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# DER PAULINERORDEN

GESCHICHTE – GEIST – KULTUR



MŰVELŐDÉSTÖRTÉNETI MŰHELY  
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# DER PAULINERORDEN

## GESCHICHTE – GEIST – KULTUR

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LÁSZLÓ HOLLER

A NEW INTERPRETATION ON THE FORMATION-PROCESS  
OF THE PAULINE ORDER.  
SOME REMARKS ON A CHARTER OF PAUL,  
BISHOP OF VESZPRÉM DATED 1263

*Abstract*

All the historians of the Pauline order considered this charter as the earliest surviving document from the initial phase of the order's formation. It was issued in the year 1263 by Paul, bishop of Veszprém, and the text is preserved by Gregory Gyöngyösi's *Vitae fratrum eremitarum ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremitaе*. The present paper discusses some questions in connection with this diploma.

In the first part, the author locates two of the monasteries mentioned in the charter, both of which were unidentified until recently. Namely, *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae* is identical with the surviving ruins of a 13th century small church in Révfülöp, Veszprém county, on the shore of Lake Balaton, and *Idegsyt Beatae Elizabeth* is located in the northern part of present-day settlement Hidegkút, in the Bakony forest, also in Veszprém county. In connection with the first identification, the origin of the hitherto unexplained expression of Gyöngyösi's text, namely *insula Pilis* is explained.

The second part of the study offers a new interpretation concerning the background and the purpose of the charter. According to this, Eusebius, who was the founder of the monastery of The Holy Cross in the Pilis Mountains and thus considered to be the founder of the Pauline order, tried to unite the eremites under his own leadership in the frame of the Augustine order and to become independent from the Veszprém diocese. He visited pontiff Urban IV in 1262, to promote his plans. Paul's charter is a reaction to the pope's letter and its aim was to hold back Eusebius's ambition to become independent of the bishopric authority.

INTRODUCTION

The present paper addresses some problems in connection with a diploma, issued by Paul, bishop of Veszprém in the year 1263. Neither the original nor a direct copy of this charter has survived: its text is known exclusively from the work written by friar and later *prior provincialis* Gregory Gyöngyösi (the Christian name: Gregorius in Latin, Gergely in Hungarian) on the history of the Pauline order: *Vitae fratrum eremitarum ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremitaе*. Gyöngyösi visited about eighty monasteries of his order around 1520, and has collected all available data on their history, privileges and real estates. His notes constitute the so-called famous '*Green Book*';<sup>1</sup> which codex is preserved in the manuscript collection of the University Library of

<sup>1</sup> Inventarium privilegiorum omnium et singularium domorum Ordinis Heremitarum Sancti Pauli primi heremite. "*Liber viridis*", Cod. Lat. 115. Budapest, Egyetemi Könyvtár.

Budapest now. He based his comprehensive historical work of the Pauline order written between 1522 and 1526, to a great extent on these notes. Although there is no reference to Paul's charter in the *Green Book* itself, Gyöngyösi certainly had a copy, and he included it in his work. A careful analysis reveals that the final source of all presently known manuscripts or printed versions of that diploma is Gyöngyösi's historical work. The critical edition of *Vitae fratrum* was published in 1988 by Ferenc Hervay.<sup>2</sup> This includes the evolution graph<sup>3</sup> of all surviving manuscripts; with a codex from before 1603 being the oldest one among them.<sup>4</sup> In the middle of the 20th century, an even older manuscript existed and was used by Elemér Mályusz, who gave a short description of that codex in a publication on the Pauline order.<sup>5</sup> According to his opinion, that was Gyöngyösi's own copy. Fortunately some pictures of some of the critical sections of that older manuscript have survived allowing for the analysis of the evolution of the text, and helping us to answer a hitherto unexplained strange expression, as it will be discussed later on.

#### THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF PAUL'S CHARTER

The summary of the charter's text is the following. Paul, bishop of Veszprém, chancellor of the Hungarian Queen salutes all believers in Christ. The superior (*provincialis*), other provosts and eremite friars from different places of the diocese, asked the supreme pontiff, pope Urban to allow them to turn from the lifestyle of seclusion to a life governed by the Augustine regulations. The supreme pontiff received their request piously and in a letter he ordered the bishop of Veszprém to give permission to them to live according to these regulations in case they can rely on a sufficient financial background, moreover, if this decision will not harm anyone else's rights, according to the bishop's judgement.

The bishop, to comply with the supreme pontiff's order, carefully examined whether the friars have appropriate financial background to keep these regulations, but he did not find it a sufficient one. After having discussed it with the Chapter and having made a careful consideration, the bishop decided that the friars should serve the Lord in the existing monasteries according to the eremite lifestyle, and must not interfere with the bishop's orders or with anyone else's rights.

The charter describes the regulations the friars are expected to follow. Concerning the prayers the bishop orders them to follow the Augustine regulations. After describing some further regulations and expectations, the charter gives a lists of the monasteries licensed to exist in the future. (Although it was not clear for some centuries, whether the list includes seven or eight, or possibly even nine settlements, it is now unambiguously known that the following seven monasteries are listed.)

<sup>2</sup> *Gregorius Gyöngyösi: Vitae fratrum eremitarum ordinis Sancti Pauli primi eremitaie*. Ed. *Franciscus L. Hervay*. Budapest, 1988 (abbreviated: *Vitae fratrum*). The text of the diploma is in Chapter 10, pp. 43–45.

<sup>3</sup> Called 'stemma' in the former literature.

<sup>4</sup> University Library of Budapest: Ab 151/c. The critical edition uses the notation UC.

<sup>5</sup> *Elemér Mályusz: A pálosrend a középkor végén*. In: *Egyháztörténet* 3 (1945) 12, note 28.

1. Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae,
2. Kewkwth Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae,
3. Bokon Sancti Jacobi,
4. Idegsyt Beatae Elizabeth,
5. Bodochun Sancti Emerici,
6. Insula prope Ermenyes: Elek Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae,
7. Zakach Sancti Dominici.

As a concluding sentence, the bishop adds: Any other monasteries of friars in our diocese is under excommunication from now on. Finally the year of issue is given: 1263.

#### GYÖNGYÖSI'S REMARKS TO THE CHARTER

The text is followed by Gyöngyösi's important remarks. He mentions that Benedict, bishop of Veszprém issued a confirmative diploma in 1291, listing the names of the monasteries as follows: "*in Pilisio ecclesia Sanctae Crucis, Sancti Ladislai in Kekes, Insula Pilup etc.*" Later the same year, Lodomer, archbishop of Esztergom confirmed the aforementioned permissions.

The next short remark by Gyöngyösi gives a cross-reference: see further details from around the year 1327. And indeed, he discusses some charters of pontiff John XXII later in his work.<sup>6</sup> Although Gyöngyösi makes no direct reference, but we know from other sources that one of pope John XXII's charters did have a reference on Eusebius's request to his predecessor Urban IV.<sup>7</sup>

Gyöngyösi finally remarks that in 1262 Eusebius, the *prior provincialis* went to pope Urban IV, asking for the permission to follow the Augustine regulations. Gyöngyösi adds: It is said that Saint Thomas of Aquino was helping him at the supreme pontiff's court.

#### LOCALIZATION OF *INSULA PILUP SANCTAE HELENAE*

As Gyöngyösi's treatise is the only source mentioning *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae*, the identification proved to be difficult. The word *insula* made the expression even more enigmatic. Several identification attempts were made during the last 375 years. The first of them can be found in Péter Pázmány's work, published in 1629, identifying the place with the monastery of Saint Helen in Zengg<sup>8</sup> (today Senj in Croatia) founded

<sup>6</sup> Vitae fratrum (See in note 2) cap. 21, p. 61.

