

Doctoral Dissertation

**PRIVATE MONASTERIES OF MEDIEVAL HUNGARY
(ELEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES):
A CASE STUDY OF THE ÁKOS KINDRED AND ITS
MONASTERIES**

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INTRODUCTION

As a freshly graduated field archaeologist, employed at the County Museum Satu Mare, I was involved in a small rescue research at the Calvinist Church of Ákos (Acâ , Romania, Satu Mare County) in 1998. I did not know then that this would mark the beginning of a long relation with this monument. The former abbey church is the most important Romanesque monument of the region, mentioned in the art historical overviews but without detailed and accurate analysis. It was an intriguing question, therefore, why such a monumental church was built and what its context was. The answers gave birth to many more questions and soon I became enmeshed with in more and more issues of ecclesiastic patronage, the social history of kindreds, artistic and architectural concepts of the Hungarian Romanesque. The early results of the research and the overview of the relevant literature were summarized in my MA thesis, defended in 2002 at the Medieval Studies Department, Central European University. Even at that point it was clear that the complex issue of the so-called “kindred monasteries”, the category within which the Abbey of Ákos was classified in the scholarship, must be treated with a wider and more complex approach.

The introductory chapter synthetizes the main debates and results in regard to the issue of kindreds and their monasteries. The three main study fields elaborated in this respect their own concepts, methodology and terminology, sometimes influencing each other. But the reciprocal borrowings of concepts were often made without proper critiques, and no attempt was made at a systematic integration. Analysis of the results of the previous scholarship demonstrated that my inquiry must start with a general overview. Moreover, in the context of the scarcity of relevant sources, it became clear that all available types of sources on monasteries should be used with joint methodology: charters and other narrative sources, archaeological discoveries and art historical considerations. In this respect the Abbey of Ákos is fortunate, as it is among the best preserved Romanesque monuments in the former Hungarian Kingdom, which allows for a detailed archaeological and architectural research – presented in the chapter VI. Very few charters are directly linked to the abbey, but the patron kindred – called like the monastery, Ákos – was among the most ancient and influential kindreds of the kingdom. Its genealogical evolution and history of possessions is reconstructed in chapter V, which made it possible to fit the patronage of Ákos Abbey into the history of the kindred. The case of this kindred proved to be significant for another issue, too. Its historical tradition, which seems to be somehow connected with the patronage of

monasteries, was fortunately preserved in two ways: both in charters and in narrative sources (Magister Ákos, the chronicler was a member of the kindred).

The general overview provided in chapter II addresses questions like: How many monasteries were under patronage of kindreds, or other lay persons? What was their chronological evolution, spatial distribution and affiliation? In order to get proper answers I compiled a list of monastic foundations in Hungary made before 1400 (in the appendix). Further research questions were elaborated based on the list and assumptions in the previous scholarship. In this sense, it seemed important to determine the relations of monasteries with the parishes in order to assess their spiritual role. The social status of monasteries was examined through their position in the estate structure, and their relation with the patron's residence. I have, therefore, limited the statistical analysis to the regional level and compared systematically the papal and diocesan tithe lists with data on the estates and owners and the map of medieval Hungary by Pál Engel (chapter III). The socio-economic status of monasteries is further clarified through several case studies (in chapter IV).

Overall, the work was started in order to clarify issues related to the Abbey Church of Ákos. The attempt to integrate it within the wider framework of monastic patronage, Romanesque architecture and the social history of kindreds, also offered an opportunity to revise these general issues.

Chapter I

PRIVATE PATRONAGE OF MONASTERIES IN MEDIEVAL HUNGARY: HISTORIOGRAPHY, PROBLEMS AND RESEARCH METHODS

Monasteries in medieval Hungary belonging to noble kindreds have piqued the interest of different disciplines: they have been studied by art historians, archaeologists, social historians, and ecclesiastical historians alike. The term kindred is equivalent for the Hungarian *nemzetség*, and means the assembly of male line kinship, enjoying special rights on their property commonly;¹ the usage of the term and its variations in meaning will be discussed at more length below. Noble kindreds that formed the aristocracy of the kingdom ruled by the Árpáadian dynasty were distinguishable from other social groups by their wealth and political influence. Members of this group fulfilled important political, military, and ecclesiastic functions, holding offices at the royal court, at the county level (the office of *comes*), and at bishopric courts. Thus, the importance of the abbeys founded and patronized by noble kindreds lies, first of all, in the social significance of the founders' and patrons' kindreds: monasteries played a specific role in the complex set of social, economic, spiritual strategies of these families. Though our knowledge of these ecclesiastical institutions is, to a certain degree filtered by this prism of family and social history, (e.g., the amount of evidence available could be influenced by their relations with the patrons), monasteries under private patronage – called 'kindred monasteries' by the previous scholarship – are linked to the issue of kindred organization. Nevertheless, it seems more appropriate to approach the problem of 'kindred monasteries' from a wider perspective, that of private patronage in general, and discuss specific issues related to kindreds from this social history point of view.

The art historical approach is justified by the considerable number of monasteries under private patronage which have been preserved more or less intact – a few dozen or so, which is significant if compared to the total. These churches are the most valuable monuments from the era of the Hungarian Romanesque, and their study is indispensable for the history of medieval art and

¹ Pál Engel, *Beilleszkedés Európába, a kezdetektől 1440-ig* [Integration into Europe, from the beginnings to 1440], (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1990) (hereafter: Engel 1990): 302.

architecture. Due to the growing number of archaeological excavations, increasing data is available on monastic sites: new sites have been identified, and the scope of opportunities to investigate monastic establishments has opened up significantly, leading to new discoveries. The archaeology focus – usually restricting itself to the building of the abbey church – was widened to investigations of whole monastic complexes, adjacent cemeteries, and the surrounding landscapes, applying new research methods.

From the viewpoint of ecclesiastical history, the relationship between monastic communities and their patrons or other lay or ecclesiastical institutions, constitutes a key issue. The most commonly discussed aspect is the patron's right, and its canonical grounds as well as its practical applications. An equally important issue was the integration of monastic establishments within the network of parishes and their exempt or dependent status with regard to ecclesiastical hierarchies. When discussing these issues, however, ecclesiastical historians tend to leave aside the social, economic, and artistic roles of private monasteries.

In what follows, I am going to discuss the state of research on private monasteries according to these main approaches: social history, ecclesiastical history, art history, and archaeology. Each field of study has its own methodological and conceptual framework and uses different source materials. Although each deals with the same phenomenon, only recently have studies attempted to integrate the results of different approaches, so their terminologies are not established their interpretations are not coherent, and in some respects they are contradictory.

Noble kindreds and their monasteries in historical research

Genealogical history is perhaps one of the oldest fields of historical study, originating from the historical tradition of each noble family. Almost all medieval historical accounts mention the noble kindreds as the elite of the kingdom and their historical role, creating a tradition that lasted until the twentieth century.² These narrative sources frequently mention the foundation of monasteries by kings and noblemen highlighting historical details of abbeys like (Aba)Sár, Zselicszentjakab, Kaplony, and others.³

² Pál Engel, *Szent István birodalma. A középkori Magyarország története* [The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary], História Könyvtár. Monográfiák 17 (Budapest: História – Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Történettudományi Intézete, 2001) (hereafter: Engel 2001), 73-77, esp. 77; the English version: idem, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*, trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi, ed. Andrew Ayton (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001). On the medieval Hungarian narrative sources see Elemér Mályusz, *A Thúróczy Krónika és forrásai* [The Thúróczy Chronicle and its sources]. (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1967) (hereafter: Mályusz 1967). The critical edition of these narrative sources: *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Tempore Ducum Regumque Stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum*, vols. 1-2, ed. Emericus Szentpétery (Budapest: Academia Litterarium Hungarica, 1937–1938; reprint edition: Budapest: Nap, 1999) (hereafter: *SRH*).

³ On (Aba)Sár the eleventh century Gesta: *SRH*, I. 332; Zselicszentjakab: *SRH*, I, 364; Kaplony: *SRH*, I. 219.

Legal sources describe the lineage and ancestors of a person with the term *genus* or *generatio* from the thirteenth century on.⁴ The Hungarian term ‘*nemzetség*’, translated here in English with ‘kindred’,⁵ became a generally used term in historical literature, although, it has absorbed several other meanings over the years. There is a vast literature concerning noble lineages, and genealogical studies were first summarized and synthesized in the seminal three-volume work of János Karácsonyi,⁶ published between 1900 and 1904. In order to follow the evolution of conceptual interpretations of the ‘kindred’, it is plausible to start the present survey with this work.

Karácsonyi collected an impressive amount of data – working exclusively with written sources – and established the genealogy of a great number of kindreds. His work became a new starting point for subsequent research. He also established a set of criteria to define what kindreds are, and why certain persons or families belonged to one or another. These five criteria are as follows: 1. Kinship based on consanguinity; 2. Right of pre-emption over the properties belonging to the members of the kindred plus the interdiction of alienation without the consent of the relatives; 3. Right of inheritance over the properties of the kindred relatives; 4. Monasteries supported as a spiritual link among the branches of the kindred; and 5. Properties held in common without division.⁷ In addition to these considerations, Karácsonyi also provides a brief account of family possessions, combining the history of estates with the history of families, which led him towards contextualizing genealogical history with broader social implications. According to Karácsonyi’s definition, monasteries founded by noble families served as links between the different branches of kindreds. They were used as common burial places and as cult centers. Based on his views, private monasteries started to be referred to as ‘kindred monasteries’, an artificial linguistic construct as such a term does not appear in the sources (‘kindred’ as an attribute, modifying ‘monastery’ as the noun). In this sense, monasteries became inseparable from the concept of the kindred and each had to be linked to a certain kindred in order to provide links among family branches.

⁴ The earliest charter which mentions this term dates from 1208 and the last one from 1406: András Kubinyi, “Gondolatok ‘A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig’ új kiadása alkalmából” [Remarks on the reprint edition of the *Hungarian Kindreds until the middle of Fourteenth Century*], (hereafter: Kubinyi 1995): 1411. Postscript to János Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [Hungarian Kindreds until the middle of the Fourteenth Century], vols. 1-3 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1900-1904; reprint, Budapest: Nap, 1995) (hereafter: Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek* ...). Page citations are to the reprint edition.

⁵ Fügedi proposed to introduce the term ‘clan’ (Hung.: *klán*) to denominate the basic social unit of the nobility, in order to avoid and reduce the confusion caused by the multiple meaning of the *nemzetség*, discussed below. This attempt was, however, rejected as artificial and misleading in context of medieval Hungary. The English version of Erik Fügedi’s book use the term ‘kindred’ as equivalent for *nemzetség*: Erik Fügedi, *The Elefánthy: The Hungarian Nobleman and his Kindred*. (Budapest: CEU Press, 1998) (hereafter: Fügedi 1998); furthermore the term ‘kindred’ is used in the English translation of Pál Engel’s synthesis (Engel 2001) and in the English translation of medieval Hungarian laws edited by János M. Bak: *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vols. 1-5, ed. János M. Bak et al., (Idyllwild, CA: Schlaks – Budapest: CEU, 1989–2012).

⁶ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek* ...

⁷ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek* ..., 10-11.

In spite of the data provided by Karácsonyi on the estates and possessions of kindreds, later genealogical research focused on family history in a rather sterile way, merely from a political point of view. Following WWII, the study of nobility as an elite social group became more integrated into social and economic history. These studies were based on extensive publications of medieval charters and excerpts of royal charters and documents preserved in family archives as well as on the newly established collection of the National Archive of Hungary (DL: Diplomatai Levéltár [Collection of Medieval Charters] and DF: Diplomatai Fényképtár [Photocopies of Medieval Charters]), dating from the Árpadian Age, the Anjou and Sigismund periods, or later.⁸ These sources were systematically studied in the series of Árpadian Age historical geographies of the counties of the kingdom, written by György Györffy,⁹ which complemented previous historical geographies on the fifteenth century (the age of the Hunyadis) compiled by Dezső Csánki.¹⁰ Based on the extensive source materials made accessible by such overviews, socio-historical research in the last decades was able to develop new methods and begin questioning the validity of Karácsonyi's concepts, proposing more refined interpretations.

As a precursor to this social history revival, György Györffy opened a debate concerning the term *de genere*, focusing also on the origins of the kindreds. He thought that there was a direct link between the kindreds of twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the social organization of the Hungarian tribes from the period of the Hungarian conquest. He assumed that there had been a pre-Christian elite whose descendants eventually formed the kindreds. Györffy accepted Karácsonyi's view, and his "new" definition of the 'kindred' was entirely similar in as much as he attributed a similar role to private monastic foundations.¹¹ Gyula Kristó, however, rejected Györffy's points concerning the genealogies and called attention to the fact that some families were not called kindreds at all, but did possess such monasteries.¹² Elemér Mályusz¹³ was of the opinion that these reflected some kind of pre-Christian tradition with connected to the cult of the ancestors and argued

⁸ For the collection of medieval sources see: Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary. Internet edition (DL-DF 5.1), ed. György Rácz: <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf/opt/a110505htm?v=pdf&a=start> (accessed 30 September 2014); on the edition of medieval sources see: Digital Library of Medieval Hungary. Internet edition: http://mol.arcanum.hu/medieval/opt/a101101.htm?v=pdf&a=start_f (accessed 30 of September 2014). A presentation of the database: György Rácz: "A középkori Magyarország digitális könyvtára – Digital Library of Medieval Hungary", *Turul* 84 (2011): 107.

⁹ György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [Historical Geography of Hungary in the Árpadian age], (hereafter Györffy, *ÁTF*), vols. 1³-4 (Budapest: Akadémiai. 1987-1998).

¹⁰ Dezső Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában* [Historical Geography of Hungary in the Hunyadis age], vols. 1-5 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890-1913), (hereafter: Csánki, *Tört.Földr.*).

¹¹ György Györffy, "A magyar nemzetségtől a vármegyéig, a törzstől az orszáig" [From a Hungarian Kindred to the County, from Tribe to State], *Századok* 92 (1958): 12-87, 565-615 (hereafter: Györffy, 1958); and idem, *Krónikáink és a magyar történet* [Hungarian Prehistory and the Chronicles] (Budapest, 1948 [reprint: Budapest: Balassi, 1993]) (hereafter: Györffy 1948).

¹² Such as the descendants of Aynard with the Abbey of Zsámbék, see Gyula Kristó, "Néhány megjegyzés a magyar nemzetségekről" [Remarks on Hungarian Kindreds], *Századok* 109 (1975): 953-967 (hereafter: Kristó 1975).

¹³ Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical Society in Medieval Hungary], (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1971) (hereafter: Mályusz 1971a): 24.

that they were simply the Christian manifestations of such cults. Furthermore, Erik Fügedi¹⁴ also argued that monasteries amalgamated Christian and pre-Christian traditions as such foundations offered an excellent opportunity for *advenae*, i.e., for newcomers (from the Christianized West) to mix with the old Hungarian aristocracy.

At this stage of the debate, during the 1960-70s, there was a consensus that monasteries played a significant role not only in a spiritual sense, but also in shaping social identities. For some kindreds they provided ways of expressing their respect for tradition, for their ancestors, yet, at the same time, they suited new trends of religious piety as well. From this point of view, it is rewarding to take a closer look at the details of the debate concerning the origins of kindreds. Starting with historic writings at the turn of the twelfth century, noble kindreds were presented as direct heirs of the families who had played leading role during the Conquest period according to later narrative sources.¹⁵ One of the earliest examples among such accounts was the *Gesta* of Anonymus;¹⁶ describing the deeds of the chieftains, for instance, also indicated the names of their twelfth-century descendants. The compiler and continuer of the twelfth-century chronicle on the history of the Hungarians was identified by György Györffy as Magister Ákos of the Ákos kindred.¹⁷ Interestingly, Magister Ákos mentions the predecessors of several of the prestigious kindreds of his age among the conquering Hungarian chieftains.¹⁸ This tendency to incorporate the individual histories of elite families into the national history was continued by Simon de Kéza around 1285.¹⁹ He broadened the spectrum of his historical depiction with the Huns, perceived as playing an integral role in Hungarian history. Furthermore, he considered worth mentioning 108 noble kindreds of Hungarian origin and 17 more kindreds of the newcomers (*advenae*),²⁰ thus defining the group of elite families of the kingdom. Throughout his narrative, the free warriors of the conquering tribes were perceived as the ancestors of the Árpáadian age nobility.²¹ Thus, the deeds of legendary political leaders (dukes and chieftains) were perceived at once as acts of men who were integral members of existing noble families; the prestige accredited to such ‘heroes’, was transferred to the family and to the nobility as whole. This way of storytelling became popular over the centuries and it became a central element of noble self-consciousness and Hungarian historical tradition until the

¹⁴ Erik Fügedi, *Ispánok, bárók, kiskirályok. A középkori magyar arisztokrácia fejl. dése* [Comites, Barons and Petty Kings: The Evolution of the Medieval Hungarian Aristocracy], (Budapest: Magvet, 1986) (hereafter: Fügedi 1986): 35-36.

¹⁵ Mályusz 1967: 46-47.

¹⁶ *P. magister, qui Anonymus dicitur, Gesta Hungarorum*, in: *SRH*, vol. 1, 13-117.

¹⁷ Györffy 1948: 171.

¹⁸ *SRH*, vol. 1, 217-505. *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*. For the identification of the parts written by magister Ákos around 1270 see the analysis of Györffy 1948: 171 ssq; Mályusz 1967: 46-51; and Elemér Mályusz, *Az V. István-kori gesta* [The gesta of King Stephen V], (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1971), (hereafter: Mályusz 1971b).

¹⁹ Simon de Kéza, *Gesta Hungarorum*, in: *SRH*, vol. 1: 141-194.

²⁰ On the kindreds and newcomers: 187-192.

²¹ Mályusz 1967; and Engel 2001: 105-106.

Reform era (first half of the nineteenth century). For regular noblemen, such traditions were taken as evidence that they “were the backbone of the nation and ... direct descendants of those Magyar forefathers who had taken possession of the homeland”.²²

The existence of family ties connecting the two periods gradually began to be questioned by positivist historiography in the second half of the nineteenth century. János Karácsonyi in his extensive monograph on noble kindreds,²³ already treated these notions with increased criticism. Based on great a number of charters he examined, he was able to demonstrate that most kindreds originated in the eleventh or twelfth century; he found only one that could be traced back to the period of King St. Stephen. It became clear that narrative sources provided a tendentious view of the past designed for the medieval audience of the thirteenth century and later periods. A second opinion on these narrative sources was proposed by György Györffy, who argued that certain ties could have in fact existed.²⁴ Györffy perceived these two social groups as fundamentally different, but he noted that there are certain heraldic elements and names which could possibly be linked to totems (animal divinities) of ancient kindreds. The Árpád dynasty itself is the only one known to have kept a record of the lineage of its ancestors since the Conquest period. According to Kézai, they used the Turul (mythic bird) as a family sign until the period of Christianization.²⁵ Similarly, several other kindreds can be mentioned here as examples of this practice, e.g., the Kaplony (tiger) or Agmánd (wolf) families. Györffy’s theory has received some criticism, as several details of his argument (e.g., explanation of names, attribution of heraldic signs) have been questioned, but the idea that such links with ancestral members of kindreds existed was not entirely rejected.²⁶

Returning to the genealogical stories of Anonymus, Magister Ákos, and Simon de Kéza, there are several issues worth discussing. According to Elemér Mályusz, the official history of the ruling dynasty was complemented with additional elements and this process reflects social transformations of the thirteenth century in which the ruling elite or aristocracy claimed a place playing a power role equal to that of the king.²⁷ These narratives made it possible for them to be part of the glorious past of the royal dynasty (Anonymus), of the chieftains (Magister Ákos), and of the free warriors (Kézai). Furthermore, Mályusz assumed that chronicle writers incorporated several family traditions and oral histories in the official history of the kingdom, which did not receive

²² Fügedi 1998: 2. For the same conclusion see Engel 2001: 75.

²³ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek ...*

²⁴ Györffy 1948, and Györffy 1958.

²⁵ At that stage of research Györffy recognized the lion as the heraldic sign of the Árpadian kings, citing it as a counter argument against his own theory. Later, György Székely noted, that the Turul and the Lion were not exclusive: the first was the sign of the family while the second the sign of the dignity. Cited by Gyula Kristó (Kristó 1975: 963, note 107).

²⁶ Kristó 1975; Károly Mesterházy, *Nemzetségi szervezet és az osztály viszonyok kialakulása a honfoglaló magyarságnál* [The kindred organization and the formation of the class structure at the Hungarians of the Conquering Period], (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1980).

