palaeoenvironment and documentary sources: tracing environmental changes in marginal landscapes in Hungary”, In *Medieval Rural Settlement in Marginal Landscapes. Ruralia, VII.* eds. J. Klapšte – P. Sommer, 393–401. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009.
- Zatykó, Csilla, Magdolna Szilágyi and Máté Szabó, eds. *Történeti táj – tájrégészet: eredmények és perspektívák a magyarországi tájrégészeti kutatásban. Absztrakt kötet.* [Historical landscape – landscape archaeology: results and perspectives in Hungarian landscape archaeology]. Budapest: MTA BTK Régészeti Intézet, 2017.
- Zbudniewek, Janusz (ed.), *Zbiór dokumentów Zakonu Paulinów w Polsce*, vol. 2, 1464–1550 [A collection of documents of the Pauline Order in Poland] (Warsaw: Nakł. Red. “Studia Claromontana,” 2004).
- Zólyomi, Bálint, and István Précsényi (1985). “Pollenstatistische Analyse der Teichablagerungen des mittelalterlichen Klosters bei Pilisszentkereszt.” *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 37 (1985): 153–158.
- Zupka, Dušan (2011). *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000 - 1301).* Oxford: Brill.
- Zsiray, Lajos–Sch. Pusztai Ilona. “A salföldi Mária-Magdolnáról elnevezett pálos kolostor” [The Pauline monastery of Marie Magdalene of Salföld]. *A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 6 (1967): 247–258.

- Zsoldos, Attila. “Zala megye kialakulása és a megyei intézmény a 14. század elejéig.” [The development and county institutions of Zala County until the 14th c.] In *Zala Megye Ezer Éve* [A thousand year of Zala County]. Ed. László Vándor, 33–67. Zalaegerszeg: 1996.
- Zsoldos, Attila. “Zala megye birtokviszonyai az Árpád-korban.” [The properties of Zala County in the Árpadian era] In *Zala Megye Ezer Éve* [A thousand year of Zala County]. Ed. László Vándor, 38–42. Zalaegerszeg: 1996.
- Zsoldos, Attila. *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik - A királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában.* [The Árpadians and their mistresses – The queen’s institution in the age of the Árpadians]. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézet, 2005.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE BALATON UPLANDS (Chapter 4)

4.3.1. Insula Pilup / Révfülöp, St. Helena Hermitage

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese, Historical Zala Co., Present-day Veszprém Co.
Geographical Location	At the railway station of Révfülöp, on the shore of Balaton, in the past on an island.
Foundation/founder	Before 1221
Remains / Visibility	Localization is debated. At Révfülöp: the ruins of a parish-look church are still visible, architectural research was conducted there, but there is no archaeological evidence that would provide more information. At Taliándörögd: near Ilonaházi-kút, west to Taliándörögd in the wood, on an uplift of the landscape.
General literature	Guzsik, <i>Pálos építészet</i> ; Solymosi, “Pilissziget”;




Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1221	Two vineyards, namely <i>Zumbath</i> and <i>Bolcus</i> (at Kővágóörs?) were given to the brothers of St. Helen in the testament of Sal comes.	Hevenesi source-collection Cod. Dipl. 3/1, 325–328.
1261	Zlaudus the bishop of Veszprém objected to the role of the prior of the Austine order in Hungary as one of the judges in a certain debate amongst the canons and the priests of the Veszprém bishopric. The reason is that the Austine prior intended to occupy three hermitages in the lands of the diocese, namely St. Jacob, St. Helena and St. Maria Magdalene in Co. Zala.	DL 515, cited in Solymosi, „Pilissziget,” 18–19.
1263	Among the very first Pauline communities in 1263, in the inventory of Paul, bishop of Veszprém.	VF Cap. 10.
1291	Mentioned in the second inventory of monasteries	VF Cap. 10.

Spatial features and maps

The area of Ilonakút. Photo credit: Zsolt Kaszás, Attila Papp, Source: Facebook. Last accessed: (11-15-2023)

Maps

<p>Mappa Praedium Dobos, cum Sáska, Szőcz, Ráskó et Szent Jakab circumjacentibus Inclito Comitatus Szaladiensis ...</p> <p>MNL OL Collection of Maps S16 No.197. 1802, Sámuel Eszenyi juratus geometra</p>	
<p>Mappa exhibens, Ferritoria Szőcz, Raskó, Dobos et Saska ... Comitatus Szaladiensis ingremiata ...</p> <p>MNL OL Collection of Maps S15 No.339. 1827, Hlobutschek, Anton - Forst. Practicant</p>	
<p>Markt Kővágó Eörs sammt Ortschaft Kis Eörs und Puszta Sóstó in Ungarn, Oedenburger Distrikt; Kővágó Eörs mezőváros Kis Eörs helységgel, Sóstó pusztával együtt Magyarországon, Zala megye, Adóhivatal Tapolca</p> <p>MNL OL Collection of Maps S78 No. 313.Téka-Kővágóörsi-16-38. 1858, Bittner, Norbert</p>	

4.3.2. Salföld / Köveskút, Kőkút (Salföld), St. Maria Magdalena Hermitage and Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese, Historical Zala Co. / Present-day Veszprém Co.
Geographical Location	In the outskirts of present-day Salföld, west-southwest to it, in a secluded valley. 46.819155651423, 17.542746042052
Foundation/founder	Probably before 1221, by <i>Sal comes</i> , member of the Kőkúti (Atyusz?) Family
Remains / Visibility	Ruins of the whole monastic building complex are visible, a popular hiking spot. The ruins were first mentioned in the nineteenth century, the groundplan was published by Remig Békefi. The church has a polygonal apse. The sanctuary is just as wide as the nave, separated by the triumphal arch. The remains of three huge Gothic windows are still visible on the southern side of the nave. The <i>clausura</i> was built north of the church and a cistern was dug in the monastic garden. In the late Gothic era, in the fifteenth century the floor level in the church was raised. The eastern area of the cloister has cellars beneath the cloister floor level. The excavation of the monastery was in 163, led by Károly Sági. Some graves were found in the church and in the southeastern area of the garden. Unfortunately it was not published, only those data which were in accordance with the architectural conservation of the ruins, led by Lajos Zsiray and Ilona Sch. Pusztai.
General literature	Rupp I, 301; Békefi 1907, 248-249, fig. 107-108; Guzsik 1980, 10; MRT 1, 135—136; DAP I, 215; Solymosi, “Pilissziget”; Sch. Pusztai-Zsiray; LaHu I, 367.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
c. 1221	As the tradition in scholarship suggests, the monastery was founded by the clan Atyusz, maybe <i>Sal/Atyusz comeses</i> .	F. Romhányi 2000, “Kőkút”
1261	Zlaudus, the bishop of Veszprém objected to the role of the prior of the Austine order in Hungary as one of the judges in a certain debate amongst the canons and the priests of the Veszprém bishopric. The reason is that the Austine prior intended to occupy three hermitages in the lands of the diocese, namely St. Jacob, St. Helena and St. Maria Magdalene in Co. Zala.	DL 515, cited in Solymosi, “Pilissziget,” 18–19.
1263	Listed on the list of the Pauline inventory of Paul Bishop of Veszprém	VF Cap. 10.
1291	Mentioned in the second inventory of monasteries	VF Cap. 10.
1307-07-12/13	Coloman, son of Barnabas, the <i>iobagio</i> of the Chapter of Veszprém, of the village of <i>Abram</i> [present Ábrahámhegy], donated a vineyard, located among the vineyards of Paul, son	DL 8785, DL 1707 (eighteenth c. transcription); DAP 1,

	of Laurence and the vineyards of Veszprém Chapter, for the hermits of <i>B. Marie Magdalene ecclesia</i> at <i>KuesKut</i> . (Transcribed by the convent of Tihany)	215; Elenchus 1750, AOkt I, 137, no. 128.
1309	The Chapter of Veszprém donates some lands, including a vineyard to (<i>iobbagio nostri</i>) Paulus (<i>filius Laurenti</i>) and his son Gregorius. The neighbors of the vineyard at the eastern side were the Paulines.	DL 200781; AOkl. 137 — 138; HO IV. 117-118, no. 91.; Holub 1933, “Köveskút”
1442	Martinus, the general prior, approved that three houses (e.g. villa prope Serenne?, Uza and Kekuth) can be offered to the Observant Franciscans by the request of some noblemen who supported the Franciscans. These monasteries were not qualified to the Pauline regulations, but they did to the observants. Most probably the Observants did not inhabit this monastery.	DL 13698 Issued from Escen/ Öcsény! DAP 3, 164.
1475-11-05 [1477-06-01]	Cardinal Stephanus granted an indulgence for the church of the monastery of Marie Magdalene. The charter was also issued by Albert Bishop of Veszprém.	DL 35793; DAP 1, 215; Elenchus 1750
1482	Paulus Miketinc, the son of Ladislaus, son of Gregorius, son of Marcus de Lád donated his lands at Földköz and Ábrám to the hermits at Kőkút, if he would die without an heir. On the back of the charter the following can be read: “Ad claustrum Kekwth pertinent, quod claustrum ninc est desolatum”- it is of the cloister of Kőkút, which cloister is desolated. Nota bene: due to the chaotic history of the noble Erdődy family’s archive in the twentieth century, the original reference is yet not identified or found in any of the possible archives. However, the same properties (along with other, yet unidentified settlements at the Balaton Uplands) were donated for others. A very interesting story, which should be investigated on the basis of available data: all of them were the possessions of the Gyulafi-Rátóth clan, really valuable properties. See DL 88667, DL 88674 (its transcription from 1511: DL 89010), DL 88675 and finally DL 88676.	Holub 1933 “Köveskut”, original but yet unidentified archival ID: Gr. Erdődy-cs. lev. Galgóc 104/2./.
1487	Prior General Thomas ordered at the request of László Gyulaffy's widow that the one-wheeled mill on the Egreh River near Diszel, which belonged to the Paulines of Kőkút (before them, to the Uzsaszentlélek monastery, between 1392 and 1442), should become the property of the St. James monastery in Zala County – after the departure of the brothers.	VF Cap. 67; INVENTARIUM, 43-44; DAP 2, 388–390. HOLUB 1933, 436.

Spatial features and maps

LiDAR survey	Fig. 4.3.14.
Dam on stream Burnot	Fig. 4.3.20.



The monastery at Salföld. Photo credit:

<http://magyarkaland.blogspot.com/2016/10/salfold-palos-kolostor-romjai.html>

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:K%C5%91k%C3%A1los_kolostor1.JPG

<https://www.programturizmus.hu/ajanlat-salfoldi-palos-kolostor.html>

4.3.3. Sáska / Bakon – St. James Hermitage and Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese, Historical Zala Co. Present-day Veszprém Co.
Geographical Location	In the hills of Sáska, northeast to the village, in Szarvasvölgy.
Foundation/founder	Before 1261, by local nobles; the patron of the monastery is the Gyulafi Family de genere Rátót. The founder might be Lőrinc de Rátót, who was most probably the grandfather of John and Ladislaus, who donated Tálod in 1324 (most probably founded by their father)
Remains / Visibility	The church of the monastery is visible, the remains are dated to the fourteenth century.
General literature	Ádám 1888b; Guzsik 1980, 14; MRT 1, 141; DAP 2, 388–390; Guzsik 2003, 43–45, 46; Mordovin 2015; Majer 2017; Nagy 2019; Majer 2022.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1260	Laurentius de Keso/Kesev de genere Ratholt [Lőrinc Keszi-Rátóth or Gyulaffy-Rátóth] founded the Pauline monastery (sic!) of St. James in Zala County.	Cod. Dipl. 7/5, 329; Békefi 1913, 241.
1261	Zlaudus the bishop of Veszprém objected against the role of the prior of the Austine order in Hungary as one of the judges in a certain debate amongst the canons and the priests of the Veszprém bishopric. The reason is that the Austine prior intended to occupy three hermitages in the lands of the diocese, namely St. Jacob, St. Helena and St. Maria Magdalene in Co. Zala.	DL 515, cited in Solymosi, “Pilupsziget,” 18–19.
1263	It is listed among the first communities in the inventory of Paul, Bishop of Veszprém	VF Cap 10.
1304	Maister Jwla of the Rathoch family [Gyula II or III Rátóth] donated this monastery a (certain) vineyard at <i>Zornoskew</i> , near the village of <i>Sagsuka</i> [Sáska], with three acres of land. See in the letters of Thomas abbot of Thykonio [Tihany], where further documents are inserted [about] donations by [the same] master Jwla.	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;
1307	The noblemen Magister Nicolaus, Gwla and Baldinus, the sons of the former Magister Johannes, the son of Laurence de Kewsew, of the family of Rakolcz [Rátóth], confirmed the foundation and donations of (this) church of St. James the Apostle, which were given (and founded) by Johannes, and all that belonged to the said monastery, namely the lands, meadows and woods, were perambulated by special marks..	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;
1324	The sons of Simeon of Dobos, Petrus and Benedictus, sold their lands: one part to local nobles and the other to the Ráthold family, except 5 <i>iugerum</i> of lands (arable lands) and vineyard, which they donated to the St. Jamesmonastery.	Holub 1933, “Doboz”
1360	Nicolaus, Baldinus, and Gywla, sons of Magister Johannes, son of Laurentius de Dobws, donated half of a mill named <i>Kezipmalom</i> [Középmalom=Middle Mill] on the river Kezy [Keszi]. [...] Magister Gywla donated the other half of this mill, as it is in the letters of the same chapter (=Veszprém) at the year 1383 and in his letters of the year of 1382.	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390.
1382-83	Master Gywla donated another half of the mill, donated in 1360, as it is given/written in the documents of the chapter of Veszprém	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;
1384	The noble [widow] lady, left by Johannes, the son of Laurentius de Ratholcz [János Gyulaffy-Rátóth], gave a certain vineyard of her own freehold in the territory of Kezew [Keszi] possession, on the side of the mountain Kobanchheghe	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;

	[Csobánchegye], in the place of <i>Kewesmagas</i> [Kövesmagas]. There are letters of the Chapter of Veszprém.	
1429	A charter on Dobos village states that there was the St. James monastery near.	MTF 3, 47.
1437	Lady Ágnes, (the widow of Gyula,) as left by magister Gywla [Gyula], gave the site of a mill on the river Egreh near the village of Dyska [Diska] with her sons. [...] Later, in the year of 1519, Stephanus Gywla of Ratholch [István Gyulafi-Rátóth], in exchange of the said mill, gave a more rewarding mill running on the same river, called Kewmal [Kómál]. See in the letters of the same Stephen, where the results of both mills are also mentioned/described.	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;
1438	The aforesaid Lady Ágnes gave the tax of the mountain [<i>tributum montis</i> , “hegyvám”, payed after vineyards] and the gifts and all the general census of 12 vineyards in the territory of the mountain Weresmaal at the possession of Sáska.	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;
1440	Ladislaus de Gywla gave a meadow called Cherepch [Cserepcs/Cserepes] at Mount Bakon, near Lowaskwth [Lovaskút] to the monastery.	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;
1485	David de Byk [Bük?] gave his consent over the whole/entire donation formerly made by the illustrious Nicholas de Wnyan, namely the noble <i>sessio</i> /parcel called Salamon Ilese, together with certain abandoned parcels and several other properties.	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;
1487	Br. Thomas the general prior, at the request of the widow lady of Ladislaus Gywla of Ratholch [László Gyulaffy-Rátóth], ordered that the one-wheeled mill on the river/stream Egreh in the boundary of Tapolcza, which then belonged to the monastery of Kewkuth, after the brothers left that monastery, should be enrolled/given to the monastery of St. James in Zala. <i>Inventarium 44, Elenchus 1750: Anno 1487 Frater Thomas prior generalis ad petitionem relictæ Ladislai Gywla ordinavit, ut molendinum unius rotæ in possessione Dyzel in fluvio Egreh decurrens post exitum fratrum de Kewkuth revolvatur ad hoc monasterium Sancti Jacobi. Quod quidem molendinum olim scilicet anno 1392 Nicolaus filius Martini de Dyzel pro ducentis florenis fratribus de Sancto Spiritu alias de Monte Vsa pro medietate impignorum tandem donavit eidem monasterio Sancti Spiritus. Unde post desercionem eiusdem monasterii de Vsa ad Kewkuth et iterum post exitum fratrum nostrorum de Kewkuth ad hoc monasterium de voluntate patrum est devolutum. Quod si autem processu temporum et hoc monasterium desolabitur, ex tunc prior generalis illius temporis assignabit eo, quo sibi placuerit. Extant super hoc quam plures literæ habito in conservatorio S. Jacobi in Zala. Vide ibidem.</i>	VF Cap 67. Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;
1500	The noble and literate Paulus de Mekethyncz donated a mill in the Kapwch valley, on the stream of Egres, which was repaired by (the order) of Clementinus, the prior of this monastery.	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;

1501	Two noblemen, Georgius de Dörögd and Caspar de Kapocz donated a mill located in the village of Kapocz [Kapolcs] at the so-called Jegyenes. If the monastery is left by the monks, the aforesaid mill gets back to the inheritors/successors.	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;
1511	Lady Margaretha, the daughter of the deceased Dominicus Ladamer de Kezy, donated a (certain) meadow (<i>pratum</i>) at Sáska, which otherwise was given by his father to us [the Paulines].	Inventarium, 43-44.; DAP 2, 388–390;

Spatial features and maps

Properties	Fig. 4.3.27–29.
-------------------	-----------------

4.3.4. Badacsony, St. Emeric Hermitage

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese, Historical Zala Co. Present-day Veszprém Co.
Geographical Location	Northeast to Badacsonytomaj village, on the Eastern side of Badacsony hill, near Klastrom Well. On the Eastern side of Badacsony hill, near Klastrom-kút (Cloister well/spring)
Foundation/founder	Before 1263. Near the possessions of <i>genus</i> Lád founded by local nobles (Clan of Tomaj?)
Remains / Visibility	On the eastern slope of Badacsony, around the present-day shrine of Pope Saint John Paul II. Nothing is visible, mining must have destroyed any traces of a community; only some fragments of Árpáadian ceramics were found in 2019 there.
General literature	VF 10, 19; Rupp I. 272; DAP I. 139; MRT 1, 27; Ádám 1888, 64-66; Békefi 1907; F. Romhányi 2000, 10; Guzsik 2003, 47-49, 206; F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 6; Szeremley 1851, 31. Pető 2019.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1263	It is mentioned among the eight eremitic communities in the charter of Paul bishop of Veszprém. <i>Paulus episcopus Wesprimiensis...fratres heremitae diversorum locorum nostrae dioecesis...numerus locorum, quae inhabitant, augmentare non possunt:...Bodochn Sancti Emerici..</i>	VF Cap 10
1313	Hermits lie in the monastery of St. Emeric on the slope of Badacsony hill. They received a vineyard. Charter issued by the Abbot of Almád, Nicholas. The sons of Lodomér of Gulach, Valentinus and Fabianus, in the Thomoy [Tomaj] land, in the neighbourhood of Stephanus of Lad,	DL 40345; DL 40346; AOkl. 3, 250; VF Cap 19.

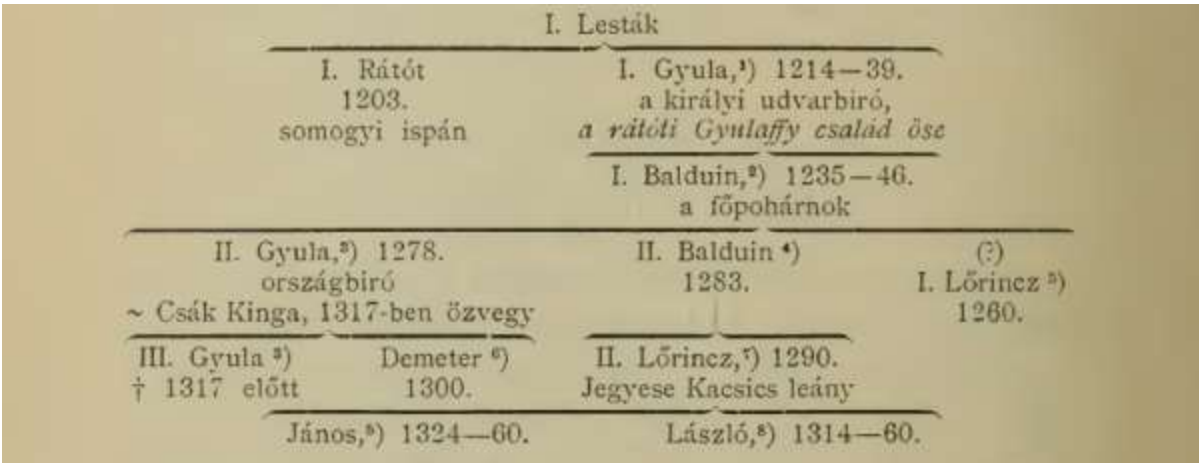
	son of Laurentius, on all sides, with the consent of their relatives and neighbours, give their weaving to the hermit brothers in the Church of St. Imre conf. on the side of the Badacsony hill, for the salvation of their parents and themselves. <i>fratres heremitae habitabant in claustro Beati Emerici de latere montis Bodochun</i> in the charter: <i>fratrum heremitarum [in] ecclesiam beati Emerici ... de latere montis Badacini</i>	
--	--	--

Spatial features and maps

possible fishponds	Fig. 4.3.32.
--------------------	--------------

[Vineae Badacsony Mon. Pap. O. S. P: P: ERETAE](#)

MNL OL Collection of Maps
S86 No.32.
1773, Szabadhegyi, Michael



The family tree of the Gyulaffy-Rátóth kindred. Karácsonyi 3, 6.

4.3.5. Tálod, St. Elizabeth Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese, Historical Zala Co. Present-day Veszprém Co.
Geographical Location	In the woods, southeast to Pula settlement

Foundation/founder	The last quarter of the thirteenth century by the Rátót Clan; before 1324.
Remains / Visibility	The ruins of the church are visible in the woods, also fragments of earthworks. However, the walls of the ruin are about to collapse.
General literature	Guzsik 1980, 9, 18; MRT 2, 182; DAP 1, 185; DAP 3, 1; Guzsik 2003, 45–47, 71—75; Holler 2009; Papp 2019, “Tálad”; Papp 2022, “Kolostorkert”

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1324/1 - 01-01 – 1373 – 1412	<p>In front of the the Chapter of Veszprém, the noble John and Ladislaus, sons of Laurentius de Kesev [Keszi] of the Rátholt [Rátót] Clan with all their relatives [...] granted the church of B. Elisabeth de Thalad to the Austine [!] brothers of St. Paul the first hermit who are living there [...] along the same properties (mills, hay meadows, forests and arable lands) as their relatives. They also give their possession of Talad existing in the county of Zala [Somogy incorrectly in Elenchus] with <i>iobbagiones</i>, forests, pastures, meadows, arable lands and other valuable/usable lands, mills and others, sufficient for the needs of the brothers, but with the restriction that the donators (magister Johannes and Ladislaus) themselves and their successors have the possibility to use the aforesaid possession of Talad (except 3 mills, forests, meadows and pastures, arable lands and usable lands depending on the annual choice of Johannes and Ladislaus) freely for eighty-six years, After eighty-six years, the donators have to give everything to the Paulines under the penalty of 1000 gold florins. Until this, if anyone would like to gain back the properties, he should pay 2000 florins. If someone has a quarrel with the Paulines in connection with the properties, the donators should protect the hermits under the penalty of a double price.</p> <p>DL 5986 <i>...ecclesiam sub honore omnipotentis dei et beate Elizabet patrone nostre in territorio possessionis ipsorum Thalad vocate in comitatu Zaladiensi existentis, pro oratorio et speciali habitacione religiosorum virorum fratrum heremitarum sancti Pauli primi heremite ordinis sancti Augustini constructam, ...</i></p> <p>Elenchus: <i>anno 1324 coram capitulo Wesprimiensi nobiles magistri Joannes et Ladislaus, filii Laurentii de Kresev de genere Rátholt cum omnibus ipsorum cognatis plus quam 40 viris ecclesiae B.Elisabeth de Thalad, fratribus eremitis ibidem degentibus per ipsorum genitores concessae ac per eosdem etiam dotatae donant possessionem suam Talad in comitatu Simigiensi existentem [sic!], ita tamen, ut exceptis tribus molendinis necnon sylvis, pratis et terris arabilibus ad necessitatem fratrum sufficientibus, ipsi donantes eorumque successores ad octuaginta sex annos liberam in praedicta possessione Thalad habeant utendi facultatem, effluxis autem</i></p>	<p>DL 5986 (copy issued in 1412);</p> <p>Elenchus 1750, 573–574. (Somogy county, sic!);</p> <p>Zalai Oklt. I. 171–174. no. 127.;</p> <p>DAP 3, 1; Zsiray 1988, 3.</p> <p>AOkm. 8, 9. (no. 1.) based on the unusual words and phrasing, László Blazovich had concerns about the authenticity of the charter</p>

	<i>octuaginta sex annis sub poena 1000 florenorum auri eadem possessio Thalad integre ad dictam ecclesiam fratresque ibidem degentes devolvatur.</i>	
	<p>1373 - 11 - 03 [1396: VF Cap. 31.]</p> <p>The charter of 1324 was signed and approved by King Louis at the request of prior Tristianus.</p> <p>However, in the Vitae Fratrum it is issued in 1369: <i>Frater Tristianus ... generalis ... per ... regem fecit transsumi fundationem claustrum de Thalad in comitatu Zaladiense existentem.</i></p>	
	<p>1412 - 05 - 24</p> <p>The donation of 1324 (also the transcription in 1373) is transcribed in a medieval charter issued by the Chapter of Buda. This is the earliest surviving transcription of the whole procedure.</p>	
1480	Observant Franciscans inhabited the empty monastery – most probably the Pauline monks were moved to Nagyvázsony monastery by Pál Kinizsi.	DAP 3, 1.