<sup>7</sup> Georgius Fejér: Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis (abbreviated in later references as: Fejér: CD) Vol. VIII/3, 246–248. See also: Stephanus Katona: Historia critica, Vol. VIII, 586; István Katona: A kalocsai érseki egyház története. Transl. to the Hungarian by József Takács, Vol. I, Kalocsa, 2001. Section CCIX, p. 198.

<sup>8</sup> [Péter Pázmány:] Acta et decreta synodi dioecesanæ Strigoniensis, autoritate illustrissimi ac reverendissimi domini Petri Pazmany archiepiscopi Strigoniensis, celebratæ Tyrnaviæ anno Domini MDCXXIX. die IV. Octobris et sequentibus. Pozsony, 1629 (RMK II. 454; RMNy 1448.) Appendix secunda, De religiosis ordinibus, qui olim in Hungaria floruerunt. Ordo Eremitarum S. Pauli Primi Eremitæ, 122–128. The identification: p. 125. A modern edition of this work: Pazmany, Petrus: Opera omnia VI. Budapest, 1904. 567–671, rec.: Georgius Demkó.

in 1390.<sup>9</sup> At the turn of the preceding millennium, the general belief was that *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae* is identical with the monastery of The Holy Cross in Pilis.<sup>10</sup> This identification was first articulated by Ferenc Hervay in 1976.<sup>11</sup> It required some speculation identifying the patrocini-um of *Saint Helen* with *The Holy Cross*, identifying *Pilup* with *Pilis*, and including some unnatural explanations of the word *insula*.

The main steps of the identification of *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae* with the surviving ruins of a 13th century small church in present-day township *Révfülöp* in Veszprém county, on the northern shores of Lake Balaton are the following.<sup>12</sup>

The special name-form *Pilup* is practically non-existent in other Hungarian sources, either as a personal name<sup>13</sup> or as a place name.<sup>14</sup> This leads to the hypothesis that it is a corrupt form of the personal name *Philip* (*Fülöp* in Hungarian). The name comes from the Latin *Philippus*, a very popular personal name in Hungary during the Árpád era,<sup>15</sup> especially in the time of the preparation of Paul's diploma.<sup>16</sup> There are also some cases, when the Latin ending has been left off and the name reads *Philip*.<sup>17</sup>

The *Pilip*, *Pylip* and *Pilyp* forms appear as place names in some diplomas in the 13th and 14th centuries. Two important examples are the two testaments of *ispan* (i.e. baron) Sol: when describing the same estate, *Pilyp* is mentioned in the year 1227, and *Pilup* in 1221, respectively.<sup>18</sup> If we consider this last form a corrupt version of *Pilyp*, it can be easily explained by palaeographical reasons. By examining the other place names of the diplomas mentioning any form of *Pilyp*, it turns out that all refer to the same location: a place, that can be identified with the present-day *Révfülöp*, situated at the northern shore of Lake Balaton. The first part of the name *rév* means ferry-port. Lake Balaton is relatively narrow here, making it suitable for a ferry crossing. The posterior constituent retains the old name *Pilyp* as *Fülöp* in its present form.

<sup>9</sup> Vitae fratrum 230, Appendix II (see in note 2).

<sup>10</sup> Some examples from the literature between 1990 and 2000, representing this view: *József Török: Szerzetes- és lovagrendek Magyarországon*. Budapest, 1990. 88; *József Török: Pálosok*. Budapest, 1996. (Szerzetesrendek a Kárpát-medencében) 26; *András Mező: A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben* (11–15. század). Budapest, 1996. 89, under the patron-name *Szenti Ilona*; *György Györffy: Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*. Vol. IV. Budapest, 1998. 699–700, under *Szentkereszt*; tacit agreement with this identification by Lajos Kiss: *Lajos Kiss: Györffy György: Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajzának IV. kötetéről*. Magyar Nyelv 95 (1999) 9–25.