²⁷ Mályusz 1971b.

attention for two hundred years. Such oral traditions were not considered ‘accurate’, unlike charters or other legal documents – a circumstance that was already noted at the turn of the nineteenth century by positivist historiographers. Mályusz, however, suggested that when narrative sources are read with a proper source critique it is possible to gain valuable insights with regard to the social contexts of the writer or the audience these sources were written for. When telling about the deeds of the ancestors, the chroniclers often confused persons, places, and centuries or placed real events earlier by a century or two. It is clear that such mistakes were intentional in order to link the history of individual families to that of King St. Stephen or to the Conquest period. Fictional characters (dukes, chieftains or other prestigious persons) were invented by whose acts members of kindreds were dignified. Mályusz also called attention to the presence of genealogical stories which also became part of the chronicles to emphasize the antiquity of the kindreds. This shows the expectations of an audience which provided, at once, the source material (oral traditions) for writing the chronicles and sought an account which integrated family history and national history. The use of traditional names and heraldic signs was part of a strategy together with the oral historical tradition of the kindreds; it provided them legitimation through prestige.

The increasing importance of private foundations and the role they assumed as a criterion for ‘kindreds’ with self-conscious traditions led István Petrovics to re-examine the problem of ‘kindred monasteries’ from a statistical point of view.²⁸ He attempted – for the first time – to collect data on all monasteries which were associated with noble families. He focused on the problem of whether these monasteries could function as links between family branches or not. The final conclusion was negative, and he also found the use of the term ‘kindred monastery’ problematic, as his statistical analysis showed that only one third of the kindreds had monasteries. However, some prestigious families did not use the ‘*de genere*’ formula, but also funded such institutions (even two or more) and they can also be regarded as kindreds. István Petrovics assumed that kindreds who had more than one monastery were the oldest and richest ones, originating from the twelfth century. He explained the need for new foundations with the distance – both spatial and genealogical – between the different branches and their residences.

Erik Fügedi continued the investigations of Petrovics’.²⁹ He also prepared a statistical evaluation, but his conclusions were different in several respects. He combined the methods used by Petrovics with ecclesiastical and social history. Focusing on the relationship of monasteries with patron families, he concluded that there were no collective foundations. He demonstrated that monasteries were founded by individuals and collective patronage was only the result of

²⁸ István Petrovics, “Nemzetségi monostoraink problematikája” [The Problems of Kindred Monasteries], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Iuvenum, Sectio Historica* 1 (1978) (hereafter: Petrovics 1978): 9-24.

inheritance. In fact, he did not consider monasteries a factor in defining the concept of the kindred, and emphasized that patrons were not always identical with the whole family. It follows from his results that monasteries could be linked to certain families or branches, although in many cases the whole kindred also appeared as the patron of a monastery. He called attention to economic factors of patronage (e.g., monasteries could increase the revenues of patrons, they could be sold, divided, etc.) and he underlined the similarities to other type of church institutions patronized by the same families (e.g., parish churches, chapels). The importance of the spiritual functions of monasteries was discussed, too, especially the role as burial places, emphasized even in the title of the article. An additional result of his study was the analysis of data he collected from medieval *aestimatonēs*. As these sources list the estimated values of different types of buildings, they created the possibility of linking architectural/archaeological data with documentary evidence. Using these sources, Fügedi demonstrated that monasteries were the most valuable among the church institutions founded by noble kindreds, but they did not have any further special feature that would require the invention of a new term or category in any ecclesiastical or social sense. Thus, he argued that the term “kindred” as an attribute of “monastery” should be avoided.

Parallel to debates over the role of monastic foundations in the definition of kindreds, Karácsonyi’s definition came to be questioned in other senses, too, by later research. The scholarship dealing with Hungarian medieval nobility used term ‘kindred’ in multiple senses distinguishable through the contexts; most frequently it was used as a synonym for aristocracy, describing the upper group of the nobility, although in other cases it defines the family organization and lineage, and, in consequence, the nature of property rights. András Kubinyi reviewed the use of ‘kindred’ as a term, and the debates concerning its meaning, in the postscript to the reprint edition of Karácsonyi’s work.³⁰ Summarizing previous critiques and observations, Kubinyi discussed in detail how the original definition established by Karácsonyi has been refined or partially rejected³¹ and suggested a revised terminology. He accepted Fügedi’s definition³² with regard to fifteenth-century Hungarian noble families. This definition of the kindred was basically identical with the one given by Pál Engel: “the assembly of male line descendants of a famous (real or fictitious) ancestor, who enjoyed a legal right to their property on the basis of the *genus*.”³³ It has been noted in this sense that the system of ownership and inheritance and the social organization of the kindreds themselves have many common features compared to other social strata in the Árpáadian

²⁹ Erik Fügedi, “*Sepelierunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio: A nemzetségi monostor*” [*Sepelierunt corpus eius in proprio monasterio: The Kindred Monasteries*], *Századok* 125, no. 3 (1991) (hereafter: Fügedi 1991): 33-66.

³⁰ Kubinyi 1995.

³¹ See the debate between György Györffy and Gyula Kristó on the origins of the kindred (Györffy 1958 and Kristó 1975), and the articles of István Petrovics and Erik Fügedi on the role of the monasteries in the definition of the kindred (Petrovics 1978 and Fügedi 1991).

³² Fügedi 1998.

period.³⁴ Attila Zsoldos demonstrated that some kindreds who called themselves *generatio* were of lower social status, moreover, free commoners, castle-warriors and castle serfs were also organized as kindreds.³⁵ It can be assumed that this multiplicity of meanings was responsible for most of the ambiguities related both to the concept of the kindred and to their monasteries in scholarly debates.

Social historical studies on the organization of kindreds³⁶ can be summarized as follows: The basis of their social status and prestige was landed property, the land was settled with serfs and possessed in common (undivided) or separately by the members of the kindred. Lands were inherited and divided equally among the male members of the group and the female members of the family received their share only as dowry – paid in cash most of the time. Even when commonly inherited lands were divided among the (male) members, the rights of the family members to their shares were limited by the kindred. They could sell the inherited – ‘ancestral’, as it is called in the sources – property only with the consent of other members of the family, and if they had no descendants the other branch(es) had the right to inherit their properties. This system of inheritance made the Hungarian kindreds a rather a special phenomenon throughout the whole of medieval Europe.³⁷ The evolution of this system was discussed in a general international context by Martyn Rady³⁸ and a similar social institution was observed with regard to the Croatian nobility (the

³³ Engel 1990: 302.

³⁴ Jen Sz cs, “Az 1267. évi dekrétum és társadalmi háttere. Szempontok a köznemesség kialakulásához” [The Decree of the year 1267 and its Social Background. Contributions to the formation of the lower nobility], in *Mályusz Elemér emlékkönyv: társadalom- és m vel déstörténeti tanulmányok*, ed. Éva H. Balázs, Erik Fügedi and Ferenc Maksay (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1984): 341-394; Fügedi 1986: 79.

³⁵ For free commoners see Zsoldos Attila, “Közszabad nemzetségek” [Kindreds of the free commoners]. *Mediaevalia Transilvanica*, 2, no. 1 (1998): 41-60 (hereafter: Zsoldos 1998). For the case of the castle-warriors (*iobagiones castri, várjobbágyok*) see: Zsoldos Attila, *A Szent Király szabadjai. Fejezetek a várjobbágyosság történetéb l* [The Freemen of the Holy King: Chapters from the History of the Castle-Warriors], (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1999) (hereafter: Zsoldos 1999) especially pp. 124-126, and references to the kindred of castle-servants (*udvarnokok*), too.

³⁶ The most significant contributions of the previous literature: Erik Fügedi, *Vár és társadalom a 13-14. századi Magyarországon* [Castle and Society in Hungary of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries], (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977) (hereafter: Fügedi 1977), the English version: idem, *Castle and Society in Medieval Hungary (1000-1437)*, (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986); idem, “Középkori rokonsági terminológiánk kérdéséhez” [On the Issue of the Terminology of the Medieval Kinship], *Ethnographia* 91, no. 3-4 (1980): 361-371; idem, “Some Characteristics of the Medieval Hungarian Noble Family”, *Journal of Family History* 7 (1982): 27-39; idem, “A köznemesi klán szolidaritása” [The solidarity of the middle class nobility clans], *Századok* 118, no. 5 (1984): 950-973 (hereafter: Fügedi 1984); idem, “A középkori magyar nemesség rokonsági rendszerének két kérdése” [Two Issues of the Kinship System of the Medieval Hungarian Nobility], in *Történeti Antropológia. Az 1983. április 18-19.-én tartott ülészek el adásai*, (Budapest: MTA, 1984), 217-226; idem, “Kinship and Privilege. The Social System of Medieval Hungarian Nobility as Defined in Customary Law”, in *Nobilities in Central and Eastern Europe. Kinship, Property and Privilege*, ed. János M. Bak (Budapest: Hajnal István Alapítvány, 1994; Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1994): 55-75; Fügedi 1998; it is important to mention here again the postscript to Karácsonyi’s work by András Kubinyi (Kubinyi 1995) and the historical overviews of Pál Engel (Engel 1990 and Engel 2001), together with the opening and concluding remarks on the study on the new system of donations (Pál Engel, “Nagy Lajos ismeretlen adomány reformja” [An unknown reform of the system of grants during the reign of King Louis d’ Anjou], *Történelmi Szemle*, 39 (1997): 137-157) and the introduction to the electronic database on the genealogy of the Hungarian medieval nobility: Pál Engel, *Középkori Magyar Genealógia* [Medieval Hungarian Genealogy], (hereafter: Engel, *Genealógia*), electronic database released on CD: idem, *Magyar Középkori Adattár* [Medieval Hungarian Database], (Budapest: Arcanum, 2001).

³⁷ Engel 2001.

³⁸ Martyn Rady, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

Kingdom of Croatia was in a union with the Hungarian crown), and it was presented through the example of the Šubi (Subich) family.³⁹

The special system of inheritance and ownership explains why prestigious ancestors who had originally acquired the family's lands were so important for the members of the kindred. It was absolutely important to know the male-line ancestors and relatives accurately for at least four or five degrees, it was essential to know and keep a record of the boundaries of properties, and to be able to provide the title of ownership accurately (inheritance, purchase or other means of acquisition). Throughout the Árpadian Era, however, few or no written records were kept on private properties and genealogical issues, and all this information was memorized and transmitted orally.⁴⁰ In the case of extensive genealogical connections as well as properties, the amount of information could be so large that memorizing it and transmitting it orally would have been too difficult. Therefore, as several medieval examples as well as later documents suggest, families often elaborated stories (legends, myths) on their origins and on the process of how they acquired their properties.⁴¹ These stories tend to integrate epic narrative structures with genealogical data as well as local legends, explaining, e.g., place names or unique features of the landscape (mountains, woods, rivers, etc.) so they could help in memorizing and transmitting such data.⁴²

In addition to genealogical data and the acquisition of possessions, the families were also keen to keep a record of their famous members (heroes). This issue has been already addressed above with regard to narrative sources, which often connected contemporary kindreds to ancestors who played an important political role in the Conquest period and all this was done with the purpose of increasing the prestige of the kindreds.⁴³ Apparently, such narratives could have many elements which were not necessarily "functional" or practical; they could also have been included intentionally, however, to demonstrate the ancient origins of the family. Apparently, events of the Conquest period were decisive from the point of view of national history, and taking part in them gave great prestige. Some of the kindreds emphasized their lineage's connections with historical figures by calling themselves *de genere* (descendants) of famous ancestors. An additional sign of their origins was the use of certain heraldic signs and their preference for certain first names. The foundation of monasteries could plausibly be an element of such 'strategies' through an immanent

³⁹ Damir Karbi, "The Croatian Noble Kindred. An Attempt to its Analysis," MA Thesis, CEU, Budapest, 1994.

⁴⁰ Erik Fügedi, "Verba Volant ... Középkori nemességünk szóbelisége és az írás" [Verba Volant ...: The Oral tradition of the Hungarian Medieval Nobility and the Writing], (hereafter: Fügedi 1981), in idem, *Koldulóbarátok, polgárok, nemesek. Tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* [Mendicants. Burghers. Nobles. Studies on Middle Ages in Hungary], (Budapest: Magvet, 1981): 437-462.

⁴¹ For early modern examples see: István György Tóth, *Mivel hogy magad írást nem tudsz. Az írás tér hódítása a m vel ésben a kora újkori Magyarországon* [Because you do not know to write. The Spread of Writing in the Cultural Life of Early Modern Hungary], (Budapest: MTA, TTI: 1996).

⁴² Fügedi 1981.

⁴³ See the debate cited above on the theory of György Györffy (Györffy 1948 and Györffy 1958), with the criticism of Kristó 1975, and the analysis of historical narratives in Mályusz 1971b.

dedication to the cult of the ancestors. There were, however, prestigious kindreds who do not seem to have patronized any monastery and there were other kindreds that founded two or even more monasteries, which suggests that the role of monasteries could have been more complex than focusing only on the veneration of such ancestors.

Kubinyi noted that the concept of the kindred as a system of family organization as well as of property rights should be further scrutinized. He also pointed out that, due to the scarcity of sources it is difficult to assess how this organization evolved and that the links to ancestral kindreds (of the conquering Hungarian tribes) of the ninth and tenth centuries must be clarified, too. Although the earliest evidence on kindreds is much later than the ninth and tenth centuries (it appears around the turn of the eleventh century), it seems that it has older roots and is somehow connected to the social organization of the ninth century, although not as directly as Györffy assumed. Even though written sources are scarce, it is clear that in the fourteenth century changes occurred in the organization of kindreds. The patterns of family names were slightly changed, branches split more often, and the former idea of large inclusive kindreds lost its significance. Its social essence, however, the system of inheritance and property-rights, remained unchanged and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the same principles applied to newly established family branches, and narrower genealogical lineages. As part of customary law, these rules were finally codified in Werb   y's corpus,⁴⁴ which preserved them until modern times. As Kubinyi observed, the spectrum of these changes is not yet fully known and there are a number of questions which remain open at this stage of the research.

As for more recent research, the debates concerning the 'kindred' led to the deconstruction of the former theoretical framework established by Kar  csnyi. New research was oriented toward case studies in order to explore more detailed data. Notably, Gy  rgy R  cz published a series of articles in which he examined the relation of the J  k kindred to their monasteries: the Abbey of J  k and Porn  . These studies are all the more important as the abbey church of J  k is one of the most important monuments of Hungarian Romanesque architecture. The analysis of individual branches and their possessions in relation to the two monasteries patronized by the kindred suggested that there was a certain rivalry between the branches.⁴⁵ R  cz observed a correlation between the careers of certain members of the kindred and the foundation of monasteries. Interestingly, the history of J  k Abbey is marked by a long- lasting lawsuit and quarrels between the patrons and the monastery

⁴⁴ A recent edition, with English translation see *The Customary Law of the Renowned Kingdom of Hungary: A Work in Three Parts Rendered by Stephen Werb   y (The "Tripartitum")*, ed. and trans. J  nos M. Bak, P  ter Bany   and Martyn Rady, with introduction by L  szl   P  ter, *The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, vol. 5, Idyllwild, CA: Schlaks – Budapest: CEU, 2005. On the long-lasting influence of the corpus of Werb   y see Engel 2001.

⁴⁵ R  cz Gy  rgy, "A J  k nemzetség   s monostoralap  t  sai" [The J  k kindred and its Monastery Foundations], *Vasi Szemle* 54 (2000) (hereafter: *R  cz 2000*): 7-26, 159-180.

during the fourteenth century.⁴⁶ The direct descendants of the founders died at the end of the turn of the thirteenth century and their possessions were inherited by their closest relatives. The new patrons tried to alienate the possessions of the monastery, but they managed to secularize only part of the monastic possessions and the monastery managed to maintain its autonomy. In contrast to general works and statistical methods, the case study of Ják calls attention to the complexity of an individual case, with its multiple economic, social, and ecclesiastical implications (not to mention the architectural and archaeological problems).

It is worth mentioning here another set of studies concerning the Győr kindred and their patronage of monasteries. The earliest study on the Zselicszentjakab Abbey was written by Bernát Kumorovitz⁴⁷, which will be discussed in detail below, together with ecclesiastical historical issues. His analysis of the lawsuit between the patron kindred and the abbey was a significant contribution to the social historical aspects of such institutions. The long quarrel was in many respects similar to the case of Ják, but the outcome was different: the patrons regained their control over the monastery, but they did not manage to secularize all its possessions. The early history of the kindred and the evolution of their numerous branches were studied by C. Tóth Norbert⁴⁸, while their patronage over other monasteries in the region was surveyed by IlonaValter.⁴⁹ Both studies now allow a more complex contextualization of the case of Zselicszentjakab Abbey.

Karácsonyi's concept of kindred dominated the research for a long time, and is accepted in many respects even today. The most important refinement of this concept was the separation of the historical meaning of 'kindred' as part of the social elite, from the larger social organization, the system of inheritance and property rights. The foundation and patronage of monasteries does not seem to be linked to the latter meaning of kindred as a form of social organization. The first meaning applies because founding a monastery might have been one of the strategies of a kindred used to express its influence and social status, together with a number of other elements such as historical tradition, the usage of prestigious names, and heraldic signs.

⁴⁶ Rácz György, "A jáki apátság kegyurai a XIV-XV. században" [The Patrons of the Ják Abbey in the fourteenth and the fifteenth century], *Analecta Medievalia* 1 (2001): 179-202 (hereafter: Rácz 2001).

⁴⁷ Bernát L. Kumorovitz, "A zselicszentjakabi alapítólevél 1061-ből" [The Foundation Charter of Zselicszentjakab Abbey from 1061], *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából* 16 (1964) (hereafter: Kumorovitz 1967): 43-83.

⁴⁸ Norbert C. Tóth, "A Győr-nemzetség az Árpád-korban" [The Győr kindred during the reign of the Árpáds], *Analecta Medievalia* 1 (2001): 53-72 (hereafter: C. Tóth 2001).

⁴⁹ IlonaValter, *Árpád-kori téglateplomok Nyugat-Dunántúlon* [Churches built of brick in western Trans-Danubia from the Árpadian Age], METEM könyvek 43 (Budapest: METEM, 2004) (hereafter: Valter 2004), on the ecclesiastical architecture linked to kindreds: 54-69.

Ecclesiastical history: The issue of private patronage

The right of patronage comprises the set of privileges and honors enjoyed by founders and donators of ecclesiastic institutions, recognized by the church as a compensation offered to lay persons for their efforts performed in favor of the church. The significance of elements of patronage rights evolved during the Middle Ages, and parallel to it, territorial practices were formed with several particularities.⁵⁰ The need to classify church foundations and endowments according to the person of the founder has led ecclesiastical historians to identify three main groups of church institutions: royal, ecclesiastical, and private foundations.⁵¹ The monasteries founded – and later patronized – by noble kindreds were considered among the latter, thus – in terms of ecclesiastic history – the issue of monastic patronage was discussed as a special form of the private patronage.

For church historians of Medieval Hungary the issue of private patronage remained of marginal significance and the relationships of monasteries with their founders were rather integrated in the wider framework of institutional history (bishoprics, monastic orders, and individual ecclesiastical institutions) and the history of ecclesiastical law. This latter approach was especially fruitful for later research because it clarified the legal background of private ecclesiastical endowments. The single monographic cover of the issue of private patronage over church institutions in medieval Hungary was made by Ferenc Kollányi.⁵² He used mainly papal and legal sources for his work, therefore his synthesis reflects the ‘spirit of the law’ (how the church preferred to see the phenomena of private endowments). The main value of his study is that it sets the framework and identifies the main problems of this field of study and establishes its terminology. He described the types of private endowments and he argued that among collegiate chapters, parishes, chapels, etc., monastic foundations were the most valuable and prestigious. Furthermore, he clarified the process of foundation (foundation charters, royal and episcopal approval, donation of estates, building process, consecration) and the rights and obligations of founders.

The case study of the Abbey of Zselicszentjakab by Bernát L. Kumorovitz was a significant contribution to this topic, too.⁵³ He analyzed the foundation charter of the abbey – one of the earliest preserved in medieval Hungary (1061) – and presented the context of its later transmutations

⁵⁰ A recent survey of the early evolution (until the twelfth century) of private patronage: Susan Wood, *The proprietary church in medieval West*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

⁵¹ For the early attempts of classification and interpretation for medieval Hungary see: Vince Bunyitai, *A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig* [The History of the Várad Bishopric from its foundations to the present], 2 vols. (Nagyvárad: Nagyvárad Római Katolikus Egyházmegye, 1883); idem, *Szilágy megye középkori emlékei* [Medieval Monuments of Szilágy County], *Értekezések a Történeti Tudományok Köréből* 13 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1887); Pongrácz Sörös, *Elenyészett bencés apátságok* [Abandoned Benedictine Abbeys], vol. XII/B, *A pannonhalmi Szent Benedek rend története* [History of the Benedictine Order at Pannonhalma] (Budapest: Pannonhalmi Szent Benedek Rend, 1912) (hereafter *PRT*).