Spatial features and maps

Monastic garden features	Fig. 4.3.35-36; 41.
Monastic garden features (LiDAR)	Fig. 4.3.39-40.
Pond in the Séd valley (LiDAR)	Fig. 4.3.42-43.

4.3.6. Henye, St. Margaret Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese, Historical Zala Co. Present-day Veszprém Co.
Geographical Location	North to present Balatonhenye (250 m), along the stream Dobogópatak, Magyaltető, Margaret garden
Foundation/founder	Second half of the thirteenth century, based on archaeological material.
Remains / Visibility	not visible, some remains of strongly built stone walls were found by archaeologists during the surveys for the MRT series, along with human remains and 13-fifteenth c. ceramic fragments and nails.
General literature	Bakay-Kalicz-Sági 1963–64; DAP 3, 308; MRT 1, 41, Guzsik 1980, 24.

Medieval history: written sources

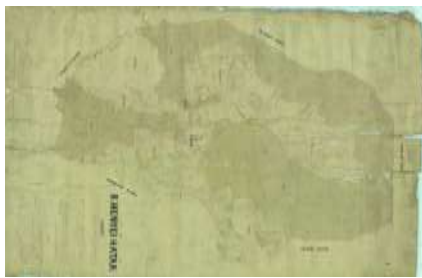
Date	Issue	Source
1365 -04- 18	<p>The chapter of Veszprém issued the charter, which contains the followings: Stephanus comes, son of Nicholaus; also Stephanus and his brother John, sons of Domenicus; sons of Chaba and others , all nobles of Henye from Co. Zala (<i>nobiles de Hene de comitatu Zaladiensis</i>), donated new lands: a mill in Henye (<i>unum molendinum ipsorum in eadem villa Hene</i>), an acre of land (<i>unum iugera terra sub monte Modushege dicto</i>) and a fishpond (<i>unam piscinam halto</i> [Haltó=fishpond] <i>dictam</i>) in Henye. Also others lands in Henye at specific parts of the possession) to the monastery of Henye, which was founded by their ancestors.</p> <p>I could recover the original charter, see DL 41 617. Most of the full transcription is cited in Chapter 4.3.6. and below the detailed extraction of data.</p>	Csánki III. 61. (ref. to Pannonh. főapáts. orsz. lit. 37. sz.), Holub 1933, 291—292; 1929? Békefi 1907, 246: (1376!); Genton 1959, 27; F. Romhányi 2000, 40.

no. of line	no. of property	property - Latin	property - English
7/	1	<i>unum molendinum ipsorum in eadem villa Hene</i>	a mill in the village of Henye
8/	2	<i>unum iugera terra sub monte Modushege</i> [Modus/Módoshegye?] <i>dicto</i>	one acre land below the hill of Modushege [=someone's? hill]
8/	3	<i>unam piscinam Halto</i> [Hal-tó=fishpond] <i>dictam</i>	a fishpond called Halto [=fishpond]
9/	4	<i>duo iugera terre integra Lusuktumk nominate</i>	two acres of land at Lusuktumk
9/	5	<i>duo iugera terram ante terram extirpatitiam Francisci</i>	two acres of land before the arable land (in the forest) of Francis
9/	6	<i>duo iugera terra integra Daniteluk</i>	two acres of land of Daniteluk
9-10/	7	<i>duo iugera terra dicta ipsum Teluk</i> [Telek]	two acres of land called Teluk [=parcel]
10/	8	<i>quatuor iugera terra integra Wrukche</i> [Urukkő?/Űrkő?/Öreg-kő?]	four acres of land of Wrukche [=Lord's stone]
10/	9	<i>duo iugera terra integra Heegtelek</i> [Hegytelek]	two acres of land at Heegtelek [=mountain parcel]
10-11/	10	<i>tua (sic!) iugera terra in eodem Teluk cum finis tendit ad curia Nicolai filii Johannis</i>	two acres of land at the same Teluk [=parcel] (meaning Hegy-telek?) until the curia (house with parcel or parcel) of Nicolaus, the son of Johannis

11/	11	<i>unam iuger terra in loco Zyl mellike [Szil-melléke]</i>	one acre of land in Zyl mellike [near elm woods]
11/	12	<i>duo iugeram terra intra Kuestelek [Kövestelek] a parte aquilonis, invicinitate terre Gregorii filii Laurentii</i>	two acres of land within Kuestelek [=rocky parcel] on the north side, in the vicinity of the land of Gregory the son of Lawrence
12/	13	<i>duo iugera terra intra terram An?...iou (Antoni?) filii Felitiani</i>	two acres of land before land of An..iou/Antonius?, the son of Felitius
12/	14	<i>duo iugera terre perlongitudinem ad vineam prefati Stephani filii Nicolai</i>	two acres of land in length for the vineyard of Stephen, son of Nicolaus
12/	15	<i>duo iugera terra iuxta vineam eisdem claustru</i>	two acres of land next to the vineyard of the same monastery
12-13/	16-17	<i>duo iugera terra invicinitate terra Jacobi filii confine Cosme a parte meridies cum pertinula prati ad nomine falcastrum sufficienter a parte orientis eisdem terra que fuerint per Thomam filium Gerhe legata</i>	also two acres of land in the vicinity of the land of Jacobus, son of Cosma, on the south side, with a piece of hay meadow, sufficient for a <i>falcastrum</i> (=kaszaalja) on the east side of the same land, which was gifted by Thomas, son of Gerhe.
13-14/	18	<i>duo iugera terra iuxta plateam Petuswtha [Petusútja] dictam quorum unum condam magister Clemens cum fratribus suis, item aliud Jacobus fratribus Cosme et Johannes filius Salamonis legavint</i>	two acres of land next to the place/road called Petuswtha [= the road of Petus/Peter], one part of which Magister Clemens and his brothers donated, and the other also, by Jacobus, Cosme and Johannes, the son of Salamon, donated to the brothers
14-15/	19	<i>duo iugera terra invicinitate terre Ladislai filii Chepani et unam particulam prati similiter ad nomen falcastrum sufficientem/suffitientem iuxta puteam Falukuta [Falukútja] dictam.</i>	two acres of land in the vicinity of the land of Ladislaus, son of Chepan and one part of hay meadow similarly [in area] to a <i>falcastrum</i> , next to the carcass pit?cistern, called Falukuta [the pit/well of the village]
15-16/	20	<i>unam particulam feneti unum falcastri in contro(verso)? incolatorum? incetoro? in centro? inferioris Hene intra feneta Jacobi filii Cosme et Johannes filii Salamonis habitam per Petrum filium Thome legatur habita constituta et adiacentia?</i>	one part of the meadow, one <i>falcastrum</i> , in lower Hene within the meadow of Jacobus, son of Cosma and Johannes son of Salamon had, was donated by Petrus, the son of Thomas, had, maintained, and neighbored.
16/	21	<i>unam vineam magnam iuxta viam Kaliwth [Káli út] dictam, a parte occidentali eiusdem vie habitam per nobiles ipsius ville pro eodem clauastro portio? comparatam.</i>	one large vineyard next to the road called Kaliwth [Káli út], on the west side of the same road, cultivated? by the nobles of the town, another part prepared for the same monastery?

16-17/	22	<i>unam vineam per eisdem filium Johannis filii Egidii legati pro eodem claustro emptam sui a parte orientis vinea Nitom dicti Vonas et a parte occidentis vinea Gregorii filii Laurentii wonantur.</i>	one vineyard gifted by the same son of John, the son of Egidius, [...] on the east side the vineyard Nitom called Vonas [=line, a long narrow plot], and on the west side, the vineyards of Gregory, the son of Laurentius.
17-18/	23	<i>unam vineam per Ladislaum filium Pauli dicti Chuh legatam ...ville Monoslou cui a parte occidentis vinea Georgii filii Monuslou? et a parte orientis tumulus lapidum a parte vero aquilonis unus magnus lapis Feyrkyu [=Fejérkő] dictus vitinarentur.</i>	one vineyard gifted by Ladislaus, the son of Paul, called Chuh ... the village of Monoslou , on the west side of which were the vineyards of Gregorius, the son of Monuslou? (!), and on the east side a stone mound , and on the north side one large stone called Feyrkyu [=white stone] was surrounded.
19/	24	<i>duo iugera terre in monte Modushege dicto per prefatum Gregorium filium Laurentii legata</i>	two acres of land on the mountain called Modushege , donated by the aforementioned Gregorius, son of Laurentius.

Spatial features and maps

Boundary of Henye and Monoszló (including vineyards) Archive of Veszprém County XV 11 a T 642 1857	
Boundary	Fig. 4.3.54.

4.3.7. Uzsa, Holy Spirit Monastery


General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese, Historical Zala Co. Present-day Veszprém Co.
Geographical Location	Located in the restricted zone of a mine at Uzsa.
Foundation/founder	1320-33, by Laurentius of Uzsa.
Remains / Visibility	The ruins of the church are visible but located on the territory of a mine.
General literature	Rómer, „Romanesque,” 1876, 51; Dornay-Vigyázó 1934, 338–339; Guzsik 1980, 20; MRT 1, 111; DAP 3, 164; Fehérváry 1979; Guzsik 2003, 76—81; Thúry 2000.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1333	Possibly about the later Pauline hermits, a source on a property exchange mentions the Holy Trinity (!) church and the hermits of Uzsa.	MTT 4/9, 168. DF 25 67269
1392	The monks of Uzsa received a mill on the stream of Egregy, in the outskirts of Dinéi / <i>Dyzel!</i> see 4.7. <i>Sáska, 1487</i>	DAP 3, 164; original source VF. C. 39.
1406	Gregorius, the prior general, asked King Sigismund to transcribe the donation of a half-mill on the stream Egregy. <i>Fr. Gregorius prior generalis in literis regis Sigismundi fecit transcribi et confirmari literas donationis medietatis molendini monasterio de S. Spiritu, alias de monte Usa in fluvio Egreh.</i>	VF Cap. 39. DAP 3, 164.
1442	Martinus, the general prior, offered Uzsa along with another monastery (e.g. villa prope Serenne, Uza and Kekuth) to the Franciscans, since these monasteries were not qualified to the Pauline regulations, but they do the Observants. However, they did not inhabit the monastery until the 1460s.	DL 136987 Issued from Escen/ Öcsény! DAP 3, 164.
1455-02-01	Johannes, a distinguished nobleman, the son of the voivode Nicolaus Marczali, offered properties (Nyavalyád-pusztá, today Zalaerdőd) to the Paulines of Uzsa and Enyere. If the Paulines did not want to reuse/resettle at Uzsa, then the parochial church (St. John the Baptist altar) at Hozywthoth [Hosszútót, today Hosztót] would have received its part at Nyavalyád.	DL 14919; DAP 3, 164.; <i>Zala vármegye története II, 1890, 2, 558; Elenchus 1750</i>

Landscape features and maps

The spring and probably fishpond in the valley, below the plateau of the monastery	Ádám 1881, in Fehérváry 1979, 205. Fig. 4.3.66.
mills: Kis-malom/Modor-malom (the same as the next one called Hidegkúti-malom)	Fig. 4.3.62.
Mappa repraesentans situm defluxus fluvii Lesencze MNL OL Collection of Maps S 46 No. 8. eighteenth c., Tomasich, Joannes - cottus Zalad. jur. geom.	

4.3.8. Vállus, St. Nicholas monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese, Historical Zala Co. Present-day Veszprém Co.
Geographical Location	In the middle of Keszthely hill, at the spring of St. Nicholas.
Foundation/founder	unknown
Remains / Visibility	Below the surface, nothing is visible, excavations are ongoing.
General literature	Guzsik 1980, 21; MRT 1, 164; DAP 3, 200; Guzsik 2003, 47, 75—76.; Pető 2019.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1429-08-11	The Chapter of Kapornak reports to King Sigismund that Ladislaus and Pető [Peter], the sons of John, son of Pető de Gerse took five parcels (<i>sessiones iobagionales</i>) of the Paulines of Vállus at Keszthely.	<i>Zala vármegye története II</i> , 1890, 462—463, no. 218.
1429-08-13	The Chapter of Zala, in a copy the Chapter of Vasvár reports to King Sigismund that the testimonies proved that Ladislaus and Pető [Peter], sons of Johannes, son of Pető de Gerse took and still use 70 hay meadows and 24 arable lands of the monastery at Zsid.	DL 12105; DL 92772.

Spatial features and maps

The spring of St. Nicolaus, 30 meters from the monastery.

photo credit:

https://prusi.blog.hu/2019/07/26/kirandulas_a_vallusi_palos_kolostor_ro_mjaihoz



The forest of Vállus S68 - No. 47/2. 1887	
---	--

4.3.9. Berény

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese, Historical Veszprém Co. Present-day Veszprém Co.
Geographical Location	Unlocalized, most probably in today's Remete-völgy
Foundation/founder	unknown, but most probably with the approval of the Chapter/Diocese of Veszprém or even the nuns at Veszprémvölgy.
Remains / Visibility	Not visible
General literature	Rainer, "Szarberény és Kisberény, 1995, 143–146.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1318	Tamás, son of Lőrinc Essegvári broke into the church of the friars of the holy cross (<i>keresztúri remeték</i>) near Almádi, at Vörösberény <i>...ecclesiam eremitarum sancte crucis in silva eadem ville fecit de nocte frangi...</i>	DL 200097; Veszpr. Reg. 47-48, no. 89 and 90.
1328	Mentioned as <i>Rumluthighaz</i>	DL 2511; AOkm. 2, 377, no. 335.
1380	Mentioned as <i>Romlochek haz</i>	DL 6742; Horváth (1979), <i>Vörösberény</i> , 21, 58.

Spatial features and maps

Google Earth satellite/Topographic maps	Fig. 4.3.78-81.
Arács:	Fig. 4.3.83-84.

APPENDIX 2: THE PILIS AND BÖRZSÖNY FORESTS (Chapter 5)

5.3.1. Kesztlőc-Klaspompusztá/Szentkereszt, Holy Cross Hermitage and Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese,/exempt, probably from the second half of the thirteenth c. (Archbishopric of Esztergom) Historical Pilis Co. Present-day Komárom-Esztergom Co.
Geographical Location	Kesztlőc-Klaspompusztá A few kilometers to west from the modern village of Kesztlőc. (WGS84) $\phi = 47\ 42\ 01.67028$ $\lambda = 18\ 50\ 05.39829$
Foundation/founder	Ca. 1263-1270 Royal foundation? King Béla IV
Remains / Visibility	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, which revealed the monastic church and sacristy, partially the precinct stonewall (and attached buildings) of the monastery. At this time some earthworks (a fishpond and dike) were identified nearby the monastery. The buildings were partly excavated (recently the chapter house by Balázs Major) 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.
General literature	VF 15, 54.; Csánki I. 15.; Rupp III. 261.; DAP II 400–407; ÁMTF 4, 699–700; 325–326; Méri, <i>Klaspompusztá</i> ; Guzsik 1980, 15; Hervay 1991a, 47; Kovalovszki 1992, 173–207; F. Romhányi 2000, 48–49; Guzsik 2003, 34–37; Solymosi, “Pilupsziget,” 11–23. MRT 5, 234–240; MRT 7, 300–303; MTF I, 15; F. Romhányi, “Pálos kolostorok”, 2012; Pető 2018

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
ca. 1250	Eusebius and six others build the Holy Cross monastery near Esztergom, close to a spring and three caves. ¹⁰⁶²	VF, Cap. 6–7. Cited: ÁMTF 4, 699–700.
1262	Eusebius is buried in the monastery.	VF, Cap. 11; Cited: ÁMTF 4, 699–700.
After 1262 [1262 / 1263 / 1265]	King Béla IV donates his royal hunting lodge in <i>Bendwelgye</i> [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> :	VF, Cap 14, 15; Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 83; Pázmány, <i>Acta</i> , 122, 126. Cited: Györfly, “Adatok”, 283–284. DAP II.

¹⁰⁶²Eusebius construe fecit monasterium Sanctae Crucis prope Strigonio anno 1250, regis Belae 4-ti 16... coadunates sibi sex fratribus propes peluncam triplicem, quam ipse alias incoluerat, iuxta aquamvivam in honorem Santaw Crucis...quoddam monasterium, regularisGotchiobservantiaeseffuturamainchoavit.

	Ferenc Hervay argued that this donation refers to the Holy Spirit monastery and recent research agrees with this ¹⁰⁶³ , and also it is the closest to Dömös of all three monasteries)	409; ÁMTF 4, 699-700; MRT 5, 299; MRT 7, 167.
1270	The hermits held a synod and elected Benedict, the prior of the monastery as general provost.	VF, Cap. 11. Cited: ÁMTF 4, 699; MRT 5, 236.
1274	King Ladislaus IV donated a part of the woodland in the Pilis Forest to the monastery. (<i>particulam terram silva sui de Pylis</i>) <i>Reissued several times and by several kings_ King Charles in 1327, King Louis i 1369, anno 1291 frater Benedictus prior beatam Crux easdem fecit transuit per regibus Andreas ut pater in eisdem litteris.</i>	<i>Inventarium</i> , 82. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; DAP II. 401; ÁMTF 4, 699-700; MRT 5, 236.
1285	The monastery is burnt down by the royal army.	Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 75. Cited: MRT 5, 236.
1287	King Ladislaus IV donated the land of <i>Bendwelgye</i> or <i>Benedekvölgye</i> (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 at that monastery (supposedly the Holy Spirit Monastery).	VF, Cap. 15. Cited: ÁMTF 4, 701; MRT 5, 299.
1289	King Ladislaus IV donated his land called <i>Ilywkyw</i> (=Üllőkő) to the hermits at the Holy Cross monastery (a verification of an earlier donation by King Béla IV). <i>The donation was re-confirmed by Andrew III in 1291. Also by King Charles I in 1327.</i>	VF, Cap. 14; <i>Inventarium</i> , 82; 135. Cited: ÁMTF 4, 283, 699-700; DAP 2, 401.
1291	The monastery is listed in the second inventory of the Pauline monasteries of Veszprém bishopric.	VF, Cap. 10. Cited: ÁMTF 4, 699-700; MRT 5, 236.
1297	<i>frater Petrus, heremita de Sancta Crucie de silva Pelys</i> donated properties (<i>quandam vineam suam et curiam, seu domos suas de suburbio castri Strigoniensis in villa Petthen</i>) to the Holy Virgin altar in the St. Adalbert basilica.	MES 2, 408.
1307	<i>Mykocha</i> , son of Elek, donated a piece of land (<i>terra</i>) to the monastery (<i>Chazlow</i>) which was previously a part of a neighboring village, Csév (1332). <i>M. donavit huic et fratri Marco priori quandam terram Chazlow vocatam et vicinos designavit.</i>	<i>Inventarium</i> , 82; Cited: DAP 2, 401; Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; ÁMTF 4, 699-700; MRT 5, 236.
1308	Lady <i>Gewnghe</i> (“weak”) donated her vineyard to the monastery, which was located at Kesztlőc.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 82; Cited: DAP 2, 401; Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; ÁMTF 4, 699-700; MRT 5, 236.

¹⁰⁶³ Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 116.

1327	King Charles Robert confirmed the properties and lands of the monastery.	Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700.
1328	Michael, the archdeacon of Komárom donated the property of Teszér (<i>terram suam Theser</i>) to the monastery.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 82. Cited: DAP 2, 401; Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700;
1336	<p>The Paulines of the monastery obtained a release from paying tithe on their vineyard which lay at the foothills of Kesztlőc (<i>promontorio de Kesztlőcz</i>) by the chapter of Esztergom. (This was confirmed in 1396 by the chapter of Buda).</p> <p>Nota bene: the monastery of at Pilisszentlélek also obtained absolution, as it is listed in the <i>Inventarium</i>; the <i>Vitae</i> contains both data as the following (Cap. 23.):</p> <p><i>Idem generalis (Petrus) cum prioribus Kiliano de Sancta Cruce et Anthonio de Sancto Spiritu in capitulo Budensi transsumi fecit literas domini Colomani praepositi et capituli Strigoniensis super exemptione decimarum de quibusdam vineis dictorum claustrorum.</i></p>	<p>VF, Cap. 23; Cited: DAP 2, 401; Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; MRT 5, 236.</p> <p>Szentlélek: <i>Inventarium</i>, 81; DAP 2, 411.</p>
1346	<p>The general provost’s deputy was Miklós, the prior of Holy Cross. He himself asked Csanád, the Archbishop of Esztergom to absolve his monastery of paying the tenth after two vineyards, (one was at Szentkereszt, the other at Szentlélek).</p> <p>most probably it was the re-confirmation of the previous charter, see <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> (C. 25.):</p> <p><i>...anno 1346 frater Nicolaus prior de Sancta Cruce et vicarius per totam Hungariam deputatus fuit. Qui quidem transsumi fecit per dominum Chanadinum archiepiscopum Strigoniensem literas capituli eiusdem super non solutione decimarum de duabus vineis, scilicet Sanctae Crucis et Sancti Spiritus, cuius concessioni et ipse consensit.</i></p>	VF, Cap. 25; Gyöngyösi, <i>Arcok</i> , 76.
1358	A charter mentions the lands of the Paulines at Csév.	Bártfai, <i>Pest megye</i> , 74. Cited: MRT 5, 236.
1360	Csepan (<i>Chepanus</i>), the son of Iwan gave a piece of hay meadow (<i>fenetum</i>) to the Paulines. (later note reports a dating problem, probably the correct date was 1306)	<i>Inventarium</i> 82; DAP 2, 401.
1364	Frater Emericus of the Holy Cross monastery brought the letter of the King to the Chapter of Esztergom on the perambulation of the monastery.	<i>Inventarium</i> 82; DAP 2, 401; DL 236647 – Original from 1393. DL 8014 – Copy, 1696.1 Transcription of the original charter with the kind help of Katalin Szende.

1376	Johannes of Kesztlöc donated his vineyard at Kesztlöc to the monastery.	<i>Inventarium</i> 82; VF, Cap. 33; Cited: DAP 2, 401; Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; MRT 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: MRT 5, 236.
1394	Stephanus prior urged the perambulation of the monastery again.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 82; DAP 2, 401.
1396	The monastery does not have to pay the decimal tax (<i>decima</i>) on their vineyard (and vines) at Kesztlöc.	VF, Cap. 38. Cited: MRT 5, 236.
1425-[1436-1489-1493]-1513	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 in 1436 by Conrado Oczheym. In 1489 Joannes Graff furrier, who leased it for 10 florins, sold the house to Martinus and Johannes Tharczay for 396 florins –a few years later, in 1493 the aforementioned Tharczay and his wife Sara, for the sake of their soul (masses for Holy Virgin), gave back the house for the Paulines freely (DF 229059). Later, in 1513, the two monasteries (Laurentius and Petrus priors/Holy Spirit/Holy Cross) sold 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.	DL 286489: DF 229059; <i>Inventarium</i> , 82; Cited: DAP 2, 400, 411; 3, 412; MRT 5, 237; Végh, <i>Buda</i> 1, 213, no. 3.1.4.; 73, no. 227; Végh, <i>Buda</i> 2, 125, no. 432; 126, no. 437; 159, no. 569; F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 47.
1455	The Paulines had a property at Csév, next to the lands of the chapter of Esztergom. Brother James was present at the registration of the domain.	Bártfai, <i>Pest megye</i> , 209. Cited: MRT 5, 237.
1471-72	Ambrusius of Szántó, the provost of Esztergom sponsored the construction of an arcade at the monastery.	VF, Cap. 59. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283; MRT 5, 237.
1476	The Holy Cross Monastery owns a house in Esztergom (<i>una domus lapidea in Strigonio</i>), which was donated by magister Emericus de Lovas as an eternal alm (<i>pro perpetua missa</i>); he requested regular masses for his peace in return. Nota bene: It is listed among the properties of Holy Spirit monastery (dated to 1456) in 1718, by fr. Ladislaus Terstyansky, definitor. see DAP 2, 413.	<i>Inventarium</i> 83; DAP 2, 401. Cited: F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 189.
1526	The monastery is destroyed by a Turkish army.	VF, 236, 239 (Cap. 83); Békefi, 1891, 275.
1570	A <i>defter</i> mentions and located <i>SzentKereszt-pusztá</i> , the deserted area of the Holy Cross monastery.	Györffy, “Adatok”, 283. Cited: <i>ÁMTF</i> 4, 699-700; MRT 5, 237.