<sup>11</sup> *Documenta artis Paulinorum*. Fasc. 2. Eds: *Béla Gyéressy – Ferenc Hervay*. Budapest, 1976. 400. The same identification is to be found in the index of Fasc. 3, 368.

<sup>12</sup> The detailed reasoning with all the references and the analysis of further conclusions: *László Holler: A veszprémi püspök egy 1263. évi okleveléről*. In: *Decus Solitudinis – Pálos Évszázadok*. Budapest, 2007 (Művelődéstörténeti Műhely. Rendtörténeti konferenciák 4/1) 121–133.

<sup>13</sup> Merely two cases are known, both for the slightly different name-form *Philup*: *Katalin Fehértói: Árpád-kori személynévtár* (1000–1301). Budapest, 2004. 640; *Fejér: CD* (See in note 7) Vol. VIII/1, 451, No. 209, from the year 1312.

<sup>14</sup> One single exception is a testament from 1221: *Fejér: CD* (See in note 7) Vol. II/1, 325–328. This place will turn out to be identical with the location mentioned in Paul's charter.

<sup>15</sup> In Fehértói's treatise about 75 cases are documented. *Katalin Fehértói: Árpád-kori személynévtár* (1000–1301). Budapest, 2004. 638–639, under *Philippus*.

<sup>16</sup> In 1263 the archbishop of Esztergom, the bishop of Vác, even the cup-bearer to the king bore the name *Philippus*. *Franz Zimmermann – Karl Werner: Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*. I. Hermannstadt, 1892. 260.

<sup>17</sup> 1244: *Gusztáv Wenzel: Árpád-kori új okmánytár* Vol. 7, Pest 1868, 180, No. 116; 1257: *Fejér: CD* (See in note 7) Vol. IV/2, 425; 1272: *Gusztáv Wenzel: Árpád-kori új okmánytár* Vol. 7, Pest, 1868. 50, No. 49.

<sup>18</sup> *Fejér: CD* (See in note 7) Vol. III/2, 106; *Fejér: CD* (See in note 7) Vol. III/1, 327.

One of the testaments, namely the one written in 1221, describing the heritage of Sol's third daughter, Helbrung, reads as follows: "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."<sup>19</sup> This shows that the monastery of *Beatae Helenae* existed there already in 1221, four decades before Paul's charter was written!

The unexpected word *insula* is still to be explained. Taking into consideration the multidisciplinary results concerning the changes of water-levels of Lake Balaton during the last millennia,<sup>20</sup> one can state with certainty that the water level raised to a maximum of 107.50 m above the Adriatic Sea 750 years ago, i.e. it was about two and a half meters higher than today. (Nowadays the water level is kept between 104.7–105.0 m above the Adriatic Sea.) Consequently, the southern small hill of Révfülöp, close to the lake itself, was a small island at that time. Actually that part of the village is called *Sziget* (Island),<sup>21</sup> and the beach as *Szigeti-strand* (Island Beach)<sup>22</sup> even today. And on that plot, on that small hill the preserved ruins of a small church from the Árpád era are found.

These ruins are known in the archaeological literature. As far as I know, the first archaeological survey was made by Flóris Rómer in 1861. His description of the ruins appeared in a publication 15 years later. According to his description, the ruins were on a slightly ascendant *island*. Judging by the round, carved red marble gate he dates the ruins to the end of the 13th century.<sup>23</sup> We should admire Rómer's professionalism to suspect that the ruins were on an island in the past.

I will now refer to Remig Békefi's short description of the ruins dated 1907. According to him, the ruins are situated right on the shore of Lake Balaton. The characteristically roman church dates back to the 13th century. He gives two photos showing the ruins at the beginning of the 20th century<sup>24</sup> (Pictures 1 and 2). I include two recent photos of the carefully preserved ruins (Pictures 3 and 4).