⁵² Ferenc Kollányi, *A magán-kegyúri jog hazánkban a középkorban* [The Right of Private Patronage in Medieval Hungary], (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1906) (hereafter Kollányi 1906).

⁵³ Kumorovitz 1967.

and interpolations, i.e., the long lawsuit between the abbey and its patrons, which lasted from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century. In his extensive study, Kumorovitz presented the early medieval system of private church endowments, its later development, and the transformation of the patronage right, integrating his findings with the results of international scholarship. Using European parallels, Kumorowitz described the Hungarian kindred monasteries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as parts of the proprietary church system⁵⁴. The most important feature of this system was that the founder could appoint and remove priests from the ecclesiastical institution he had created. In addition, the newly founded monastery – or chapel, parish church, etc. – together with its estates, remained part of the founder's domain, and he could freely dispose of it (sell, pledge, etc.). The papal *Curia*, in order to keep these institutions under the control of the church and regulate this situation, elaborated the system of patronage – appearing in documents as *ius patronatus* – during the second half of the twelfth century. The new system of patronage was built on a set of personal rights – such as *ius praesentationis*, *ius sepulturae*, *ius spoli*, etc. – offered by the church in exchange for the foundation.⁵⁵ In reality, the rights of patrons remained linked to the property (real estate); they were transferred together with the real estate on which the monastery stood (or as a piece of real estate).⁵⁶

The long lawsuit between the monastery and its patrons in Zselicszentjakab, which ended with the success of the latter, shows that this new legal system did not change the situation of private endowments, similarly to the case of Ják Abbey.⁵⁷ Only the terminology was reworded; patronage of monasteries was no longer described with terms such as *monasterio proprio* or *ecclesia propria*, but it was defined with terms introduced by the church: *patronatus*, *ius patronatus*. When the patrons of Zselicszentjakab Abbey attempted to take the goods of the monastery, they were able to achieve their desires.⁵⁸

About the same time when Kumorovitz summarized his views on kindreds, Elemér Mályusz wrote a general overview on ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary which was published a few years later.⁵⁹ He applied a method which permitted revealing the strong sociological implications of

⁵⁴ This terminological construction emphasizes that the church is the property of the founder. The term in Latin: *propria ecclesia*, in Hungarian: *sajátgyház*; in German: *Eigenkirche*. See Kollányi 1906 and Kumorovitz 1967: 49, with further literature.

⁵⁵ Kollányi 1906:11, and chap. 8 passim; Kumorovitz 1967: 72.

⁵⁶ Fügedi 1991: 50-53. According to Fügedi the link with the property is emphasized by the presence of monasteries, parish churches, etc. in late medieval *aestimaciones*, estimations of the estates' values, as parts of goods pertaining to the domain.

⁵⁷ See above: Rác 2000 and Rác 2001.

⁵⁸ For the persistence of the old situation see Kollányi 1906: 14; and Fügedi 1991: 41-42, 44-50.

⁵⁹ Mályusz 1971a. The earliest version of this synthesis was made in the 1930s; parts of it concerning particular problems were published during the next decades. The studies on patronage are: Elemér Mályusz, *A konstanzi zsinat és a Magyar f. kegyúri jog* [The Council of Konstanz and the Presentation Right of Hungarian Kings], *Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréb* 1, ns 9 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1958); idem, "Die Eigenkirche in Ungarn," in *Gedenkbund*

the issue. Due to the nature of the source material – mainly charters and other juridical documents on property relations and other legal issues – the daily practice of the church was inherently embedded in a social framework – and this is what interested Mályusz the most, in contrast to the normative viewpoint of Kollányi. Thus, Mályusz treated the problem of private endowments as part of the general development of the medieval Hungarian church, stressing especially the social status of the founders and patrons. Due to this viewpoint and the wide research range of the study, Mályusz was able to demonstrate the genuinely strong links between monastic foundations and the social elite.

According to Mályusz, persons (or families) who held important military and administrative functions at the royal court were the first to make private endowments (apart from members of the royal family). As for their motives, apart from the evident spiritual ones, Mályusz emphasized fashion, as a desire to imitate the king. He also showed that this fashion also spread among the lower levels of the nobility. He pointed out that the foundation of parish churches and chapels had similar functions as monastic foundations, being more popular for those at a lower social level. He considered the importance of the cult of the ancestors – typical for pre-Christian Hungarians a few centuries earlier – as another important feature of private foundations, which – in his opinion – partly explained their popularity.

During the second half of the twentieth century, and recently, extensive databases were published on the history of individual religious orders,⁶⁰ many of which were characterized by art historical or social historical interest. In fact, ecclesiastical history – due to the unfavorable socio-political climate – has partly become a subject of art historical and social historical studies in Hungarian scholarship. This situation has not changed much with the renascent ecclesiastical life in Hungary. The new start in ecclesiastical studies was heralded by exhibition catalogues and commemorative volumes published for millenary anniversaries or other jubilees, together with regional studies and case studies.⁶¹ The issue of private endowments, however, remained the subject

für Heinrich Felix Schmid, Wiener Archiv für die Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas 5, Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas, third series (Graz, 1966), 76-95.

⁶⁰ On the Premonstratensians see Arisztid F. Oszvald, “Adatok a magyarországi premontreiek Árpád-kori történetéhez” [Dates referring to the Árpadian-age History of the Premonstratensian Order in Hungary], *Mvészettörténeti Értesítő* 6 (1957): 231-254 (hereafter: Oszvald 1957); On the Cistercians: Levente F. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria*, (Rome: Editio Cisterciensis, 1984) (hereafter Hervay 1984). For the Pauline Order see: *Documenta Artis Paulinorum*, vols. 1-3, (Budapest: MTA M v.Tört. Kut.Csop., 1975-1978); *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Paulinerordens*, ed. Kaspar Elm with Dieter R. Baurer, et. al., (Berlin: Duncker&Humblot, 2000); the monograph overviewing the order’s architecture see Tamás Guzsik, *A pálos rend építészete a középkori Magyarországon* [The Architecture of the Pauline Order in Medieval Hungary], (Budapest: Mikes, 2003) (hereafter Guzsik 2003); and studies on the Pauline’s economic activity see Beatrix F. Romhányi, “Pálosgazdálkodás a 15-16. században” [Economic activity of the Paulines during the 15th and 16th centuries], *Századok* 141 (2007): 299-351; eadem, “A lelkiek a földiek nélkül nem tarthatók fenn ...”. *Pálos gazdálkodás a középkorban* [Pauline Economy during the Middle Ages], (Budapest: Gondolat, 2010) (hereafter Romhányi 2010).

⁶¹ *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon. 1000–1541* [Pannonia Regia. Art in Transdanubia. 1000–1541], ed. Árpád Mikó and Imre Takács (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994) (hereafter: *Pannonia Regia*); *Mons Sacer 996-1996*.

mainly of art history and social history. The most recent comprehensive monastery catalogue, compiled under the redaction of Beatrix Romhányi, offers a basic starting point for future research.⁶²

The issue of private endowments was discussed more recently by Kornél Szovák⁶³ in his survey of the early history of the Benedictine Order in Hungary. He underlined possible motivations for founding private monasteries and also highlighted differences between private and royal foundations. He argued that private monasteries were significantly weaker from an economic point of view and they did not have administrative, juridical, and ecclesiastical privileges which were typical for royal foundations. György Rác compared the example of Ják Abbey to Pannonhalma,⁶⁴ which revealed significant differences between the two institutions in terms of their ecclesiastical and secular (economic and juridical) privileges and immunities, the latter being a model of royal foundations. The immunities of Benedictine abbeys founded by the king were analyzed from the point of view of their canonical background by Gergely Kiss.⁶⁵ Thus it became clear, that there were significant differences in means of immunities between royal and private foundations.

The studies mentioned above discussed the question of private monasteries from the viewpoint of ecclesiastical history – examining mainly the connections of monasteries to other church institutions (partly based on the study of canon law) and also to the founding noble families. The work of Kumorovitz and Mályusz, however, added some economic and social historical aspects to this traditional viewpoint. Their studies were of different types – Kumorovitz wrote a case study, while Mályusz presented a general survey. Both, however, underlined – as a significant feature of

Pannonhalma 1000 éve [Mons Sacer 996-1996: One Thousand Years of Pannonhalma], 3 vols., ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi F apáttság, 1996) (hereafter: *Mons Sacer*); *Paradisum Plantavit. Benedictine Monasteries in Medieval Hungary*, ed. Imre Takács, (Pannonhalma: Archabbey of Pannonhalma, 2001) (hereafter: *Paradisum Plantavit*); *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer* [The Southern Part of the Great Plain and Szer during the Middle Ages], ed. Tibor Kollár (Szeged – Budapest: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár – Open Art, 2000) (hereafter: *Dél-Alföld és Szer*); *Építészet a középkori Dél-Magyarországon* [Medieval Architecture of Southern Hungary], ed. Tibor Kollár, (Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010) (hereafter: *Dél-Magyarország*); *Középkori egyházi építészet Szatmárban* [Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture of Szatmár], ed. Tibor Kollár, (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Önkormányzat, 2011) (hereafter: *Szatmár*); *Középkori templomok a Tiszától a Kárpátokig* [Medieval Churches from the Tisza to the Carpathians], ed. Tibor Kollár (Nyíregyháza: Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Terület fejlesztési és Környezetgazdálkodási Ügynökség Nonprofit, 2013) (hereafter: *Kárpátalja*); *Architectura religiosa medieval din Transilvania – Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben – Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania* (hereafter: *Erdély*), vols. 1-5 (Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului S t m rean, 1999-2012).

⁶² Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary], (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000) (hereafter: *Romhányi 2000*); the revised version was edited in the electronic version: *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary], ed. F. Romhányi Beatrix et al., CD-ROM, (Budapest: Arcanum, 2008) (hereafter: *Kolostor CD*).

⁶³ Kornél Szovák, “*Monachorum Pater ac Dux. A bencés szerzetesség korai századai Magyarországon*” [*Monachorum Pater ac Dux. The First Centuries of Benedictine Monasticism in Hungary*], in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 35-47.

⁶⁴ György Rác, “Pannonhalma és Ják. Egy királyi és egy magánkegyúri bencés monostor a középkorban” [Pannonhalma and Ják: Benedictine Monasteries under Royal and Private Patronage] in *Mons Sacer*, 527-537. See also: *Rác 2000*; and *Rác 2001*.

these institutions – that private monasteries were not solely institutions of “faith”, but they also had strong social functions. Studies in other fields of ecclesiastical history might have many connections to the issue of private patronage, but their contribution to the essence of the problem remains marginal. Issues concerning the elements of liturgy add several important observations; similarly important are the contributions on the impact of the church reforms in Hungary,⁶⁶ studies on the artistic and architectural implications of the liturgical needs,⁶⁷ and on the general evolution of the liturgy during the Middle Ages.⁶⁸ The monography of Szabolcs Szuromi concerning the legal grounds of funerary practices⁶⁹ is significant not only for the analysis of churchyard cemeteries but also for burial practices inside the abbey churches. József Laszlovszky has recently discussed the burials of kings and queens in Cistercian abbeys,⁷⁰ establishing that the royal burial place, the provostry of the Holy Virgin at Székesfehérvár, was deliberately abandoned after 1204 (the death of King Imre, buried at Eger), and during the thirteenth century members of royal family chose as final resting places churches they had favored and subventioned personally. This practice might have significantly influenced the burial customs of the nobility. Finally, the collection of church dedications⁷¹ provided an additional set of data with which it was possible to further expand the spectrum of the present analysis.

Overall, the patronage of kindreds over monasteries fits into the general development of private patronage in Hungary. It follows the development from the system of proprietary churches to the *ius patronatus* seen in the terminology, maintaining, at the same time, the essential features of the role and rights of patrons. From the viewpoint of the church, there was no legal difference

⁶⁵ Gergely Kiss: *Abbatia Regalia – Hierarchia Ecclesiastica. A királyi alapítású bencés apátságok egyházi helyzete a 11–13. században* [The status of Royal Benedictine Abbeys within the Ecclesiastical Law], (Budapest: METEM, 2006).

⁶⁶ Ferenc Galla, *A Clunyi reform hatása Magyarországon* [The Effects of the Cluniac Reform in Hungary], (Pécs: Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó, 1931).

⁶⁷ Ernő Marosi, “Megjegyzések a középkori magyarországi művészet liturgiai vonatkozásaihoz” [Remarks on the Liturgical Implications of Medieval Hungarian Art], in ‘*Mert ezt Isten hagyta ...*’ *Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből* [‘Because God allows this ...’ Studies on Popular Piety], ed. by Gábor Tüskés (Budapest: Magvet, 1986): 88–116 (hereafter: Marosi 1986); idem, “Templom épület és liturgikus tér” [The Edifice of the Church and liturgical space], in *Európa közepe 1000 körül: cseh – lengyel – magyar – német – szlovák közös kiállítás* [Central Europe around the year 1000], ed. Éva Garam (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2000): 525–526.

⁶⁸ József Török, *Katolikus egyház és liturgia Magyarországon a kezdetektől a 19. század végéig* [The Catholic Church and Liturgy in Hungary, from the beginnings until the nineteenth century], (Budapest: Mundus: 2000); idem, „A középkori magyarországi liturgia története” [The History of Liturgy in Medieval Hungary], in *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon: Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban. Budapest, Budavári Palota, 1985. november 12. – 1985. február 28.* [Codices in Medieval Hungary. Exhibition in the Széchényi National Library], ed. Csaba Csapodi et al., (Budapest: Interpress, 1985).

⁶⁹ Szabolcs Szuromi, *A temetkezésre vonatkozó egyházfegyelem a XII–XIII. században* [The Ecclesiastical Discipline on Burial Practice during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries], (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 2002).

⁷⁰ József Laszlovszky, “Merániai Gertrúd sírja a pilisi apátságban. Uralkodói temetkezések ciszterci kolostorokban a Magyar Királyságban” [The Burial of Gertrude of Andechs-Meran in the Cistercian Monastery of Pilis. Royal Burials, in Hungarian Cistercian Monasteries], in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára. Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213–2013. Tanulmánykötet*, ed. Judit Majorossy (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014): 125–148.

among the types of church institutions which had patronis (monasteries, parish churches or chapels), and no distinction was made among lay patrons. Monasteries founded and patronized by kindreds were significantly weaker from an economic point of view and did not have the administrative, juridical, and ecclesiastical privileges which were typical for royal foundations. These particularities of private monasteries are reflected in their social-economic status and, possibly, in their architectural features, too.

Art History and Archaeology

There are only a few preserved abbey churches of private monastic foundations, but they provoked the interest of art historians⁷² as early as the end of the nineteenth century. For instance, Kornél Divald used the database of János Karácsonyi⁷³ and the historical geographical surveys of Dezső Csánki⁷⁴ when making his own comprehensive study on these churches.⁷⁵ He noted the similarity of ground-plan arrangements and argued that the high architectural and artistic qualities of these churches represent a “golden-age” of the Hungarian aristocracy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁷⁶ Divald called these monasteries simply family monasteries. The term “kindred monastery” or “kindred church” was used first in reference to their style or building type by Tibor Gerevich in his synthesis on Hungarian Romanesque architecture,⁷⁷ in which he attempted to define this category both typologically and stylistically.

The typological criterion of the group of “kindred monasteries” was the ground-plan arrangement: a triple-aisled basilica, without transept, and with two western (or in some cases eastern) towers. Most churches which belong to this group have three apses, but basilicas with one main apse were also included. A particular but essential detail of this type of ground plan was that the first level of the towers often formed a gallery with the aisles (the aisles were recessed under the towers).⁷⁸ According to Gerevich, the stylistic term for this type was the so-called ‘portal-style’,

⁷¹ András Mez, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben: 11-15. század* [Church Dedications in Hungarian Toponyms: eleventh to fifteenth century]; idem, *Patrocíniumok a középkori Magyarországon* [Church Dedications in Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: METEM, 2003).

⁷² Imre Henszlmann, *Magyarország ó-keresztény, román és átmeneti stílusú emlékeinek rövid ismertetése* [Short Presentation of Hungarian Monuments of Early-Christian, Romanesque and Transitional Style] (Budapest: M emlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1876).

⁷³ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek ...*

⁷⁴ Csánki, *Tört. Földr.*

⁷⁵ Kornél Divald, “Árpádkori családi monostorok” [Family Monasteries of Árpadian Age], *M vészet* 12 (1913): 346-351.

⁷⁶ It was plausible to link the flourishing building activity to the economic and political emergence of noble kindreds during the thirteenth century, also called the “century of the Golden Bull”, the period when most of the preserved monuments were built.

⁷⁷ Tibor Gerevich, *Magyarország román kori emlékei* [Hungarian Romanesque Monuments], (Budapest: M emlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1938) (hereafter: Gerevich 1938).

⁷⁸ In this sense, the case of Somogyvár, Garamszentbenedek, Kapornak, Lébény, Deáki, Aracs, Kaplony, and Ják were cited: Ibid., 103-115.

defined on the basis of common features of the thirteenth century portals of these abbey churches.⁷⁹ The term ‘kindred’ was used as an attribute, by which he meant to explain the social and economic background of this new type of church architecture. Thereby, Gerevich linked his architectural definitions to social historical concepts and interpretations based on Karácsonyi’s work. It must be noted that this art historical concept influenced historical research in general for decades, not only with its artistic implications, but also in its social meaning. This latter usage led social historians to re-examine the issue and refine Karácsonyi’s concepts.

Using the same theoretical and conceptual framework, Tamás Bogyay published several case studies⁸⁰ and also a general survey⁸¹ on this group of monuments in which he attempted to clarify its origins. The next step of research on “kindred monasteries” was the synthesis of the Hungarian art historian Dezső Dercsényi, who explained the stylistic and typological similarities of these monuments with the presence of a “Benedictine workshop”.⁸² According to him, the “kindred monasteries” were commissioned by noble kindreds and the construction works were organized by this workshop, linked to the Benedictine order.

Since art historical interpretations had multiple implications, they often used very different terms to describe these monuments (e.g., “Benedictine type” ground-plan, “kindred monastery”, and the activity [or the style] of the “Benedictine workshop.”), adding another layer of interpretational problems to the social and church historical approaches described above. The need to investigate the social background of this monument group more closely, or, in other words, the attempt to explain how the founders’ needs were reflected in architectural forms, led scholars to open a long debate on the western arrangement of these abbey churches because this part of the church was supposedly the most influenced by the founders’ needs. Two western towers with a gallery between them were initially regarded as a derivation of the Carolingian Westwerks, and, as such, an expression of social prestige and display.⁸³ Géza Entz brought in a new term, “the patron’s gallery”, in order to clearly categorize similar arrangements. He demonstrated that versions of similar spatial arrangements, reduced in size, also appeared in smaller abbey churches (with only one nave) and in

⁷⁹ Gerevich cites the case of Felsőlőr, Pannonhalma, Lébény, Deákmonostor, Karcsa and Ják, see, Ibid. It is worth noting the incoherence of the two lists: the presence of Pannonhalma – a royal foundation – and of Felsőlőr – not an abbey church.

⁸⁰ Tamás Bogyay, “A kapornaki egykori bencés apátság XII. századi bazilikája” [The Twelfth Century Basilica of the Former Benedictine Abbey of Kapornak], *Történetírás* 2 (1938): 153-161; idem, “Az ákosi református templom” [The Calvinist Church of Ákos], *Magyar Építőművészet* 43 (1944): 67-70; idem, *A jáki apátsági templom és Szent Jakab kápolna* [The Abbey Church of Ják and the St. James Chapel], (Szombathely: Minerva, 1943).

⁸¹ Thomas v. Bogyay, “Normannische Invasion – Wiener Bauhütte – Ungarische Romanik,” in *Wandlungen christlicher Kunst im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 of *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, (Baden-Baden, 1953), 273-304.