Known priors of the monastery¹⁰⁶⁴

Eusebius (1256?-1270), Benedict (1270-1290), Stephen (1290-1297?), Laurence (1297-1317?), Kilián (1336-1346), Nicolaus (1346-1353), Tristan (1368-1369)¹⁰⁶⁵, Gregory – 1376, Stephen – 1393, Giles – 1396, Lawrence – 1421, Andreas – 1425.

Perambulation¹⁰⁶⁶

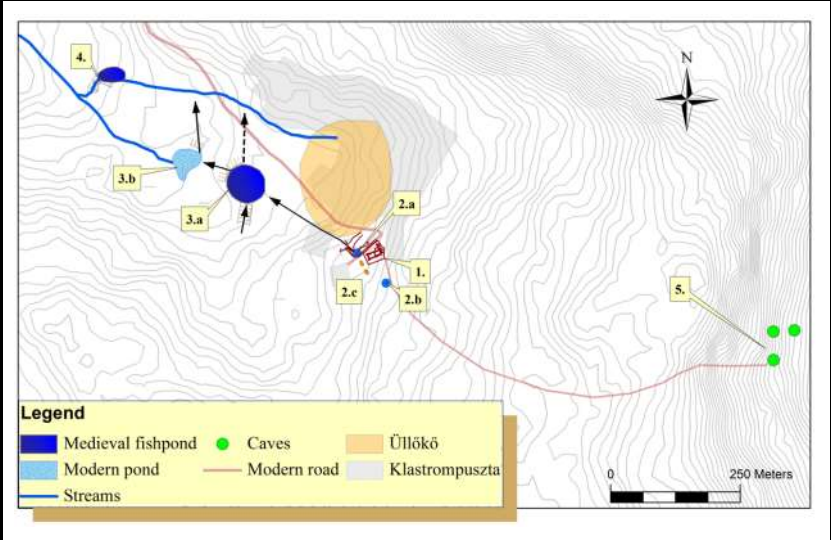


...Primo et principaliter inciperet in proximitate declivii magni montis **Kewresmal** dicti, super dictas possessiones **Keztewlch et Chabya** vocatas existentis, quod videlicet declivium **Kewresmalerezteye** diceretur, ubi duas metas terreas erexissent. Abhinc directe ad meridiem de eodem monte non 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 Keztewlch. 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 fecissent. Inde de ipso **Berch** ad eandem plagam descendendo inter terras arabiles duas metas terreas posuissent. 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....


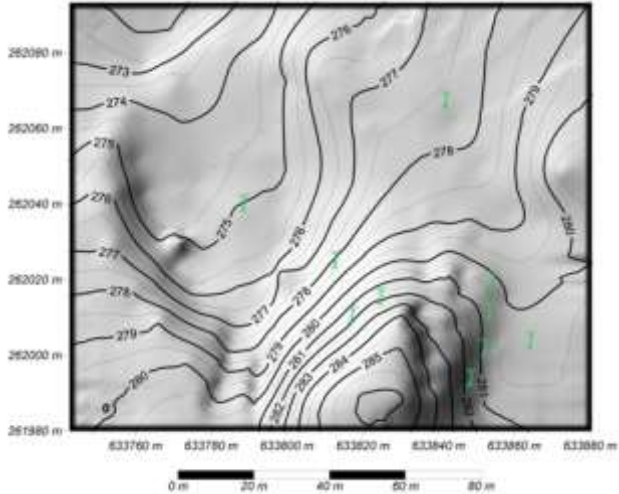

¹⁰⁶⁴Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, 55 (Cap. 23), 58 (Cap. 25), 72 (Cap. 33). *ÁMTF* 4, 699-700; *MRT* 5, 236-237.


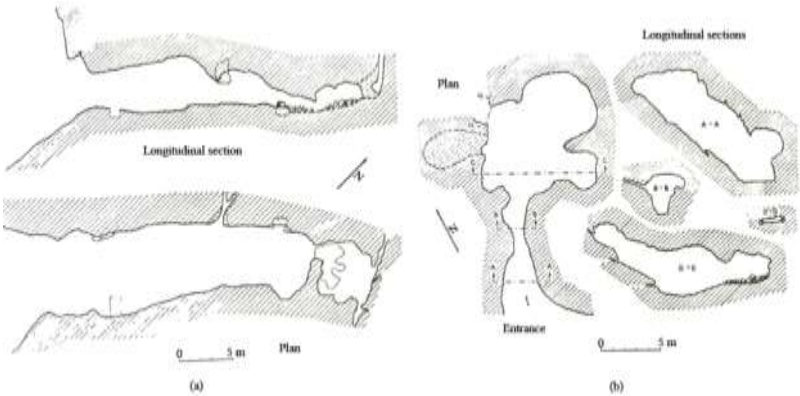

¹⁰⁶⁵VF pag. 72: 4-5; general prior 1362-67, 1369-72, 1373?: VF pag. 70, 72-75, 231; MNL OL DL 5986; prior of Kékes, VF pag. 73:19, 74:1. for all the mentions see VF pag. 231.

¹⁰⁶⁶DL 236647 – Original from 1393. DL 8014 – Copy, 1696.1 Transcription of the original charter with the kind help of Katalin Szende.

Spatial features and maps

<p>Earthworks (Fig. 5.3.3.)</p>	
<p>Archive photo of the terrain around the monastery, photo taken from southwest by István Méri (1959c), “Kesztölc-Klastrompuszta”</p>	
<p>Branches in the landscape from Fishpond 3.b. to the west, the direction of present-day Kesztölc. They may be part of a complex water management system of past centuries. Documented by the author (22 March 2014)</p>	

<p>The ruin garden at Kesztlőc nowadays, behind the rocky hills to northeast. Photo taken by the author (22 March 2014).</p>	
<p>The digitized terrain model of Fishpond 3.a. Digitization (22 March 2014) and terrain model by András Harmath and Katalin Tolnai</p>	
<p>Fishpond 3.a nowadays. Photo taken from east by the author (22 March 2014)</p>	

<p>Fishpond 3.b. nowadays. Photo taken by the author (22 April 2014)</p>	
<p>The vertical and horizontal cut of Legény (a) and Leány (b) Caves. MRT 5, 302.</p>	
<p>The view from Legény Cave to the west. Documented by the author (2 March 2014)</p>	

[Mappa plagae inter possessionem
cameralem Szántó et P. P.
Paulinorum Szent Kereszt
controversae](#)

MNL OL Collection of Maps
S 11 No. 29/1-2.
1711.



Buildings and earthworks

1. Monastery. 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. 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. 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 (?) /Cellar?. Southwest of the church, inside the monastic area (today just after the wall of the ruin-garden), two deep holes were recorded, 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. 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. The next pond was strongly altered around the mid-1900s. A medieval spur¹⁰⁶⁷ 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.¹⁰⁶⁸ 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. The pond must have been nurtured

¹⁰⁶⁷MRT 5, 234, site 9/5. Catalogue number (Historical Museum, Dorog): 63.6.18.

¹⁰⁶⁸István Méri, *A klastrompusztai legendák nyomában* [On the track of legends in Klastrompuszta], (Dorog: József Attila Művelődési Ház, n.d.), 8-9.

by a spring, as recent malacological analyses revealed. Also, the average depth of the pont was around 1 m.
1069

4. Dike. West of the second fishpond the remains of a dike were recorded for the first time during the field surveys in 2014.¹⁰⁷⁰ Just to the northeast to the dike a wide plateau is visible 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. 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.

Archaeology

The first findings were listed in the catalog 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 Árpadian 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.

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), who also could identify the remains of the medieval fishpond. Méri arrived just at the very time when its dredging was in process, destroying every possible historical layer and finds, but he took a photo of the medieval drainage and stone vault of the pond. The excavations were 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.¹⁰⁷¹ Since the very first archaeological research, strong destruction of landscape features has been documented, only archival photos reveal the past landscape around the monastery.

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 Jánosy. 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.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Sümegi et al., “A pilisi királyi erdő”, 278–280.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Here I thank my supervisor, Professor József Laszlovsky, who suggested me this site for study.

¹⁰⁷¹ On the research history of the monastery and the preconceptions, see *MRT* 5, 234–236.

5.3.2. Pilisszentlélek, Holy Spirit Hermitage and Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese,/exempt, probably from the second half of the thirteenth c. (Archbishopric of Esztergom) Historical Pilis Co. Present-day Komárom-Esztergom Co.
Geographical Location	Over to the north the modern village of Pilisszentlélek (WGS84) $\varphi = 47\ 44\ 04.96190$; $\lambda = 18\ 50\ 36.75423$
Foundation/founder	Ca. 1268? 1279? Royal foundation: King Béla IV/King Ladislaus IV
Remains / Visibility	Medieval monastic buildings were abandoned during the Ottoman period and the ruins were used as a quarry for building material. A huge part of the fourteenth c. buildings was excavated (1985-1992) by Sarolta Lázár, the whole area was transformed into an open-air ruin garden, with some identified earthwork features (fishpond) nearby.
General literature	VF 15, 54; MTF 1, 16; Rupp III, 261; DAP 2, 411–413; ÁMTF 4, 701; Guzsik 1980, 15; Hervay 1991a, 47; F. Romhányi 2000, 91; Guzsik 2003, 58-59; MRT 5, 297–303; Lázár 1985–86; 1990/5. 74–78; 1994, 177–180; 1997; Buzás 1994, 181–183; Pető 2018.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
After 1262 [1262 / 1263 / 1265]	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, but Ferenc Hervay argued that this donation refers to the Holy Spirit Monastery and recent research agrees with this ¹⁰⁷² ; also it is the closest to Dömös of all three monasteries)	VF, Cap. 14, 15; Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 83; Pázmány, <i>Acta</i> , 122, 126. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 283-284. DAP II. 409; ÁMTF 4, 699-700; MRT 5, 299; MRT 7, 167.
1287	King Ladislaus IV donated 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 fellow hermits where they build a <i>capella pro oratorio</i> . At the same time the king mandates Father Benedek, the prior of Holy Cross Monastery, to send some monks to settle that monastery.	<i>Inventarium</i> 81; VF, Cap 15. Cited: DAP 2, 411; ÁMTF 4, 701; MRT 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.	VF, Cap. 20; Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 113. Cited: ÁMTF 4, 701; MRT 5, 299.

¹⁰⁷²Szabó, *Woodland and Forests*, 116, ref. 75; Gyöngyösi, *Vitae Fratrum*, 209.

1326	Johannes Wayda of Transsylvanus granted to of Bewdpalotha [Böd-palota, hunting lodge] the ninth part of the wine he had obtained. Nota bene: Ibidem fecit Laurencius vicethezaurarius et Bartholomaeus de Bessenew, provisor curiae regis anno 1403.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 81; DAP 2, 411.
1336	Brother Peter (!), the general prior, obtained that the brothers of this cloister and the monks near Esztergom (Holy Cross) were absolved by the payment of tithes from certain vineyards. Nota bene: the monastery at Klastrompuszta (Holy Cross) also obtained absolution, as it is listed in the <i>Inventarium</i> ; the <i>Vitae</i> contains both data as the following (Cap. 23.): <i>Idem generalis (Petrus) cum prioribus Kiliano de Sancta Cruce et Anthonio (!) de Sancto Spiritu in capitulo Budensi transsumi fecit literas domini Colomani praepositi et capituli Strigoniensis super exemptione decimarum de quibusdam vineis dictorum claustrorum.</i>	<i>Inventarium</i> , 81; DAP 2, 411.
1345	Brother Peter, who was general prior at the time, copied a charter issued by Meskó, archbishop of Veszprém. The brothers, who settled there [Veszprém Diocese?] acquired the document which granted the exemption of paying <i>decima</i> after the vineyards they received. All this could be read in the charter issued by István [Stephen], archbishop of Veszprém, issued at <i>oculi Sunday</i> .	Gyöngyösi, <i>Arcok</i> , 76.
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]; <i>Inventarium</i> , 81; DAP 2, 411, VF, Cap. 34. Cited: MRT 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: MRT 5, 299.
1425	Nicolaus Zambo, a citizen of Esztergom, donated an arable land to the monastery, located around <i>Kezeg Maal</i> , in the territory of Esztergom.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 82; Cited: DAP 2, 411.
1425- [1436- 1489- 1493]- 1513	The Holy Cross (Prior Andreas) and the Holy Spirit monastery (Prior Matthias) share the ownership of a house in Buda (<i>in platea Omnium Sanctorum</i> –Mindszent utca –Allsaints St.), which they bought for 440 florins; their regular income from the rental charge was 8 florins in 1436 by Conrad Oczheim. In 1489, Joannes Graff furrier, who leased it for 10 florins, sold the house to Martinus and Johannes Tharczay for 396 florins –a few years later, in 1493 the aforementioned Tharczay and his wife, Sara, for the sake of their soul, gave back the house for the Paulines freely (DF 229059). Later, in 1513, the	DL 286489; DF 229059; <i>Inventarium</i> , 82; Cited: DAP 2, 400, 411; 3, 412; MRT 5, 237; Végh, <i>Buda 1</i> , 213, no. 3.1.4.; 73, no. 227; Végh, <i>Buda 2</i> , 125, no. 432; 126, no. 437; 159, no. 569; F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 47.

	two monasteries rented the house to a skinner, Sigismund Priuczer, for 100 florins and with a stipulation that he should pay 10 florins each year and keep the house in good condition.	
1443	The monastery gets some properties from the wife of Konrad Krusovecz.	Kürcez, <i>Pálos</i> , 115; Kisbán, <i>Pálos</i> , 113. Cited: MRT 5, 299.
1467	At an installation to 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: MRT 5, 299.

Known priors of the monastery¹⁰⁷³

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

Perambulation¹⁰⁷⁴

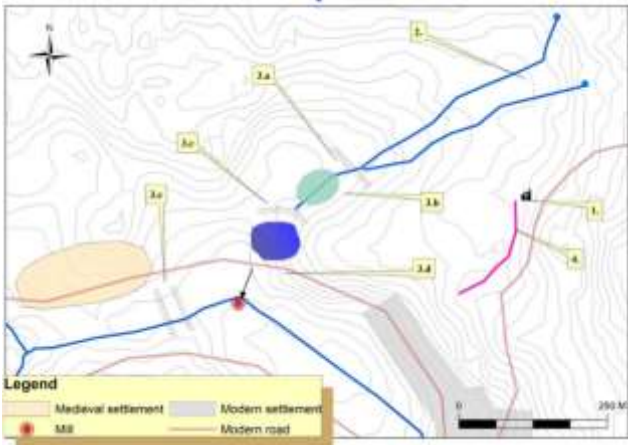


Quod prima meta incipit in monte Kyrállesse vocato a parte Aquilonari et deinde paululum in cacumine ad partem tendentur Orientalem, venit ad aciem ejusdem montis, a quo descendunt vadit ad quandam viam, per quam transitur ad villam Marotis, juxta quam est meta Terrea, abhinc versus eandem plagam gradientur 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-Keő 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-Keő 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 rursum in predictum Montem Király-Lesse appellantum, ibique terminatur.

Spatial features and maps

Mappa Possessionis Szent Lélek Exhibens MNL OL Collection of Maps S 12 No. 99. 1788.	
---	--

¹⁰⁷³Based on MRT 5, 299.

¹⁰⁷⁴DL 6521 (*Acta Paulinorum*). Transcription of the copy.

<p>Earthworks (Fig. 5.3.8.) LiDAR: Fig. 5.3.9. and 5.3.10.</p>	 <p>The map displays a landscape with contour lines. A central blue-shaded area represents a medieval settlement, with labels 2a, 2b, and 2c pointing to specific features. To the right, a pink-shaded area represents a modern settlement, with labels 1a, 1b, and 1c. A red dot indicates a mill (M1). A yellow line represents a modern road. A legend at the bottom left identifies these symbols. A scale bar at the bottom right shows 0 to 200 meters. A north arrow is in the top left corner.</p>
<p>The second fishpond that probably existed in the past - still wetland. Photo taken from the northwest by the author (22 March 2014)</p>	 <p>A color photograph showing a flat, grassy wetland area in the foreground, with a line of trees and a hill in the background under a clear blue sky.</p>
<p>Dike of a medieval fishpond in the 1960s(?) on Szentlélek (Holy Spirit) stream. MRT 5, 443 (Table 69, Picture 1)</p>	 <p>A black and white photograph of a grassy field. In the background, a low, earthen dike runs across the frame. A red arrow points to the dike. A small number '1' is in the bottom right corner.</p>

Buildings and earthworks ¹⁰⁷⁵

1. Monastery¹⁰⁷⁶. 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.

¹⁰⁷⁵MRT 5, 297-303. and new results.

¹⁰⁷⁶ It should be mentioned that there was no available plan on a digital platform or any opportunity to gather precise spatial data.

Some workshops must have operated in the southern buildings of the monastery. A reconstruction of the vault-system was made.

2. Spring and streams. 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.¹⁰⁷⁷ 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. 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. 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.

3.c. Supposed dike. 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 suggested than a clear record. Length: ca. 70 m. Direction: SE-NW, than to W.

3.d. Fishpond. At the end of the valley where the intermittant 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. 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.

*Archaeology*¹⁰⁷⁸

The first excavations were held 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 who 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.

5.3.3. Pilisszentlászló, St. Ladislaus Hermitage and Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Veszprém Diocese./exempt, probably from the second half of the thirteenth c. (Archbishopric of Esztergom) Historical Pilis Co. Present-day Pest Co.
--------------------------	---

¹⁰⁷⁷ 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.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Based on *MRT* 5, 299; Lázár, “Pilisszentlélek kutatása”, 177-180; Guzsik, *Pálos rend építészete*, 59.

Geographical Location	The monastery stood on the hill over the modern village of Pilisszentlászló (WGS84) $\varphi = 47\ 43\ 36.39339$; $\lambda = 18\ 59\ 03.69130$
Foundation/founder	Before 1291 Royal foundation: King Béla IV, most probably King Ladislaus IV?
Remains / Visibility	The medieval monastic buildings were abandoned during the Ottoman period and the ruins had recently been convincingly identified: at the top of the hill, where the baroque parish church stands today in the cemetery. The church was built, more likely reconstructed by the Paulines in the eighteenth century, most probably on the top of the medieval ruins.
General literature	ÁMTF 4, 700-701; MTF 1, 11-12; DAP 2, 408-410; MRT 7, 166-168; Guzsik, <i>A pálos rend építészete</i> , 2003; Guzsik 1980. 15; Pető, 2018.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1046-1060	King Andrew I donates his hunting lodge (built of stone) for religious purposes. Not verified data with further errors in the Inventarium.	<i>Inventarium</i> 87; DAP 2, 408; Eggerer, <i>Fragmen</i> , 83; Pázmány, <i>Acta</i> , 122, 126. Györffy, “Adatok”, 283-284. Cited: ÁMTF 4, 699-700; MRT 7, 167.
1291	The monastery is listed as a clarified Pauline monastery by Benedict, the bishop of Veszprém. (<i>In Pilisio ecclesiae ... Sancti Ladislai in Kekes</i>).	VF, Cap. 9, 16. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 285; ÁMTF 4, 700; MRT 7, 167.
1294	The monastery becomes an <i>exempt</i> ecclesiastical center; therefore it is regulated directly by the archbishop of Esztergom, exempt from the Diocese of Veszprém.	VF, Cap. 16, 17. Cited: DAP 2, 409; ÁMTF 4, 700; MRT 7, 167.
1301	Before this year the bishop of Veszprém argues that Trausulus, the castellan of Visegrád, settled the <i>hospites</i> of Kékes on his properties at Szentendre. After the pope ordered them to move, they were still there, so finally the archbishop of Kalocsa excommunicated the settlers.	DF 200 075. Cited: ÁMTF 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: ÁMTF 4, 700; MRT 7, 167; Bakács, <i>Iratok</i> , 313. reg.
1342	Georgius Gyöngyösi mentions Charles Robert as the founder of the church.	VF, Cap. 27. Cited: Györffy, “Adatok”, 284; ÁMTF 4, 700; MRT 7, 167.
1351	The Paulines sold their vineyard at “Barathkazelo” (Barátkaszáló?), “Sumulmal” (Sumumál) 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; MRT 7, 142, 167.
1353	The church is consecrated by Peter, general prior.	VF, Cap. 27; DAP 2, 409.

1358 [1473] [1504]	King Louis I donated a ruined mill to the St. Ladislaus monastery at Szentendre, <i>Kékes pataka</i> (the stream of Kékes) and also another upstream mill-place, also he restricted others to build more mills on the stream there. King Wladislaus renewal the charter, also Johannes de Szapolya, voivode of Transylvania.	DL 7121, (copy: DL 15116) <i>Inventarium</i> , 87. Cited: ÁMTF 4, 700; DAP 2, 410 (datum error here!); MRT 7, 167, 269; F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 75, 147.
1372	Fr. Tristan the prior of St. Ladislaus monastery at Kékes and Andreas, the prior of Nosztra, filed a lawsuit at the Archbishop of Esztergom against the prior of the Carthusians at Lövöld, since they took many Pauline fathers into their [order and] monastery, though they were not allowed to do so – a charter at St. Lawrence monastery proves their argument. Fr. Andreas copied two papal bulls (namely of Urban V and Gregory XI) at the Chapter of Esztergom.	VF Cap. 32. p. 74. Cited: Mályusz 1971, 260; Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i> , 33.
1400	Pope Boniface IX allowed Andreas, a monk at Kékes, to step into another order.	Mon. Vat. 1/4. 333; ZsO 2, 131, no. 1085.
-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 son of Póré of Bogdány for 13 florins.	MOL DL 10 021. Cited: ZsO 3, 467, no. 1889; F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 50, 145.
1418	Lady Margaret, the widow of the butcher (<i>carnificis</i>) Jakus of Vác, bequeathed two vineyards by will to this cloister and Toronyalja and the monastery of Saint Ladislaus (at Kékes).	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1456 [1505]	Dionysius, the archbishop of Esztergom, donates a mill on Rákos stream at the end of Sződ <i>possessio</i> , and a parcel for one house [as part of a proper mill-place] to the monastery.	<i>Inventarium</i> 87. Cited: DAP 2, 408; MRT 7, 167.
1457	Péter Decan, citizen of Vác donates a vineyard he bought previously (<i>vineam empticiam</i>) called Bakos and located at “Pychewelgh” to the monastery,.	DAP 2, 408. Cited: MRT 7, 167.
1458	The St. Ladislaus monastery exchanged some parts of a <i>vineyard at Szentendre</i> (plus 12 florins) for a mill (with semi-wheels) at Sződ, on Rákos stream (the owner was originally Thomas Cristel de Szentendre (<i>hospes</i>); by his respect to St. Ladislaus and having no heir. the value of the vineyard: 100 florins, Thomas bought the mill for 80 florins and paid 32 florins for developing it).	DL 15203; <i>Inventarium</i> 87. Cited: DAP 2, 408, 410; MRT 7, 167; F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 75, 147.