Our discussion requires some further remarks at this point.

By our identification, *Révfülöp* became the earliest known chapel of eremites in Hungary among those that were not attached to any of the well-known foreign orders.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Fejér*: CD (See in note 7) Vol. III/1, 325–328. The quotation is on p. 327. See also: *Imre Szentpétery*: Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Regesta regem stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica Vol. I. Budapest, 1923. 123, No. 371.

<sup>20</sup> *László Bendefy – Imre V. Nagy*: A Balaton évszázados partvonalváltozásai. Budapest, 1969; *Árpád Virág*: A Balaton múltja és jelene. Budapest, [1998]; *Tibor Tullner*: A Balaton vízszintváltozásai – földtudományi adatbázisának térinformatikai feldolgozása tükreben. Doktori értekezés. Budapest, 2002.

<sup>21</sup> *Tibor Koppány*: A Balaton-Felvidék románkori templomai. A Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 1 (1963) 102–103.

<sup>22</sup> On the No. 43-341, segment of the National Survey of 1981 (scale 1 : 10 000).

<sup>23</sup> *Flóris Rómer*: Román- és átmenetkoru építmények hazánk területén (Szemelvények jegyzőkönyveimből), *Archaeologiai Közlemények* 10 (new series Vol. 7) (1876/2) 13.

<sup>24</sup> *Remig Békefi*: A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban (A Balaton tudományos tanulmányozásának eredményei, Vol. 3: A Balaton környékének társadalmi és embertani földrajza, Part 1: A Balatonmellék történelme, Section 3), Budapest 1907, 173–174, the pictures are on pages 172 and 173.

<sup>25</sup> Till now the earliest known chapel of eremites was *Patach (Ürög)* founded in 1225. See: *Vitae fratrum* 228, Appendix II (see in note 2).



I found two diplomas which can shed some light on the date up until when the monastery was situated on an island and on the date from about when the small hill became part of the shore. A diploma dating back to 1360 rewrites some parts of an earlier one dated 1330. In the 1330 text, describing an estate's borders, *Szigetrév* is mentioned,<sup>26</sup> it means *Island-port*. In another diploma written in 1389, the same place mentioned as *Hajórév*<sup>27</sup> i.e. *Ship Port*. Consequently, it was some time between 1330 and 1389 when the level of the lake decreased inasmuch as the hill lost its island-character.

I must also mention the following interesting observation here. The former identification of *Insula Pilup* in the *Pilis* Mountains was partly motivated by the expression *insula Pilis*, appearing in Gyöngyösi's work twice. A careful analysis of the surviving manuscripts, compared to some pictures showing details of the presently missing oldest codex reveal that the origin of this strange expression must have been *in sylvia Pilis*. This observation attests that the Latin *sylvia* was a translation of a Hungarian word with the meaning not only 'forest' but also 'mountain' in the 13th century. A further conclusion is that although the missing codex might have been in Gyöngyösi's possession, it certainly was not the original first manuscript of his work.

Another question is to be addressed is as follows: why are only three monasteries are listed in the 1291 charter of Benedict, mentioned by Gyöngyösi just after Paul's diploma. The explanation is the following. First the newly acknowledged monasteries are mentioned, namely The Holy Cross in Pilis and Saint Ladislau in Kékes, and these two were followed by the ones mentioned already in Paul's charter. Merely the first two words of that former list are given by Gyöngyösi, namely *Insula Pilup*, and he writes *etc.* indicating that the list goes on as discussed above.

#### LOCALIZATION OF *IDEGSYT BEATAE ELIZABETH*

The only appearance of this monastery is in bishop Paul's charter and it resisted all identification attempts until now. In a book published in 2003, the author describes four conceivable identification<sup>28</sup>, all different from the one presented here.