⁸² Dezső Dercsényi, “A románkor művészete” [The Art of the Romanesque], in *A magyarországi művészet története a honfoglalástól a XIX-ik századig*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Corvina, 1955), 67-75.

parish churches. As he was not able to find any foreign parallels for this type of arrangement, he argued that this was a special Hungarian feature. This point specifically was reviewed by Andrzej Tomaszewski⁸⁴, who discussed the problem by looking at Central European examples, i.e., from medieval Hungary, the Bohemian Kingdom, and Poland. He explained that the function of these western galleries was to fulfill special liturgical needs, linked mostly to funeral and memorial cults. Later, Géza Entz accepted this functional explanation, but he also noted that functions of social display must not be neglected.⁸⁵

At this point, it must be mentioned that the studies discussed so far referred only to the well preserved monuments as examples, altogether about two dozen standing or ruined abbey church buildings. This brings forward two major implications: first, the database of art historical analysis might be too narrow; also, studies often focused only on the abbey church, omitting other buildings of the monastic complex. Archaeological investigations in the last decades, however, have increased the number of monuments available for analysis.⁸⁶ In addition, interdisciplinary projects combining the interpretation of art historical, architectural and archaeological evidence have been carried out before the restorations of some monuments.⁸⁷

In the light of new data provided by field studies, the existing conceptual frameworks have been revised, as well as the typological and stylistic classifications. Based on such case studies, Ernő Marosi has noted that these studies contributed to changes in the methodological paradigms of art history.⁸⁸ Art historical methods used formerly focused on problems of the general development of European art, combining it with the study of its social and economic background. Its conceptual and terminological framework was, thus, determined by a ‘deductive’ approach towards the individual monuments: they were examined as examples of an already established typological

⁸³ Géza Entz, “Westemporen in der ungarischen Romanik,” *Acta Historiae Artium* 6 (1959): 1-19 (hereafter: Entz 1959a); idem, “Nyugati karzatok román kori építészetünkben” [Western Galleries in Hungarian Romanesque Architecture], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 8 (1959): 130-142 (hereafter: Entz 1959b).

⁸⁴ Andrzej Tomaszewski, *Romanskie kościoły z emporami zachodnimi: Polski, Czechy i Węgry* [Romanesque Churches with Western Galleries: Poland, Czech and Hungary] (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1974) (hereafter: Tomaszewski 1974).

⁸⁵ Géza Entz, “Még egyszer a nyugati karzatokról” [Once Again about the Western Galleries], *Építés-Építéstudomány* 12 (1980): 133-141, (Entz 1980); idem, “Zur Frage des Westemporen in der mittelalterlichen Kirchenarchitektur Ungarns,” in *Funktion und Gestalt*, ed. Friedrich Möbius (Weimar, 1984), 240-245 (hereafter: Entz 1984).

⁸⁶ A general survey of the archaeological research on monasteries was made by Éva Mezsiné-Kozák, *A vértesszentkereszt apátság, Művészettörténet–M emlékvédelem* 4 (Budapest, Országos M emlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1993) (hereafter: M.-Kozák 1993), 11-15. Recent literature is available also in entries on individual monasteries in the catalogue of Beatrix Romhányi (Romhányi 2000, passim; and *Kolostor CD*, passim). See also: *Pannonia Regia; Mons Sacer; Paradisum Plantavit; Dél-Alföld és Szer; Dél-Magyarország; Szatmár; Kárpátalja* and several case studies in the volumes of *Erdély*.

⁸⁷ Restoration of the abbey church of Ják is worth mentioning in this respect: *A jáki apostol szobrok* [The Apostles’ Statues of Ják], ed. Edit Szentesi (Budapest: Balassi, 1999) (hereafter: *A jáki apostolszobrok*). It is also worth mentioning the case of Pannonhalma, although it is a royal foundation, the results of the restoration project inspired the monastic archaeology: Csaba László, “Régészeti adatok Pannonhalma építéstörténetéhez” [Archaeological Dates on the Building History of Pannonhalma], in *Mons Sacer*, 143-169; Imre Takács: “Pannonhalma újjáépítése a 13. században” [The Rebuilding of Pannonhalma in the Thirteenth Century], in *Mons Sacer*, 170-236.

system. The methodological change Marosi referred to consisted in the rejection of the ‘deductive’ approach, and in a return to empirical, ‘positivist’ case studies. This paradigmatic change soon led to the critique and deconstruction of the traditional theoretical framework, basing on a more detailed analysis of monuments, but it did not start to form another coherent conceptual system.⁸⁹

Such critiques have proved that the above-mentioned type of ground plan arrangement was not specific to monasteries patronized by kindreds, but collegiate churches and other abbey churches could also have the same type of ground plan.⁹⁰ New approaches also demonstrated that typologies based on ground plans and spatial arrangements must be combined with functional analysis.⁹¹ Only in this way will it be possible to establish more accurate categorizations. This means that further architectural and spatial elements or details – which might have liturgical, juridical or even economic implications – must be considered when making typologies. Such details are, as proposed by Ernő Marosi, the crypt, the position of the towers (western or eastern), and the entrances (western or/and southern/northern),⁹² and some others, like the enclosure of the sanctuary, although this was considered less important since a variety of similar arrangements could satisfy the same liturgical demand. Other typological elements have been discussed in detail, for instance, the problem of western galleries was surveyed by Béla Zsolt Szakács, who demonstrated that first-sight similarities do not stand when a closer inquiry is carried out. There does not seem to be any typological or chronological difference, but each example reflects an individual and unique situation.⁹³ There were, of course, some common patterns with regard to general arrangement and purpose, but these features were not limited to this group of churches only.

⁸⁸ Ernő Marosi, “Bencés építészet az Árpád-kori Magyarországon: A “rendi épít iskolák” problémája” [Benedictine Architecture in Árpadian-age Hungary: The problem of “monastic workshops”], in *Mons Sacer*, 131.

⁸⁹ Two of the most fundamental studies on this topic, with the previous literature are: Sándor Tóth, “A 11-12. századi magyarországi benedek-rendi templomaink maradványai” [Remains of the eleventh-twelfth century Hungarian Benedictine Churches] in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 229-266; and Ernő Marosi, “Bencés építkezések a 13. században” [(Thirteenth-Century Benedictine Building Activities), in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 275-288.

⁹⁰ The collegiate chapter of Szepeshely (Spišská Kapitula, Slovakia) has a similar ground plan, while the abbey churches of Zám, Babócsa, Bodrog-B have more simplified arrangements.

⁹¹ Ernő Marosi, in *Mons Sacer*, 131-142.

⁹² The presence or absence of the crypt – related to the *ius sepulture* – raises the theoretical value (recorded in the medieval estimations / *aestimatio*) of the church. The situation is the same with the towers’ position for the interpretation and for text of the estimations see Fügedi 1991: 50-53, and 59-60; for the architectural interpretation of this source see Ernő Marosi, “Megjegyzések a magyarországi romanika épülettípológiájához” [Remarks on the Typology of Hungarian Romanesque Architecture], in *Erdély* 1: 10-32. The question of entrances determines the axial or transversal arrangement of the church, and through this, its liturgical function, see Marosi 1986: 88-116.

⁹³ Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Zur Typologie der Westemporen,” in *Mitteleuropa. Kunst. Regionen. Beziehungen*, ed. Stefan Oriško (Bratislava, 1993), 4-13 (hereafter: Szakács 1993); idem, “Ambivalent Spaces in Western Complexes of Medieval Hungarian Conventual Churches,” in *Czas i przestrzeń w kulturze średniowiecza. Materiały XIV seminarium mediewistycznego* [Space and time in medieval culture: Materials of the 14th medievalist seminar], (Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1994), 30-32 (hereafter: Szakács 1994); idem, “Western Complexes of Hungarian Churches of the Early XI. Century,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 3 (1997): 149-163 (hereafter: Szakács 2004); idem, “A templomok nyugati tételrendezése és a «nemzetségi monostor» kérdése” [The Western Complexes of the Medieval Hungarian Churches and the Problem of “Kindred Monasteries”], in *Erdély* 3, (2004): 71-98; idem, “Toronyaljak és toronyközök a magyarországi romanikában” [The Ground Floor of the Western Complexes in Hungarian Romanesque Churches], in *Erdély* 4 (2007): 7-36 (hereafter: Szakács 2007); a recent contribution on the topic: Peter Tajkov,

It became clear, that there is no historical evidence for the existence of a “Benedictine workshop” (in fact, it was not possible to demonstrate the existence of any of the presumed monastic workshops), and the so-called ‘portal style’ does not apply to the same monuments as the ones included in the group of ‘kindred monasteries’. It simply does not seem reasonable to assume that stylistic connections are restricted to certain monasteries related to a single order or patronized by a social class. Recent studies have shown that such connections formerly interpreted as activities of monastic workshops are more likely to have regional implications, for example, Ják and Lébény are closer stylistically to the Lower Austrian and Moravian monuments than to the eastern Hungarian ones.⁹⁴ Clearly, the term “kindred monastery” has lost its art historical meaning in reference to a certain type and remained merely a social-historical construct. As its social-historical meaning was questioned, too, its usage, without further refinement, should be avoided. The other term, “Benedictine-type church,” is still applied to churches that have triple-aisled ground plans without transepts, but it should be used with cautions, too, as not all churches of this type are or were Benedictine abbeys.

In the past few decades, archaeological research on monastic sites has become more and more an individualized field of study. In the introduction of her monograph on the Abbey of Vértesszentkereszt, Éva M. Kozák⁹⁵ made a brief overview of the most important monastic excavations up to that point. Since then, a significant number of new excavation reports have been published, together with surveys focusing on the archaeology and art history of certain regions of medieval Hungary⁹⁶. Furthermore, the brick architecture of the Árpadian Age churches of Western Danubia has been analyzed by Ilona Valter.⁹⁷ The relation of monastic sites and early medieval fortifications was studied for the northeastern part of the Hungarian Great Plain,⁹⁸ but unfortunately this early work was not followed by more recent contributions. More recently, Ágnes Ritoók discussed the problem of medieval cemeteries around rural churches and identified the principal issues concerning the analysis of cemeteries, briefly touching upon the issue of burials around kindred monasteries.⁹⁹ It seems that certain graves built with brick or stone frames may be

“Emporové kostolyna Zemplíne. Poznámky k románským dedinským kostolom s vežouna demporou” [Gallery Churches in Zemplín. Notes on the Romanesque village churches with towers above galleries], *Monumentorum Tutela. Ochrana pamiatok* 22 (2010): 333-357 (hereafter: Tajkov 2010).

⁹⁴ Marosi, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 276-278.

⁹⁵ M.-Kozák 1993: 11-15.

⁹⁶ *Pannonia Regia; Dél-Alföld és Szer; Dél-Magyarország; Szatmár; Kárpátalja*, and volumes of *Erdély*.

⁹⁷ Valter 2004.

⁹⁸ Németh Péter, “Szabolcs és Szatmár megyék Árpád-kori földvárjai és monostorai” [Árpadian-Age Monasteries and Earthen Fortifications of Szabolcs and Szatmár Counties], part 1: *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve* 8 no. 2 (1966-1967): 127-134; part 2: *A Nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum Évkönyve* 10 (1967): 91-102.

⁹⁹ Ágnes Ritoók, “A magyarországi falusi templom körüli temet k feltárásának újabb eredményei” [The Latest Results of Excavations of Village Churchyards], *Folia Archaeologica* 46 (1997): 165-177; eadem, “Szempontok a magyarországi templom körüli temet k elemzéséhez” [Elements of the Analysis of the Churchyard Cemeteries], in *Es tu scholaris. Ünnepi tanulmányok Kubinyi András 75. születésnapjára*, Monumenta Historica Budapestinensia XIII, ed.

considered as a special category of burial related to high social status and their distribution in the Hungarian Great Plain was analyzed by Ildikó Papp.¹⁰⁰ The overview of art historical research on the Romanesque Architecture of Hungary of the 1990s and 2000s was provided by Béla Zsolt Szakács,¹⁰¹ while the data provided by historical, art historical, and archaeological studies on monasteries was summarized recently in the catalogue edited by Beatrix Romhányi.¹⁰²

Apart from the studies cited here, the overwhelming majority of archaeological publications are case studies. Some of them cover a wide range of issues, e.g., the study on the foundations of the Hont-Pázmány kindred, published only recently, gives a good overview of the social background, the artistic possibilities and the needs of the kindred and the monastic communities.¹⁰³ Others are mostly concerned with the archaeology of the sites, focusing on the abbey churches, providing new data about their ground plans and spatial arrangements. From a technical point of view, archaeological excavations recovered many carved stone materials and other finds, among them liturgical objects, which have constituted a new source of data for stylistic analysis and dating.¹⁰⁴

Unfortunately, other parts of monastic complexes – the cemeteries, their spatial relationship with the surrounding settlements and with residences of patrons – have not been discussed

F. Romhányi Beatrix et al. (Budapest: BTM, 2004), 115–123 (hereafter Ritoók 2004), eadem, “A templom körüli temetők felfedezése” [The discovery of the Medieval Churchyards], in *Erdély* 4 (2007): 249–276; eadem, “A templom körüli temetők régészeti kutatása [Archaeological research on churchyards]”, in *A középkor és a kora újkor régészete Magyarországon*, vol. 2, ed. Elek Benkő and Gyöngyi Kovács (Budapest: MTA Régészeti Intézete, 2010), 473–494; eadem, “Kolozsmonostor–Kálvária-tető: a temető tanúsága” [Cluj-Monastery. The Testimony of the Cemetery], in *Erdély* 5 (2012): 257–274 (hereafter: Ritoók 2012). See also the collected studies on this topic: “... a halál árnyékának völgyében járok.” *A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása* [Research on Medieval Churchyard Cemeteries], Opuscula Hungarica VI, ed. Ágnes Ritoók and Erika Simonyi (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2005) (hereafter: *Templom körüli temetők*).

¹⁰⁰ Ildikó Papp, *Téglás és téglakeretes temetkezések Csongrád és Békés megyében az Árpád-kortól a késő középkorig* [Burials with bricks and brick frames in Csongrád and Békés Counties, from the Árpadian Age to the Late Middle Ages], (Szeged: OTDK, 1998).

¹⁰¹ Béla Zsolt Szakács, “The Research on Romanesque Architecture in Hungary: A Critical Overview of the Last Twenty Years”, *Arte Medievale*, 4 no. 2 (2005): 31–44.

¹⁰² Romhányi 2000; and *Kolostor CD*.

¹⁰³ Sándor Tóth, *A Hont-Pázmány nemzetség premonstratensiai monostorai* [The Premonstratensian Monasteries of the Hont-Pázmány kindred], (Kecskemét: BT-Press, 2008) (hereafter: Tóth 2008).

¹⁰⁴ Sándor Tóth used the results of recent excavations in his synthesis on eleventh and twelfth century architecture: Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*: 229–266. Results of the research on several sites have been published recently: *Monastirea Bizere* [Bizere Monastery], vol.1, ed. Adrian A. Rusu and Ileana Burnichioiu (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2011); Suzana Móré Heitel, *Începuturile artei medievale românești în bazinul inferior al Mureșului* [The Beginnings of Romanian Medieval Art in the Lower Basin of the Mureș River], (Timișoara: Excelsior Art, 2010) (hereafter: Móré-Heitel 2010); Kornél Bakay, *Somogyvár. Szent Egyed monostor. A somogyvári bencés apátság és védműveinek régészeti feltárása. 1972–2009* [Somogyvár. The Monastery of St. Giles. The Archaeological Research of the Abbey of Somogyvár and its fortifications. 1972–2009], (Budapest: Művelődési Nemzeti Gondnoksága, 2011) (hereafter: Bakay, 2011); for the Abbey of Kolozsmonostor see: Erwin Gáll and Balázs Gergely: *Kolozsvár születése. Régészeti adatok a város 10–13. századi történetéhez* [The birth of Cluj. Archaeological Data on the History of the City from the tenth to the thirteenth century], (Kolozsvár: EME, 2009) and the Romanian version: eadem, *La răscruce de drumuri. Date arheologice privind teritoriul orașului Cluj-Napoca în secolele X–XIII* [On the Crossroads. Archaeological Data Regarding the Territory of Cluj-Napoca City from the tenth to thirteenth century], (Cluj-Napoca: EME, 2010), with the critical remarks of Ritoók 2012; several ongoing research projects are unpublished, only preliminary reports have been presented for sites at Miskolc-Tapolca, Bugac-Pétermonostora, Almád and Vokány-Trinitáspuszta.

systematically. The main reason for this is the limited scope of archaeological investigations (with most of them concentrating on the abbey churches and few projects interested in the study of wider contexts). Apart from abbey churches, additional elements of monastic complexes and landscapes have only been investigated occasionally. An increasing number of research projects more recently, however, offer promising perspectives for comparative studies of monastic complexes and their relationship with the landscape and settlement structure.

Conclusions and Open Questions

The debates on the concept of the “kindred monastery” illustrate that the use of the term “kindred” as a qualifying adjective would be misleading, but it may be still relevant as a possessive, denoting monasteries under the patronage of noble kindreds. No additional ecclesiastical, social or art historical meaning can be accredited to it. From a social historical viewpoint, Fügedi rejected the implications according to which the foundation of monasteries would have had significant role in definition of the kindreds, while Marosi criticized the use of the term in art historical studies, as monasteries under the patronage of noble families did not constitute an art historical or stylistic group. Therefore, I will use the term ‘kindred monastery’ exclusively with regard to its possessive meaning, while the relation of noble families with their monasteries should be discussed in the wider framework of private patronage.

The introductory survey of these debates was also instrumental in setting the chronological boundaries of the evolution of kindred. In written sources, it can be traced back to the twelfth century and continued until the middle of the fourteenth century. This period represents an individual – one might say ‘classic’ – stage in the evolution of this form of social organization. It is parallel with the historical evolution of the social elite of the kingdom: the first signs of its emerging political role (together with its economic and social development) appear during the course of the twelfth century. It is not accidental that from this time onward families forming the elite were usually called kindreds in historical sources. During the thirteenth century these aristocratic families became increasingly influential; due to the creation of castle domains, their rivalries and growing power soon led the kingdom into a state of anarchy, dominated by the political actions of “petty kings” until the first decades of the fourteenth century. In the context of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the term ‘kindred’ can be used, therefore, as a synonym for the social elite or aristocracy of the kingdom, and at the same time, to describe the classic stage of family organization and system of inheritance that characterized this elite group.

For Simon de Kéza, it would have seemed quite simple to define the social elite as he must have been familiar with most of the members of the aristocratic lineages mentioned as ‘kindreds’. For historians of the modern age, however, it is difficult to give a precise definition of the Árpáadian

Age aristocracy. Drawing a line between the aristocracy and the lower social strata of the nobility would be impossible based exclusively on legal documents, as the legal framework of property rights and inheritance was common to all who owned land in medieval Hungary. Since the overwhelming majority of the medieval written sources in Hungary are such legal documents, related mostly to property rights, other types of sources must be considered to clarify the problem and highlight the economic, political, and social differences among noble families. More precisely, the means of social display and prestige consumption should be addressed, and, in this respect, the use of heraldic signs, and specific first names, as well as the *de genere* term, together with narrative aspects of the individual kindreds' traditions shall be of great interest. The foundation and patronage of monastic houses as a research problem shall be also considered among these aspects. Monasteries functioned as burial places of family members and assured the continuous veneration of the cult of the ancestors. Monasteries were also economic institutions and through their artistic-architectural displays they contributed directly to the social display of the patron kindreds. It seems reasonable therefore to think of their artistic qualities and arrangements as aspects of social display which responded to the special memorial and liturgical needs of the kindreds. Among these, one may understand the following: the chronological and spatial distribution of the burials within the graveyard (burial zones with high prestige), burial types and grave-goods (high-status burials), and certain architectural details of the monastic complex (especially the chapels) which might have had liturgical and social implications in relation to the patron kindred.

As for the present state of research, one may conclude that in the early period – in the eleventh and twelfth centuries – the relationship of monasteries with founders and with other church institutions (bishops, monastic orders, and parishes) was centered around the concept of 'private church' (*ecclesia propria*). In the thirteenth century and later the emphasis shifted to the interpretation of the right of patronage *ius patronatus*. It has been pointed out that the terminological change in the sources indeed shifted as an effect of efforts by the papal curia to regulate the issue. In practice, patrons kept their rights to appoint or remove the abbots and they could sell or pledge the whole monastery or parts of its property. This led to conflicts between the monasteries and their patrons, but only a few sources remain attesting such issues. Patrons were in control of power locally and their attitudes largely influenced these power relationships; in some cases the monasteries remained autonomous (independent landowners, with only symbolic interventions by patrons) and other monasteries were simply managed as part of the estate of the patron's family.

From an economic historical viewpoint, kindred monasteries as estates (their assets and possible incomes) need further research. Their devotional and social functions (i.e. burial places, as a means of social display) are also relatively less known. Due to current archaeological and art

historical research, the number of available case studies is increasing, which will broaden the focus of future inquiries: Looking at the whole monastic complex and landscapes (the cloister buildings, additional churches or chapels, the cemeteries, etc.), and the spatial relationship with the surrounding settlement network and patrons' residences. This topographical focus on the micro- and regional levels might help to assess better the position of these monasteries within settlement-history and also reveal a great deal about their economic functions. From a legal historical viewpoint, in terms of their ecclesiastical privileges the same kind of diversity applies: Monasteries under private patronage were different from royal foundations mainly with regard to their privileges. Only a few private monasteries received exemptions from royal or church authorities. Most of them remained under the jurisdiction of local bishops. This difference between private and royal foundations, however, was not specifically related to monasteries, but was the same for other church institutions like parishes. It is also interesting to see the relations between private monasteries and parishes, which seems a relevant point in assessing the status of these monasteries. Monasteries functioned alongside the parish network and the relationship of these two institutions – whether they were subordinated to each other or independent – often remains a problematic and open issue. Whether it was able to administer independently the collection of tithes or not was strongly connected to the status of the monastery within the parish network.

