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Notes on the Pauline Connection between Buda and Kraków in the Middle Ages

Any attempt to understand the connection between the Pauline monasteries of Hungary and Poland must start at the St Lawrence Monastery (Budaszentlőrinc) in Hungary and Częstochowa, the earliest Pauline monastery of Poland, one that was originally populated by Hungarian monks.

The monastery of Czeszochowa was founded by Duke Ladislaus of Opole in 1382,¹ and its revered icon, the Black Madonna, was also donated by him. The new monastery was populated by Hungarian monks, who were taken there by Hedwig (1384–1399), the daughter of King Louis the Great (King of Hungary: 1342–1382, King of Poland: 1370–1382).² The radiation of the Pauline ideals and practices led to further foundations. Regarding medieval Pauline history in Hungary, the only available source is *Vitae fratrum*, compiled in the 1520s by Gregory Gyöngyösi (prior of the Pauline monastery in Rome between 1513 and 1520, and prior general between 1520 and 1522), in which the list of Polish monasteries³ suggests that the Budaszentlőrinc centre of the Order had precise information about the provinces of the Order outside the Kingdom of Hungary.

As prior of the Pauline monastery of Rome, Gregory Gyöngyösi published several books in the Eternal City, of which the one entitled *Decalogus* (Ten Sermons on St Paul the Hermit) also had a second edition published already in Kraków, in Florian Ungler's printing house in 1532.⁴ Its prologue, dated December 2, 1531, mentions the author as *felicitis recordationis* (of blessed memory), implying that by that date Gyöngyösi must have passed away. As regards Gyöngyösi's biography, the books *Vitae fratrum* (started by him, continued by others, and left unfinished) and the Kraków edition of *Decalogus* reveal a great deal.

From the annals of the Order we know his name and the year of his birth: 1472,⁵ while its place is mentioned in the Kraków edition: he was born in Gyöngyös.⁶ Gyöngyösi was a student at the Kraków University in the academic semester of 1493 and 1494, and he joined the Order some time after this.⁷ The Kraków edition of *Decalogus* con-

tains extra information when compared to the Rome edition of 1516, as the inclusion of a few well-known *miracula*⁸ ably reinforced the message of the publication: the Pauline monks received effective celestial support. In *Vitae fratrum* Gyöngyösi mentioned the Italian, Polish and Czech missionaries arriving first in Hungary in the age of King St Stephen, and also knew that Zoerardus (Benedict) had come from Polish land.⁹ One of his sources was John Thuróczy's chronicle published in 1488, a copy of which was in the possession of the Budaszentlőrinc monastery's library. In this book Gyöngyösi also covered topics unrelated to the Pauline Order: in July 1339 the Polish king Casimir III the Great (1333–1370) visited King Charles I of Hungary (1301/1308/1310–1342) in Visegrád, where they signed a succession.¹⁰ Prince Casimir (not the king) sent a declaration of war to King Matthias (1458–1490) on September 20, 1471, after the conspirators against the Hungarian king had offered him the throne.¹¹ In connection with the events of 1474, Gyöngyösi briefly reported on King Matthias' raid on Polish territory.¹² The connection between the Order's provinces was primarily maintained by visitations of the compliance with the order's rules. Around 1470 the Poles were visited by *frater Paulus*.¹³ It is not known whether Emeric of Pest became a *magister artium*, in Vienna or Kraków. At Lád he was a *vicarius*, then he became the deputy supervisor of correct singing at the main monastery Budaszentlőrinc, being later twice appointed as visitor of the Polish monasteries. In 1475, he passed away while he was on his second visitation, which is the reason why he was laid to rest in Częstochowa.¹⁴ It was mentioned among the notable events of 1522 that John III, before his election as prior general, had been Polish visitor for one year.¹⁵ The eminent preacher *frater Stephanus*, who was the secretary (*socius*) of the prior general John of Zalánkemén (1516–1520), also earned his baccalaureus degree at the Kraków University.¹⁶

The Polish-born Stanislaus Polonus was sent to the Croatian province of the Order, where he translated the rule of the Order, the constitution and St Augustine's sermon to the hermits into the Croatian language; Gyöngyösi recorded all this in connection with the year 1475.¹⁷ The idea that prior to Stanislaus' appearance on the scene the Croatian novices had been inducted to the order in a language other than their own mother tongue seems unlikely; it is reasonable to assume that Stanislaus did nothing more than put these important texts in writing and thus standardise them.

Confissale nouū: iuxta ritum modūq; sacri
ordinis fratrum Eremitarū Diui Pauli primi Eremitę, a mē-
dis omnibus repurgatuz: accentibusq; veris: & marginali
cotatione locorū: aptis imaginum figuris interpositis
illustratū: restitutū autēz vbi mutilū erat: Impensis
Reuerēdissimi Dñi. S. Georgij Eremitę: diuino
fauore Epī ecclīę Avaradien. accuratissima di-
ligentia excusuz in gratiam eiusdē ordinis.



Venetijs in officina
Anno a Christo nato



Luceantoniij Gunte
M.D.XXXVII.