The localization is based on topographical, archaeological, and above all on linguistic data. My conclusion is that *Idegysyt Beatae Elizabeth* was once situated around a spring to the north of and close to the present-day village *Hidegkút* in the Bakony Mountains, in Veszprém county. From the topographical point of view this location fits all requirements or characteristics of early eremites-settlements, as described by Ferenc Hervay.<sup>29</sup> According to archaeological research taken place on the flat plateau above the spring, some 12–13th century ceramics-fragments were found – as one can

<sup>26</sup> Imre Nagy – Dezső Véghely – Gyula Nagy (eds): Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár. Vol. 1, 1024–1363. Budapest, 1886. 606–612, No. 384. "via que progredetur de Balatino de loco qui diceretur Zygethrew, ..." p. 609.

<sup>27</sup> Imre Nagy – Dezső Véghely – Gyula Nagy (eds): Zala vármegye története. Oklevéltár. Vol. 2, 1364–1498. Budapest, 1890. 237–238, No. 83. "et duo eorumdem prope dictum lacum Balatin vulgariter Hayorew dictum adiacerent," p. 237.

<sup>28</sup> Tamás Guzsik: A pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon. Budapest, 2003. 45–47.

<sup>29</sup> Ferenc Hervay: A pálos rend elterjedése a középkori Magyarországon. In: Éva H. Balázs – Erik Fügedi – Ferenc Maksay (eds): Mályusz Elemér Emlékkönyv. Budapest, 1984. 170.

read in the appropriate volume of the Archaeological Topography of Hungary. No actual ruins were found there, but according to the archaeologists, it was probably the site of an old church from the Árpád era.<sup>30</sup>

The linguistic argumentation includes several steps, all of them require detailed documentation and reasoning.<sup>31</sup> I omit them here, giving just the frame of the reasoning. The old Hungarian word *séd* means 'small river' or 'stream', and is a living word in Veszprém county, on the north shore of the Balaton. This word appears in place names too, sometimes in the compound form of *Hidegséd* i.e. 'cold stream'. It can be shown, that such place names as *Hidegséd* and *Hidegkút* interchangeably appear, the last one means 'cold well'. Also, some old Hungarian words have forms with or without the initial letter *h*, this leads to the conclusion that the first part *ideg-* of the place name *Idegsyt* can be identified with *hideg*, i.e. 'cold'. On the other hand, the word *séd* has well-documented forms with vowel *í* instead of *é*, and final consonant *t*, instead of *d*. The overall conclusion is that *Idegsyt* identical with *Hidegkút*.

An interesting question: what has happened to the eremite-settlement, why do not we have any further information on it. The answer is given by a diploma from 1318.<sup>32</sup> We learn from this charter that there was an ecclesia of Saint George in Hidegkút of a considerable size that time. This fact practically precludes the existence of an eremite-settlement in the same place. But the charter mentions friars of The Holy Cross living in the forest at Szárberény, some 15–20 km distance from Hidegkút. My conclusion is that after Hidegkút has been developed in size and in number of inhabitants, the eremites moved to Szárberény, a more isolated location.

#### ON THE SIGNIFICANCE AND BACKGROUND OF BISHOP PAUL'S CHARTER

Bishop Paul's charter bears immense significance from a historical point of view. This is the earliest full-text document quoted by Gregory Gyöngyösi, and it is referred to by some later sources too. It lists some early monasteries not mentioned in any other written source, and if interpreted properly, it gives an insight into the development of the Pauline order from the very beginning.

To understand the real purpose of this diploma, our starting point is the stunning observation that the monastery of The Holy Cross in the Pilis Mountains (*ecclesia Sanctae Crucis*) founded by Eusebius is missing from the list of the monasteries licensed to function. According to Gyöngyösi's account, it existed already in 1263. As it does appear in the 1291 list prepared by Benedict, bishop of Veszprém, it belonged to the Veszprém diocese at that time – and with all certainty this was the case also in

<sup>30</sup> Magyarország régészeti topográfiája, Vol. 2. Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A veszprémi járás. Budapest, 1969. 107–108.