The cases of Zselicszentjakab and Ják are fortunate because their relative richness of sources. Similar cases should be identified and analyzed with complex methods in order to provide new set of data for synthesis. Therefore, it must be noted once again that further case studies are required, which apply interdisciplinary methodology and rely on social historical, ecclesiastical, art historical, and archaeological methods as well. Only this way will it be possible to describe and interpret the conditions that defined that complex micro-cosmos that we call a 'private monastery'.

In this sense, the patronage pattern of members of the Ákos kindred seems an important example. According to sources, it was among the most prestigious kindreds of the twelfth century. Until the beginning of the fourteenth century, members of this family had important administrative positions up to the office of palatine (*comes palatinus*). At a later stage, the kindred disintegrated into several branches and, although some members still had bright careers, others, among them the owners of the village of Ákos, together with a monastery, gradually lost almost all of their possessions. The architectural and archaeological analysis of the monastery offers a set of data, which can be contextualized against this social background. The functional arrangement of the twelfth century basilica – with its annexed chapel and the cemetery around it – is clearly an example of representational and devotional demands of a high status family.

Chapter II

PATTERNS OF PRIVATE PATRONAGE OVER MONASTERIES

The results and limitations of general surveys

Previous surveys have produced a number of corpuses on different monastic orders and estimated the total number of monastic establishments in medieval Hungary (founded until 1540) at around 750.¹ This number must have certainly been higher, as a number of monastic sites remain unknown due to the extensive loss of their records, which renders their topographic localization difficult. However, not only the written sources, but also the archaeological-architectural evidence suffered from destruction due to the Mongol Invasion, Ottoman conquest and the subsequent wars, which especially affected the central and southern parts of the kingdom. Thus, it is difficult to compile a complete list of medieval monasteries.

Several monastic sites are known by place-names only – ending with a suffix or prefix ‘monostor’ or ‘monostora’ (monastery) – like, for example, Galádmonostora (Temes County),² Gyula- / Julamonostora (Zaránd County),³ and Mandamonostora (Baranya county?).⁴ Often there are no other traces of their existence. The toponymic evidence is sometimes supported by archaeological findings or architectural features. For instance, at Gyer monostora (Bihar/Kolozs

¹ The most recent and at the same time most complete monastic database compiling the earlier works on monasticism and the monographs focusing on single order: *Kolostor CD*. Furthermore, for the Benedictines see the catalogues *Mons Sacer* and *Paradisum Plantavit* with previous literature; for the Premonstratensians see Oszvald 1957; Tamás Körmendi, “A premontrei rend megtelepedése az Árpád-kori Magyarországon” [The Settlement of the Premonstratensians in Hungary], I-II, *Turul* 74 (2001): 103-111, *Turul* 75 (2002): 45-55; idem, “A magyarországi premontrei cirkária az 1241/1242-i tatárjárást követő évtizedekben (az írásos források alapján)” [The Premonstratensian Province of Hungary, during the decades Following the Mongol Invasion of 1241/1242, on the basis of written sources], *Kút* 1 (2002): 2-35; for Cistercians Hervay 1984; László Solymosi, “Észrevételek a Ciszterci Rend magyarországi történetének repertóriumáról” [Observations on the Repertory of the Cistercian Order in Hungary], *Levéltári Közlemények* 55 (1984): 237-251; László Koszta, “A ciszterci rend története Magyarországon kolostoraik alapítása idején. 1142-1270” [History of Cistercian Order in Hungary during the period of the foundation of monastic houses: 1142-1270], *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok* 5, no. 1-2 (1993): 115-128; for Pauline Hermits see Guzsik 2003 and Romhányi 2010.

² Mentioned as a place name in 1462: Csánki, *Tört.Földr.*, II, 38; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 542.

³ Two charters of King Charles Robert Anjou were issued at *Julamunustura* in 1313: Anjou-kori Oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia, (hereafter: *AO*) I, (1301-1305), ed. Kristó Gyula (Szeged: József Attila Tudomány Egyetem, 1990), 313; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 543.

⁴ Mentioned as a place name from where a royal official came: Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 545.

County)⁵ and Harina (Mönchsdorf = “monk’s village”, Doboka County, fig. 58)⁶ the church buildings have been preserved, so in these cases the monastery can be studied through architectural analysis. In other cases, like Aracs (Aracs, Torontál County) the settlement names are less telling, and only the ruins of the church (fig. 56),⁷ and other archaeological remains (e.g., in Herpály⁸ – fig. 57) are known. Finally, there are also monasteries which are mentioned in the sources, but their locations are uncertain – this is the case, for example, with several Premonstratensian houses which appear in the catalogues of the order.⁹

In the cases where written sources are available, the evidence is often not substantial enough – from either a topographical or historical point of view – to give details on the monastery. The most common types of data or information which can be retrieved are the variants of place-names, the topographic locations (place, county, and bishopric), the affiliations and patron saints, the identities of founders and patrons, the dates of the foundation and dissolution, and, occasionally, some important historical events related to the particular monastery. The scarcity of the relevant sources is in contrast with the high number of medieval written documents related to monasteries. The majority of them are, however, charters issued by monasteries as places of authentication (*loca credibilia*), as a simple check of the issuers of charters kept in the medieval collection of the National Archives of Hungary (DL and DF) show. In these cases, monasteries acted as juridical authorities, issuing deeds with public authenticity, substituting in many respects for the notary public. Therefore, these documents bear no direct information on the monastery itself, only indirect hints on the network of social relations of the monastery. While these circumstances can be understood clearly as limitations for a qualitative type of approach, in contrast they offer the possibility for a comparative quantitative survey.

With regard to this, establishing a chronological framework is a prerequisite. The turn of the tenth century, i.e., the beginning of Christianization and the settlement of the first monastic houses (belonging to the Benedictines) is clearly the starting date. As an end date, the end of the fourteenth century may be assigned, corresponding with dynastic chronology in the sense that the interim four centuries cover the period of Árpáadian rule (until 1301), as well as of the house of Anjou (ending with the death of King Louis the Great of Anjou in 1382). Why this date is relevant, however, needs further clarification.

⁵ Entz 1994, 48-49; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 543.

⁶ Entz 1994, 28-29; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 543-544.

⁷ Endre Raffay, “Az aracsi templom” [The Church of Aracs], in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 449-475; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 538-539.

⁸ György Módy and Károly Kozák, “A herpályi templomromnál végzett régészeti kutatás és helyreállítás (1972-1975)” [The Archaeological Research and Rehabilitation of the Church ruin of Herpály], *Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve* 1 (1976): 49-103 (hereafter: Módy-Kozák 1976).

⁹ Provostries of Cheym, Ocranensis, Zich: Oszvald 1957, passim.

Following the death of King Louis of Anjou there was a transitory period starting with the coronation of King Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1387 and ending with the political stabilization of his rule in 1404, when rebellions were settled. These roughly two decades were characterized by turbulence and political rivalries during which there was a marked shift in the composition of political elites – an aspect social historians regard as most important for this short period.¹⁰ This set of social changes makes the end of the fourteenth century significant in terms of chronological periodization. The number and extent of the royal domains decreased dramatically at this time. The Árpadian kings owned large domains, controlling thereby – as well as kings and as private landlords – roughly the three quarters of the total area of the kingdom. Despite the weakening royal power in the last decade of the thirteenth century, the Anjou kings still managed to retain a large part of the royal domains, owning more or less half of the approximately 300 castles in the kingdom. King Sigismund, however, who was compelled to make alliances, granted royal estates to his supporters as rewards for their loyalty, thus, only one quarter of the castle domains (cca. 70 out of 300) remained in his ownership.¹¹ The king was still the most powerful among feudal landlords, but some established aristocratic families with newly acquired large royal estates could easily counterbalance royal authority. Thus, historians agree that this period was essential for the beginning of the hereditary aristocracy, which gained in prestige and influence primarily due to royal grants (offices and dignities) and large estates (usually numbering hundreds of settlements). Although the consolidation of the socio-political status of these so-called magnate families which formed the aristocracy took a century, their political, social and economic influence became preponderant from this period onward.

The shift in the status of the aristocracy and of the lower elites, too, certainly influenced patterns of church patronage. Ecclesiastical history, however, has not considered the social background of this change – or its socio-economic implications, like the prosperity and decay of monastic houses, changing aspects of piety – as major aspects, and applied a different chronological framework. The generally accepted chronological boundaries were established by Elemér Mályusz, based predominantly on the expansion dynamics of different monastic orders. Notably, Mályusz defines the end of the thirteenth century as a major turning point, characterized by the decay of traditional (Benedictine) monasticism on one hand, and the spread of mendicant orders on the other hand.¹² From my point of view, such changes occurring in the course of the thirteenth century are particularly interesting, and the study period – covering also the fourteenth century – will make it

¹⁰ Engel 2001.

¹¹ Fügedi 1977.

¹² Mályusz 1971a, 209.

possible to assess the complex set of changes involved with regard to different monastic foundations and patronage patterns.

My sample consists of about 480 monastic houses founded before the year 1400 (see the list of monastic foundations in Appendix 1), which have been selected from the recently published and revised catalogue of monastic houses and of collegiate chapters, edited by Beatrix F. Romhányi,¹³ as well as older surveys (see below). Church historians consider collegiate chapters to be in many ways similar to monastic foundations, regardless of their patronage, I decided to include them in this survey. Hospitallers and other religious military orders, however, seem to be rather separate categories, so they were not considered here – besides, no Hospitaller or military order's house was founded before 1400 by private patrons.

Types of patronage

With regard to patronage, monastic foundations are traditionally divided into three categories. Pongrácz Sörös, the editor of the first systematic survey of Benedictine houses in medieval Hungary, also categorized the abbeys according to this tripartite scheme, namely: foundations by (1) kings, (2) ecclesiastical authorities, or (3) by noble kindreds.¹⁴ This was generally accepted in case of other orders too,¹⁵ but as far as the two latter categories are concerned Erik Fügedi proposed that a distinction should be made between different types of patronage depending on whether the patronage rights were exercised individually or collectively.¹⁶

According to Fügedi's critique, the definition of the third category – based on the seminal study of noble kindreds by János Karácsonyi – was too broad. First of all, Fügedi noted that there was a considerable number of monastic houses (he mentions altogether 32 cases¹⁷), the patrons of which were not included in Karácsonyi's list – neither as individuals nor as kindreds. It was by reviewing this issue that Fügedi recognized the inconsistency of the above classification; it became clear to him, that the concept of kindred involved, in fact, very different social strata, and in the cases of several monasteries not all members of the kindreds held the patronage rights, but it was only one person's privilege. Instead of the three categories, therefore, Fügedi proposed only two: a first to include royal and ecclesiastical foundations where patronage rights were exercised by a single person in the name of an institution, and private foundations by single nobles, and a second category for those under collective patronage rights of noble kindreds, which he termed 'kindred monasteries'.

¹³ *Kolostor CD*, the "Introduction" by Beatrix F. Romhányi.

¹⁴ *PRT XII/B*.

¹⁵ Kollányi 1906; Mályusz 1971a, and Kumorovitz 1967 used the term "private monastery" (*saját/magán monostor*).

¹⁶ Fügedi 1991, 36.

Whether patronage rights were exercised individually or collectively is certainly worth considering, but these categories shifted with time, as the transfer of rights from one branch of a family to another could multiply or reduce the number of patrons and therefore changed the status of a monastery in this respect. Patronage rights exercised by a group a priori could be transferred to a single person – for example, due to inheritance – or vice-versa. The patronage rights of monasteries founded in royal towns were often transferred to the local communities, i.e., town councils, as collective patrons. Perhaps it is because of these issues that more recent discussions on the problem of patronage tend to use rather the traditional categorization, applying the third category in a wider sense to include all kinds of private foundations.¹⁸

Royal, ecclesiastical, and private foundations are being considered as the main categories for this analysis, too, yet some further clarifications shall be made. Namely, Kollányi and others took for granted that the founder and the patron were identical,¹⁹ more precisely, it was assumed that the founder was the patron of the newly created monastery. While evidently the founder's identity is the basis on which a monastery is classified into one of the above categories, there are problems with these foundations (unfortunately a significant number of the medieval Hungarian monasteries fall into this group), where the identity of the founder is not known and the categorization is based on the information on later patrons.

In these cases, the possibility that patronage rights were transferred must be considered. For instance, this happened with houses where the founder was a prelate; at the time of foundation they were under the control of prelates, but later, after the death of the founder, members of the founder's kindred became their patrons. The Benedictine abbeys of Szer²⁰ and Szenttrinitás,²¹ the Premonstratensian Provostry of Rátót,²² and the Cistercian Abbey of Bél²³ can be mentioned here; they all went through this. In case of the Cistercian Abbey of Gotó,²⁴ founded by the archbishop of Kalocsa, it is not clear whether it went into private or royal hands. Following its foundation, the monastery was also endowed by King Andrew II; although such royal support was not uncommon

¹⁷ I.e., Fügedi 1991, p. 36 and p. 38, with note 27 referring to the Smaragd kindred with the patronage over the provostry of Zsámbék.

¹⁸ Kornél Szovák in his overview on the early history of Benedictine Abbeys uses the category of private patronage: Szovák, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 41.

¹⁹ Kollányi 1906; *PRT* XII/B.

²⁰ Unknown affiliation, founded by Kalán of the Bor-Kalán kindred, bishop of Pécs between 1100-1120. Later, the patronage was held by the descendants of the Bor-Kalán kindred: Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 904–905; and Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 516-517.

²¹ Founded by Peter of the Kán kindred, Archbishop of Spalato before 1183. Later the monastery was patronized by the members of this kindred: Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 391–392; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 516.

²² Founded by Mátyás of the Rátót kindred, archbishop of Esztergom around 1240. For the later private patrons see Oszvald 1957, 248.

²³ Bélapátfalva, founded by Kilit of the Bél Kindred, bishop of Eger. For the later private patrons see Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 755-758.

²⁴ Known also as Honesta Vallis, at Kutjevo, Pozsega County. It was founded by Ugrin of the Csák kindred, archbishop of Kalocsa in 1232: Hervay 1984, 476.

in the cases of ecclesiastical or private foundations, it was not a general practice. The later history of Gotó suggests that it remained under private patronage: in 1460, Princess Alexandra, widow of Palatine László of Gara, is mentioned as patron.²⁵ Another example is the Premonstratensian Provostry of Lelesz, founded by Boleszláv, bishop of Vác (of an unknown kindred) around 1196, where the patronage right was donated by the king to the Kállai family of the Balogsemjén kindred at the end of the thirteenth century, and later it went into the hands of other families.²⁶

These examples illustrate that several foundations of ecclesiastical persons were rather perceived as private monasteries – their founders acted as members of their social group, as nobles with landed estates, and not so much as church dignitaries. In these cases, the ties between these monasteries and the patron family were strong due to the property rights, therefore ecclesiastical regulations that would have required patronage rights to be escheated either to the crown or to the diocesan bishop or other ecclesiastical institutions following the founder's death were not observed.²⁷ Instead, customary law was applied; the patronage of these monasteries was inherited by the kin of the founder and their descendants. Where the founding kindred became extinct, patronage rights were almost always transferred to other families, similar to escheated properties from noble kindreds.²⁸ In these cases, the ecclesiastic regulations evidently were not observed, too. Decisions of kings could also be influenced by other aspects. The case of the Benedictine Abbey of Kapornak is illustrative here, as it was donated by King Béla III to members of the Héder kindred in compensation for the Abbey of Küszén, which had been taken from the Héders and transformed into a castle.²⁹

The example of the provostry of Lelesz is likewise interesting in this respect. Although it was an important *locus credibilis* – place of authentication, an office of legal-administration in the northeastern part of the kingdom –, it did not remain under royal patronage either. There were actually other monastic houses under private patronage which traditionally functioned as *loca credibilia* (e.g., Almád, B , Csátár, Kapornak, Lébény, Csorna, and others) from the thirteenth century, however, they were of lesser importance and following the 1351-1353 administrative reform they ceased to function as places of authentication. The main reason behind this administrative change might have been exactly the strong ties between these houses and their patron

²⁵ DL 15451.

²⁶ Oszvald 1957, 245-246. King Wladislaw I donated the patronage to the Csapi family (DL 57694), while King Matthias donated it to Imre Pálóci in 1466 (DL 72006).

²⁷ These provisions were incorporated in the letter of Pope Honorius III written in 1221 urging King Andrew II to observe them, cited by Fügedi 1991, 42, and note 56.

²⁸ József Gerics and Erzsébet Ladányi: "Nemesi jog – királyi jog a középkori magyarországi birtoklásban" [Titles of Noble and Royal Right within the Medieval Hungarian Proprietary Rights]. In vol. József Gerics, *Egyház, állam és gondolkodás Magyarországon a középkorban* [Church, State and Mentality in Medieval Hungary], ed. István Zombori (Budapest: METEM, 1995), 275-294: 277-278.

²⁹ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 495-496.

families. Since members of such families could possibly influence the work of these monasteries to their advantage and this condition could hinder access to royal justice,³⁰ it might have seemed more convenient for the king to keep the patronage right over the provostry of Lelesz for himself – not exposing this important administrative center to such social pressure.³¹ Nevertheless, administrative motives related to political power and governance were less considered than the coercive character of customary law, which could have been the main reason behind giving away the patronage of the escheated monasteries to other patrons.

There is only one monastery where the right of patronage was transferred from private to ecclesiastical hands: the *incorporatio* of the Abbey of Pornó (originally Benedictine) by the Cistercian Abbey of Szentgotthárd. This was, however, due to the particular condition that the patron – Stephen, son of Csépan of the Ják kindred – decided to become a monk, and entered the Cistercian Abbey of Szentgotthárd, donating his patronage right to the convent. He did so by obtaining the agreement of the members of his kindred and the permission of the king.³²

A somewhat similar yet less well documented case is that of the Abbey of Bánmonostor (K). It was founded and richly endowed by Prince Belus³³ around 1150. Despite its wealth, the monastic community seems to have experienced problems by the end of the twelfth century, changing its affiliation a number of times. Finally, in 1229 the monastery became the seat of the newly established Diocese of Szerém.³⁴ It seems that it was under royal patronage, though it is not clear how and when it was incorporated by the cathedral-chapter.

As for collegiate chapters, the case of Mislye, founded by the Somosi branch of the Aba kindred during the second half of the thirteenth century, is cited as similar to that of Pornó Abbey. Through a closer analysis, it became clear that only some patronage rights were transferred here from private to ecclesiastical hands; the diocesan bishop (of Eger) appointed the provost, elected by the canons of the cathedral-chapter. It is clear from the documents, however, that the Aba kindred

³⁰ Kornél Szovák, “‘... *Sub testimonio litterari eiusedm conventus* ...’ Bencés hiteleshelyek a középkori Magyarországon” [Places of Authentication belonging to the Benedictine Order in Medieval Hungary], in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 80-96: 85-86. For Csorna see *Oszvald 1957*, 240-241, and Ádám Vajk, “A csornai premontrei prépostság alapítása” [Foundation of the Premonstratensian Provostry of Csorna], *Soproni Szemle* 58 (2004): 386–395 (hereafter: Vajk 2004).

³¹ The special relation of King Andrew II with the provostry of Lelesz has been detected recently by Tamás Köröendi, “A Gertrúd királyné elleni merénylet körülményei” [The Circumstances of the Murder of Queen Gertrude], in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára. Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213-2013. Tanulmánykötet*, ed. Judit Majorossy (Szentendre: Ferenczy Múzeum, 2014): 95–124.

³² Cited as a singular case by Fügedi, 1991. 42. For the sources and the historical-genealogical circumstances see Rácz 2000, 170.

³³ Son of Uros II, prince of Serbia, and brother of queen Ilona, wife of King Béla II; he was ban of Slavonia (1146-1156) and palatine (1146-1156), see Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája. 1000-1301* [Archontology of the Lay Offices of Hungary: from 1000 to 1301] (Budapest: História – MTA TTI 2011), (hereafter: Zsoldos, *Archontológia*), 16, 41; Hervay, *Paradisum*, 499.