From the 1630s a handwritten abridgement of Gregory Gyöngyösi's publication¹⁸ *Declarationes constitutionum* has survived. The original work presented the Order's constitution, accompanied by explanatory notes. Entitled *Medulla constitutionum*, the abridgement contained the resolutions without references to the sources and an abridged version of the essential points of the explanations.¹⁹ Here the Polish branch of the order is referred to as *Polonia*.²⁰

The cross-border connections of the Pauline order are evidenced in the entries of a manuscript catalogue, held in Czestochowa, which mentions those members of the Pauline confraternity, many Hungarians included,²¹ who could visit the Marian shrine in Czestochowa.

The significance of Kraków, lying on the route between Czestochowa and Buda, could have been apparent to the Hungarian members of the Order already before the foundation of their Kraków monastery in 1471,²² as several of the members, in addition to Gyöngyösi, may have studied there, at least partially. When the centre of gravity of the Order shifted to the north as a result of the Turkish advances, the significance of Kraków, like that of the Polish province as a whole, increased in the life of the Pauline Order.

Besides the monastery and the university, the Kraków printing house also played a pivotal role in the propagation of the Order's literary works.²³ Gaspar of Pest was the deputy of the prior general: his books entitled *Sermones*

exhortatorii ad viros religiosos and *Compendium directorii in visitatione fratrum* (the latter being used as an important tool in the visitations of the monasteries) was published here in 1532, followed, in 1536, by the lesser known Frater Blasius' book,²⁴ dedicated to Gaspar of Pest as the Transylvanian *vicarius*. John of Zalánkemén, who was prior general twice, also published a book here in 1536, entitled *Rubrica generalis*. The latter two were printed in Florian Ungler's workshop.

Gregorius Coelius Pannonius (prior of the Pauline Rome monastery between 1537 and 1552) had his booklet (*Annotationes*) printed in Venice in 1537. The rule of the Order were published in Hungarian, while the explanatory notes to its various points and to the text of the Order's religious vow were added in Latin. His work fulfilled a basic need, as shown – besides many other things – by its subsequent re-publication first in Kraków in 1624,²⁵ and then again by the Pauline press in Czestochowa, in Andreas Goldonowski's rewriting, in 1756.²⁶ In his *Directorium* published in 1649 in Kraków, Gregorius Teretius mentions Gyöngyösi's name, which signals the Hungarian prior general's enduring influence.

From this list, not meant to be complete, we can conclude that the Hungarian and Polish Pauline monks made a rather substantial contribution to the traffic on the road between Buda (Budaszentlőrinc) and Kraków (Czestochowa).

NOTES

¹ The foundation charter is dated August 9, 1382. For more on the foundation, see: KOS 2002.

² GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 27. – From Gyöngyösi's phrasing it would appear as if Hedwig founded all the Polish monasteries. – On the Pauline monasteries in Poland, cf. WIESIOŁOWSKI 1985.

³ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 27; DAP III, 326; ZBUDNIEWEK 1969 (GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 212).

⁴ GYÖNGYÖSI 1532.

⁵ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 60.

⁶ SARBÁK 2010.

⁷ SCHRAUF 1893, 4 (46th line).

⁸ HADNAGY 2003.

⁹ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988.

¹⁰ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 26; source for this: THURÓCZY 1985, 26–27.

¹¹ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 58; THURÓCZY 1985, 262.

¹² GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 60; THURÓCZY 1985, 262.

¹³ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 56.

¹⁴ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 61.

¹⁵ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 86.

¹⁶ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 82. The study periods in Vienna and Paris are also mentioned in Gyöngyösi's work.

¹⁷ GYÖNGYÖSI 1988, 61.

¹⁸ The constitution of the Pauline order, along with its interpretation, was

laid out in the *Declarationes constitutionum*, which was published under Gergely Gyöngyösi's supervision in Rome in 1519 (or 1520); however, its (impact) history continued not in print but in abridged manuscripts, right until the middle of the 17th century, when the new constitution of the Order was written in the wake of the Council of Trent.

¹⁹ The publication of both the Latin text and its German translation, along with the placement of *Medulla* in the history of the Order's constitution: *Kernsätze* 2008.

²⁰ In connection with the participation of the deputies of distant provinces in the Order's chapters-general, *Polonia* was accompanied by *Hispania*, cf. GYÖNGYÖSI *Declarationes constitutionum* Rubrica2, decl.f.

²¹ ZBUDNIEWEK 1985.

²² Skalka / Rupella, built by Canon Jan Długosz on the location of the martyrdom of St Stanislaus.

²³ In 1691 the Pauline Order started up its own printing house at Czestochowa, cf. CZERWIEN 2006; in the 18th century László Simándi's concrete poems were published twice at Czestochowa (CZERWIEN 2006, no. 1094 and 1095).

²⁴ BLASIUS, *Salutares pareneses de epistolis et evangeliis per annum occurrentibus*. Cracoviae 1536, and 1542.

²⁵ GREGORIUS COELIUS Pannonius: *Explanatio regulae divi Augustini episcopi*, Cracoviae 1642. The Viennese edition from this same year does not have the rule in Hungarian, either.

²⁶ CZERWIEN 2006, no. 131.