1458	Emericus, son of Johannes, son of Stephanus de Bogdán, gave a mill-place on Kékespataka stream.	<i>Inventarium</i> 87; DAP 2, 408.
1460	Elisabeth, mother of King Matthias I, charges John of Nysa 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 (fourteenth May). Cited: MRT 7, 167; F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 75, 150.
1475	King Matthias gave at Kekespathaka, one mill with two wheels for a perpetual mass of the Holy Cross to be chanted every Friday.	<i>Inventarium</i> 87; DAP 2, 408.
1488	Father Michael Futó de Waradino, a distinguished compiler of <i>sermones</i> , also <i>medicus</i> (in his elderly age), bequeathed a book (a copy of the sermons of John Chrysostom) to the monastery.	VF, Cap. 67. Cited: DAP II. 409; MRT 7, 167.
[1493]-1498-1504	<p>1493: Dionysius de Alagh donated the front part of his house (until the arcade, all structures below and beyond the terrain) at Buda in Szombathely [the marketplace of Saturdays] at the end of Olasz utca [Italian street] for eternal masses, 2/week [for his salvation]. The house was located "...in the neighborhood of the houses of Nicolai Pankothay on one side, and on the other Mathaei Thewgyartó..."</p> <p>1498: János Fhygedi, the prior of the St. Ladislaus monastery, sells the Pauline house in Buda (<i>Olasz utca</i>) to Nicolaus Pynzwerew (!) for 150 florins with the stipulation that he should pay further 10 florins yearly rent to the Paulines. (in two installments, at St. George and Michael's day-the usual days for paying taxes)</p> <p>1504: Nicolaus Pynzwerew, with all the aforesaid burdens, sold the house to Master Laurence the perpetual for 200 florins, as appears in the letters of Matthias Harber of Buda, the judge</p>	DL 20 034; DL 20 691; <i>Inventarium</i> 87, Elenchus, pag.661. Cited: DAP 2, 408-409, 410; MRT 7, 167; Végh, <i>Buda 1</i> , 283-284, no. 4.2.12; Végh, <i>Buda 2</i> , 125, no. 433; 126, 438; 132, no 463; 142, no. 506; F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 45.
1515	For the other house of the monastery in Buda (donated by Ladislaus of Szentpéter, located in front of the Dominican monastery, next to the tight passage / <i>Schüler Gasse</i> / which leads to <i>Olasz utca</i> – Italian St."... <i>a iam domum...in angulo iuxta strictum vicum Olazwczu ducentem...</i> ") 6 florins is the yearly amount of rent for <i>Blasius Sarwary</i> (of Vienna) et suis successoribus, which he can sell or donate anytime with the permission of the prior.	<i>Inventarium</i> 87, Cited: DAP 2, 409; Végh, <i>Buda 1</i> , 254, no. 3.7.19; Végh, <i>Buda 2</i> , 163, no. 586, F. Romhányi, <i>Pálos gazdálkodás</i> , 45.

	Sárváry later sold the house to Andreas Báthori comes for 306 florins;	
--	--	--

Spatial features and maps

[No. 4. Szentlászló térképe](#)

MNL OL Collection of Maps

S 86 No. 4.

1770

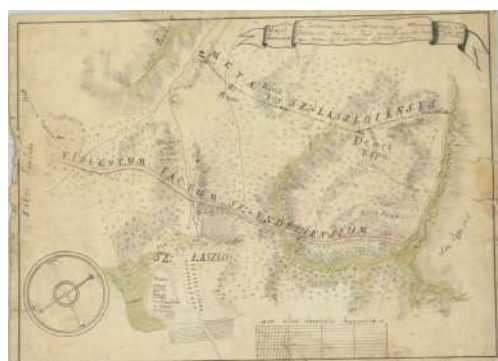


[Mappa geometrica in territorio Sz. Lászlóiensi pertinente ad...](#)

MNL OL Collection of Maps

S 86 No. 5.

1760



[No. 4. Szentlászló térképe](#)

MNL OL Collection of Maps

S 86 No. 4.

1770



[Representatio metalis differentiae praedia Tahi ad poonem.](#)

MNL OL Collection of Maps

S 11 No. 30.

1770



5.3.4. Nosztra/Nosztre/Márianosztra, Blessed Virgin Monastery¹⁰⁷⁹

General data

Administrative ID	Archbishopric of Esztergom, Historical Nógrád Co., Present-day Pest Co.
Geographical Location	The monastery stood on the hill over the modern village of Pilisszentlászló (WGS84) $\varphi = 47.867866292348$; $\lambda = 18.870215690929$
Foundation/founder	1352 – Royal foundation: King Louis I
Remains / Visibility	Based on the medieval monastery (which lacks archaeological/architectural research thus remains to be unknown in its details), after the Ottoman Era, a Baroque monastery was built in the eighteenth c. After the abolition of the Paulines (1786), the Church sold it to the state; it functioned as a hospital, later (and since) it is a state prison. Since the 1990s the Paulines have been serving in the Virgin Mary Church and a small convent settled there as well.
General literature	<i>Inventarium I</i> , VF several pages; Kisbán I 1938. 361; Baranyai 1957, 65-74; GUZSIK 1980 12; MRT 9. 182–185, DAP II 91–137/103; GUZSIK 2003 149–151; F. Romhányi 2000, 64; F. Romhányi 2010; Pető, <i>Pilis</i> ; Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i> . A nice collection of literature in MMT 5, 477-487; MRT 9; 182-185.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1352	The monastery was founded and built by the order of King Louis I “...de lapidibus cuiusdam Castri Nosztra” in the time of Peter (II) general prior. The vicar of Nosztra, Fr. Nicolaus asked for moderate supplies, not as rich as the King himself intended to give. <i>Lodovicus Rex pro ordine Fratrum Eremitarum B. Pauli claustrum solemniter opere construit in Nosztra, tantaque ei liberalitate providet, ut Fr. Nicolaus, Vicarius generalis, per salutem suorum fratrum et professae paupertatis amorem ipsum fuerit obtestatus, ut liberalitati modum poneret.</i>	All summarized in Cod. Dipl. 9/2, 147.
	Earliest data: <i>De constructione Claustri in Nosztra Item, Rex Ludovicus, pro ordine praedicto [O. S. P. P. E.], claustrum solenni opere construxit in Nosztra.</i>	Küküllei C. XLIII, Thuróczy 1488, m 06 verso

¹⁰⁷⁹ Noztre, Naztre, Nostra, Nosthran Naztay, Noztoy, Nastrey, Nazthree, Netre, Noztüre.

	<i>Frater Petrus secundus eligitur in generalem ... Huius tempore per serenissimum regem Ludovicum claustrum de Nozthre fundatum est. Quod quidem licet benignissimus et munificentissimus.. amplioribus bonis dotare voluerit, tamen fr. Nicolaus, vicarius primus eiusdem loci acceptare renuit, assignans hanc causam oneratos videlicet, non posse facile intrare per angustam portam. Ob hanc etiam causam magnas et sumptuosas impensas in monasterium fieri prohibebat. Proinde dictum claustrum aedificatum est de lapidibus cujusdam castri Nozthre vociti de prope exeuntis.</i>	VF Cap. 27; The narrow porta is in Luke 13:24.
1366	The hermits of Nosztra were installed into two certain possessions, known as Gén and Chata, and [also] one mill of four millstones (<i>unum molendinum quattuor lapidum molarium</i>), which the most serene King Louis gave to them.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1368 Copy in 1417.	The Chapter of Vác, on behalf of Fr. Prior Vicarius Gallus of Nosztra, orders County Bars to help to repair the mill at Geen [Gény], which was donated by Nicholas, the Archbishop of Esztergom in 1368 to the Paulines.	DF 265930; ZsO. 6, 258, no. 856; Cited: Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i> , 51.
1369	Jakoba, daughter of Matha, son of Stephanus de Pászthó claimed that Gen and Chata properties were her inheritance. Ladislaus of Opole issued the file.	Cod. Zichy 3, 372, no. 267.
1369	The monastery of Elefánt was founded and settled into its properties, where the head of the vicariate, Fr. Vicar Andreas, prior of Nosztra, was also enrolled. (Line 14)	DL 5805. Cited in Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i> , 29–30.
1372	Fr. Tristan the prior of St. Ladislaus monastery at Kékes and Andreas, the prior of Nosztra, filed a lawsuit at the Archbishop of Esztergom against the prior of the Carthusians at Lövöld, since they took many Pauline fathers into their [order and] monastery, though they were not allowed to do so – a charter at St. Lawrence monastery proves their argument. Fr. Andreas copied two papal bulls (namely of Urban V and Gregory XI) at the Chapter of Esztergom.	VF Cap. 32. p. 74. Cited: Mályusz 1971, 260; Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i> , 33.
1376	Fr. [Prior/Vicar] Gregorius of Nosztra bought the mill of John, the priest of Szob for 100 forins. The mill is located in front of (<i>in facie villae</i>) Szob, on the stream of Bélapathaka [Damásdi-patak now].	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1379	King Louis issues a charter in Nosztra (a donation by Magister John Bissenus, the castellan of Obroach to the monastery of Streza, Slavonia)	DL 34 640: Cited: Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i> , 29.
Before 1381	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 Pauline convent at Nosztra. “[Rex] ... promiserat ... in Nozthre protunc constitutes audiente toto conventu, quod si omnipotens Deus	VF Cap. 35.; Cited: Pető 2018.

	meritis beati Pauli triumphare posse super Venetos donaret, extunc corpus eiusdem sancti eisdem donaret.” To commemorate this oath, the king, “ante monasterium plantavit arborem tiliae, quae ... vocatur arbor regis Ludovici,” which was still known many years later.	
1380	Fr. Vicar Stephen of Nosztra bought a mill located on the river Belapathaka [present-day Damásd-patak] between the villages of Szob and Damas for 52 Forints from Michael Chenkez and his son, the literate Nicholas.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1382	King Louis gave to Nosztra monastery the taxes of all the lands and waters paid in Szob (tributum suum terrestre et aquarum in villa Zob exigi), with a curia along a sessio there, where tax was being paid.	(<i>Queen Elizabeth: DL 6950</i>) <i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92, 99.
1382	King Louis issued a charter in Nosztra.	DL 6937. Cited in DAP 2, 91, 98.
1382	As the <i>Vitae Fratrum</i> says, Queen Hedvig of Poland, the daughter of King Louis, founded the Paulines in Poland and built monasteries at <i>Czestochowa</i> , <i>Glogoviam</i> , <i>Wielun</i> , <i>Beszowa</i> , <i>Uchanie</i> , et <i>Rupellam Cracoviae</i> . Other traditions mention that the first Polish monastery at Jasna Góra /Czestochowa was founded by the order of King Louis I. Anyhow, Polish history and Pauline tradition says: the foundation of the Jasna Gorna monastery happened in 1382 by Prince Wladyslaw Opolczyk (Duke Ladislaus of Opole). The Prince brought twelve monks of the Pauline order from the monastery of Nosztre in Hungary.	VF Cap. 27.
1388	King Sigismund visits the monastery.	<i>Sigismund itiner</i> , 61.
1396 1080	The St. John the Baptist monastery at Elefánt receives lands by Lawrence of Baracska/Ugrócz’s testament: Velikapolya (<i>Wakaptilya</i>) which supported the construction of the monastery; also they receive mills at Ugróc, Zalatna and Pázsit. From these three properties, other monetary funds should support the Paulines from other heirs’ properties (sum 200 Forints), no matter if the new monastery is erected or not! These properties were also managed by the vicar, who was the prior of Nosztra.	MNL OL DL 8290; ZsO I. no. 4471. p. 494-495. Cited: Vadász, A fényes kolostor, , 30-31.
1397	The Paulines at Elefánt, the sub-monastery of Nosztra, were installed into the aforementioned properties.	DL 8239
1400	The sons of Lawrence of Bassan, magister John and Jermoe allowed the Paulines of Elefánt to sell the property of <i>Wykapol</i> (= <i>Velikapolya/Wakaptilya</i>), since the construction of the monastery of St. John the Baptist had been started but the Paulines	DL 8584. Cited: ZsO 2, 64, no. 523.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Further the gray colour marks those charters that are related to this case.

	lacked enough financial support to finish it. Originally <i>magister</i> Lawrence Baracscai/Ugróczy donated money for the construction and ordered the property of <i>Wykapol</i> to the Paulines as a stable monetary basis; however, it became an insufficient support.	
1402	<p>13, March. The Paulines of Nosztra sold the property of Welykapolya to the sons of Lawrence of Bassan (John and Irizloy, who inherited Ugróc property in 1396) but other heirs of Lawrence of Ugrócz (his nephew? Dominic, son of Tamás of Baracska and <i>magister</i> Jacob, son of Andreas) forbade them to do so since they had preemptive right (<i>ratione linee generationis et condivisionalitatis</i>) and the Paulines were not fulfilling the will of Laurence, who asked them to build a monastery on the land. Instead, they intend to use the money in other, non-secular ways.</p> <p>19, Nov. The convent of Nosztra received 50 forints (<i>marcam quamlibet quatuor florenis parvis monete antique computando</i>) from the owners of <i>Pasyt</i> [Pázsit] property: Johannes and Ladislaus, the sons of Johannes (son of Bodok of Buchan) and his wife Margaret (daughter of Stephanus, son of Jacobus of Baracska). They were the nephews of Laurentius of Baracska/Ugrócz, who left properties to the Paulines at Elefánt in his testamentum.</p>	<p>DL 8704. Cited: ZsO 2, 179, no. 1512. Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i>, 31.</p> <p>MTA Könyvtár. Kézirattár 250. sz.; Cited: ZsO 2, 248, no. 2073. Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i>, 32. (error ref.)</p>
1404	<p>7, Oct. The sisters of Petrus Rigó (<i>Elisabeth</i>, the widow of Laurentius of Szob and Michael Zeuke and in the name of others: <i>Margaret</i>, the widow of Jacobus, <i>Catherine</i>, the wife of Michael Zeuke, <i>Ágota</i>, the wife of Stephanus, son of Kosa) resigned the vineyard next to the vineyard of John Fodor that were in the territory of Szob village to the monastery of Virgin Mary of Nosztra.</p> <p>This was originally received by the Paulines from Petrus Rigó, <i>hospes</i> at Szob in his testament and approved by her widow, Helena. However, Péter's sister, Elizabeth claimed that the disputed vineyard was her and her sisters family inheritance from their father (Thomas Magnus) while Petrus was the sole male heir, thus there was no right for Petrus to donate it to the Paulines in his testament. Prior Blasius claimed that Petrus Rigó compensated the sisters after the death of their father.</p> <p>After the evidence that was presented personally, namely the testament of Laurentius, the late husband of Elizabeth, the Paulines and suitors agreed. Previously, a house and vineyard was inherited by the Paulines from Laurentius of Szob. Fr. Prior Blasius, in exchange for the aforementioned vineyard at Szob, resigned that house and vineyard to the petitioners, the sisters of Petrus Rigó.</p>	DL 42827. Cited: ZsO 2, 405, no. 3430.
1405	King Sigismund ordered Simon <i>magister</i> (janitor) or in his absence, the captain of the royal castle at Damásd: not to hold up the Paulines of Nosztra to repair their mill, which broke the other day and is located over a stream on the side of the above-mentioned	DL 9028. Cited: ZsO 2, 453–454, no. 3776; Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i> , 54.

	cloister toward the river Ipoly (<i>super quodam rivulo a parte claustris memorati versus fluvium Ipol appellatum</i>). =in the estuary of the river Ipoly and Bélapathaka [present-day Damásd-patak]. Same mill that was donated in 1380 by Michael of Chenkez and his literate son.	
1407	A long-term litigation took place bw. the Paulines and the other heirs of Lawrence of Ugrócz (see the charters at the years of 1396, 1397, 1400, 1402). In 1407, the Paulines at Elefánt – Fr. Gál [Gallus], Prior Matthias, also General Prior Georgius, Prior Vicar Franciscus of Nosztra and all the Paulines protested because they did not receive 100 Forint for the property of Welikapolna from the heirs, Magdalene (the widow of Michael, son of Iwanka Zegh) and her daughter Hedvig, who was the wife of Thomas of Ewr. In early 1402 the Paulines sold the property of Welykapolya to the sons of Lawrence of Bassan; however, as the present charter proves, the transaction must have been canceled, since now they sued Magdalene and Hedvig (and their relatives). It is unclear what happened since in 1420 the Paulines were installed into the property—probably they could finish the building of the monastery thus the property was more valuable for them.	DL 9292. Cited: ZsO 2, 20, no. 5344; Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i> , 32.
1416	John Kismester donated his butchery (<i>macellum</i>) at Vác to the monastery.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1416	Michael, the son of Matthias jury of Vác, donates a vineyard in <i>Seregh</i> for a daily mass for his salvation.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1417	The mill is ordered to be repaired at <i>villa Chen</i> [Gény?], see the year of 1368.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1418	Lady Margaret, the widow of the butcher (<i>carnificis</i>) Jakus of Vác, bequeathed two vineyards by will to this cloister and Toronyalja and the monastery of Saint Ladislaus (at Kékes).	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1419	At the Chapter of Esztergom the Paulines at Nosztra approved the rebuilding of that three-wheeled mill at Leánd that was destroyed by their order. Along the Paulines, the builders: Emericus of Béla and Simon of Leánd supported the Premonstratensian monastery at Ság by: 20 Forints paid by the Paulines [Fr. Prior Vicar Franciscus], while Emericus and Simon payed 10 new Forints (<i>Florenos novos</i>) to the monks. The mill should not affect any properties (arable lands, meadows, etc. there “... <i>vel alias quouis modo nulium penitus inferre valeat nocumentum vel damnuin...</i> ”	DL 10806; Cited: Cod. Dipl. 10/6, 231-234; ZsO 7, 138, no. 418; 140, no. 431. Bakács: Pest m. 1361, említés.
1420	(1407-) The monastery of Elefánt, thus the vicar of Nosztra was registered/introduced into the property of Velikapolya, by the order of King Sigismund I.	DL 10979. Cited: ZsO 7, 505, no. 2218; Vadász, <i>A fényes kolostor</i> , 32.

1431	(Prior General) Fr. Franciscus, after or before the period of his general office (1431-1434) the Vicar Prior of Nosztra, lived a pious and holy life. Several miracles happened while he lived, mostly when he led the monks in Nosztra. It seems that his veneration, from the second half of the fifteenth century, could have evolved and elevated Nosztra to a pilgrimage site.	VF Cap. 44–45.
1453	John Hunyadi, the governor of the kingdom, donates a parcel at Szob, possibly other properties as well near Damásd (the charter is damaged at several areas) for the Paulines where they can build a house, a curia, that is for collecting the taxes they received by King Louis I. (see 1539)	DL 14 662; AP E Fasc. 761. Cited: DAP 2, 98.
1463	The precept of King Matthias on [the fact of] the payment of the tax in Zob to the hermits of the Order of St. Paul of Nosztre to be provided by any merchants, by-passers. The provision of toll-paying was entrusted to the captains of Visegrád and Damásd.	DL 15 838; AP E Fasc. 761. Cited: DAP 2, 98.
1466 - 1467	Lawrence of Bayon, the literate of Bény and Csuda [the properties of the monastery of Garamszentbenedek and familiar of the Archbishop of Esztergom] was in a violent and eventful legal debate with the Paulines of Nosztra because the Pauline's mill at Garam [one of at the properties of Csata-Gém] slowed down the river thus the mills at Bény were suffering of it.	MNL OL AP E 153 Fasc. 234 ½. Fol. 246; DL 16561, 16588.
1471- 1473	Gregorius of Lábatlan, the familiar of the Archbishop of Esztergom, John Vitéz, arranged the occupation and a few weeks later the demolition of the Paulines' mill at Gém, for the same reason it was disturbed before, namely it slowed down the river Garam that caused damage for the peasants of the Archbishop at Kéty. First the Palatine, Michael Gutí Országh, two years later King Matthias himself defended the Paulines of Nosztra. As Vadász argues, this had happened because of the strong political controversy between King Matthias and Archbishop John, where the Paulines supported the King.	MNL OL AP E 153 Fasc. 2. No. 7. and Fasc. 234 ½. Fol. 247; DL 17251, 17481
1471	The archdeacon of Bars, Gregory, pawned the third part of the mill in Gén that was originated from Lady Scholastica, for 20 Florins to this monastery of Nosztra.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1477	Lady Scholastica of Ghen sold her part of the mill in Ghen to the brothers of Nostra for 50 Florins. Likewise, Gregory, the son of the late Matthias Gerchyk, sold his share to the same brothers for 38 Florins. And Lady Dorothy likewise took part [sold it for] 37 Florins.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1482	Priest Matthias bequeathed to this monastery three vineyards and a (vaulted?) butchery (<i>cameram maccellariam</i>).	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1487	The illustrious John Cheh [Cseh, means Czeck] of Lewa gave to this monastery the church of St. James the Apostle and his estate called Pusztaorsan, that is in County Hont.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.

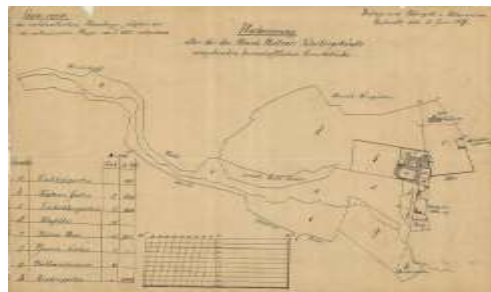
1499	Certain Cumans, namely, Elias, Albert, and John Wamos of Thazlarzallassa promised to pay this monastery a tenth every year from their cattles, horses, and newborn/young sheeps, because they are free and exempt from the royal taxes at the request of the brothers of this house.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92.
1504	Albert Tóth of Chwda gave one mill on the river Kis Gron, running within the borders of the village of <i>Chwda</i> , to the brothers of Nosztra 16 florins, along with further donations.	DL 21 327; <i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92, 99.
1514	The treasury of the monastery was robbed by a novice and a shepherd; some of the wares were melted by them in the forest. The shepherd was caught and burnt alive, while the novice was on the run. Something similar happened in Csatka (1478), in Kápolna (1495), Örményes (1503) and in the St. Laurence monastery (1489).	VF Cap. 80.
1519	Fr. Casparus de Ebes, a holy old man, one morning ran to the vicar, to whom he said: “Father, I will die today, before dawn.” This happened as it was said.	VF Cap. 82.
1539	A curia was given to the Paulines by King John of Szapolyai.	AP E 153 Fasc. 761.; DAP 2, 99.
sixteenth c.	Mankóc is also among the properties, where the Paulines of Nosztra possess 15,5 portas.	Maksay, 156.

Known priors of the monastery:

vid. Gyöngyösy, *Arcok*, 114–120.

Spatial features and maps

[Nachweisung über die das Maria Nostraer Klostergebäude umgebenden herrschaftlichen Grundstücke](#)
MNL OL Collection of Maps
S 11 No. 2004.
1857.



Márianosztra és Nagybörzsöny (Pest m.)

határa [the boundary between
Nagybörzsöny and Márianosztra]

MNL OL Collection of Maps

S 19. No. 76., [77.](#), [78.](#), [79.](#)

1749.

Márianosztra és Nagybörzsöny közötti

vitás határterület térképe [the debated
boundary between Nagybörzsöny and
Márianosztra]

MNL OL Collection of Maps

S 86 No. 11.

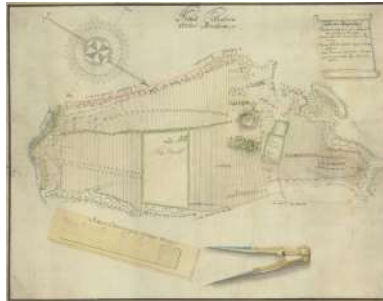
eighteenth c.

Prima calcatura versus meridiem

MNL OL Collection of Maps

S 86 - No. 12/1.

1759.

Márianosztra külterülete egy részének

úrbéri térképe [Cadastral map of
Márianosztra]

MNL OL Collection of Maps

S86 No. 12/3.

1759.


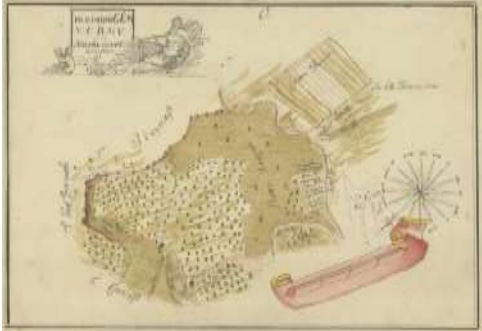
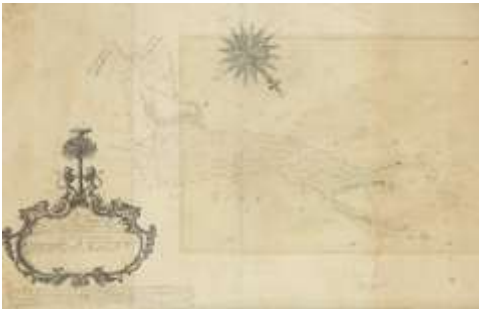

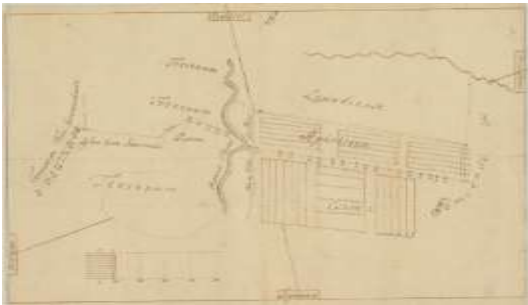
Secunda calcatura versus orientem jacens

MNL OL Collection of Maps

S 86 No. 12/2.