³⁴ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 499.

still maintained the patronage right over the chapter.³⁵ The appointment of the provost by the bishop of Eger was a practice similar to what is documented in case of other collegiate chapters (e.g., Fels őr and Pápóc)³⁶ or Premonstratensian provostries (e.g., Adonymonostora, or Bény),³⁷ where the provosts were appointed by the canons of the cathedral chapters or by the monks of the mother houses – perhaps with the agreement of the patrons. In the case of Mislye, the provost was often a member of the Aba kindred.³⁸ Other examples also suggest that the rights of former private patrons were usually not fully disclaimed, but only diminished when the monastery was transferred, and some rights were strictly reserved to lay patrons concerning the administration of and incomes from monastic properties. This was the case with Adonymonostora, where the estate of the monastery was divided several times among members of the patron family.³⁹

Transfers of patronage rights from private to royal hands are not always clear – there are several ambiguous examples – but in case of the Premonstratensian provostry of Ság, documents are particularly illustrative of the problem. Ság was founded by Márton of the Hont-Pázmány kindred sometime before 1238.⁴⁰ At the consecration of the church, he offered the patronage right to the king, who was also present at the ceremony and accepted it. Later sources confirm that the provostry remained under royal patronage, only the rights were transferred to the queen.⁴¹ In other cases, the process of transfer(s) is not so evident. Ercsi Abbey was founded by Palatine Tamás, around 1185/1186, but its history is obscure; its affiliation changed a number of times.⁴² Thirteenth-century documents suggest that the abbey was under royal control; however, it is not clear how and why this transfer happened. It was perhaps due to the geographical location of the site, on Csepel Island, which was a royal domain. This could have prevented the king from donating the abbey to another patron, making it a rare exception when the escheated property was reserved under royal authority. The similarly exceptional case of the Abbey of Küszén (Güssing, Németújvár) was

³⁵ The later patrons were the members of the Lapispataki family, descended from the Aba kindred. Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 119.

³⁶ During the period from 1387 to 1437, two of the three provosts of Fels őr were canon-priests of the Veszprém cathedral-chapter, and similarly, two of the five provosts of Pápóc were canons of the Gy őr cathedral-chapter, see C. Tóth Norbert, *A székes- és társaskáptalanok prépostjainak archontológiája (1387-1437)* [Archontology of the Provosts of the Cathedral- and Collegiate Chapters, 1387-1437], Budapest: Magyar medieviztikai kutatócsoport, 2013), 53 and 54.

³⁷ The provost of Adonymonostor came from the mother house of Lelesz, while the provost of Bény was from Ság: Oszvald 1957, 232-233.

³⁸ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek* ..., 51; and Engel, *Genealógia*, Aba nem, Somosi branch and Szalánci branch: mg. Mihály, provost of Mislye in 1280-1297; mg. Ivánka, provost of Mislye 1337-1399; and László, provost Mislye 1454-1456.

³⁹ Oszvald 1957, 238-239.

⁴⁰ On Márton see Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 327; Oszvald 1957, 248-249.

⁴¹ Oszvald 1957, 249; Györffy, *ÁTF*, III, 236-240.

⁴² Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 381; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 488.

already mentioned above; it was taken over by King Béla III and transformed into a castle sometime between 1180 and 1190⁴³ – for defense purposes it was evidently also kept in royal hands.

In cases of two other monasteries, patronage rights exchanged hands and reverted to the kings a couple of times. The Benedictine Abbey of Telki was founded around 1190/1198 by *comes* Mika (the bearded).⁴⁴ After the family became extinct, King László IV donated the monastery and its estates to the Dominican nuns on Rabbit Island (today Margaret Island), where his sister, Princess Elizabeth lived, and the patronage was exercised, in fact, by the princess.⁴⁵ It is not known until when the patronage was retained by the royal family, but in 1455 it was donated to László Garai, the palatine, and in 1516 to the Abbey of Pannonhalma.⁴⁶ The patronage of the Cistercian Abbey of Borsmonostor – founded by *banus* Dominicus of the Miskolc kindred – was left to the king as a bequest (in the absence of heirs) by Bors, son of Dominicus,⁴⁷ who died in 1237.⁴⁸ The monastery was held in royal patronage for a few decades, the right of patronage being disputed by members of Aba and Csák, and finally it was donated to members of the Rosd kindred.⁴⁹

Overall, transfers of patronage rights from kings or church dignitaries to private hands and vice-versa seem to have occurred only exceptionally. Kollányi noted that royal foundations were firmly kept under royal control; with some exceptions, they were never transferred to other patrons – lay or ecclesiastical.⁵⁰ Based on the present data collection, I may add that private foundations also remained typically under private patronage except for the examples cited above – all being somewhat special for their circumstances. Thus, transfers seem to have been more common within

⁴³ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 499.

⁴⁴ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 519. On *comes* Mika see Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 332.

⁴⁵ The donation of King Ladislaus IV: RA 2782 (DL 969), while the provisions of Princess Elizabeth were on the vineyard of the monastery: RD, no. 253 (DL 1130).

⁴⁶ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 519; Györffy, *ÁTF*, IV, 702-703.

⁴⁷ RA, no. 606 (cca. 1230-1235, DL 779), see also Hazai *okmánytár*. *Codex diplomaticus patrius*, vol. I-VIII, ed. Imre Nagy et al., (Győr-Budapest, 1865–1891): III/2. 87 dated to 1226, and III/2 197 undated; Hervay 1984, 63-79.

⁴⁸ For Bors' testimonial charter: 1237 see Gusztáv Wenzel, *Árpád-kori új okmánytár*. *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus*, I-XII (Pest, 1860–1874) (hereafter Wenzel) XI, no. 209.

⁴⁹ Wenzel, XI, 294-295: DL220; RA, no. 2829, (1277, DL961); RA, no. 2610 (DL918).

⁵⁰ Kollányi 1906, 114. Exceptions are the Benedictine nunnery of Somlyóvásárhely, the Cistercian Abbey of Pásztó, and the Benedictine abbey of Meszes. The nunnery of Somlyó was donated by King Andrew III, with the agreement of the Archbishop of Esztergom, to *comes* Martinus of the Devecseri family for his faithful service and in exchange for his domains in Bars County, which had been ceded to the king earlier (cf. RA, no. 4154: DL86885, DL86886; and Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 528-529). The motivation behind this exceptional donation was therefore a compensation for the estates donated to the king earlier. The exchange was also advantageous for Martinus, as the domain of the family was situated in the vicinity of the monastic estate. In the case of Pásztó, the motivation is less clear. The patronage right was donated by King Stephen V in 1265 to Stephen, son of Dominic of the Rátót kindred, along with the castle domain of Ágas (cf. RA, no.-s 1840, 1974 and 2324: DL595, DL 596, with further copies and transsumptions: DL73454, DL73520, DL90336). The founder and early patrons of the abbey cannot be identified. One may assume that it could have been the king, as the affiliation of the monastery was changed from Benedictine to Cistercian at the end of the twelfth century. A possible explanation might be that it was given away as part of the royal estate of Ágas. The Abbey of Meszes was founded by Prince Álmos, son of King Géza I and father of King Béla II, around 1100: *CDTrans* I, no. 10 (DL 76136); the abbey was endowed several times by kings and queens (*CDTrans* I, no.-s 10-11, 114, 253, 389), and transferred to the Premonstratensians sometime before 1234. Around the turn of the thirteenth century the monastery was deserted, and the patronage was transferred to private hands in 1361 due to its abandonment (Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 533).

each group (or category), i.e., between members of the royal family, between different church dignitaries/institutions, and also between private patrons through sale or inheritance. Based on this pattern, it is fair to say that patronage types were constant and whenever a monastery is mentioned in a specific context of patronage one may infer – with reasonable accuracy – the type of the foundation as well, even if the identity of the founder cannot be ascertained.

Affiliation, chronology, spatial distribution and patron kindreds

Using the above mentioned pattern as a rule of thumb, 91.87%⁵¹ (441) of the 480 monasteries founded before 1400 could be categorized, i.e., classified, into one of the three types of patronage/foundation. As for the remaining 8.13%, source conditions were so poor that even their locations remain uncertain. In addition to foundations by members of the royal family, also those houses were considered under the “royal” category which were situated in privileged royal towns (*civitas*), since documented examples show that most of them were under direct royal patronage (Buda) – when not, the community, i.e., the town council exercised the right upon receiving privileges from the king (Kassa, Beszterce). Similarly, the monasteries which were founded in diocesan towns or on ecclesiastical lands were all considered ecclesiastical foundations – not only collegiate chapters, but also other monasteries – for example Eger, Várad, or on the estates of Szentmihályköve, the estate of the Transylvanian bishop, etc. Houses founded by other monasteries (e.g., Deáki – filia of Pannonhalma) were also included here. The “royal” and “ecclesiastical” categories represents 43.12% (207) of the total sample.

The remaining 48.75%, altogether 234 sites, belong to the category of private monastery. This number is considerably higher than what has been published by Petrovics (98)⁵² or by Fügedi (91).⁵³ The increase is due, first of all, to expanding the catalogue of monasteries with those known only by their place-names or documented by only a few sources.⁵⁴ Others were included where the patrons were nobles of lesser social status who do not appear to have been members of any kindred, or whose kindreds were not listed by Karácsonyi. The inconsistencies of Karácsonyi’s list have already been pointed out by Fügedi. For example, the Smaragd kindred – the founders and patrons of the provostry of Zsámbék – was missing, and also a number of others (32) whose members were

⁵¹ In the following discussion the percentages are considered more relevant and accurate than the exact values. Although all possible care and attention was dedicated to providing an accurate critique of the sources – both primary and secondary – the exact numbers might be modified due to newly revealed sources or the misinterpretation of the ones already known. The percentages, though, remain valid unless a major flaw is detected.

⁵² Petrovics 1978, 14. A list of the monastic sites was not provided.

⁵³ Fügedi 1991, 38. The list of sites see at note 24. I was not able to identify the monastery of Széplak in Szolnok County, as, apart from the name, no other reference was provided.

⁵⁴ Andos-, Báka-, Büd-, Császlómonostora, Darnó, Galádmonostora, (Monostoros-)Halász, Gyulamonostora, Harina, Hárskút, Herpály, Izsómonostor (Gyán), Jánosi, Kemece-, Kozma-, Kör -, Nánás-, Manda-. Ohat-, Pálmonostora, Pankota, Pap-, Pordány-, Rohoncamonostora, Monostoros-Sáp (Heves), Monostoros-Sáp (Szolnok), Szentgergely, Szerepmonostora, Szólátmonostor, Szolnok, Sz reg, Tömpös-, Ugra-, Vidmonostora, Zenta, Zovány.

identified by Sörös as patrons of Benedictine abbeys whom he could not link to any of the kindreds in the list.⁵⁵ However, it is important to highlight at this point that the present catalogue has not been simply expanded in a technical sense, i.e., to include these monastic houses for which new relevant data has been found concerning their social background, but – in line with more recent approaches on the concept of kindred – it contains all monastic houses under private patronage. In this sense, sites are included even though the patrons and their families, despite being landowners, were not recognized as kindreds (in the meaning of social elite) by previous research.⁵⁶ Two other significant groups added to the list are the monasteries of Pauline hermits and those of the mendicant orders, most of which were founded during the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ Finally, seven Slavonian houses were added,⁵⁸ but none from Croatia. This increased sample offers a much more solid base for analysis in order to establish the complex set of features which characterized private patronage over monasteries.

The chronological distribution of private foundations reflects the general development of monasticism in medieval Hungary.⁵⁹ The origins date back to the eleventh century, although the earliest ones were recorded only in narrative sources or in the documents of the patron kindred or the local monastic community. Documentary references are sometimes confirmed by archaeological or art historical evidence. According to the legend of St. Gerhard, Oroszlámos was founded by Duke Csanád around 1000.⁶⁰ The circumstances of foundation of Ajtonymonostor are less clear, but its name and later patrons suggest that it was founded by duke Ajtony / *Ahtum*.⁶¹ Based on chronicle narratives⁶², the Abbey of Aba-Sár is considered as an early foundation (about 1044) by King Sámuel Aba (not a royal but a private foundation!), similarly, the Abbey of Feldebr was an early foundation of the Aba kindred.⁶³ The Abbey of Pentele is also regarded as an eleventh-century

⁵⁵ Fügedi 1991, p. 36: and p. 38, and note 27.

⁵⁶ The most important examples are: Ábrahám, Almás, Baracska, Béla (Vajas), Berzétémonostora, Csécse, Dömölk, Eszék, Feldebr, Felső örs, Hatvan, (Sopron-)horpács, Iván, Jásd, Kána, Kapos-Szentbenedek, Keresztúr (Baranya), Murakeresztúr, Lehnice, Lekér, Majk, Márcfalva, Martonos, Menedékk, Pápóc, Pok, Rosd-sziget, Karancs-Ság, Siklós, Solymos, Szentgyörgy, Szentjakab, Szentkirály, Tata, Telki, Told, Tomaj.

⁵⁷ Pauline Hermits: Bajcs, Bodrogsziget (Keresztúr), Buzgó, Csatka, Dabas, Dédes, Diósgyőr, Elefánt, Elek, Enyere, Eszeny, Garics, Gatáj, Gombaszög, Hangony, Henye, Jenő, Jofa, Kisbáté, Kút, Kőszeg, Lád Martonyi, Mindszent, (Közép-)Németi, Pathlan, Regéc, Ruszka, Örményes, Szakácsi, Maros-Szentkirály, Szentlászló, Szentpál, Szentpéter, Szerdahely, Sztreza, Tálod, Ungvár, Uzsa, Várhely, Veresmart, Vetahida, Vilye; Franciscan cloisters: Debrecen, Falkos, Gorbonok, Kapronca, Keszthely, Kismarton, Kőszeg, Léka, Ludbreg, Nekcse, Szalárd, Szécsény, Mura-Szemenye, Mező-Telegd, Újlak; Dominican cloisters: Gara, Komárom, Szekcső; Augustin hermits: Harapkó, Pápóc, and Újlak.

⁵⁸ Béla (Vajas), Garics, Gorbonok, Kapronca, Ludbreg, Sztreza in Körös Co. and Bakva in Verce Co.

⁵⁹ Due to the poor source situation, the date of foundation and dissolution were determined in most cases based on indirect sources, archaeological considerations or settlement history. The several foundation charters preserved have been analyzed by historians of the monastic orders. For the Benedictines see Kornél Szovák, “*Monachorum pater et dux...*”, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 39; for Premonstratensians: Oszvald 1957; for Cistercians Hervay 1984.

⁶⁰ SRH. I. 491-493; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 533; Tóth, “Oroszlámos”, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, ...; Miklós Takács, “Az oroszlánosi monostor oroszlánja”, *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 120 (1995): 47–61.

⁶¹ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I:846; *Móré-Heitel* 2010: 63-98.

⁶² SRH. I. 177, 208, 332.; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 509; Tóth, “Abasár”, in *Paradisum Plantavit*,

⁶³ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 541; Tóth, “Feldebr”, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 233-236.

foundation (around 1050) based on historical tradition and its dedication.⁶⁴ In addition to narrative evidence, these early abbeys are mentioned in later charters, dating mostly from the thirteenth century. Two monasteries, Zselicszentjakab (1061)⁶⁵ and Százd (1067)⁶⁶, unequivocally illustrate that private foundations took place as early as the second half of the eleventh century – their foundation charters are available in later transcriptions. In case of Zselicszentjakab, recent archaeological research confirmed that the abbey was founded on the site of an earlier church as was mentioned in the foundation charter.⁶⁷ Besides the already mentioned cases, three more abbeys were founded before the end of the eleventh century: Tata appears in a charter in 1093⁶⁸, and the foundation of Bodrogmonostor⁶⁹ and Sárvármonostor⁷⁰ can be dated to the last decades of the century on the basis of archaeological finds and art historical dating of carved stone fragments. Of the monasteries founded before 1100, only 23.52% (8 out of 34) were private foundations; all the rest were royal.

During the twelfth century, the number of monasteries doubled and the percentage of private foundations increased to 55.12% (43 out of 78). During the course of the thirteenth century, the numbers increased in an even more spectacular way: 221 monasteries were founded, of which 101 were private (45.70%). In order to obtain a more realistic view of the pattern of monastic patronage, however, two distorting factors must be considered. First, written sources are more abundant from the thirteenth century on – this is the period when legal administration became more systematic and the use of written documents became generalized. It is, therefore, less surprising that many monastic foundations are mentioned for the first time only in the thirteenth century even though they had been established earlier. The other factor to take into account is the Mongol invasion. Although a great number of monasteries were devastated, most of them were rebuilt and – with the exception of about 20 to 30 cases – resettled. There must have been a certain fluctuation in numbers, as there were also completely new foundations, some of which may have been established as replacements for the ones which were destroyed. However, even when calculating with a less impressive wave of new foundations in the thirteenth century, there still seems to be a considerable

⁶⁴ Györffy, *ÁTF*, II, 400.

⁶⁵ *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima*, vol. 1 (1000-1131), ed. Georgius Györffy (Budapest: Academia Scientiarum Hungaricae, 1992) (hereafter: *DHA*), I, no. 50/I-II, 169-174, *Kumorovitz 1967*, 43-83, Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 527-528.

⁶⁶ *DHA*, I, no. 58, 182-185; Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 804-805, Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 546.

⁶⁷ István Molnár, “Rövid beszámoló a kaposszentjakabi apátság területén végzett újabb régészeti kutatásról” [Short Report on the Recent Archaeological Research at the Abbey of Kaposszentjakab], *Archaeologia – Altum Castrum Online* (2014), released on the internet: <http://archeologia.hu/content/archeologia/259/kaposszentjakab-molnar.pdf> (accessed 23rd of November 2014).

⁶⁸ *DHA*, I, no. 100, 300; Györffy, *ÁTF*, III, 458-459; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 519.

⁶⁹ On the chronology of the decorated carved stone of Monostorszeg see Tóth, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 240-241.

⁷⁰ Tóth, “Sárvármonostor”, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 368-370; Krisztina Havasi, “Sárvármonostor XI. századi k faragványainak katalógusa elé” [Introduction to the Catalogue of the eleventh Century Stone-Carvings from Sárvármonostor], in *Szatmár*, 26-59.

drop in the numbers in the fourteenth century. Out of 137 new establishments, 48.17% were under private patronage, which is roughly the same as before.

When correlating the affiliation of the monasteries with these chronological periods, it becomes clear that except for three Greek-rite monasteries⁷¹ all private foundations were Benedictine until the last decades of the twelfth century. The earliest private foundations appeared at the end of the twelfth century, such as the Premonstratensian provostries of Garáb (1171) and Hatvan (1180) and the Cistercian Abbey of Borsmonostor (around 1194). Since royal foundations of these orders are significantly earlier – like the Premonstratensian provostroy of Váradel hegy (1130) and the Cistercian Abbey of Cikádor (1141) – and are roughly contemporaneous with the European expansion of these orders and their reform movements, one might suggest that the late appearance of their private foundations may reflect a conservative attitude among the local nobility towards the monastic reform ideas. It must be noted, that, during the next period, the Premonstratensians became rather popular for private foundations, while there were significantly fewer abbeys under private patronage affiliated with the Cistercians. This situation might be explained by the fact that the choice of affiliation was a mutual process, and the reform orders might have had higher requirements for the founders and patrons than the older monastic communities, at least in the first stage of their history. Remarkably, the earliest collegiate chapter under private patronage was founded in the same period as the Premonstratensian and Cistercian private monasteries, at the very end of the twelfth century: Felsőörs in 1199.

During the thirteenth century, preferential patterns in founding private monasteries changed significantly. While before the Mongol invasion (1241) more than half of the new foundations belonged to the Benedictines (26 out of 44 – 59.1%), during the period between 1242 and 1300 interest in them dropped dramatically to 20% (12 out of 58). The remaining 80% were, however, shared among a much broader spectrum of affiliations than before – the Premonstratensians (7), Pauline Hermits (8), and Franciscans (6) being the most popular. This notable shift in preferences towards the mendicant orders became greater during the fourteenth century: 34 out of 66 private foundations favored the Pauline Hermits, six the Franciscans and one the Dominicans, while there were only five Benedictine foundations. This considerable number of mendicant affiliations makes evident that it would be misleading to restrict the research – as previous scholarship did – only to monastic orders, or to a shorter time frame. Extending the analysis both in means of chronological and affiliation allowed detecting the shift in preferences in the affiliation of private monastic foundations.

⁷¹ Oroszlámos (Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 533; Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 865-866), Pentele (Györffy, *ÁTF*, II, 400) and Ajtonymonostor (Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 846).