<sup>31</sup> The detailed reasoning with all the references and an analysis of further conclusions were published in 2009: *László Holler: Egy XIII. századi remetekápolna – Idegsyt Beatae Elizabeth – lokalizálása. Nyelvészeti vizsgálatok a séd és kút szavak körében.* (The localization of a 13th-century chapel of hermits: *Idegsyt Beatae Elizabeth*. An analysis of *séd* 'creek' and *kút* 'spring, well') Magyar Nyelv 105 (2009) 17–29, 188–202.

<sup>32</sup> *L. Bernát Kumorovitz: Veszprémi regeszták. Regesta litterarum ad episcopatum et capitulum ecclesiae Veszprimensis pertinentium (1301–1387).* Budapest, 1953 (Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II, Forráskiadványok, 2) 47–49, No. 90.

1263. What could the reason of such an omission be? Why did Eusebius's monastery not get the bishop's approval in 1263?

According to all former explanations, bishop Paul did not find the financial background sufficient to approve to following the Augustine rules. But studying the charter's text three important questions should be raised.

— As the example of *Insula Pilup Sanctae Helenae* shows, eremites had lived on the same place for more than four decades at that time, certainly having churches and residences. It does not seem reasonable to think that the eremites really missed a sufficient material background.

— Compared to the final negative decision, bishop Paul's instruction for the friars to observe the Augustine regulations seems somewhat contradictory. According to the charter, as far as the chanting order is concerned, they must observe the codes and rules kept by the canonists in the cathedrals, who follow Augustine regulations.

— The strict prohibition of founding further monasteries seems surprising and inexplicable. The charter reads: The number of monasteries can not be increased. And even further on: All the non-listed monasteries of the aforementioned friars in our diocese are *under excommunication* from now on.

Let us take a closer look at the first section of the diploma. It reads as follows: "Ad universorum notitiam tenore praesentium volumus pervenire, quod accedens ad pedes sanctissimi patris et domini nostri Urbani, Dei gratia sacrosantae Romanae ecclesiae summi pontificis dilecti filii *provincialis et alii priores* ac fratres heremitae diversorum locorum nostrae diaecesis, supplicarunt, ut eis regulam beati Augustini, ad quam de cultu heremitico se transfere cupiebant, concedere dignaretur." This wording clearly indicates that a hierarchical organization already existed and extended to the monasteries of the Veszprém diocese.

Let us compare these words with Gyöngyösi's remarks appearing after the text: "Alibi scriptum est, quod anno Domini 1262 *Eusebius supradictus prior provincialis* assumptis secum quibusdam fratribus adiit Urbanum quartum, petitque eis dari regulam beati Augustini." By comparing the diploma with Gyöngyösi's remark, we conclude that the *provincialis* mentioned in Paul's charter was Eusebius himself, head of the monastery founded in the forests of the Pilis Mountains. I suppose, he obtained the support of the priors of some other monasteries in the Veszprém diocese, and considering his former prestigious rank of *canonist* of the Esztergom archiepiscopal see, he was elected to the post of *prior provincialis*. And he visited the pontiff in this capacity.