1759.



<p><u>Parva - prata in territorio Nosztransi et quidem in plaga septemtrionali jacentia, et mensurata</u> MNL OL Collection of Maps S 86 No. 13. eighteenth c.</p>	
<p><u>Praedium Gém V. C. B. M. V. de Nosztra O. S. P. P. E. delineatum</u> MNL OL Collection of Maps S 86 No. 20. 1769.</p>	
<p><u>Lacus Csata Gémensis in confiniis inclytorum duorum comitat...</u> MNL OL Collection of Maps S 86 - No. 21. 1770</p>	
<p><u>Tabella demonstrans situm piscinae Csata-Gémiensis, intra te...</u> MNL OL Collection of Maps S 86 No. 18. eighteenth c.</p>	
<p><u>Csata és Apáti közötti határterület térképe</u> [the boundary between Csata and Apáti] MNL OL Collection of Maps S 86 No. 22. eighteenth c.</p>	

[Mappa viae postalis in Comitatu Bars a
domo postali possessi...](#)

MNL OL Collection of Maps
S 12 Div. XVIII. No. 43:1.
eighteenth c.



Architecture & Archaeology

Since the building complex functioned as a state prison in the past decades, its proper archaeological research has been impossible to conduct. The rich source material from the eighteenth-century, large-scale reconstruction of the monastery is well-known, however, we lack information on the medieval period. In 1986, András Gergelyffy oversaw a small construction, when the south wall of the chancel/sanctuary was ruptured for a new door; here he saw in the wall texture mostly Baroque bricks but some Gothic carved stones (window frame) in secondary context as well.

The Gothic form had been respected during the eighteenth century reconstructions and also the original capitals, corbels, and ribs were placed into their original context. A cut was made for a door on the southern wall of the chancel in 1986, when fourteenth-century fragments of carved stones (fragments of window frame with mullion, corbel of a moderate archivolt, and a scattered corbel of a pear-shaped rib) were revealed that were placed there in the Baroque period with contemporary bricks. This means that the walls of the chancel were erected during the reconstructions (1717-18).

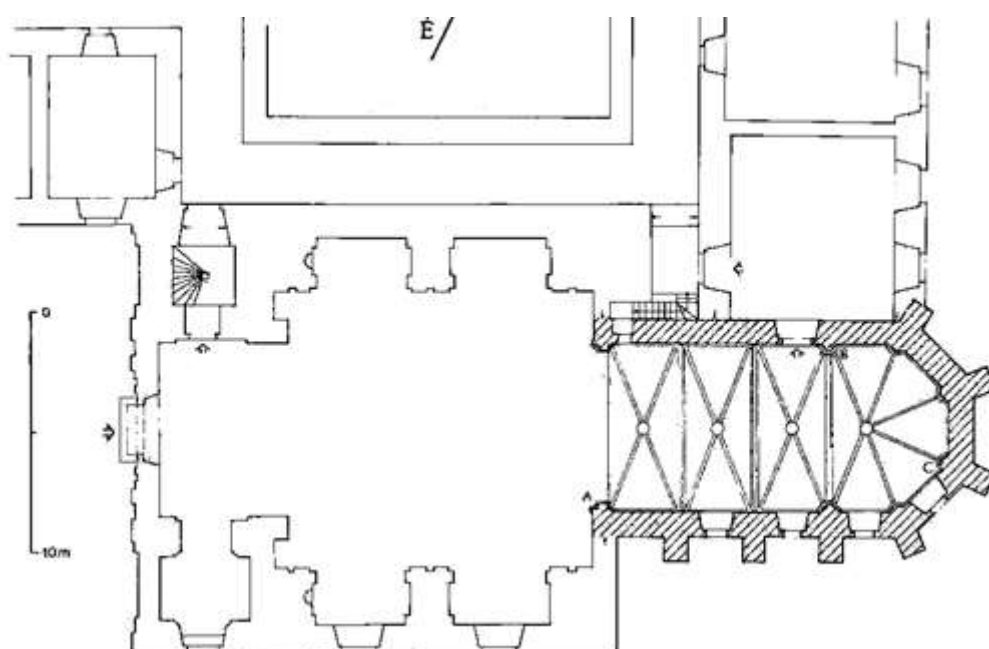
A partial building fabric investigation had been conducted on the southern outside of the church by Lajos Bozóki, who could document some early walls that served as the basis for the Baroque building. He also argued that the ceiling/vault of chancel, all the carved stone details, although they look exactly like and regarded by scholarship as late medieval details, like a ribbed vault, were built in the eighteenth century by reusing or imitating medieval figurative stone carvings.

Based on the mentioned schematic plan, the cloister wings surrounded a rectangular courtyard and were connected with the church from the north. The structure of the cloister is unique as it cannot be found in any other Pauline monasteries: the northern wing ended slightly beyond the eastern wing, while another (east-west) wing had been built to the southern end of the western wing. The latter might have been the royal house that served for the basis of the temporary eighteenth-century chapel and living-sphere. Unfortunately it has not been researched whether the Baroque structure was built at least partly on the top of the medieval ruins or not, since excavations or the research of the standing structure had been impossible until the past few decades.

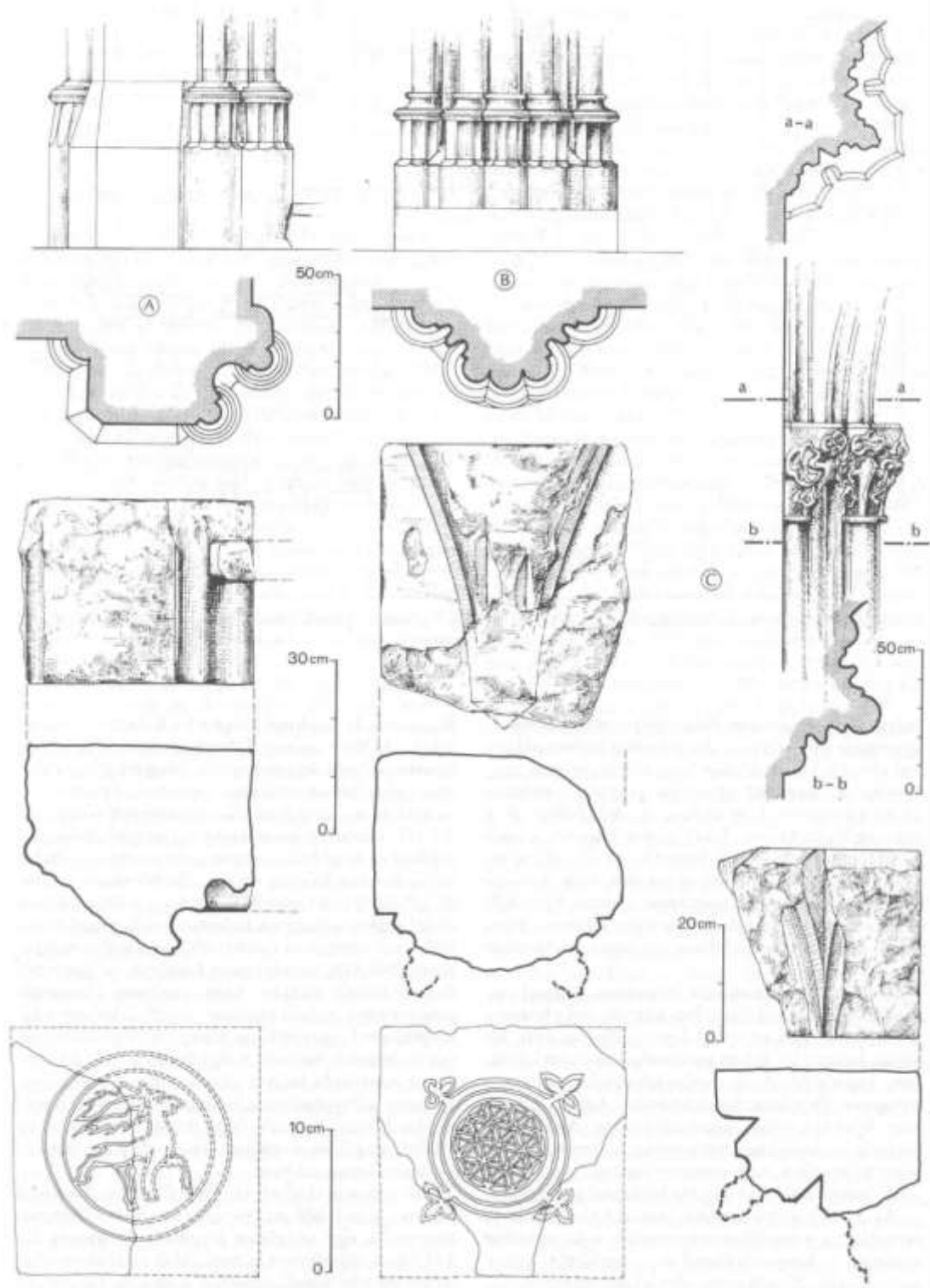
The whole monastery was surrounded by a fifteenth-sixteenth century wall that had been renovated in the Baroque period as well but there can be hardly any physical remains found in nowadays. As the building was invested with a new function in 1858, namely it was transformed to a prison that it is still the main function of the monastery, it is impossible to reveal more archaeological and by its help, more art historical information on the history of the monastery, it is still one of the hidden monuments of Hungary and the Pauline Order.



*The earliest known schematic plan of the ruined Virgin Mary Monastery dated to 1694. Cut from a map that was resulted by a perambulation. Béláné Baranyai, “Adatok a XVIII. századi márianosztrai pálos művészethez” [Data on the eighteenth-century Pauline art at Márianosztra]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 3, no. 1. (1957): 66. Fig. 1.*



The ground plan of the Virgin Mary Monastery's church. MRT 9, 183. Fig. 17.



See on the ground plan (A) and (B) and C architectural details, also floor tiles from the church. MRT 9, 183; Fig. 18.

5.3.5. Toronyalja, St. Michael Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Esztergom Diocese, (Archbishopric of Esztergom) Historical Hont Co. Present-day Pest Co.
Geographical Location	The monastery is in the Danube Bank's northern area, along the modern road to Kóspallag village from road No. 12. (turn to Kóspallag after Verőce) (WGS84) $\varphi = 47.848425$; $\lambda = 18.943858$
Foundation/founder	Unknown, might be King Louis I, in the second half of fourteenth c.
Remains / Visibility	A hegy alatti völgyben a Kishanta patak jobbpartján állott a pálosok Toronyalja nevű monostora szent Mihály tiszteletére. A kolostor É-ÉK-i oldalán, a domb alján, a Malom-völgyi-patak partján, mintegy 50 x 400 méteren nyúlik el a lelőhely, alafalainak omladéakai ma is láthatóak; 2018-ban emlékhelyet avattak itt. Túraútvonal mentén van.
General literature	MRT 9, 188; Miklós (1997), <i>Börzsöny</i> ; F. Romhányi, Pálos gazdálkodás, Horváth 2021

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1381	The reverend father [Fr. The prior General Nicholas], with the consent of the prior and of the entire convent of the cloister of St. Michael de Torna(!), leased a mill of the same cloister at the end of the village of Zakalia (<i>in fine villae Zakalia!</i>) to Nicholas de Zakalia.	VF Cap. 35. Pag. 77.
1418	Lady Margaret, the widow of the butcher (<i>carnificis</i>) Jakus of Vác, bequeathed two vineyards by will to this cloister and Toronyalja and the monastery of Saint Ladislaus (at Kékes).	<i>Inventarium</i> , 1. Cited: DAP 2, 91–92; DAP 3, 36.
1437	The constitution book, kept at Toronyalja contains several order adjudicated by the annual chapter in the time of Fr. Benedictus general provost, for example all the monks should monthly confess, etc.	VF, Cap. 56, pag. 95.; DAP 3, 36.
1504	The monastery of Toronyalja was dispensed from paying tax (ninth) after their vineyard at Kelemenhegye. <i>in promotrorio possessionis nostre Kisoroszfalva vocate Kelemenhegye</i> .	DI 21 370; F. Romhányi, Pálos gazdálkodás, 114.
1527	King John Szapolyai approved that Michael, son of Petrus of Szob, donated the village of Batthyány in Pest county to the monastery, in exchange for four masses each week for his salvation.	AP fasc. 297, fol. 3-7, no. 1., DAP 3, 36.

1539	King John donated a house (<i>totaleus domum seu curiam nobilitarem</i>) together with a mill at Szokolya.	AP fasc.438, fol.2, no.2. ; Elenchus, pag. 179-184.; DAP 3, 37.
------	--	--





Known priors of the monastery

Nicolaus

1381–1393

VF pag. 77: 8–11.

Spatial features and maps

<p>Accommodatio Terreni ord Possessionem Szokolya spectantis cum Terreno Oppidi Nagy Maros eidemqve ingremiatarum Poonum. Kiss-Maros et Kossparlag rec non Oppidi Börsöny</p> <p>MNL OL Collection of Maps S11 No. 326 1756.</p>	
<p>Mappa controversias earumque accommodationem inter terrenum oppidi Maros, eidemque ingremiatae possessionis Kóss-Parlag, ad ad coronale dominium Vissegrád pertinentium ex una parte: alia vero parte inter terrena oppidi Archi-Episcopalis Börsöny nec non p</p> <p>MNL OL Collection of Maps S_11_-_No._459:1. 1770.</p>	
<p>Mappa Praedii Torony Inclyto Cottui. Honthensi ingremiati et ad Fundum Religionis pertinentis in sortem Pratorum Colonis Maria Nosztransibus dati.</p> <p>MNL OL Collection of Maps S_12_-_Div._IX._-_No._221. 1800</p>	
<p>Mappa praedii Torony i. comitatu Honthensi ingremiati et ad fundi religionis dominium Maria Nosztra pertinentis, exhibens statum regulatum pratorum colomicalium ...</p> <p>MNL OL Collection of Maps S_12_-_Div._VIII._-_No._325. 1802</p>	

<p>Pusztatorony 1870-ki térképe Hont megye; Maria Nosztra II. rész [map of pusztatorony, deserted tower in Co. Hont] MNL OL Collection of Maps S 78. No. téka 122. Márianosztra 13. 1870.</p>	
<p>Mappa geometrica praedii Toronya et species transactionis ... MNL OL Collection of Maps S86 No. 14. 1694</p>	
<p>Mappa geometrica exhibens rudera conventus S. Michaelis Arch... MNL OL Collection of Maps S 86. No. 15. 1758</p>	
<p>... praedii Toronya quondam ad conventum cognominem, Ordinis S. Pauli primi eremitaе. Hodié ad Monasterium Mariae de Nosztre pertinentis. MNL OL Collection of Maps S 86. No. 16. eighteenth c.</p>	
<p>Praedium Torornya Or. S. Pauli Pri. E. re. modo V. Con. de Nosztre per quad Org. Dimensum MNL OL Collection of Maps S 86. No. 17. 1770</p>	

[Nagy Maro község határának térképe az 1885. évben véghezvitt erdő és legelő elkülönítés szerint](#) [The boundary between the meadows and woods of Nagymaros]
MNL OL Collection of Maps
S 11. No. 832:a.
1885



Archaeology, Buildings and Earthworks

The following summary is based on MRT 9, 185-188; Mag–Pető 2023. More on the finds, see: Miklós 1997, also Mag 2023.

The archaeological excavations carried out so far were led by Zsuzsa Miklós, who documented the ground plan of the buildings. The monastery wells contained significant medieval wood finds, and the area itself contains remains of the former monastery estate (fishponds, dams, mills). The former monastic complex had a floor area of 682 sqm. The rectangular monastery was attached to the north side of the eastern church.

The ruin area was and still is divided by piles of rubble, under which in places - especially at the church - walls 1-2 m high are hidden. There were also many treasure pits, mainly in the north and north-western parts. The church is located on the southeastern side of the hilltop, and adjoining it on the northern side is the irregular rectangular monastery wing, measuring about 35 x 28 m. The rooms of this wing can only be assessed from surface traces, and excavations have been carried out in only one room.

The eastern wing of the monastery is directly attached to the north wall of the sanctuary, and its first room must have been the sacristy. Its floor area is 5.3 x 2.6 m. Connected to it is the chapel hall (probably), with a floor area of 7.2 x 5.3 m. A large hall (12.8 x 8 m) can be seen in the north-east corner of the monastery wing. The hill here is very steep, so the walls here were reinforced with buttresses. A cellar was also built here, its hatch was still visible from the north in 1997. After that, unfortunately, the western area is only known by a sketch plan due to the lack of excavation.

The NW corner was immeasurable. What is certain is that two rooms (6 x 3 and 8, 6 x 6 m) are connected in a row to the NW corner from the south. The latter room has partially been excavated, where the remains of a stove suggest that this might have been the heated dining room. Two smaller rooms are connected to the western wing of the monastery from the west. The entrance to the courtyard of the monastic quadrangle (12 x 9 m) may have been at the west end of the church nave. There may have been a cloister around the courtyard, but without excavation this is only a conjecture.

In the northwest corner of the courtyard there is a 3x3 m foundation, probably a belfry. The stone-lined well (bottom was 19.9 m deep, cut in andesite, with bluish silt at the bottom, 150 cm internal diameter) is located near the west wing of the building. It was probably dug out in the fourteenth century (at least 7 m of rising groundwater the workers had to struggle with), while the nearest springs are 300 m away, the stream 80 m. The well had beautiful, simple cafes, consisting of 7 arches, each 90 cm high and the well was 160 cm in diameter. Today it stands in the courtyard of the Palace of the Bishopric of Vác as an ornamental fountain (see the picture below). In the area outside the monastery quadrangle, traces of two outbuildings can still be seen.

During the excavations, the church was partially excavated, with a trench running in a southeast to southwest direction, which was widened further to the north wall. In addition to numerous stone carvings (mainly vault remains), fragments of pots, stove grains, stove tiles and window panes were uncovered, as well as a large quantity of iron nails. The church had a sanctuary with four buttresses (9 m long and 4.4 m wide), closed by three sides of an octagon. The walls on the northeast side were 150-180 cm high. On the inside, traces of greyish-white plaster were visible in places. The windows had plain, translucent glass. Terrazzo

flooring (moulded mortar) covered the whole sanctuary with the altar standing 24 cm higher than the floor. The floor area of the altar building was 190 x 140 cm, with an observed height of 100 cm.

The floor in front of the altar was cut through, and the remains of an earlier sanctuary closure were found. This was 280 cm to the west of the previously known closure, so the first sanctuary was much shorter than the second. The stone carvings, their stylistic features suggest that the first construction was in the fourteenth century, while the extension of the sanctuary dates to the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century.

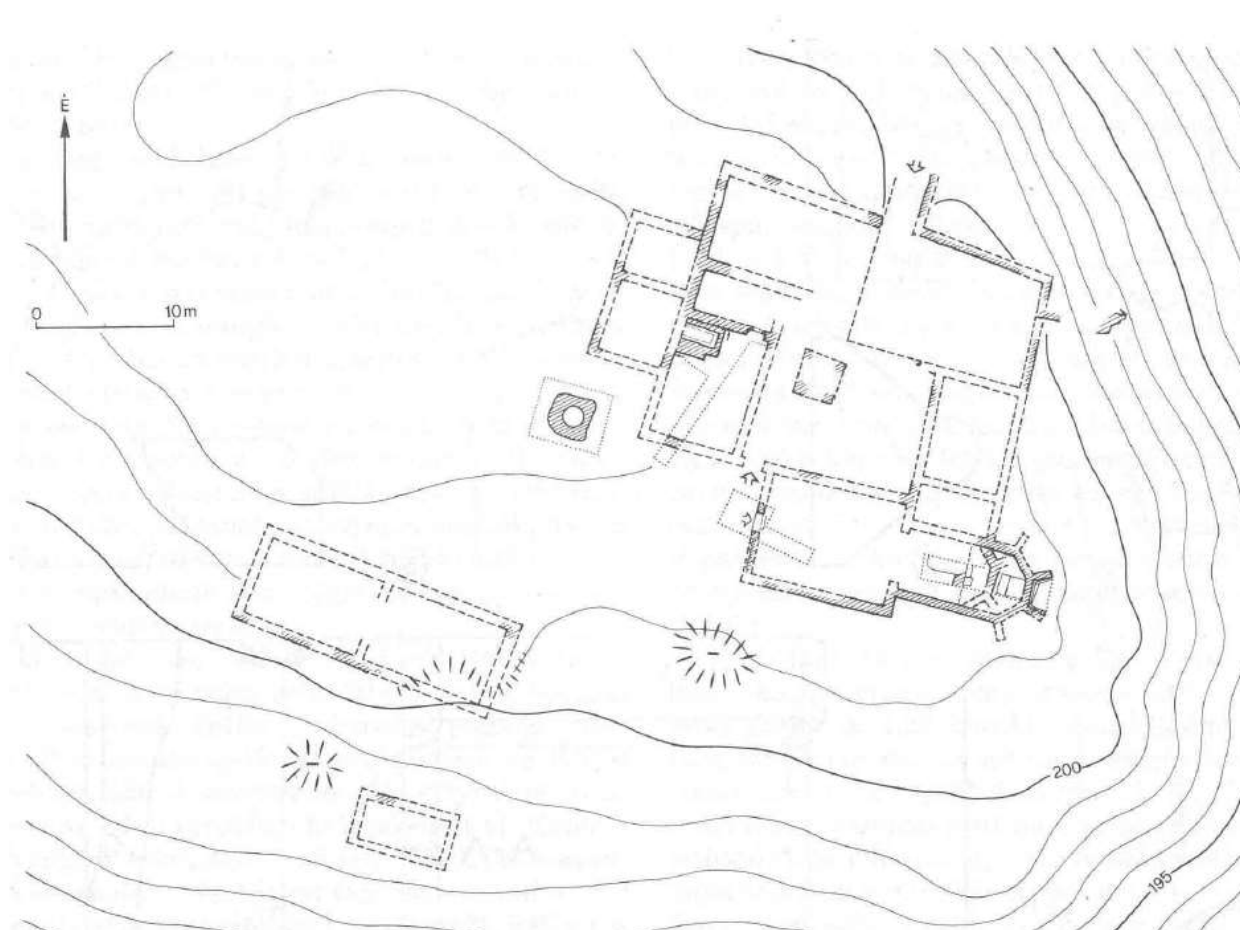
The church nave was also cut by the large, east-west trench, which was extended at the entrance at the west end. The nave is 9.7 m long and 7.4 m wide, with a wall-thickness of 60 cm. The floor was covered with 18 x 18 cm floor bricks, and the windows had greenish glass panes. As there were no vaulted rib fragments in the rubble, it is possible that the nave had a flat ceiling. The measured width of the entrance is 140 cm. Remains of a caisson 80-90 cm high were found on two sides. The walkway is 30 cm deeper than the sanctuary. Glazed roof tiles were also found. Before the entrance, the courtyard was paved with bricks.

Near the entrance, a fragment of a font was also found. The proportions of the church and the enclosure of the sanctuary suggest that the church of the monastery of the Holy Cross (Kesztölc- Klastrompuszta) was similar to that of the monastery of Toronyalja. Numerous valuable finds have been unearthed during the excavations here. They are simple objects that bear witness to everyday life.

A speciality are the finds from the wells here. It is rare for finds made of organic material to be preserved for posterity, but they are also of great sentimental value because they tell of the everyday life of the Pauline monks who lived here. The entire structure of the well house can be reconstructed from the fallen and preserved beams. Fragments of leather, shoe lasts, wooden bowls, wooden spoons, pieces of fruit dryer frames, numerous iron tools (knives, sickles, scythe, hoes, etc.), large grinding stones and grinding benches, buckets (the well may have been used for water extraction in a two-bucket-pulley system, and the remains of a snail have been found at the bottom of the well).

The water source of the Monastery of Toronyalja is located in the immediate vicinity of the monastery buildings, to the west of them. Today it is in a stone-walled, grid-locked state, and before its excavation, a pit about 260 cm in diameter and 130 cm deep marked its location. The filled-in well was fully excavated in 1985, and the surrounding area was excavated in 1987 by Zsuzsa Miklós. The results of the work were published in 1997 after a thorough research work by the excavator, and the present summary is based on her paper published in the *Váci Könyvek* series.