This evolution confirms the traditional periodization of monastic movements, which perceives the thirteenth century as a turning point. It must be noted, nevertheless, that for private foundations there might have been a certain delay with regard to the trends observed for royal or ecclesiastical ones. When looking at the total numbers of each affiliation, the Benedictines seem to have been the most popular, with 84 monasteries, and the Paulines second, with 46, but they definitely became predominant in the fourteenth century. The number of Premonstratensian provostries under private patronage was much lower under (20), but they were closely connected to a number of influential kindreds. For example, members of the Hont-Pázmány kindred were patrons of three Premonstratensian provostries: Ság (which later became royal), Bény and Bozók (both taken over from the Benedictines). Although only a few Cistercian Abbeys were founded by private patrons, they add up to about one third of the total (6 out of 19). Five of them were genuinely Cistercian (Borsmonostor, Esztergom-Szentmáriamez , Bélháromkút, Gotó, Ábrahám), two were taken over from the Benedictines (Pornó, together with the right of patronage; Szentjános), while two others appear as Cistercian for only a short period of time (Vértesszentkereszt, Szenttrinitás).

As for the geographical distribution of private monasteries (map: fig. 79), most of them were established in the central part of the kingdom. They were present less typically in border regions, and they were exceptional in the provinces which were under special administration (e.g., Transylvania, Slavonia). In case of Transylvania, otherwise, the number of monasteries is much fewer than in other parts of the Kingdom. This geographical distribution of private monasteries is certainly linked to local settlement conditions as well. For example, the heavily forested mountainous regions along the political borders of the country were only settled later, and gradually, with a more substantial population arriving around the turn of the thirteenth century and during the fourteenth century.⁷² In addition, these border regions were important from the very beginning from a political and military point of view and social factors also played a role with regard to special royal privileges, which influenced the social stratification of local societies in a different way from what can be observed in other parts of the kingdom. The legal status of privileged border guards (like the *Székely* / Szeklers or the *Szepesi lándzsás* / pikemen of Zips / Spiš population) and the administrative organization of these territories as royal forest domains formed local elites in the border regions in a similar way. In the Zólyom County, Túróc, Szepes, Slavonia, and Transylvania they typically formed privileged groups which took shape mostly around the turn of the twelfth century and at the time of the Golden Bull (1222).⁷³ These elite groups had similar, but not identical, characteristics and they did not share the status enjoyed by the nobility in the

⁷² See the border counties in Györffy, *ÁTF*: Árva, Bereg, Borsova, Máramaros.

⁷³ Zsoldos 1999 with previous literature.

central area of the country. Apparently the special privileges and duties of these groups influenced their role as patrons of monastic communities.

It has been already noted that several kindreds became patrons of more than one monastery, while a great number of them appear to have had none at all.⁷⁴ Kindreds with more than two monasteries are:⁷⁵ the Gutkeled (11); Aba (9); Rátót (9); Hont-Pázmány (7); Becse-Gergely (6+1, the latter being the monastery of Bethlen, which is probably also linked to this kindred)⁷⁶; Ákos (6); Szentemágócs (6); Hahót (5); Csanád (5); Kán (5); Csák (4); Győr (4); Héder (5); Káta (4); Bor-Kalán (3); Kökényes-Radnót (3); Pok (3); Tibold (3); and the Tomaj (3) kindreds. Notably, the list includes not only wealthy and extensive kindreds – with multiple branches and politically influential members holding high status positions at the royal court (e.g., the Aba, Ákos, Gutkeled, Hont-Pázmány, Csák families etc.) – but there were also less prominent ones – like the Káta or Tibold families⁷⁷ – the estates of which usually did not extend beyond a single county and members who usually did not hold offices more important than county dignitaries. Thus, it seems that there is no straightforward correlation between the prestige of a kindred and the number of monasteries of which it was patron, as has been suggested.⁷⁸ Low status patrons appear to have been numerous among the families which founded/possessed only one or two monasteries. Conclusions based on a purely quantitative viewpoint, however, would not fit the purpose of explaining these differences, but social, economic, and genealogical evidence must be all considered and evaluated for each case.

⁷⁴ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek ...*, Petrovics 1978, and Fügedi 1991.

⁷⁵ Considered with the descending branches and families until 1400.

⁷⁶ *CDTrans I*: no. 181-182.

⁷⁷ Zsoldos 1998: Közsabad had estates located merely in a single county, while the members held offices and dignities which did not reach the rank of county *comes*. One of the cited examples was the case of the Káta kindred.

⁷⁸ Petrovics 1978 and Fügedi 1991. The latter proposes a cultural factor, too.

Chapter III

PRIVATE MONASTERIES IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC TOPOGRAPHY

Results and Limitations of Regional Topographic Surveys

Thus far, the analysis has focused on private monastic patronage in general. Narrowing the spatial framework down to the regional level offers several opportunities for further discussing problems revealed by the general overview. For certain geographical regions a number of topographical studies on ecclesiastical institutions are available.¹ They are partly based on historical geographies written by György Györffy² on the Árpadian era, and by Dezső Csánki covering the rule of the Hunyadis during the fifteenth century.³ In such historical geographical contexts, ecclesiastical institutions – churches and monasteries alike – were always considered as integral parts of the settlement network, and as such, the subject of topographical reconstructions. However, both of these above-mentioned series worked preponderantly on the basis of written sources, neglecting other types of data. More recent archaeological field surveys brought in completely new datasets, partly relying on a more extensive survey of different types of archival sources, and

¹ For the southern part of the Great Plain see László Koszta, “Dél-Magyarországegyházi topográfiája a középkorban” [Ecclesiastical Topography of Southern Hungary during the Middle Ages], in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 41-80; Edit Tari, *Pest megye középkori templomai* [Medieval Churches of Pest County] (Szentendre: Pest Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2000), (hereafter: Tari 2000); Imre Szatmári, *Békés megye középkori templomai* [Medieval Churches of Békés County] (Békéscsaba: Békés MMI, 2005) (hereafter: Szatmári 2005); K. Németh András, *Tolna megye középkori templomai* [Medieval Churches of Tolna County], (Pécs: Publikon, 2011), (hereafter: K. Németh 2011); Csilla Aradi, “Somogy megye Árpád-, és középkori egyházszerkezetének létrejötte és megszilárdulása” [Formation and Consolidation of the Medieval Ecclesiastical Organization of Somogy County], PhD dissertation. Budapest, ELTE-BTK, 2007, (hereafter: Somogyi 2007).

² Györffy, *ÁTF*, I-IV, the series can be completed with the volumes on counties Szabolcs and Szatmár compiled by Péter Németh, *A középkori Szabolcs megye települései* [Settlements of Medieval Szabolcs County], (Nyíregyháza: Ethnica, 1997), (hereafter: Németh 1997); and idem, *A középkori Szatmár megye települései a XV. század elejéig* [Settlements of Medieval Szatmár County until the middle of the fifteenth century], (Nyíregyháza: Jósza András Múzeum, 2008), (hereafter: Németh 2008). Furthermore, information on the early evolution of the settlements of the topography in the historical Torna County can be added to these works: Sebestyén Sárközy, *A történeti Torna településtopográfiája a kezdetektől a 18. század elejéig* [The topography of settlements in historical Torna County, from the beginning until the eighteenth century] (Perkupa: Galyasági település szövetség, 2006).

³ Csánki, *Tört.Földr.*

contributed effectively to a better understanding of the chronological development and the spatial structure and hierarchy of the historic settlement network.⁴

The most important result of these works was a more accurate localization and identification of medieval settlements and monastic sites. While the topographic maps published by Györffy can be seen as the first attempt to reconstruct the spatial relations of monasteries to settlements, roads, and major geographical features,⁵ the site maps created by archaeological topographical surveys have highlighted many more details on these relations (e.g., the topographical position of monasteries within the settlement boundaries or traces of settlements in their vicinity). Results obtained through field surveys, thus, opened up new ways of interpreting the selection pattern of particular settlement sites by different monastic communities as seen against different factors such as the natural, environmental conditions and their changes (access to and management of water and woodland resources), the problem of settlement development (the dynamic changes of historic settlement pattern through migration, concentration of population, desertion of settlements, changing road networks, the historic land-use pattern, and the administrative organization of secular and ecclesiastical estates). In addition to spatial and temporal variations of these factors, which influenced the settlement and the development of monastic communities, there were also a number of abrupt historical events that should be considered as influential, like the Mongol Invasion and the Ottoman Wars, which both caused major destruction.

Unfortunately, these factors have not been analyzed systematically, apart from perhaps one attempt – a case study by Gábor Csüllög on a region enclosed by the Maros, Körös and Tisza Rivers on the Hungarian Great Plain – which considered geographical parameters with regard to site selection of monasteries.⁶ In his opinion, however, the general geographical characteristics of monastic sites do not seem to differ from those of the settlements, as his observations also hold true for settlements in general. Csüllög described two main groups of local geographical factors

⁴ *Magyarország régészeti topográfia* [Archaeological Topography of Hungary], vols. 1-11 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1966-2012), (hereafter: *MRT*): 4 districts of Veszprém County, 1 of Komárom, 3 of Békés, and 3 of Pest.

⁵ Apart from the county maps accompanying the work of Györffy (Györffy, *ÁTF*, I-IV) there are only a few maps on medieval historical-geography with a more restricted area than the whole country. Several of these are useful tools for a more detailed topographic analysis: map of roads and central places (András Kubinyi, *Városfejlés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* [Urban development and market network in the Great-Plain and its margins during the Middle Ages] (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár 14, 2000), *Dél-Alföldi évszázadok* 14), a map of the region between the Körös-Tisza-Maros Rivers (László Blazovich, *Városok az Alföldön a 14-16. században* [Towns in the Hungarian Great Plain from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century], (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 1996), *Dél-Alföldi évszázadok* 17), the map of the medieval Archdiocese of Kalocsa and Bács by Gábor Thoroczkay, and the maps of Transylvania accompanying the publication of charter excerpts: *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae. Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvanas illustrantia. Erdélyi okmánytár. Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez*, ed. Zsigmond Jakó et al., (hereafter *CDTRans*), vols. 1–3 (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 1997–2008).

⁶ Gábor Csüllög, “11-14. századi monostorhelyek a Körös-Maros vidéken és a Közép-Tisza mentén” [Monastic sites in the region of Körös-Maros and along the Middle Tisza, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century], in *Az Alföld történeti földrajza*, ed. S. Frisnyák (Nyíregyháza: MTA Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Tudományos Testület – Nyíregyházi F iskola Földrajz Tanszéke, 2000), 397-406.

influencing the site selection strategy: the primary factors involved the geographical relief, i.e., the orography and hydrography of the area, and the secondary ones the soil, water, and vegetation – in short, the land surface cover. Based on the topographical survey of the area, different types of settlements were grouped into zones, and it was observed that settlements occurred more frequently in areas which connected different geographical zones, i.e., in areas between wetland and low-land, usually on the terraces and alluvial fans, near the openings of valleys where the rivers exit the hilly landscapes and enter the lowlands, as well as at the edge of woodlands and hilly areas. Csüllög also noted that monasteries – more typically than settlements – were located along the rivers at the edge of wetlands, along the rivers or their tributaries, usually on the inner side of ridges and plateaus (higher ground, so-called islands, above flood level).

Although environmental conditions are definitely important for site selection,⁷ from the present point of view – with regard to the problem of monastic patronage – it will be more instructive to discuss the position of monastic sites in the context of ecclesiastical topography (parishes, deaneries, diocese and other monasteries) and the hierarchical network of ecclesiastical institutions. In addition, the social context, namely, patterns of ownership and the topography of domains/estates will be also investigated.

Monasteries and Parishes: A Comparative Overview of Cases from Bihar, Szabolcs and Szatmár Counties

Monasteries are usually perceived and interpreted in a context of affiliation to a network of their own (their *ordo*), just like the establishment of individual parishes is discussed in a context of the organization of the secular church hierarchy. The participation of monastic establishments in pastoral care is often discussed, too, and the topographical data collected so far provides an opportunity to approach this problem in different, though mutually important, respects: to underline the functional role of establishing monastic institutions in certain locations within the hierarchical system of the secular church, as well as to point out motives of patrons as reflected in the selection of specific sites within their estates. Instead of focusing on one of these aspects, their parallel analysis may reveal the social and institutional contexts and functional differences related to the status of monastic foundations, their position in the “spiritual landscape” of the region, and what services they provided for the community of believers.

Church historians usually study parish networks through documents on income, patronage rights, church dedications, or demography, on the basis of which they are able to obtain data on the

⁷ For cases in England, methodologically significant for continental Europe, too: James Bond, *Monastic landscapes*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2014); idem, “The location and siting of Cistercian houses in Wales and the West”, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 154 (2005): 51–79.

density of population and size of parishes and analyze their spatial distribution.⁸ The art historical approach takes architectural features as the starting point.⁹ Recently, a number of studies have also discussed the archeological discoveries in Pest,¹⁰ Békés,¹¹ Tolna,¹² and Somogy counties.¹³ These latter surveys were based on architectural and archaeological evidence as well as on documentary sources and present a detailed and complex picture on the ecclesiastical topography of these regions. One of their central questions was the topographic reconstruction of parish boundaries and their relation to site/settlement distribution. The topographical position of monasteries within the parish system was usually not discussed systematically, though different opinions were formulated according to which monasteries either functioned as independent parishes or were integrated into this network.

Parishes covered the whole area of the kingdom, with one or more settlements forming one parish. Several urban settlements, in contrast, were divided between two or more parishes.¹⁴ With regard to the Árpáadian era, the earliest and most systematic data on the parish network comes from the papal tithe registers dating from between 1332 and 1337.¹⁵ According to the decisions of the

⁸ For medieval Hungary a general view, with the previous literature, is provided by Mályusz 1971a; for parishes see 120-137. For a regional approach see: Erik Fügedi, "Középkori település- és egyházszerkezet az egykori Nyugat-Felvidéken" [Medieval settlement- and ecclesiastic topography of the western part of the former Upper Hungary], *Regnum* 1944-1946, 117-140; idem, "Kirchliche Topographie und Siedlungsverhältnisse im Mittelalter in der Slowakei", *Studia Slavica* 5 (1959), 363-400. The later development is analyzed by Lajos Pásztor, *A magyarság vallásos élete a Jagellók korában* [Religious life in Hungary during the Age of the Jagellonians] (Budapest: Kir. M. Egyetemi Nyomda, 1940; re-edition: Budapest: METEM, 2000); and recently by Marie M. de Cevins, *Az egyház a késő középkori magyar városokban* [The Church in the Towns of Hungary during the Late Middle Ages], (Budapest: METEM, 2003), (hereafter: M. M. de Cevins 2003). The demographic issues and spatial distribution were analyzed on the base of the papal tithe registers by György Györffy, "A pápai tized lajstromok demográfiai értékelésének kérdéséhez" [Problems of the Demographic Interpretation of the Papal Tithe Registers], in *Mályusz Elemér emlékkönyv. Társadalom és a velő történeti tanulmányok*, ed. Éva H. Balázs, Erik Fügedi, and Ferenc Maksay (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1984): 141-157 (hereafter: Györffy 1984).

⁹ The architectural issues with their historical background are discussed by Ernő Marosi, *Középkori falusi templomok Magyarországon* [Medieval Rural Churches of Hungary], (Budapest: Corvina, 1977), and idem, "Pfarrkirchen im mittelalterlichen Ungarn im Spannungsfeld der beherrschenden Kräfte der Gesellschaft und zunehmender Bildungsansprüche", in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter. Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 2008), (hereafter: *Pfarreien im Mittelalter ...*): 201-222, *Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte*, Bd. 238, *Studien zur Germania Sacra*, Bd. 32.

¹⁰ Tari 2000.

¹¹ Szatmári 2005.

¹² K. Németh 2011.

¹³ Aradi 2007.

¹⁴ M. M. de Cevins 2003.

¹⁵ The earliest critical publication: *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia*, series I, tom. 1, ed. Vilmos Fraknói, (Budapest: MTA, 1887 [Reprint: Budapest: METEM, 2000]) (hereafter: *MonVatHung*). For the historical context see the introduction by László Fejérpataky. The extensive data of the tithe registers were used in almost all compilations of local history and the topographical or historical-geographical studies. The earliest systematic adaptation of the papal tithe lists for historical geography was made by Tivadar Ortvay, *Geographia ecclesiastica Hungariae ineunte saeculo XIV. etabulis rationes collectorum pontificorum a. 1281-1375 referentibus eruta, digesta, illustrata. Magyarország egyházi földleírása a XIV. század elején a pápai tizedjegyzékek alapján feltüntetve*, vols I-II (Budapest 1891-1892). The issues of source criticism and problems in the use of the registers as a topographical source were discussed again by György Györffy in his Árpáadian Age historical geography (Györffy, *ÁTF*, I-IV) and in his special study of the problem: Györffy 1984. More recently, studies focusing on the diocese of Transylvania have been published: Géza Hegyi, "Egyházigazgatási határok a középkori Erdélyben (I. közlemény)" [Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval Transylvania. 1st part], *Erdélyi Múzeum* 72 (2010): 1-32; Idem, "A pápai tizedjegyzék

ecumenical councils, a six-year tax was levied by the pope in support of the crusades on the tithes collected from all church benefices. Two papal legates were sent to Hungary to organize and supervise the collection of papal tithes. All kinds of church-benefices (of bishops, deans, canons, abbots, parish priests, and chaplains) were subject to taxation if they had an above-minimum value of income established by the papal authorities. The account book kept by the legates on the administration of the tax recorded the yearly payments and grouped them according to the diocese and deanery. Thus, the tithe register allows reconstructing the ecclesiastical organization of Hungary in the first half of the fourteenth century, being the most important and unique source on this matter.

As for other parts of East Central Europe, the situation is similar with regard to systematic surveys on ecclesiastical topography and hierarchy.¹⁶ The earliest one is the papal tithe registers of the Bishopric of Kulm from 1319.¹⁷ Similar ones are available from 1325 for the territory of the Teutonic Order, and for the Bishopric of Cracow.¹⁸ Also, there is a papal tithe register for the Bishopric of Ratzeburg (in Mecklenburg) dating from 1319, which, though incomplete, includes a significant number of parishes.¹⁹

These registers present several interpretational problems. The most common difficulties are identifying the settlement/parish names and explaining their occasional absence from the lists.²⁰ As for Hungary, the registers are more or less complete for several bishoprics, but in other cases they are entirely or partially missing. Even in the counties where the lists seem to be complete, archaeological surveys and other written sources indicate that a number of parishes and monasteries were left out, despite the fact that they surely existed by the time when these lists were put together. On a general level, this could have resulted from the circumstance that not every settlement had its own parish, but certain parishes could have included more settlements. In some regions, the absence of certain settlements may be explained by the presence of non-Roman Catholic population, such as Eastern Christians, or Muslims (namely, the so called “böszörmény” population in Szabolcs).²¹ It

tévesen azonosított székelyföldi helynevei” [Erroneous Identification of the Toponyms of Szekler-land Mentioned in the Papal Tithe List], in *Tanulmányok a székelység középkori és fejedelemségkori történelmében* 1, ed. András Sófalyi and Zsolt Visy (Énlaka – Székelyudvarhely: Pro Énlaka Alapítvány – Haáz Rezső Múzeum, 2012), 97-113 Énlaka konferenciák 3, (hereafter: Hegyi 2012).

¹⁶ For the Central European situation see the studies edited in the volume cited above: *Pfarreien im Mittelalter ...*

¹⁷ Andrzej Radzimiński, “Pfarreien und Pfarrgeistlichkeit im Deutschordensstaat Preußen”, in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter ...*, 235-260.

¹⁸ Piotr Plisiecki, “The Parochial Network and the Tithes Systems in the Medieval Diocese Cracow”, in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter ...*, 223-234.

¹⁹ *Benefizientaxierungen an der Peripherie. Pfarrorganisation – Pfründeneinkommen – Klerikerbildung im Bistum Ratzeburg*, ed. Stephan Petersen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 2001), Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Bd. 166, Studien zur Germania Sacra, Bd. 23.

²⁰ See Hegyi 2012, for the case of Szekler land.

²¹ Györffy 1984. There were erroneous interpretations, too, based on the extrapolation of the absence of several settlements from the papal tithe lists. For the dioceses of Transylvania, Várad, and Csanád, this led Ștefan Pascu to attribute the absent settlements of the papal tithe list exclusively to a Romanian community of Eastern rite Christians

was also assumed that several ecclesiastic institutions could have been abandoned by that time and since they were vacant during the period of tithe collection they were deliberately left out of the records. All these issues render the systematic, large-scale evaluation of tithe register data ambiguous, while the significance of the registers on the local level is also undermined due to the problematic identification of settlement names. It must be not forgotten, however, that the papal tax was levied on benefices which had an above-minimum income,²² and therefore, a great number of small parishes and monasteries could be left out as they were not required to pay tax at all. Nevertheless, every study on the subject agrees that the registers provide a comprehensive account of parish organization in the first half of the fourteenth century and that this data is relevant for the study of the later period as well.