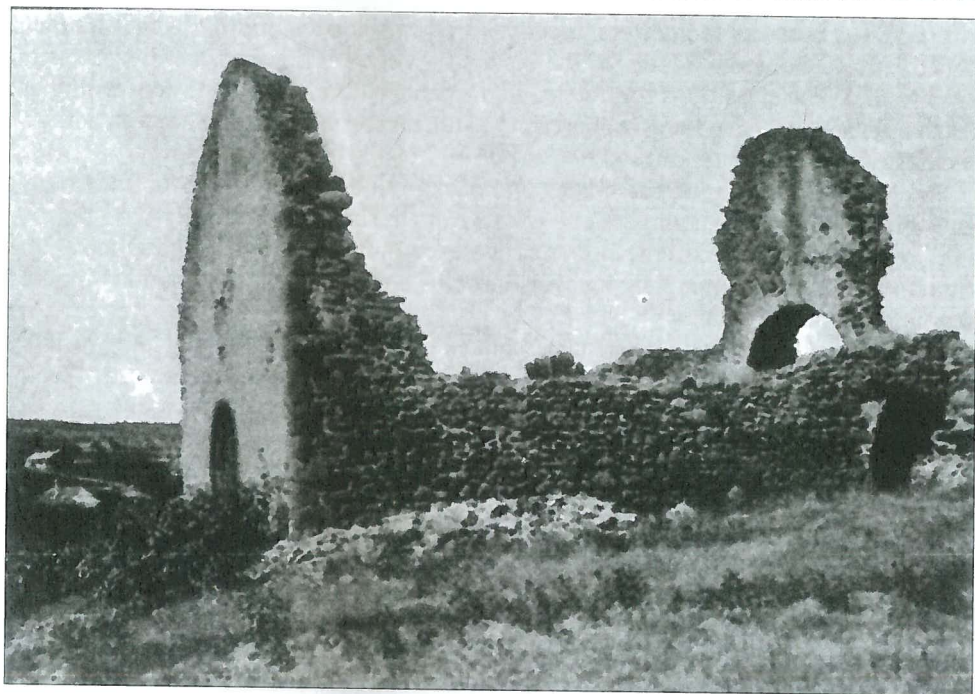
Some years before this visit, in 1256, Urban IV's predecessor, Alexander IV has made an attempt to unify the different eremite communities living under very different circumstances and following different regulations under an umbrella of the Augustine order. According to my opinion, the primary aim of Eusebius's visit to the papal court was to receive the pontiff's approval to become prior *provincialis* of those monasteries in the Veszprém diocese – or even maybe in the whole country –, that were not connected to any of the well-organized foreign orders already functioning in Hungary, such as the Benedictine or Cistercian orders. His aim was to gain exemption and independence from the bishopric authority for the monasteries in the Veszprém diocese. Further on, he was probably seeking a pontifical endorsement for himself to direct the unification process of the monasteries in Hungary under the Augustine rule.

Eusebius could not realise such a goal at the pope's court. Although pontiff Urban might have received the request with benignity, he had a cautious reaction, as he very

probably did not want to interfere directly with the bishop's authority. As a solution to this dilemma, he wrote a letter to the bishop of Veszprém, giving the final decision over to him. The conditions formulated in the papal letter, like the one concerning the financial background, gave an opportunity to the bishop to refuse the request, and – as we have seen –, he really did so.

According to my mind, the conceptual background of Paul's charter was to halt Eusebius's attempt of gaining independence from the bishop's authority. This reasoning could explain the extreme rigour of the excommunication threat. I suppose, the threat was directed principally against Eusebius's relatively newly founded monastery in the Pilis Mountains.

But neither Eusebius nor his successors ever abandoned their plan. As we learn from Gyöngyösi's historical treatise, three decades later both Benedict, bishop of Veszprém and Lodomer, archbishop of Esztergom recognised the monastery of The Holy Cross in the Pilis. Later in 1308, Gentilis, the pope's representative gave the permission to the eremites of the monastery The Holy Cross to live according to the Augustine rules. And after a long process lasting for more than a century, Eusebius' original plan reached its climax in a modified form: in 1367 pope Urban V recognized and approved the only religious order founded in Hungary: the independent Pauline order.



The ruins of the Révfülöp church dating back to the Árpád era on two photos from the beginning of the 20th century (*Remig Békefi: A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban.* Budapest, 1907)



The preserved ruins of the Révfülöp church from the Árpád era on two photos from the beginning of the 21st century (Zoltán György Horváth – Béla Gondos: *A Balatontól a Bakonyig: Veszprém megye középkori templomai a teljesség igényével.* Budapest, 2005)