The excavation revealed a 150 cm diameter well with a stone-lined wall carved into the andesite rock. The following infill layers were isolated: up to a depth of 3.5 m, only small and large stones were excavated, and from there, up to a depth of 6.1 m, some archaeological finds were recovered. This upper layer of larger stones stopped at a depth of 7.6 m and was followed by a moist, loose layer of small fragments, rich in findings (with a few ceramics and many animal bones, brick and glass fragments), in which some carved stones were found from 13 m onwards. Water was found at a depth of 13.25 m, and the subsequent excavation could only be carried out with continuous pumping. At a depth of 13.95 m, large carved wooden beams were found in large quantities, well preserved by the humid environment, which was deprived of oxygen. According to Zsuzsa Miklós' research, these were mostly elements of the former well. Underneath them, at a depth of 16.85-18.65 m, laid seven carved stone elements of the well pit. From this depth, a layer of what the excavator called "small finds" was found, which, in addition to smaller and larger stones, a number of ceramics, iron and wooden objects, animal bones and some other organic material (leather and rope fragments) were found. The bottom of the well was reached at a depth of 19.9 m, with a gravelled, small rubble fill at the bottom 20 cm and a bluish silt over the horizontal andesite rock at the bottom. Zsuzsa Miklós dates the completion of the well to the fourteenth century, although most of the finds found date back to the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries. According to the excavator, the well was cleaned regularly at the beginning, and the finds at the bottom date from the last period of the monastery's operation. She dates the complete filling of the well to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.



20. kép. Márianosztra. Toronyalja, 17/14. sz. lelőhely, középkori pálos kolostor (Egyed Endre felmérése)

The ground plan of the monastery, MRT 9, 189.



587



The medieval stone-well now in the courtyard of the bishopric of Vác, photo credit: author, 2020-02-19. I hereby thank Hella Mag, archaeologist of Trágor Ignác Museum at Vác, for the information and making the access possible.

APPENDIX 3: THE ZEMPLÉN HILLS, ABAÚJ-HEGYALJA REGION (CHAPTER 6)

6.3.1. Óhuta, St. Philip and Jacob Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Historical Abaúj Co. Diocese of Eger Present-day Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Co.
Geographical Location	West to the village of Óhuta, along the road between Regéc and Óhuta, on its northern side.
Foundation/ founder	Before 1307, most probably Aba Amadé around the 1300s or by the members of Tolcsva kindred.
Remains/ Visibility	Some small ruins were visible on the surface, the pond near them is an iconic hiking spot.
General literature	Csánki 1, 216; Guzsik 1980, 12, Kovács 1987, 123; DAP 2, 309–311; Guzsik 2003, 69, 99; Bándi 1985; Belényesy 2004, 90–93.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1307	The church of St Philip and St James got permission to have a forty-day long patronal festival from the Archbishop of Esztergom <i>in Kúkenes</i> .	Györffy 1, 115. Cited in Belényesy 2004, 90.
1311	Further indulgence was given to the monastery to observe the dedication festival of the church.	DAP 2, 310. Cited in Belényesy 2004, 91.
1319	In VF, the permission of Aegedius is mentioned, but the relics of St. Ladislaus were (at the time of the VF) kept in the monastery, which "stands above Horwath" (today Erdőhorváti).	VF, Cap. 20. Cited in Belényesy 2004, 90-91.
1384-06-02 – 1406 – 1419	1384-06-02 (Mother) Queen Elizabeth ordered the castellan of Regéc not to collect ninth (<i>nona</i>) or <i>tributum montis/ ius montanum</i> from the Paulines after the vine harvested from the vineyards of Regéc (<i>in territorio castri</i>). Also, no taxes are allowed to be claimed (now or in the future) after the food that is transported for the Paulines. Issued in Buda.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 72; DL 7088, copied in DL 8825; DAP 2, 310. Bándi 1985, 671, no. 1. Cited partially in Belényesy 2004, 91.

	1406-12-31 /1 King Sigismund orders the castellan and deputy castellan of Regéc not to collect taxes (ninth of vine or <i>ius montanum/terragium</i> , tax of the food) of the Paulines of the Virgin Mary monastery near Gönc, the neighboring St. Philip and James Monastery, nor from the St. Catherine monastery. Issued in Kassa.	DL 9156; Copied in DL 8825 Bándi 1985, 585, no. 10. ZsO 2, 5180.
	1406-12-31 /2 King Sigimund restricts the town of Telkibánya (<i>iudici et iuratis ac universis et singulis civibus civitatis nostre de Thelkybanya</i>) to collect <i>ius montanum</i> or <i>terragium</i> after the vineyards of the Paulines of Virgin Mary, St. Philip and Jacob, and St. Catherine monasteries. Issued in Kassa.	Copied in DL 8825 Bándi 1985, 585-86, no. 11. ZsO 2, 5181.
	1419-04-24 King Sigismund's charter sums up all the privileges concerning the tax paying issues of the Paulines for the royal castellans and Telkibánya, by the request of the Paulines (<i>frater Petrus prior generalis ...et eiusdem ordinis claustrorum beate marie virginis et sancte katherine martyris de prope Guncz necnon litorum? philipi et jacobi apostolorum de Ezen et sancti spiritus de Dedes (!)</i>) Issued in Visegrád.	DL 8825; Bándi 1985, 587, no.15; Inventarium, 69–70; VF Cap, 42; cited in DAP 1, 167-170.;
1411	King Sigismund exempted the monks of the monastery from taxation on royal lands after all goods, wagons and food products of the monks and pilgrims.	DL 9773; DAP 2, 310. Bándi 1985, 671–72; Cited in Belényesy 2004, 91.
1412	On the annual feast of the apostles Philip and James (May 1) and on other suitable days, no taxes shall be collected from the inhabitants of the country who make a pilgrimage to the monastery from different parts of the country on all assets of Regéc castle.	DL 9910; DAP 2, 310.
1412-05-25 (DL 9913) 1412-07-07 (DL 9913) 1412-07-15 (DL 9929)	King Sigismund declared that the castellan of Regéc should not demand anything after the deserted Holy Trinity monastery's properties, like the meadow named <i>Lapohus</i> , from the monasteries of Gönc, Ruzska and Regéc (=Óhuta).	DL 9913, 9929. DAP 3, 308; DAP 1, 171; DAP 2, 310. Bándi 1985, 672-73, no 4–6.
1422	One parcel (<i>unus fundus</i>) in Lyzka with the vineyard at <i>Kwthpathaka</i> was donated to this monastery, which had previously been bequeathed from the priest Michael.	Inventarium, 72; DAP 2, 309-310;

1438	Stephanus Upor (<i>Nobilis Stephanus filius Joannis de Wapor</i>) donated a vineyard to the monastery on the hill of the village Tolcsva, called <i>Chrebeter</i> , and certain lands adjoining the vineyard, and also a <i>sessio (unam sessionem jobagionalem)</i> , also two plots of arable land (<i>duas terras in duabus calcaturis</i>). The charters survived at Lelesz Chapter, along others from 1514: with the permission of the general prior, Stephen, the aforesaid vineyard was sold for 12 florins to Benedict Karachon (Karácsony) of Tolcsva by Thomas prior of this monastery and the vicar of Tokaj.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 72; DAP 2, 309 (wrongly cited date!); Cited in Belényesy 2004, 91 but wrong date!)
1465	Emerich Szapolyai, donated a residence place, which is free (<i>unum curiae liberum</i>) from all the payments, taxes to the Paulines in the village called Horváth. This donation was confirmed in 1509.	<i>Inventarium</i> 72; DAP 2, 309–311. Cited in Belényesy 2004, 91.
1466	Michael (dictus Szilva) of Liskza donated a mill on the water of Tolcsva stream <i>super possessionem Horváth</i> , near the castle of Regéc.	<i>Inventarium</i> 72; DAP 2, 309–311. Cited in Belényesy 2004, 91.
1469	Simon Deáki sold the quarter of a mill in the village of Horvát, on Nagy-Tolcsva stream, together with a piece of land (<i>terrae linea</i>) where Karlo was [now-in the sixteenth century] for ten florins. Martinus and Valentinus Deák, his brothers from the same Horvát, gave another fourth part by exchanging one vineyard situated on the promontory of <i>Gyapáros</i> , with the addition of two florins.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 72; DAP 2, 309.
1510	The possession of Kis Vilmán donated by Ladislaus de Bathka before Emericus de Perény, palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary in the year of 1510.	AP fasc. 520-521, fől.278-281, no. 1324. (Registrum bonorum ...1700), DAP 2, 310.
1520	Blasius, the altar priest of Lyska and later a brother of the Pauline order, donated his vineyard at the possession of Tholchwa on Mount Kwthpathaka.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 72; DAP 2, 310.
1526	fr.Joannes the general prior sold a certain deserted mill within the possession of Vizsoly in the county of Abaujvar, erected on a small river running from the possession of Korláthfalva and facing the boundary of Regéc, to the noble Valentinus Ernei de Korláthfalva until the day of his life for 20 florins (<i>bonae monetae</i>).	DAP 2, 309–311.
1547	Gáspár Serédy set the monastery on fire, for which he was accused by the Pauline order before the Royal Court.	DAP 2, 309–311.
1560	John Alaghy was ordered to appear before court, because he usurped the mills of the Paulines along the Hernád river. The suit most likely ended without results, but the nobleman promised to reconstruct the monastery	DAP 2, 309–311


	in 1614. After this, in 1636, he paid four hundred Forints for the lands that were already in his hands.	
--	--	--

Known priors of the monastery

vid. Belényesy, Abaúj-Hegyalja, 48.

Spatial features and maps

Maps

Háromhuta Zemplén vármegyei kisközség kataszteri térképének ... Cadastral map of Háromhuta, Zemplén County MNL OL Collection of Maps S 78 No. 331. nineteenth c. The meadow, where the monastery is located, is called “Barátok” here, meaning Friars.	
Properties	Fig. 6.3.4.

Archaeology, Buildings and Earthworks

The ruins were hidden by clumps of trees, in some places local volcanic tufa stones were visible on the surface, and traces of mortar binders were also found by the archaeological team led by Gábor András Szörényi. The excavation was carried out by the staff of the Herman Ottó Museum in Miskolc. They searched the southern side of the ruin complex (600 sqms): almost all the details of the sanctuary were excavated, making it possible to reconstruct its former structure. The archaeologists found the corners of the nave, which helped to clarify the western closure of the temple. The pillars of the sanctuary, which is closed on three sides by an octagon, and further carved stones in the ruins suggested that it had a rib vault. The almost intact keystone of the rib vault and a rib element have also been found. Inside the sanctuary, the painted plaster has been preserved in some places: black vertical stripes were combined with red.

The church may have had several altars, the foundation of the high altar was located in front of the eastern end, while a further altar foundation was found in the foreground of the north triumphal arch pillar.

Based on Szörényi, “Óhuta”.



The excavated sanctuary, with the layers of destruction beyond. Source: <https://www.haromhuta.hu/feltarjuk-a-palos-kolostorromot-2/> (last accessed: 05-01-2024)



The fishpond and the ruins in the woods to the left. <https://kirandulastervezo.hu/latnivalo/haromhuta/palos-kolostorrom> (last accessed: 05-01-2024)



The fishpond and the ruins in the woods to the left.

<https://kirandulastervezo.hu/latnivalo/haromhuta/palos-kolostorrom> (last accessed: 05-01-2024)

6.3.2. Középnémeti, St. Ladislaus Monastery

Administrative ID	Historical Abaúj Co. Diocese of Eger Present-day Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Co.
Geographical Location	somewhere next to Tornynosnémeti, along the Hernád river
Foundation/founder	Aegidius, Before 1319
Remains / Visibility	unlocated
General literature	Györffy 1, 121–124; Guzsik 1980, 10; Kovács 1987, 121; DAP 1, 216; DAP 2, 309; Guzsik 2003, 99–100; Bándi 1985; Belényesy 2004, 93.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
Before 1319	Aegidius, an Augustinian hermit, with the mediation and support of Philip Drugeth, founded this hermitage. <i>ubi reposuit unum articulum digiti Sancti Ladislai regis...</i>	VF Cap. 20.; DAP 1, 216; Bándi 1985, 608-609. no 1-2. Cited in Belényesy 2004, 93.
1319	By the request of Philip Drugeth, comes of Szepes county, Martin, Bishop of Eger permitted burials at that place, and gave consent for a 40-day long dedication feast for the chapel and hermitage of St. Ladislaus, near "Kuzepnemty".	Bándi, 1985, 608., 1.; DAP 1, 216. Cited in Belényesy 2004, 93.

1320	Thomas, Archbishop of Esztergom transcribed and confirmed a previous charter at the request of Aegidius, who had built a chapel in honor of St Ladislaus on an island in the water [river] of Hernád, for the salvation of his parents and all relatives. Egedius personally presented the charter of comes Philip. Aegidius built the chapel and acquired the relic of St. Ladislaus (<i>costam seu. articulum medium unius digiti</i>) by himself (found after Emericus, the deceased bishop of Várad lost at Felhévíz, Buda- proved by the Hospitaller Knights of Felhévíz, [who were governed by the prior of their house at Esztergom], and as an honor, he was to be judged only by the Archbishop of Esztergom and no lay juries, but he still had the protection of the comes.	DL 1985 (AP Merriád n.l); Bándi, 1985, 609, 2.; DAP 1, 216.
------	--	---

Spatial features and maps

Maps

Area of the monastery on Google Maps	Fig. 6.3.5.
The area of the recent LiDAR survey	Fig. 6.3.6.

6.3.3. Göncruszka, St. Catherine Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Historical Abaúj Co. Diocese of Eger Present-day Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Co.
Geographical Location	East to Göncruszka, in the forest. Klastromkert.
Foundation/founder	1338, nobles of Ruszka
Remains / Visibility	on the surface there are stones and mortar, also a huge pond.
General literature	MTF 1, 216; Guzsik 1980, 8; Kovács 1987, 121; DAP 1, 171–176; Guzsik 2003, 100–102; Bándi 1985; Belényesy 2004, 93–95.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1338	It was founded by sons of Nicolaus, Dominic and his brothers, Laurentius, Johannes, the uncle of Johannes, and son of Dionysos, who donated the church of St Catherine to the Pauline order, with a vineyard and a mill.	<i>Inventarium</i> 70; DAP 1, 171–76.
1388	The part of a mill at Vilmány, owned by Nicolaus Rwezka, was bought by the Paulines for 11 Forints.	<i>Inventarium</i> 70; DAP 1, 171–76.
	The Chapter of Jászó enrolled the hermits into the possession of half of a mill on the Hernád river, near Vilmány village.	DL 7416 <i>Inventarium</i> 70; DAP 1, 171–76. Bándi 1985, 584–85, no. 8.

	<p>The Chapter of Jászó confirms that the sons of Cristlinus: Nicolaus and Petrus, Matthias, Nickus and also Stephanus the son of Nickus, all the royal people (hospites regales) of Vilmány, besides Strichhekul of Gönc (also royal civilian), also Laurentius, vasallus seu iobagio of Magister Ladislaus (the son of Yzep of Ruszka) all testify that they sold half of the mill on the river Hernád at Vilmány to the St. Catherine monastery that lays on the royal land of Gönc for 150 Forints. (the other half of the mill is owned by the castle of Boldogkő, as a charter proves that was issued by the Sclavon ban, Leustak)</p>	
	<p>1388-11-11 King Sigismund orders the Chapter of Jászó to send their official to support the enroll the Paulines of St. Catherine monastery into the possession of the half mill on the river Hernád, in the presence of Péter, son of Yzep of Ruszka or Ladislaus of Ruszka or Ladislaus, son of Detre of Kysuilman (=Kisujfalu, north to Vilmány?) royal people. Issued in the royal castle of Diósgyőr, Borsod County.</p>	<p>DL 7440 Bándi 1985, 585, no. 9.</p>
1384-06-02 – 1406 – 1419	<p>1384-06-02 (Mother) Queen Elizabeth ordered the castellan of Regéc not to collect ninth (<i>nona</i>) or <i>tributum montis/ ius montanum</i> from the Paulines after the vine harvested from the vineyards of Regéc (<i>in territorio castri</i>). Also, no taxes are allowed to be claimed (now or in the future) after the food that is transported for the Paulines. Issued in Buda.</p>	<p><i>Inventarium</i>, 72; DL 7088, copied in DL 8825; DAP 2, 310. Bándi 1985, 671, no. 1. Cited partially in Belényesy 2004, 91.</p>
	<p>1406-12-31 /1 King Sigismund orders the castellan and deputy castellan of Regéc not to collect taxes (ninth of vine or <i>ius montanum/terragium</i>, tax of the food) of the Paulines of the Virgin Mary monastery near Gönc, the neighboring St. Philip and James Monastery, nor from the St. Catherine monastery. Issued in Kassa.</p>	<p>DL 9156; Copied in DL 8825 Bándi 1985, 585, no. 10. ZsO 2, 5180.</p>
	<p>1406-12-31 /2 King Sigimund restricts the town of Telkibánya (<i>iudici et iuratis ac universis et singulis civibus civitatis nostre de Thelkybanya</i>) to collect <i>ius montanum</i> or <i>terragium</i> after the vineyards of the Paulines of Virgin Mary, St. Philip and Jacob, and St. Catherine monasteries. Issued in Kassa.</p>	<p>Copied in DL 8825 Bándi 1985, 585-86, no. 11. ZsO 2, 5181.</p>
	<p>1419-04-24 King Sigismund's charter sums up all the privileges concerning the tax paying issues of the Paulines for the royal castellans and Telkibánya, by the request of the Paulines (<i>frater Petrus prior generalis ...et eiusdem ordinis claustrorum beate marie virginis et sancte katherine martyris de prope Guncz necnon litorum? philipi et jacobi apostolorum de Ezen(!) et sancti spiritus de Dedes (!)</i>) Issued in Visegrád.</p>	<p>DL 8825; Bándi 1985, 587, no.15. <i>Inventarium</i>, 69–70; VF Cap, 42; cited in DAP 1, 167-170.;</p>
1410	<p>There was <i>casula</i>, worth to 8 markas.</p>	<p>Acta Paulinorum 764, fol. 1-4.; DAP 1, 171-76.</p>

1411	King Sigismund orders all (ecclesial, noble, royal) people and office-bearers that the Paulines of St. Catherine monastery should receive immunity from paying taxes if the monks or their people, who are on the road to the monastery by chariot or on horse transporting food. arrive at any properties or tax offices of the addressed office-bearers. Issued in Tokaj.	Copied by the chapter of Jászó DL 9775, Bándi 1985, 586, no. 13.
	1422 The Chapter of Jászó re-issues it by the request of Father Benedictus, the Pauline monk of the St. Catherine monastery. Issued in Jászó.	DL 9775, Bándi 1985, 586, no. 17.
1412-05-25 (DL 9913) 1412-07-07 (DL 9913) 1412-07-15 (DL 9929)	King Sigismund declared that the castellan of Regéc should not demand anything after the deserted Holy Trinity monastery's properties, like the meadow named <i>Lapohus</i> , from the monasteries of Gönc, Ruzska and Regéc (=Óhuta).	DL 9913, 9929. DAP 3, 308; DAP 1, 171; DAP 2, 310. Bándi 1985, 672-73, no 4–6.
ca. 1402-1418?	The testimony of Magister Peter, son of Izsép Ruzskai. “Also, the crops in Ruspud (land) he bequeathed to the church of St. Nicholas, or the (Franciscan) cloister of St. Nicholas of Cassa. The crops/grain that were grown near the Cloister of St. Catherine, containing 6 or 7 cords (<i>funes</i>) of wheat, he bequeathed to the same cloister to Saint Katherine, Also in another place he bequeathed 4 or 5 cords (<i>funes</i>) of wheat to the church of the Blessed Virgin of the hermit brothers [Gönc]. All other crops were to be inherited by his wife, Also the church of San Martin inherited 3 tuns of wine, the church of St. Katherine 43 pigs, also for the same church of St. Katherine he bequeathed hundred and fifty forints (of Kassa) along with the obligations of Master Benedictus Zudar, etc. He wished to be buried in the St. Catherine monastery, to which he donated a silver jar, worth 100 Forints. The grain of Zesta was inherited by his wife, but his 3-year-old zeug...horse was for the Virgin Mary Monastery. A steed and a light bay (red) horse should pull his coffin at his funeral procession that is for the St. Catherine ecclesia. His 3-horse chariot was inherited by his wife. The Paulines of Virgin Mary inherited a cow with its calf and 4 pigs. The rest was inherited by his wife.	DL 14900, DAP 1, 174 Bándi 1985, 589, no. 20. (the regesta is wrong in many respects, thus based on the original charter it was corrected here)

	Stephanus, the son of judge Laurence, got a cow with its calf and also 10 slabs (<i>köböl</i>) of grain from his house. His <i>familiaris</i> , Andreas, inherited a cow with a calf.” <i>3Line// Item fruges in Ruspud habitas, lego ecclesie sancti Nicolai, 4// seu claustro sancti Nicolai de Cassa. Item fruges aperte Claustra Sancte Katherine satas, sex 5// vel septem funiculos puri tritici continentes, lego eodem claustro sancte Katherine, Item in alio loco 6// IIII vel quinque funiculos segetum de tritico satas, lego ecclesie Beate Virginis fratrorum heremitarum Item 7// alias fruges omnis, domine uxori mee, Item ecclesie Sancti Martini lego III tunellas vini, 8// Item ecclesie sancte Katherine IIII porcos, Item pro eadem ecclesia Sancte Katherine lego exutum et 9//quingenta florenos ad nummenarum conpoti Cassovienses unacum ha() obligatoria magistri Benedicti Zudar dicti...</i>	
1418	Bartholomeus, son of Johannes Ruszkai donated a piece of land (<i>terra</i>) to the Paulines from his possessions in Ruszka, which was authenticated by the Chapter of Jászó. Peter, the son of <i>Isyph/Izsép</i> of Ruszka gave the land to the Paulines for use for the time he was alive; when he died, Bartholomeus inherited it and now gave it to the Paulines for his and his family's salvation.	DL 10691 <i>Inventarium</i> 70; DAP 1, 171-76. Bándi 1985, 586, no. 14.
1421	Benedict Makrai, the governor of the Eger Bishopric (also <i>maior domus</i> of Lateran), replied to the complaint, made by the prior of St. Catherine monastery. Makrai allocated two mills to the monks in the center of Hejce village after an incident. The monastery acquired two ideal places for mills in the center of Hejce, from the <i>hospites</i> of Hejce. The Paulines built the mills and gained profit from it, when Stibor the Bishop of Eger took the mills of the Paulines. Benedict, after hearing out the <i>hospites</i> at Hejce, took the Paulines' side in the conflict and gave back the mills to the Paulines.	DL 11034 (copy from 1515, issued by the chapter of Lelesz) Bándi 1985, 587, no. 16. <i>Inventarium</i> 70; DAP 1, 171-76.
	1515-11-03 Reissued by the Chapter of Lelesz. MÓL, DL 11034 (AP Gönc f.2 n.-2)	DL 11034 Bándi 1985, 607, no. 66.
1424	The St. Catherine monastery (in siitu Adrianus and Simon monks) prohibited the Pelsőci Bebek Family of the lands of the monastery, namely the vineyards, arables and woods, and other privileges and incomes of the monastery. The lands of the Paulines in Gönc and Ruszka (in between?) were partially involved in a lawsuit between Cornelius the son of János Ruszkai- Ladislaus, son of Bartolomeus and Peter, and the son of <i>comes palatinus</i> Detre Pelsőci and Emericus, son of Ladislaus, son of Emericus Pelsőci voivode.	DL 11532; DAP 1, 173; Bándi 1985, 587-588, no. 18.
1455	The Chapter of Eger was investigating the complaint of the monastery, which was the following: Paulus de Belse (By the order of his lord, Jacobus, son of Jacobus Olnodi Czudar) a year ago around Pentecost, in the woods of the monastery at <i>Kokol</i> , had beaten their peasants (<i>iobbagio</i>) of Kenys (Kenéz), Agocy dictus Peter and took his two oxes, another man, Elek was also beaten and his scythe was taken from him.	DL 14968; Bándi 1985, 592, no. 29.

1457	The monastery complained that the men of Johannes Ruszkai Kornis and he himself disturbed their life in multiple ways and times. The King advised Johannes not to do so ever again.	DL 15143; Bándi 1985, 592-593, no. 30.
1458	Jacobus Olnodi Czudar ¹⁰⁸¹ donated the half of Kertel and Tófüz puszta to the monastery, with the intention that the monks should pray or sing for his salvation on a daily basis.	DL 15275; <i>Inventarium</i> 70-71; DAP 1, 171-76. Bándi 1985, 593, no. 31.
1461	King Matthias donated the remaining part of the mill mentioned in 1338 near Vilmány village to the monastery. It was used by Ladislaus and Johannes Upor (Nota bene: <i>Nobilis Stephanus filius Joannis de Wapor</i> , 1438, donates to Óhuta)	DL 15268; <i>Inventarium</i> 70; DAP 1, 171-76. Bándi 1985, 593-594, no. 33.
1461	King Matthias protection letter, against the peasants of Dada oppidum.	DL 15669; Bándi 1985, 594, no. 34.
1465	Emerich Szapolyai allowed the rebuilding the monk's mill on the Aranyos stream, in Szántó.	<i>Inventarium</i> 70; DAP 1, 171-76.
1471	Priest Elias, cantor, preacher is buried here.	VF Cap 60.
1477	<i>Iobbagiones</i> George de Parlagh, John Bay, Peter Urban de Ziczó and Andreas de Altrand broke into the house and <i>curia</i> at Kynys (Kenéz) of the Paulines, armed, where they had severely beaten and wounded some of the brothers' laborers.	DAP 1, 174.
1482	Benedek Kornyz (Kornis) the Provost of Lelesz donates one parcel and half of a mill on the river Hernád.	<i>Inventarium</i> 70; DAP 1, 171-76.
1482-11-06	King Matthias ordered the chapter of Eger to start investigation in the case of an obtrusion against the curia and house (<i>domus ot curia ipsorum exponendum allodialis</i>) in the monastery's estate at Kynys (Kenéz). Their laborer, Clementinus had almost been killed by the intruders.	DL 18718; <i>Inventarium</i> 70-71; DAP 1, 171-76. Bándi 1985, 595-596, no. 39.
1482-11-21	The Chapter at Lelesz issues the ownership of the monastery on several properties, donated by Nicolaus Kornis Ruszkai, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - farmstead (<i>sessio</i> without houses) at the upper end of the Ruszka estate, on the side of Vilmány, along with all the assets of the late Miklós Weres's <i>sessio</i> - half of the mill on the river Hernád, - the arable land beyond the fields of Orozwelgye and Thywes, belonging to his own noble manor the Paulines shall say four masses every month, the first on Monday <i>pro defunctis</i> , the second on Wednesday of the following week <i>de omnibus sanctis</i> , the third on Thursday of the third week <i>de passione Christi</i> , the fourth on Saturday of the fourth week <i>de beata virgine</i> . Nicolaus Kornys also promised to provide enough wood from his forest suitable for cutting to make <i>thalpfa</i> (sleeper) and	DL 18722 <i>Inventarium</i> 70-71; DAP 1, 171-76. Bándi 1985, 596, no. 40.

¹⁰⁸¹ He also payed for the studies of the Pauline monk Michael, see VF. Cap. 45.

	<i>gerendel</i> (joists) for the restoration of the half mill, and if the Paulines wished to restore the mill dam (<i>vulgo malomgath</i>), they could cut thorny bushes from the grove on the land called Dobofelde. Each Sunday from the first to the second, the parish priest of Ruzska receives the mill's income.	
1482-11-21	Miklós Kornys of Ruzska testifies before the Chapter of Jászó that if any of his relatives in the course of time wants to exclude the Paulines from the estates given to them, it is possibly in only one case, namely for 200 gold forints, and for this amount of payment the monks are obliged to say the masses stipulated in the other document of the Chapter.	DL 18724 Bándi 1985, 596, no. 41.
1483	Ladislaus, the son of the deceased Vince Ruzskai sold his part of a mill on the Hernád river for 200 florins.	DL 18818; <i>Inventarium</i> 71; DAP 1, 171-76; Bándi 1985, 597, no. 42.
1484	The Pauline monastery (and other plangents) complained for the following: several peasants of the bishopric illegally harvested the vineyards of the monastery (called <i>Fewenes</i> , which lied east-west on the territory of the monastery) by the order of the priests of Hejce and Harsány and others.	DL 19015; Bándi 1985, 597-98, no. 43.
	The events were verified.	DL 19013; Bándi 1985, 598, no. 44.
1486-1506	Ladislaus Ruzskai (son of Vince, son of Bartolomeus) donated the quarter of his mill at Ruzska in presence of the Convent of Jászó in the name of his relatives, especially his daughters, Sofia and Cathrine. Whenever the mill needs repairing, the monks can cut down from the forests of Ruzska suitable for felling, more beautiful trees suitable for repairing the mill, and also from the groves, shrubs, woods and bushes in the western part of Ruzska, beyond the river, for the mill dam.	DL 19139; <i>Inventarium</i> 71; DAP 1, 171-76. Bándi 1985, 599, no. 45.
	1506 With an addition of 200 forints of gold, the quarter mill was returned to Paulus Ruzskai, as a relative of Ladislaus Ruzskai, with the proviso that if Paul or his heir should die in the course of time, the quarter of the mill should be received by the Paulines without any further payment, and thus, all litigation in the royal court for the quarter of the mill was discontinued. Paulus Ruzskai and his heirs are obliged to give to the Paulines sufficient wood from their forests for the construction of the mill dam and other necessities.	DL 21886; Bándi 1985, 607, no. 64.
1487	The Prior of the monastery, Ányos was on his way from Szánto towards the monastery, at dusk he arrived at the vineyards of the Hejce, and at that time the parish priest Imre of Harsány and Antonius <i>litteratus</i> , the both familiars of the tithe collectors of the bishop of Eger, took the saddled horse from under the Prior. The priest and the <i>litteratus</i> , also several witnesses confirmed this, but the tithe collectors also said that they also wanted to take something else from the	DL 19315; Bándi 1985, 599-600, no. 46.

	Paulines in return for the tithes owed to the Bishop of Eger for their vineyards.	
1495-1506	<p>Brother Benedict protests that although Paulus Ruskai has a share in a mill on the Harnad River, which has been burnt down several times, he did not help the monks to restore the mill, although they had to spend almost 150 gold forints to repair it twice. As the mill had to be restored for the third time, Benedict warned Paul to contribute his share of the costs. Paul refused to do so, so Benedict, on behalf of himself and the other Pauline monks, forbade Paul to use his part of the mill until he had paid his share of the costs.</p> <p>1497: The issue was resolved for a while, until 1506.</p> <p>1506 A lawsuit between the Pauline monastery and Paul of Ruskai over the mill on the Ruskai estate, on the Hernad River. Paul, the <i>director causarum</i> of the Paulines told that a quarter of the mill belonged to Paul of Ruskai and 96 men worked on the mill's filling by the order of the Paulines. Within 15 days Paul, the Pauline monk, should be sworn to the amount of work done by the men and that Paul of Ruskai should be made to work on the mill in proportion to his share, if necessary. If he does not provide laborers, the Paulines will cover his share out of the income of the mill.</p> <p>1507 Paul of Ruskai was inflicted with a fine on his past behavior.</p>	<p>DL 20277; Bándi 1985, 600, no. 47.</p> <p>DL 20530; Bándi 1985, 600-601, no. 48.</p> <p>DL 21606; Bándi 1985, 603-4, no. 56.</p> <p>DL 21770; Bándi 1985, 604, no. 58.</p>
1496-1507	<p>Paulus, the smith (<i>faber</i>) in Hejce donates the half mill he owns at Kéked, <i>Melegwis</i> (Hot water) property and stream, to the monastery. He bought it from Andreas Kékedi for 6 florins, which was testified by a document, approved by the priest of Újvár. (that mentions the part of the mill and other millplaces! András, son of Mild of Gönc, imperial notary of the Bishopric of Eger.</p> <p>1501-12-21 A really interesting debate among the Paulines and the relatives of Kékedi family over the mill at <i>Teplyche</i> (slavic word, meaning hot water) stream, which Petrus and Andreas of Alsókékedi sold for the Paulines, although the Felsőkékedi part of the family should have inherited it, based on a previous agreement. After many episodes (see the references here in chronological order), finally the Paulines were installed into the possession of the mill, a field and a <i>sessio</i> (without a building) and 100 florins in 1507.</p> <p>1504: Andreas and Peter of Alsókékedi offered a partial alm and asked for only 300 Forints for a mill on river Teplice, also a meadow beyond it. Andreas donated individually a deserted parcel. <i>Inventarium</i> 71; DAP 1, 171-76.</p>	<p>DL 21080 (1501) DL 20487 (1507) Bándi 1985, 601, no. 49.</p> <p>DL 20487 (1507) Bándi 1985, 601, no. 50., 602, no. 51.; 602, no. 52.; 602-3, no. 53.; 603, no. 54.; DL 21589 Bándi 1985, 603, no. 55.; again DL 20487 604-5, no. 59.; 605, no. 60; 605-6, no. 61; 608, no. 68-70. 606, no. 62. DL 21781 Bándi 1985, 606, no. 63.</p>

1507	A part of a property at Karos in Zemplén County, pledged by a certain family (Margaret, Marcus, Ambrus and Sofia) to Sigismund Pogány of Cheb, was given to the Paulines for 500 florins but 50 florins should also be paid by the monks to Sigismund for freeing the property from lease. If any relatives of the aforesaid family want to get the property back, they should pay 500 florins.	DL 21663; Bándi 1985, 604, no. 57.
1509	The sons of palatine Emericus Szapolyai: Johannes (king from 1526) and Gregorius used those fishing sites, which were owned by the Paulines. These were at <i>Zelep</i> and <i>KerezthEre</i> fishing waters (oxbow lakes?) flowing from the Tisza (Thicia) river, also the fields and woods between <i>KerezthEre</i> and <i>Zentheffoka</i> fishing waters, which were south on the property of <i>Kynys</i> , next to the port of the Tisza.	DL 21903; Bándi 1985, 607, no. 65.
1523	István Perényi, the royal master of the table/stewards orders the following: the vineyard of the monks in the oppidum of Szikszó, on the promontorium called <i>Nyúlmál</i> , exempts from all ninthm census and taxpaying. The vineyard's neighbor on the south was Orsolya, widow of Philep Balázs of Tarcál, on the north by the noble Sylvester of Keresztes.	DL 23862; Bándi 1985, 608, no. 67.
1548	Evocatoriae: Ad instantiam religionis evocator in curiam regiam magnificus Casparus Serédi eo, quod possessionem Kyniz ac domum et curiam in possession Tharczal-Keresztur ad claustrum de Laad spectantes pro se occupasset.	DAP 1, 174
1549	Casparus Serédi summoned in the case of the possession of Kyniz and the allodial house, which he occupied.	DAP 1, 174
1558	The estates of the Gönc and Ruszka monasteries were rented by the market town of Gönc.	DAP 1, 171-76.
1569	Brother Emerich Béla, vicar of Újhely and Sajólád, sold the destroyed (!) mill places of the monasteries for 1000 golden Forints to the principal of the Ónod castle, Peter Panka. In the same year, Brother Emerich sold the whole territory, possessions and incomes of the monastery to Peter Panka.	DAP 1, 171-76.
1635	Emperor Ferdinand authorized count Paul Rákóczi of Felsővadász to buy the territory of the once St Catherine monastery from the heirs of Francis Dóczy. The provison was that in case Paulines would return to that place, he should give both the monastery and the estates to them.	DAP 1, 171-76.

Known priors of the monastery (collected in *Belényesy, Abaúj-Hegyalja*, 48.)

name	date	source
Michael	1402	Bandi, 1985, 701. ,40.
Laurentius	1421	Bándi, 1985, 587.,76.

Anianus	1487	Bándi, 1985, 599., 46.
Petrus	1497	Bándi, 1985, 600., 48.
Urbanus	1502	Bándi, 1985, 602., 51.
Benedictus	1507, 1509	Bándi, 1985, 606., 62.; 607., 65.
Philip	1515	Bándi, 1985, 607., 66.
Gregorius	1551	Iványi, Göncz, 20.

Spatial features and maps

<p>Delineatio praedii Klastrom I(nclito) Comit(tat)ui Abaújváriensi ingremiati</p> <p>Archbishopric Archive of Eger gazd. lt. 152. around 1700</p>	
<p>LiDAR</p>	<p>Fig. 6.3.7-8.</p>
<p>Mappa plagam ad oppidum Heicze Spectantem nec non inclyt(um)...</p> <p>Archbishopric Archive of Eger gazd. lt. 147. around 1700</p>	

6.3.4. Gönc, Holy Virgin Monastery

General data

Administrative ID	Historical Abaúj Co. Diocese of Eger Present-day Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Co.
Geographical Location	In the woods between Gönc and Telkibánya settlements, just below the Aba castle.

Foundation/founder	c. 1360–71, King Louis
Remains / Visibility	Church ruins in the woods are visible, other parts are visible as earthworks. Written sources suggest that at least two phases of construction were done there, the sanctuary (along with the tower to the north) was built in the 1420s, the nave of the church was finished in the end of the 1460s. The size of the nave (internal): 15,8 x 7,4 m.
General literature	Bándi 1985; Joó 2000, 121–141; Belényesy 2004, 95–99; Bodó–Pusztai 2004, 321–348; Pusztai 2006, 139–157; Pusztai 2007, 515–536.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1371-12-08	King Louis gave permission to the monks to build a grinding mill [<i>malieturum</i> (sic! correctly <i>mollietur</i>) <i>molendinum unum</i>] on the river or [more likely] stream that flows through Gönc [<i>per villam Gunch</i>], regardless of the opposition of the royal people [<i>populi nostri</i>]. Georgius Bubek [Bebek] <i>sigillum</i> ! Issued in Fony.	DL 5973; copied in DL 7055, 8812 <i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170; Bándi 1985, 583, no. 4.
	1384-08-21 Queen Maria verified the permission of King Louis on the building of the mill. Issued in Esztergom by the request of Father Domenicus and Blasius ¹⁰⁸² of the St. Laurence monastery at Buda. Issued in Esztergom.	DL 7055; <i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170. Bándi 1985, 584, no. 7.
	1407-01-01 Also verified by King Sigismund, issued in Kassa/Kosice by the request of Johannes frater, prior to the Virgin Mary Monastery at Gönc. (a day before he also issued two charters for the Paulines, see DL 8825, 9156). Issued in Kassa.	DL 8812; Bándi 1985, 586, no. 12.
1383-10-29 – 1384-06-02 – 1406-12-31 – 1419-06-24	Sigismund, the Margrave of Brandenburg ordered Master Thomas, the castellan (<i>burgravius seu castellanus</i>) of Regéc and his successors that no taxes (<i>nona</i> , <i>decima</i> , any <i>tributa</i> or <i>collecta</i>) are allowed to be collected from the Paulines of Gönc monastery (as if they were <i>iobbagiones</i>), otherwise the Queen will be informed. Issued in Nova villa sub castro Bolda. (Boldogkövárálja)	Copied in DL 8825 Bándi 1985, 584, no. 5.
	1384-06-02 (Mother) Queen Elizabeth ordered the castellan of Regéc not to collect ninth (<i>nona</i>) or <i>tributum montis/ ius montanum</i> from the Paulines after the vine harvested from the vineyards of Regéc (<i>in territorio castri</i>). Also, no taxes are allowed to be claimed (now or in the future) after	DL 7088; Copied in DL 8825 Bándi 1985, 671, no. 1.

¹⁰⁸² Maybe this Blasius was elected as the deputy of the general prior in 1394, see Gyöngyösi, *Arcok*, 95.

	the food that is transported for the Paulines. Issued in Buda.	
	1384-06-02 Queen Mary orders Paul, son of Stephen, the castellan of Regéc, Gönc and Boldogkő royal castles and all the subcastellans to exempt the Paulines of paying taxes. The Holy Virgin monastery of the Paulines complained that they had to pay the ninth (<i>nona</i>) of their vine (harvested of their own lands), pay <i>collecta</i> after their mill (<i>domus molendini</i>) or pay <i>census</i> . Issued in Buda.	DL 8825; Bándi 1985, 584, no. 6.
	1406-12-31 /1 King Sigismund orders the castellan and deputy castellan of Regéc not to collect taxes (ninth of vine or <i>ius montanum/terragium</i> , tax of the food) of the Paulines of the Virgin Mary monastery near Gönc, the neighbouring St. Philip and James Monastery, nor from the St. Catherine monastery. Issued in Kassa.	DL 9156; Bándi 1985, 585, no. 10. ZsO 2, 5180.
	1406-12-31 /2 King Sigimund restricts the town of Telkibánya (<i>iudici et iuratis ac universis et singulis civibus civitatis nostre de Thelkybanya</i>) to collect <i>ius montanum</i> or <i>terragium</i> after the vineyards of the Paulines of Virgin Mary, St. Philip and Jacob, and St. Catherine monasteries. Issued in Kassa.	Copied in DL 8825 Bándi 1985, 585-86, no. 11. ZsO 2, 5181.
	1419-04-24 King Sigimund's charter sums up all the privileges concerning the tax paying issues of the Paulines for the royal castellans and Telkibánya, by the request of the Paulines (<i>frater Petrus prior generalis ...et eiusdem ordinis claustrorum beate marie virginis et sancte katherine martyris de prope Guncz necnon litorum? philipi et jacobi apostolorum de Ezen et sancti spiritus de Dedes (!)</i>) Issued in Visegrád.	DL 8825; Bándi 1985, 587, no.15. Inventarium, 69–70; VF Cap, 42; cited in DAP 1, 167-170.;
1412-05-25 (DL 9913) 1412-07-07 (DL 9913) 1412-07-15 (DL 9929)	King Sigismund declared that the castellan of Regéc should not demand anything after the deserted Holy Trinity monastery's properties, like the meadow named <i>Lapohus</i> , from the monasteries of Gönc, Ruzska and Regéc (=Óhuta).	DL 9913, 9929. DAP 3, 308; DAP 1, 171; DAP 2, 310. Bándi 1985, 672-73, no 4–6.
1428-05-08	The town of Telkibánya (<i>Nicolaus dictus Kabishopt iudex, Nicolaus Puderprucz magister montanorum, Johannes Windel, Johannes Grawpeuer, Johannes Pretschupprl, Johannes Polner, Laurencius Ligator lignarius, necnon Johannes notarius iurati cives civitatis</i>	DL 11976 Bándi 1985, 588, no. 19.

	<p><i>Telkybanya</i>) confirms that Johannes Steytgesser sworn to donate one lamp or candle a year in honour of the Virgin Mary (one to the parish church in the town, one to the St Catherine hospital, and one to the Pauline monastery of Virgin Mary) from the proceeds of the vineyard, named Streytgesser, which is situated next to the vineyard of Johannes Stengils of Guncz.</p> <p>The execution of his testament passed to his sister Anna, the wife of Stengils Hammanus (?), and after Anna's death to the soldier (vitéz) Mosticius, and in the meantime the said Pauline monastery did not receive any candles or lamps.</p> <p>Therefore, with the agreement of Andras Sokar, the chaplain and provost of Mosticius, for the spiritual salvation of himself and his relatives, he gave the monastery 15 ropes (<i>funes</i>) of arable land within the boundaries of the town of Telkybania, downstream from the toll-paying place called Vering, near the road from Vywar to <i>Guncz</i>, (half of which he bought from Henry Wildil compensating the monastery for the skipped candle or lamp grant. At the request of Prior Gál on behalf of the monastery, the town confirmed the monastery in possession of 15 bundles of ploughland and certain other lands</p> <p>On the back of the charter a contemporary inscription is read: <i>Item terre arabiles sunt hec: in uno loco sunt 15 funes. Item a parte orientali est secunda terre, in cuius fine in rippa est fons. Item in territorio Gench circa vineam est quarta terra arabilis.</i></p> <p>Also the following are the arable lands: in one place there are 15 <i>funes</i>. Also on the eastern side / to the east is a second piece of land, where at the end of the parcel there is a spring. Also in the territory of Gönc there is a quarter of arable land around the vineyard.</p>	
1429 (before 02-27)	Bishop Nicholas consecrated the sanctuary of the monastery with the main altar and a further altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary, moreover, he granted indulgence for the church.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170.
c. 1402-1430	The testimony of Magister Peter, son of Izsép Ruskai. “Also, the crops in Ruspud (land) he bequeathed to the church of St. Nicholas, or the (Franciscan) cloister of St. Nicholas of Kassa. The crops/grain that were grown near the Cloister of St. Catherine, containing 6 or 7 cords (<i>funes</i>) of wheat, he bequeathed to the same cloister to Saint Katherine,	DL 14900, Bándi 1985, 589, no. 20. (the regesta is wrong in many respects, thus based on the original

	<p>Also in another place he bequeathed 4 or 5 cords (<i>funes</i>) of wheat to the church of the Blessed Virgin of the hermit brothers [Gönc]. All other crops were to be inherited by his wife,</p> <p>Also the church of San Martin inherited 3 tuns of wine, the church of St. Katherine 43 pigs, also for the same church of St. Katherine he bequeathed hundred and fifty forints (of Kassa) along with the obligations of Master Benedictus Zudar, etc.</p> <p>He wished to be buried in the St. Catherine monastery, to which he donated a silver jar, worth 100 Forints. The grain of Zesta was inherited by his wife, but his 3-year-old zeug...horse was for the Virgin Mary Monastery. A steed and a light bay (red) horse should pull his coffin at his funeral procession that is for the St. Catherine ecclesia. His 3-horse chariot was inherited by his wife. The Paulines of Virgin Mary inherited a cow with its calf and 4 pigs. The rest was inherited by his wife.</p> <p>Stephanus, the son of judge Laurence, got a cow with its calf and also 10 slabs (<i>köböl</i>) of grain from his house. His <i>familiaris</i>, Andreas, inherited a cow with a calf.”</p> <p><i>3Line// Item fruges in Ruspud habitas, lego ecclesie sancti Nicolai, 4// seu claustro sancti Nicolai de Cassa. Item fruges aperte Claustra Sancte Katherine satas, sex 5// vel septem funiculos puri tritici continentes, lego eodem claustro sancte Katherine, Item in alio loco 6// IIII vel quinque funiculos segetum de tritico satas, lego ecclesie Beate Virginis fratrorum heremitarum Item 7// alias fruges omnis, domine uxori mee, Item ecclesie Sancti Martini lego III tunellas vini, 8// Item ecclesie sancte Katherine IIII porcos, Item pro eadem ecclesia Sancte Katherine lego exutum et 9//quingenta florenos ad nummenarum conpoti Cassovienses unacum ha() obligatoria magistri Benedicti Zudar dicti...</i></p>	<p>charter, it was corrected here)</p>
1438-05-22	<p>Michael, the priest and subdean of Gönc, Gregorius the priest at Telkibánya and Antonius, the priest of Ruszka testified that Gregorius Cuprar (later Cuprer/Kuprar) <i>civis</i> of Telkibánya showed up in the house of Priest Michael (his stepson, see 1444, DL 13819) and Cuprar testated that a settlement (<i>una villa</i>) called <i>Chechuz</i> within the precinct of Telkibánya is inherited by the monastery of Holy Virgin in Gönc (except one parcel that he wishes to use in his life). The same monastery received his vineyard that was on mount <i>Chater</i> [Sátor], in <i>Sancho</i> [Szántó] on the condition that the monks were obliged to plough it and they gave half of the yield to him while he was alive.</p>	<p>DL 13191; <i>Inventarium</i>, 69–70 Kuprecz (Sic!); cited in DAP 1, 167-170. Bándi 1985, 589, no. 21. (wrong data in the regesta, here corrected)</p>

	His mill (grinding grain and pulses, also timber - <i>lignum</i>) at Telkibánya was also inherited by the Paulines of Holy Virgin after he, his wife and his sister-in-law died.	
	However, see in 6.3.5. Telkibánya: 1444 -11-22; DL 13819; Bándi 1985, 590, no. 22. Gregorius Cuprar left everything to the hospital and <i>via</i> the role of the main donator, which was inherited by his stepson, the Priest Matthias, he inherited everything.. Finally, everything was donated to the Virgin Mary monastery in 1450 and 1459.	
1446-09-19	Emerich Bebek of Pelsőc (Bewbek de Pelschwcz, voivode of Transylvania and <i>comes</i> of Borsod county) donated their part of the mill within the border of Gönc <i>oppidum</i> , on the Bányapataka stream (the one that flows into the direction of Telkibánya). His son, Ladislaus, later confirmed this donation. Issued in castro Wamos. The next day Ladislaus, son of Detre Bebek of Pelsőc (<i>comes palatinus</i>) issued a very same charter. Issued in castro Wamos.	DL 13965; 13966 Inventarium, 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167-170. Bándi 1985, 590, no. 23-24.
1450-07-29 – 1450-08-06– 1450-08-18– 1450-10-06 [1459-06-09]	The priest Matthias, son of Ladislaus Kerek de <i>Syma/Scyna</i> [stepson of Gregorius Cuprer?] donated the neglected (by the inattention of the donators) church of St Catherine in Telkibánya, the hospital (founded by Gregorius Kwprer (=Curper, see 1438) and his brother Konth, <i>civis</i> of Telkibánya, with the approval of Michael bishop of Eger and King Ludovicus I) with <i>Cheches puszta</i> , <i>Waghner</i> vineyard, further of it, in the valley a meadow (<i>prato</i>), also at the end of the valley a mill on the Olcsva (<i>Olchawa</i>) stream with all assets at Telkibánya (a parcel and mill-places in the boundary of the town) to the Holy Virgin monastery. King Matthias verified it in 1471 and Johannes Melchior notarius copied it in 1479. Issued by the Chapter of Eger.	DL 14390; 14391, 14392 Inventarium, 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167-170. Bándi 1985, 590-591, no. 25.
	1450-08-06 Ladislaus Hédervári, the bishop of Eger verified the charter issued by the chapter of Eger (on the donation of Priest Matthias) by the request of Matthias, the monk of the Holy Virgin Monastery. Issued in Eger.	DL 14391, Bándi 1985, 591, no. 26.
	1450-08-18 Ladislaus Pálóczi <i>iudex curiae</i> , issued in Újhely, ordered the installation (by appointed people, Ladislaus de Swthta [Zsujta], Gregorius de Hym, Johannes de Zemere, Stephanus de Kaan <i>homor regius</i>) of the Paulines of the Holy Virgin to all the possessions that were donated by the priest Matthias to them (<i>praedium</i> Chechwz, St.	DL 14397 Bándi 1985, 591, no. 27.

	<p>Catherine hospital at the end of Telkibánya <i>civitatis</i>, Vagner vineyard, the parcel “below” the vineyard and the mill at the end of the valley and all other properties that were in the possession of the priest Matthias after his stepfather, Gregorius Kopprer)</p> <p>By the order of Pálóczi, Ladislaus de Swththa and the priest Petrus (the official of the chapter) fulfilled the installation process in the presence of Petrus de Borsowa, Paulus de Borsowa and Johannes, jury of Telkibánya (<i>iudex civitatis</i>) as neighbors on the nineteenth September</p>	
1450-10-06	The chapter of Jászó verified that they received the charter of Ladislaus Pálóczi.	DL 14396 Bándi 1985, 592, no. 28.
1459-06-09	<p>The Priest Matthias took over the loans of the priest Boniface, in front of the Chapter of Buda; for his and the late Gregorius Koprar’s (earlier Cuprar/Cuprer) salvation he donated <i>Chechewcz praedium</i> to the Paulines at Gönc, along with his <i>curia</i>, 4 parcels (<i>locis sessionalibus</i>), a bath, a complete mill along with other mill places at Bányapathaka, just as it was possessed by Gregorius Koprar and as they were connected to the St. Catherine hospital in Telkibánya <i>oppidum</i>, along with the chapel. In return for his donation the Paulines should have had two masses a week, two remembrance high masses with 9 <i>lectio</i> every year (<i>anniversarium</i>) for the deceased.</p>	DL 15368, Bándi 1985, 593, no. 32.
1471-03-07	<p>King Matthias I issues and verifies the donation of the Priest Matthias (which he took at the chapter of Eger) and orders the Chapter of Jászó to enroll the Paulines in the presence of royal people, Nicolaus ad Sebastian de Swthu, Vince de Rwska, Johannes Kornis de Uwska. Issued on Buda.</p> <p>The St. Catherine hospital is mentioned as it was located at the end of the town, Cheches praedium is mentioned as well as Wagner vineyard, the meadows (prati!) below the vineyard, in the valley; the mill on river Olchawa at the end of the valley.</p>	DL 17177, 14392 Bándi 1985, 594-595, no. 36.
1479-04-12	Johannes Melchior de Szakolca de Ruppis (<i>imperiali autorite publicus</i>) notarius copied it in 1479 by the request of the Priest Matthias. Among the witnesses there was Keresztély Grawpner, who was there when the original testimony of Gregorius Kuprer was written.	DL 13819 Bándi 1985, 595, no. 38.

1450-08-18	The chapter of Jászó installed the monastery into the possession of the mill <i>supra</i> Zsujta, and another <i>supra</i> Gönc.	DL 14397; <i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170. Bándi 1985, 592, 28.
1457	Philip of Pacza with regard to the charter from 1419 confirmed that the monks should not pay <i>uona</i> *	<i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170.
1464	John, Bishop of Moldavia blessed the Virgin Mary church with its seven altars, and allowed having 40-day long indulgence and feast.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170.
1471-03-06	King Matthias ordered the castellans and the juries of Gönc and Telkibánya that <i>terragium</i> and <i>nona</i> should not be collected of the monks, nor collecta after the meadows and hay meadows that had been donated to the monastery by Laurentius de Pros and Gregorius de Gerewen - nor from the monks or the aforementioned donators or their familiars. Issued in Buda.	DL 17175 Bándi 1985, 594, no. 35.
1472-05-22	King Matthias issued an order to forbid the town of Gönc to build any mills, where no mills were before, because they built one, therefore the Paulines lost all their income. They should demolish the mill. Issued at Duda!	DL 17322 Bándi 1985, 595, no. 37.
1485	The chapter of Lelesz verified that Ladislaus Bolczi, son of Nicholas Pyke de Eszény sold his properties in Zada for 200 Forints.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170.
1485	Emericus Szapolyai and King Matthias gave the ninth of his vineyards to the monks, which were at Szántó, Sátor-hegy.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170.
1540	The monks are reported to be poor and in need, therefore, the monastery of Terebes gave them the half of their income from a pasture	<i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170.
1558	The market town of Gönc rented the possessions of the monastery together with the estates and incomes of Göncruszka from Újhely vicariate.	<i>Inventarium</i> , 69–70; cited in DAP 1, 167–170.

Known priors of the monastery (collected in *Belényesy, Abaúj-Hegyalja*, 48.)

name	date	source
Gallus	1428	Bándi, 1985, 588., 19.

*Spatial features and maps**Maps*

LiDAR	Fig. 6.3.20.
Maps of properties	Fig. 6.3.21-31.

Archaeology, Buildings and Earthworks

The first excavation was led by Judit Tamási, who studied the medieval floors of the church via a long, east-west trench she opened in 1990. The complex archaeological research of the tower and the northern wall of the nave was conducted in two terms (1-15 July, 2004, 22 June-19 July, 2005) by Tamás Pusztai, with the assistance of Balázs Bodó, Gábor Szörényi archaeologists, also Andrásné Sáfrány (drawings) and Marcell Balogh (photography). The building was documented by photogrammetry by József Vajda.

6.3.5. Regéc, Holy Trinity Monastery*General data*

Administrative ID	Historical Abaúj Co. Diocese of Eger Present-day Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Co.
Geographical Location	North or northeast to the village of Regéc, in Barátláz-dűlő probably.
Foundation/founder	The date of its foundation and the founders are unknown. Between 1371-1412.
Remains / Visibility	Unlocalized
General literature	Guzsik 1980, 24; Kovács 1987, 124; DAP 3, 308; Bándi 1985; Belényesy 2004, 99–100.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1412-05-25 (DL 9913) 1412-07-07 (DL 9913) 1412-07-15 (DL 9929)	King Sigismund declared that the castellan of Regéc should not demand anything after the deserted Holy Trinity monastery's properties, like the meadow named <i>Lapohus</i> , from the monasteries of Gönc, Ruzska and Regéc (=Óhuta).	DL 9913, 9929. DAP 3, 308; DAP 1, 171; DAP 2, 310. Bándi 1985, 672-73, no 4–6.

6.3.6. Telkibánya, St. Catherine hospital

General data

Administrative ID	Historical Abaúj Co. Diocese of Eger Present-day Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Co.
Geographical Location	Center of today's Telkibánya.
Foundation/founder	Gregorius Kuprer et al., 1340s
Remains / Visibility	Ruins were excavated, the groundplan is visible but only the foundation of the walls.
General literature	Pusztai 2000, 117–34; Pusztai 2004, Belényesy 2004, 99.

Medieval history: written sources

Date	Issue	Source
1367-07-16	King Louis the Great gave permission to the citizens and miners of Telky (represented by Gregorius the <i>urburarius</i> of Telky and Pertold, the juryman of Telky) to found and build a hospital of stone, in their town (on its southern area) in place of an old wooden chapel, dedicated to St. Catherine (<i>glorioso virginis et martiriis Katherine</i>), decided by common will. He declared that this hospital should fall under the approval and authority of the Bishop of Eger. Issued at Visegrád.	Copied in DL 5783 Bándi 1985, 582, no. 1.
1369-04-09	Michaelus, the Bishop of Eger confirmed/approved the right of Telkibánya's inhabitants (represented by the issuer Gregorius Kuprer [the same Gregorius urburarius] and his brother, Koncz urburarius) to build the hospital financed by the issuers. Thus, they became the adoweers of the hospital, whom could choose a proper rector as well. Issued in Eger.	Copied in DL 5783 Bándi 1985, 582-83, no. 2.
1369-06-18	King Louis the Great confirmed his charter of 1367. Gregorius Kuprer, comes et urburarius and Koncz, his brother asked for the re-confirmation of his and the bishop's charter. The charter mentions that the hospital is under construction.	DL 5783; Bándi 1985, 583, no. 3.
1444-11-22	The officials of Telkibánya (Johannes Vendel judex, Urbanus Polner, Gaspar Faber, Stephenus Kreczel <i>jurati cives</i>) prove that Gregorius Cuprer, the legitimate patron of the St. Catherine hospital at the edge of the town testated the followings: his houses, meadows, arable lands, vineyard, mill, mill places (<i>locus molendinum</i>), along with <i>praedium Chegws</i> was given to the hospital of St. Catherine at Telkibánya, while	DL 13819; Bándi 1985, 590, no. 22.

	the ecclesia itself was donated to his stepson, Matthias Priest. He or some other priest appointed by him should took care of it against destruction and it shouldn't fall on the hands of lay people. Matthias also should donate one slab of wheat to the poor on each ember days (<i>ieiunium quatuor temporum</i>).	
1450-07-29	Issued by the Chapter of Eger. The priest Matthias, son of Ladislaus Kerek de Syma/Scyna [stepson of Gregorius Cuprer?] donated the neglected (by the inattention of the donators) church of St Catherine in Telkibánya, the hospital (founded by Gregorius Kwprer and his brother Konth, <i>civis</i> of Telkibánya, with the approval of Michael bishop of Eger and King Louis I) with <i>Cheches puszta</i> , <i>Waghner</i> vineyard, further of it, in the valley a parcel, also at the end of the valley a mill on the Olcsva (<i>Olchawa</i>) stream and all other estates at Telkibánya to the Holy Virgin monastery. King Matthias verified it in 1471 and Johannes Melchior notarius copied it in 1479.	DL 14390; Inventarium, 69–70; cited in DAP I, 167-170. Bándi 1985, 590-591, no. 25.
1450-08-06	Ladislaus Hédervári, the bishop of Eger verified the charter issued by the chapter of Eger (on the donation of Priest Matthias) by the request of Matthias, the monk of the Holy Virgin Monastery.	DL 14391, Bándi 1985, 591, no. 26.
1450-10-06	The chapter of Jászó verified that they received the charter of Ladislaus Pálóczi <i>iudex curiae</i> , issued in Újhely, 1450-08-18 that ordered the installation (by appointed people, Ladislaus de Swthta [Zsujta], Gregorius de Hym, Johannes de Zemere, Stephanus de Kaan <i>homor regius</i>) of the Paulines of the Holy Virgin to all the possessions that were donated by the priest Matthias to them (<i>praedium</i> Chechwz, St. Catherine hospital at the end of Telkibánya <i>civitatis</i> , Vagner vineyard, the meadow “below” the vineyard and the mill at the end of the valley and all other properties that were in the possession of the priest Matthias after his stepfather, Gregorius Kopprer) By the order of Pálóczi, Ladislaus de Swthta and the priest Petrus (the official of the chapter) fulfilled the installation process in the presence of Petrus de Borsowa, Paulus de Borsowa and Johannes, jury of Telkibánya (<i>iudex civitatis</i>) as neighbors on the nineteenth September	DL 14396 DL 14397 Bándi 1985, 591, no. 27; 592, no. 28.
1450	Priest Matthias delegated the patronage of the hospital to the Pauline monastery of Gönc. Later, the same Priest Matthias came into conflict with the Paulines, and it seems that the monks got hold of the hospital after 1471.	DAP I, 167, 249.

Spatial features and maps

Maps

[Mappa territorii possessionis Telki-Bánya...](#)

Hungarian National Archive
Collection of Maps
S 11. No. 155:2.
1784

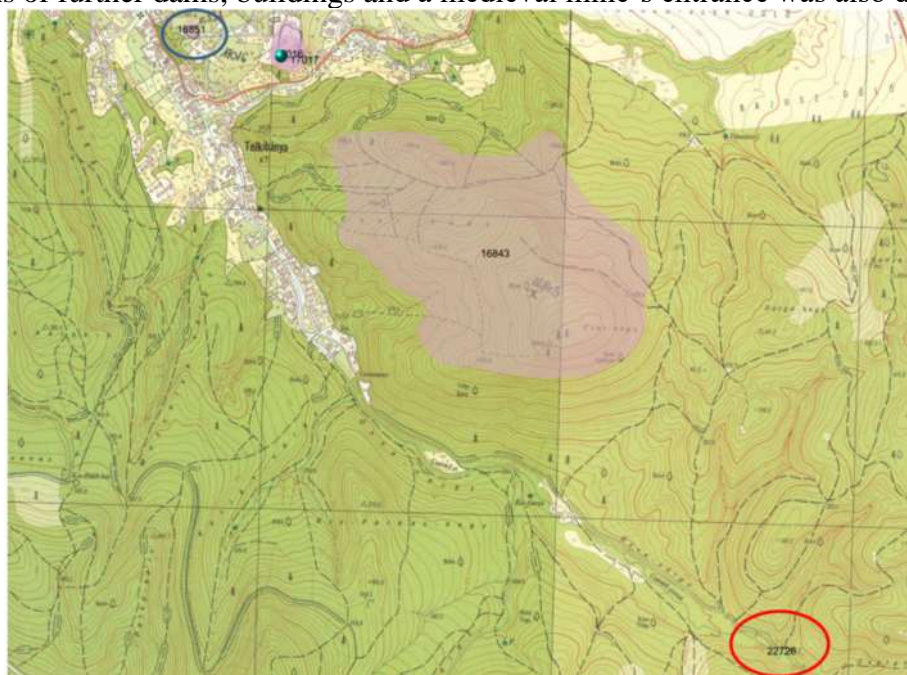


Archaeology, Buildings and Earthworks

Two sites were part of excavations: first the hospital of St. Catherine, where the whole built structure had been revealed in 1997 and 1998 by Tamás Pusztai and his team at the Herman Ottó Museum. The cemetery around the hospital is dated from the late fifteenth century.

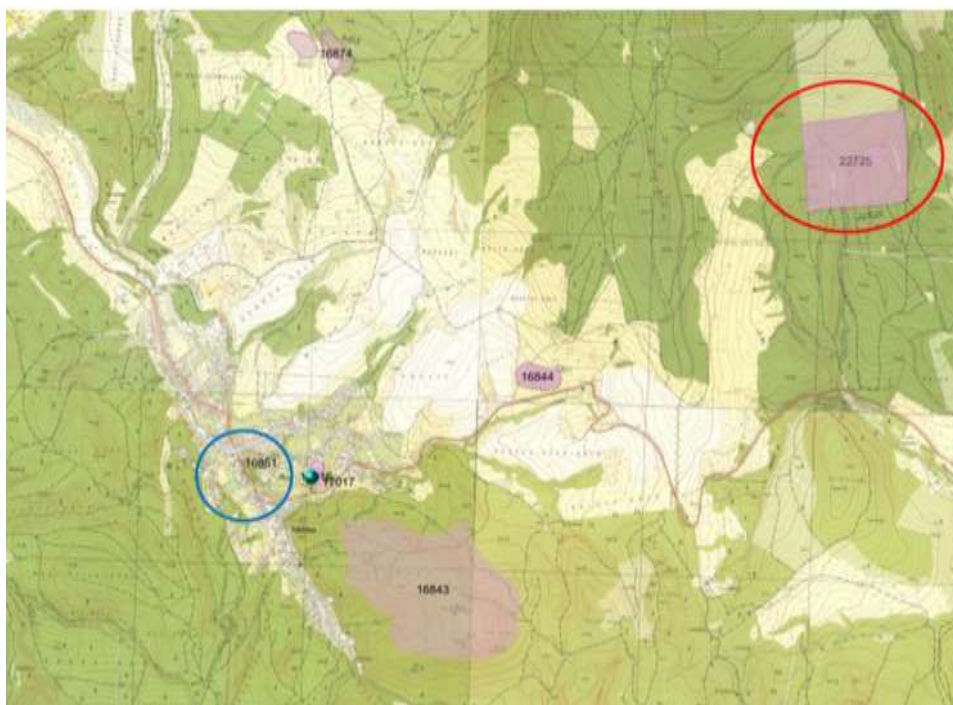
Earthworks: (see maps below)

- a dam on Ósva stream was discovered by Tamás Pusztai, which could be related to one of the mills on the stream, see Chapter 6.3.4. on Mills or Appendix 3/6.3.4. in 1450.
- remains of further dams, buildings and a medieval mine's entrance was also detected.



Dam (Official archaeological site ID: 22726) red circle, Hospital blue circle
48.466407133679, 21.384789390132

<https://arheodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/30359>



Mine, dam, building, (Official archaeological site ID: 22725) red circle. Blue circle: the hospital at Telkibánya
48.501052880448, 21.405649151446

<https://archeodatabase.hnm.hu/hu/node/30353>

APPENDIX 4

Chronology/ The Chronological History of the Order of St. Paul the First Hermit

The 1200s: the golden age of the Hungarian hermitage in the forests of the Mecsek, Pilis and Bakony.

c. 1225: Bishop Bertalan of Pécs gathers and settles the hermits on Jakab-hegy as well as regulates them.

c. 1250: after the Mongol invasion of Europe, Eusebius, Canon of Esztergom, moves to the Pilis and gathers the hermits to form the Pauline Order before founding the Holy Cross Pauline Monastery (currently in Keszthely–Klastrompuszta) which leads to the title of this community, namely the “Hermits of the Holy Cross.”

1263: Bishop Pál of Veszprém regulates the hermits living in his diocese and numbers their communities – this list includes seven Pauline monasteries.

1308–1309: the papal legate Gentile recognizes the Order, bestows the rule of Saint Augustine and grants them their own regulation on behalf of the Pope, so the Order adopts the name of Saint Paul the First Hermit. The Order holds its first general assembly at the main monastery in Szentlőrinc near Buda (currently Szépjuhász né).

1381: the Order moves the relic of Saint Paul the Hermit’s body; meanwhile, the Jasna Góra Monastery in Częstochowa is founded.

1472–1531: the life of the superior general Gergely Gyöngyösi coincides with the flourishing of the Pauline Order at the end of the Middle Ages; it is no coincidence that he is first to write the history of the Order.

From the 1560s to the late 1620s: the Order is in crisis due to the Ottoman expansion and the converted protestant aristocracy, the seat of the superior general moves to Lepoglava in Croatia; Péter Pázmány inspires the Catholic Reformation in the 1620s.

1643: the Vatican endorses the new regulation of the Order founded on the Council of Trent. Dynamic growth follows because of which the Pauline Order becomes one of the most essential orders of monks by the eighteenth century.

1786: Joseph II disbands the Order, takes the wealth of the monasteries and destroys most of their book collections but the Order survives in their monasteries in Częstochowa and Krakow.

1845: Gáspár Kristóffy, the last Pauline Father of Hungarian origin, dies.

1934: the Pauline Fathers return to Hungary, take their place at the Cave Church on Gellért Hill, and establish the center of the Order in Pécs by building the Pauline Church there.

1950: the communist regime disbands all orders, lots of Pauline monks are persecuted because of their association with the Church; the few survivors continued their monastic life in secret.

From 1990 onwards, the secret “Clandestine Paulines” reveal themselves and gradually begin to move back into their monasteries.

Gazetteer

Pauline monasteries

1	Badacsony		
2	Vokány		
3	Baumgarten		
4	Remete	Nizsnij Remety, Ukraine	Ukraine
5	Bodrogsziget	Zmajevac, Croatia	Croatia
7	Buzgó	Budoj, Romania	Romania
8	Csáktornya	Šenkovec	Croatia
9	Kápolna-Bihar	Oradea	Romania
10	Csatka		
11	Csút		
12	Dédesszentlélek		
13	Diósgyőr		
14	Elefánt	Horné Lefantovce	Slovakia
15	Kehida-Elek		
16	Enyere		
17	Eszeny	Javorove	Ukraine
18	Fehéregyháza		
19	Felnémet		
20	Gátalja	Gătaia	Romania
21	Gombaszög	Gombasek	Slovakia
22	Gönc		
23	Göncruszka		
24	Szentmihályköve	Tăuteu	Romania
25	Hangony		
26	Martonyi		
27	Hidegkút		
28	Kaldova-Ópálos	Cladova	Romania
29	Máriacsalád	Velké Lovce	Slovakia
30	Baté		
31	Kiskőszeg	Batin	Croatia
32	Köveskút		
33	Középnémeti		
34	Sajólad		
35	Máriavölgy		
36	Balatonszemes		
37	Mocsár	Močarany	Slovakia
38	Monyorókerék	Eberau	Austria
39	Nagyfalu	Nușfalău	Romania
40	Márianosztra		
41	Örvényeshegy		
42	Jakabhegy		
43	Patlan	Hodișu ?	Romania
44	Pókafalva	Păuca	Romania
45	Porva		
46	Óhuta		

47	Remete	Remeți	Romania
48	Nagyszakácsi		
49	Szalónak	Stadtschlaining	Austria
50	Sáska		
51	Fugyi	Fughiu	Romania
52	Szentjobb	Sâniob	Romania
53	Klastrompuszta		
54	Olasz		
55	Pilisszentlászló		
56	Pilisszentlélek		
57	Budaszentlőrinc		
58	Szentpál		
59	Szentpéter		
60	Szerdahley		
61	Székelyháza	Sâncraiu de Mureș	Romania
62	Tálod		
63	Terebes	Trebišov	Slovakia
64	Kishódos		
65	Tokaj		
66	Karád		
67	Toronyalja		
68	Tüskevár		
69	Újháza		
70	Újhely		
71	Ungvár	Uzshorod	Ukraine
72	Uzsa		
73	Varannó	Vranov nad Toplou	Slovakia
74	Vállus		
75	Vázsony		
76	Veresmart		
76	Vetahida		
77	Vetahida		
78	Villye	Vovkove	Ukraine
79	Visegrád		
80	Sopronbánfalva	Wondorf	Hungary
81	Szalánkemén	Stari Slankamen	Serbia
82	Zsámbék		
83	Beckó	Beckov	Slovakia
84	Dömös		
85	Henye		
86	Regéc		
87	Kács		
88	Kapi		
89	Kenderes		
90	Pilup		
91	Telkibánya		
92	Patlan2	Hodișu ?	Romania
93	Ürög		
94	Sokorópátka		
95	Kisoroszi		

97	Bakva	Špišić Bukovica	Croatia
98	Dobrakutya	Dobra Kuća	Croatia
99	Dubica	Dubica	Croatia?
100	Garics	Mikleuska/Bela Crvka	Croatia
101	Kamensko		Croatia
102	Zagreb-Remete		Croatia
103	Pavlin Klostár		Croatia
104	Zlatkagora		Croatia
105	Lepoglava		Croatia
106	Gospic/Basna		Croatia
108	Cepic		Croatia
109	Crkvenica		Croatia
110	Modrus		Croatia
111	Novi vidolski		Croatia
112	Senj 1-2		Croatia
113	Sv. Petar u Sumi		Croatia

Settlements mentioned in the dissertation in Hungarian, but located in another country

Zemplén	Zemplín	Slovakia
Lelesz	Leles	Slovakia
Szepesi	Moldava nad Bodvou	Slovakia
Jászó	Jasov	Slovakia
Kassa	Košice	Slovakia
Pozsony	Bratislava	Slovakia
Nyitra	Nitra	Slovakia
Kolozsvár	Cluj-Napoca	Romania