In order to analyze the topographical situation of monastic sites and parish networks comparatively, a study area of three neighboring counties, all situated in the northeastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain – Szabolcs, Szatmár, and Bihar – has been selected. The abbey of Ákos (Acâ), the object of the detailed case study presented in the next chapters, is situated in the neighboring area, on the northern edge of Közép (Middle) Szolnok County, close to Szatmár (fig. 1 and 2). It is important to note that – with regard to the size of the three selected counties and general character of the landscape here – the data will be more representative of what can be also observed in the central part of the kingdom than in marginal, mountainous, and heavily forested regions close to the political borders. The three counties represent three different bishoprics – Szabolcs Co. belonged to the Diocese of Eger, Bihar Co. to the Diocese of Várad, and Szatmár Co. to Transylvania), therefore, the quality and the quantity of data are slightly different from county to county. To identify the settlements mentioned in the two tithe registers, the map of the medieval kingdom of Hungary by Pál Engel²³ was used as a reference, completed by other data on the respective landowners of the estates and settlements (figs. 52-55). Engel created a complex electronic database, on the basis of which it was possible to reconstruct estate boundaries, i.e., to identify basic territorial units of economic and jurisdictional administration, and their owners. The comparative analysis of this territorial map with the parish network allows the formulation of several observations.

(t. Pascu, “Die Mittelalterlichen Dorfsiedlungen im Siebenbürgen (bis 1400)”, in *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire publiées à l'occasion du XIe Congrès des Sciences Historiques Stockholm, 1960* (Bucharest, 1960), 135-148), neglecting other types of sources (for example, homonyms- and toponymy), and thus obtaining an erroneous interpretation on the medieval demography and ethnic configuration of these regions. For a critique on Pascu's method and results see Györfy 1984, p. 157, note 97.

²² Introduction of László Fejérpataky in *MonVatHung*, I/1. Some scholars are aware of this (Tari 2000), while others are not.

²³ Pál Engel, *Hungary in the Late Middle Ages*, GIS database, (Budapest: Térinfo Bt. – MTA TTI, 2000) (hereafter: Engel, *Map*). Although the map provides information on the late medieval situation, it is useful for the earlier stages, too, with the adaptation of the changes that occurred.

The data presented by the papal tithe register seems to be the most complete in case of Bihar Co. (Diocese of Várad), while it is somewhat less representative for the other two counties. In the case of Bihar, there is an even earlier source to be considered: the list of tithes paid to the Bishop of Várad, recorded between 1291 and 1294²⁴, containing both a list of the villages which paid the tithes in kind, and a list of the clerics who paid the tax of the bishop, the so-called *caritativum subsidium*. This register theoretically provides a full list of parishes and villages in Bihar, and the list of clerics reflects the structure of church administration (parish priests, chaplains, abbots, etc.) under the jurisdiction of the bishop. The two lists mention altogether 241 parishes, while other sources attest the existence of roughly 500 settlements in Bihar Co. by that time.

29 monasteries were founded in Bihar. Apart from the collegiate chapters and monasteries founded in connection with the see of the bishopric of Várad (altogether seven), there were two important royal foundations: the Premonstratensian provostry of Váradel hegy (the promontory of Várad dedicated to St Stephen, the Protomartyr), and the Abbey of Szent Jobb (Sâniob). These two were prestigious, as Váradel hegy was the head of the Premonstratensian houses in Hungary, while the Abbey of Szent Jobb was home to a relic of King St. Steven (his right hand), and beside Várad it also became a center for the cult of the holy kings. Apart of two sites with unknown patron, the remaining 19 monasteries were founded and patronized by noble kindreds, all of which were smaller establishments.²⁵ Five private monasteries are known in Szatmár County – apart from the Franciscan and Dominican friaries in the privileged royal towns of Szatmár and Némethi.²⁶ In Szabolcs County there are ten identified monastic sites altogether which were all private foundations. Some of the monasteries in these three counties are known only from the archeological-architectural record (Herpály, fig. 57), while others only from toponyms or a few written sources which were not relevant even for their locations (i.e., the cases of Andosmonostora, Nánásmonostora, and Szalócmonostor). Historical evidence is more abundant for the remaining ones, so their relation to the parish network can be reconstructed in greater detail. Altogether the number of private monasteries founded in the three selected countries represents roughly 14 to 15% of the total number of private monasteries of Hungary (see the previous chapter), in this sense, the observations formulated here might be representative for other areas, too.

The spatial distribution of parishes in Bihar Co. was relatively dense, yet uneven, as shown by the difference in the numbers of settlements and parishes (fig. 52). In the western part of the county fewer parishes were formed by multiple settlements, whereas the river valleys (in the eastern

²⁴ Published by Emil Jakubovich, “A várad püspökség XIII. századi tizedjegyzéke” [The Tithe Register of Diocese of Várad dating from the thirteenth century], *Magyar Nyelv* 22 no. 5-6 (1926): 220-223; 22 no. 7-8 (1926): 298-302; 22 9-10 (1926): 357-362. The source was used by Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 583-589, and referred to in Györffy 1984.

²⁵ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I: “Bihar megye”.

²⁶ Kaplony, Sárvár, Csaholy, Cégény cf. Németh 2008.

part) were more frequently settled and the number of settlements in parishes was higher. Apart from geographical conditions, the distribution of parishes also seems to have been influenced by the estate structure. The eastern part of Bihar Co. was in the hands of several aristocratic families or church institutions, thus, it was dominated by large estates, while along the river valleys running towards the west and in the low land area, small estate holders, i.e., the lower nobility, were more numerous.²⁷ Within a single domain there were rarely multiple parishes, but usually only one – even in case of larger estates – while in the western parts of the county it was more common to have separate parishes in every settlement.

In Bihar, the 1294 list of parishes seems to contain more entries than the later list. Although it cannot be ruled out that some parishes ceased to exist during the interval between 1294 and 1331, the most plausible explanation remains that certain parishes were left out of the 1331 list deliberately as they had probably received exemption from payment since they did not qualify due to their small incomes. Those parishes, however, which appear to be new could have been founded more recently, as the example of Konyár and Vértés suggests.

In Szatmár Co., the distribution is less dense than in Bihar (fig. 53). The smaller number of documented parishes, however, may be due to the relative lack of data compared to Bihar. Nevertheless, the tendency that there was usually one parish for one estate, irrespective of how many settlements an estate had, can be observed here as well. In case of Szabolcs Co. the list provides less information (fig. 54), but the situation seems similar to Szatmár Co. With regard to monastic sites, the significance of the tithe lists is twofold: They provide an instrument for reconstructing the spatial relations between monastic estates and the parish system and they are also relevant for the localization of certain monasteries. Within my study area, the papal-tithe registers mention two royal foundations (Szentjobb and Váradhegyfok), and four private monasteries (Pályi, Gáborján, and Egyedmonostor in Bihar Co., and Cégénymonostor in Szatmár Co., while in Szabolcs Co. no monasteries were mentioned).

The Premonstratensian Provostry of Pályi was founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century (before 1222) by the Ákos kindred.²⁸ The tithe-list of the bishop of Várad (1294) implies that the Premonstratensian provost paid, together with the parish priest in Pályi, one *ferto* (1/4 of a silver *márka*, i.e., a silver pound). In the papal tithe register the provost is mentioned again as paying separately from the parish priest, but a smaller amount.²⁹ In 1322, the church of Monostorospályi is mentioned to have been dedicated to St. John the Baptist (though the name of

²⁷ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I: “Bihar megye”.

²⁸ Zsigmond Jakó, *Bihar megye a törökpusztítás el tt* [Bihar County before the Ottoman destructions] (Budapest: Sylvester, 1940), Település és népiségtörténeti értekezések 52, (hereafter: Jakó 1940), 317-318; Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 650-651, and Oszvald 1957, 247.

²⁹ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 650-651.

the settlement suggests that the monastery was dedicated to St. Paul). In 1482, it is described as a *monasterium lapideum cum duabus turribus lapideis ab ante constructis*.³⁰ In the same source, however, there is also mention of a church located in a twin settlement (in Hosszúpályi), which is described as an *ecclesia lapidea cum pinnaculoligneo in medioexistenti* dedicated to St. Catherine.³¹

The monastery church of Pályi, located near the present-day Calvinist church, had three naves and semicircular apses (fig. 59).³² One may assume that following the foundation of the Premonstratensian house, the surroundings of the monastery gradually developed into a separate settlement, which also resulted in the use of separate names, i.e., names with separate prefixes (Monostoros-, and Hosszú- Pályi).³³ As attested in 1294, they belonged to the same parish, with a parish church dedicated to St. Catherine in Hosszúpályi. Since the amount paid by the provost was smaller than that paid by the parish priest, the total income of the monastery – in money and in kind – may also have been smaller. Unfortunately, there is no further information concerning the economic background of the monastery, except that it was endowed with parts of the village of Heyka (Ajka, Bihar Co.), the location of which has not yet been identified.³⁴

In case of the abbey of St. Michael in Gáborján, founded by the Gyovad kindred at the beginning of the thirteenth century,³⁵ the abbot, the parish priest, and the chaplain are mentioned as paying the papal-tithe separately. In 1285, it is reported that the patronage rights of the abbey and three other churches – the church of the Holy Virgin in Gáborján, the church of the Holy Cross in Keresztszeg (or Keresztúr), and the church of St. Peter in Szentpéterszeg – were in the hands of the patron kindred, the Gyovads, and all of them were located on the same estate. Since only Gáborján is mentioned in the bishop's tithe-list, this may imply that the three settlements together formed a single parish. A 1340 document mentions two churches in Gáborján: the parish church of the Holy Virgin, and the St. Michael Abbey. Thus, the chaplain mentioned in the papal tithe register, probably serving as chaplain under the jurisdiction of the parish priest, must have been linked to one of the churches in Szentpéterszeg or Keresztszeg – or to both. As for their payments, the abbey paid the twice as much as the parish priest, while the chaplain paid a third or half.

The abbey of All Saints at Egyedmonostor³⁶ was founded by the Gutkeled kindred at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It appears only in the papal register, recorded as paying the papal tax separately from the parish priest, three times as much as him (25 gross to his 8). This significant difference can probably be explained by the size of the abbey estate, received as an

³⁰ Jakó 1940, 318: DL18706.

³¹ Jakó 1940, 317: DL 18706.

³² Zoltán Rác, "Szempontok Monostorpályi Árpád-kori templomának értékeléséhez" [Considerations on the Evaluation of the Árpadian-Age Church of Monostorpályi], *A Bihari Múzeum Évkönyve* 3 (1984): 69–77.

³³ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 650.

³⁴ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 592.

³⁵ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 618-619.

endowment, which comprised parts of the villages of Egyed, Jankafalva (Negyvenszil), and the settlements of Sárfa, Petri, Kágya, and Bag. Parishes in Egyed, Jankafalva, and Kágya are mentioned both by the bishop's and the papal tithe register, which may suggest that the abbey estate was under the jurisdiction of the bishop in the ecclesiastical sense and the abbot acted as a secular landlord.

The abbey of Cégénymonostor, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, was founded by *Comes Kölcsé* of the Szenté-Mágócs kindred sometime before 1181.³⁷ According to the papal register, the abbot paid the same amount of tithe as the parish priest and they are mentioned separately. According to a charter issued in 1181, seven settlements and parts of two more villages belonged to the abbey, which may have provided a fair income.

The Premonstratensian provostry of Adony³⁸ was founded by the Gutkeled kindred after the Mongol invasion in 1241, with its church dedicated to St. Stephen (later also mentioned as the church of the Holy Virgin). Not far from the building complex there was another smaller church, identified by archaeological excavations, which might have been the parish church (figs. 63 and 64).³⁹ The few remaining documents concerning the estate and economy of the provostry reveal that parts of the local village and another nearby settlement belonged to the Premonstratensians. In 1321, members of the patron family made an agreement on the division of the monastic property, but continued to exercise the right of patronage as a common right. The agreement also specified that the monastic church and the adjacent house of the provost were held in common patronage. It is in this context that the papal register records the payment by the parish priest but omits the provost. In 1388, the bishop of Eger had a survey prepared of several parishes in his diocese which reveals further information concerning the relation of the Premonstratensians of Adony to the local parish.⁴⁰ According to this, the parish was provided with a baptismal font, a graveyard, and bells, and the provostry of Lelesz delegated its priest – he was elected from among the canons there and was called the 'provost' of Adony (*prepositusecclesie de Odony communiter nuncupatum*). This suggests that the local monastic community had ceased to exist by then and that their duties and rights had been taken over by the mother house in Lelesz. Since this situation was rather uncommon in the diocese, the bishop had an enquiry organized concerning parishes belonging to the estate of Lelesz in order to reestablish his own jurisdiction, exercised by the chapter dean. Although the

³⁶ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 614–615.

³⁷ Németh 2008, 38–39.

³⁸ Németh 1997, 18–19; Oszvald 1957, 238–239.

³⁹ Németh 1968, 128; Károly Kozák, "A nyíradonyi premontrei prépostság 1936-ban feltárt maradványai" [The Remnants of the Premonstratensian Provostry of Nyíradony Discovered in 1936], *A Debreceni Déli Múzeum Évkönyve* (1974): 267–282.

⁴⁰ This case was discussed in Oszvald 1957, 232.

provostry of Lelesz was held in private patronage by the end of the fourteenth century,⁴¹ it seems to have been exempt from bishopric jurisdiction – which might best be explained by its secular administrative role as a place of authentication (*locus credibilis*). It is not clear how and when the provostry and the parish of Adony were incorporated by Lelesz, but this jurisdictional change is likely to have motivated the opposition of the bishop. Unfortunately, there is no further report on the conflict, so the outcome of the legal procedure remains unknown.

Beszterec Abbey was mentioned the earliest around 1290-1300 and the patronage rights belonged to the members of the Hont-Pázmány kindred. Archaeological excavations have recovered the remains of a three-aisled basilica and a smaller church with a semicircular apse (fig. 60 and 61). The former was identified as the abbey church dedicated to the Holy Savior and the latter as the parish church of All Saints.⁴² The papal register mentions only the parish priest.

The provostry of (Monostoros-)Ábrány⁴³ (Érábrány, Abram) was founded around the beginning of the thirteenth century. The earliest documentary reference dates back to 1234, but archaeologically it was dated to an even earlier period. The amount of church tithe collected from the local parish at the end of the thirteenth century was relatively small. The village was the center of a small estate comprised of four adjacent settlements, on which late fourteenth century documents provide more details. In 1386, the last descendant of the local noble family left, in his will, half of Ábrány together with the patronage right of the provostry to his distant kin. At this time, the other half of the village was owned by the provost of Váradel hegy and this division may imply that the half of the village had originally belonged to the local provostry and was taken by the mother house later. Taking into consideration that the village priest paid a very small amount of tithe, the provost would also have been relatively poor. This might explain why both the parish and the provostry were omitted from the papal tithe register.

In case of the abbey of Szent János, originally a Benedictine site which was taken over by the Cistercians in 1249, the relation with the local parish is much less clear.⁴⁴ The Hontpázmány kindred were the patrons, owners of a large estate around the monastery. The abbot is not mentioned in the papal register, but the surrounding parishes seem to have paid rather big sums.

The above examples demonstrate the variety of ways in which the establishment of monastic communities and the organization of their estates were embedded in the local parish network. The apparent diversity of different types of religious houses (expressed in architectural ways) in local contexts can be seen as a reflection of their different spiritual needs. The registers always mention the church-benefice for which the cleric paid, therefore, clear distinctions can be made for church

⁴¹ Oszvald 1957, 245-246.

⁴² Németh 1997, 40-41.

⁴³ Oszvald 1957, 238; Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 590; unpublished research of T. Em di.

institutions; abbots and provosts are mentioned as *abbas*, or *prepositus*, the parish priests as *sacerdos* or *presbiter*, and chaplains as *capellanus*. Furthermore, church dedications are mentioned consistently – references to parish priests are followed by references to the dedication of the parish churches, likewise for abbeys or provostries, which reinforces their separation as well as their parallel existence. The archaeological evidence often suggests that the topographic relation between monastic and parish churches was close; parish churches have been identified in the direct neighborhood of monastic complexes. The above discussion of the tithe list and other sources not only reveals this topographic relation, but also the local hierarchy of different church institutions.

A great number of private foundations (22 out of the 26 private monasteries founded before 1330, i.e., 85% of the total) were not listed in the tithe registers. Their poor economic status explain this rather than accidental errors or historical conditions influencing their development. Low incomes seem to have been generally characteristic of these foundations, with some exceptions, i. e., Egyed and Gáborján – their yearly incomes did not reach that of a smaller parish. Parishes where such monasteries were located generally paid a considerable amount of tithe, even though the abbots or provosts were not registered. It would be reasonable to argue that monasteries were generally interested in getting control of their local parishes/villages and neighboring ones – especially if their patrons were the local landowners – in order to create a more solid economic background. However, most of the examples discussed above suggest that the situation was often the opposite.

Erik Fügedi also noted that parish priests and abbots appear separately in the tithe registers in other regions of the kingdom.⁴⁵ The above-mentioned examples confirm Fügedi's observations. Moreover, they illustrate that the role of monastic foundations was complementary to that of the parish system, in other words, they do not seem to have played a significant role in pastoral care but met other needs. Such an opinion contradicts previous interpretations of the role of certain monastic orders in Hungary; Ferenc Oszvald, author of a major study on the history of the Premonstratensian order in Hungary, took it for granted that the primary interest of founders of Premonstratensian houses was to provide pastoral care, and, accordingly, that newly established Premonstratensian estates often incorporated already existing local parishes and their incomes and pastoral rights.⁴⁶ Although foundation charters of Premonstratensian houses do not tend to refer to pastoral care, merely reflecting interests of the founders in venerating the patron saints of monasteries and providing care for their souls and for the souls of their ancestors and descendants, Oszvald collected several other sources on the basis of which he wished to illustrate the involvement of the

⁴⁴ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 667-668.

⁴⁵ Fügedi 1991, p. 50, note 107.

⁴⁶ Oszvald 1957, 232-233.

Premonstratensians in pastoral activities. This evidence is, however, not that pertinent to the interpretation of the problem – and to a certain degree even contradicts his supposition – since most of the data came from disputes with parishes, deans, and bishops over matters of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which immediately demonstrates that the Premonstratensians' involvement in such activities was conceived as uncommon and unacceptable to authorities of secular church.

Parishes and monasteries were also distinctively separate from a spatial-topographical point of view; abbey churches served the monastic community only and separate churches with different dedications (e.g., in Beszterec, fig. 60 and 61) were built for the parish. There could also have been lower status churches, chapels, nearby like in case of Gáborján. The fact that parishes situated on monastic estates are often mentioned in the registers shows that they were subject to the jurisdiction of the bishops. All in all, these observations imply that monasteries did not play such an important role in pastoral care as was assumed by previous scholarship. On the contrary, monastic communities probably fulfilled other duties more specifically related to the needs of their founders and patrons.

Monasteries in the socio-economic topography: Centers, residences, estates

As for the topographic situation of the abbeys (founded before 1300 in the study area), they were in almost every case surrounded by the estates of the patrons' kindreds.⁴⁷ In the area surrounding the provostry of Pályi there was a rather large estate owned by the Ákos kindred – the founders and patrons of the monastery – that comprised thirteen settlements stretching along the Berettyó River (fig. 51 and 52).⁴⁸ In the course of the fourteenth century further settlements were established and the domain was divided among three families descended from the kindred. The site of the monastery was located near Nyírpályi (later Monostorospályi), which was one of the earliest settlements of the domain.⁴⁹ The abbey of Gáborján was founded by the Gyovad kindred, who owned a small estate comprising three settlements around the monastery.⁵⁰ The abbey of Egyed (Egyedmonostor) situated around Diószeg and Székelyhíd and comprising around a dozen of settlements, was part of the huge domain of the patron kindred, the Gutkeleds.⁵¹ The westernmost example is the case of Herpály. There is no written evidence on this monastery, only the church ruin found within the confines of the medieval settlement. Its ground plan-arrangement suggests the

⁴⁷ For the extent and boundaries of the settlements and estates the map provided by Engel Pál was used (Engel, *Map*), while their proprietorship and other relevant data were established using the relevant county topographies (Györffy, *ÁTF*, I: "Biharmegye"; for Szabolcs: Németh 1997; and for Szatmár: Németh 2008).

⁴⁸ Jakó 1940, 317-318; Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 650-651.

⁴⁹ See the map provided by Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 581.

⁵⁰ Szentpéterszeg, Keresztzeg / Keresztúr, and Gáborján: Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 618-619, and the map on p. 581.

⁵¹ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 614-615, map 581.

existence of a monastery here (fig. 57).⁵² The monastery was located in the valley of the Berettyó River and was part of a domain comprising five settlements.⁵³

In Szatmár County, the abbey of Kaplony was surrounded by the extensive domain of the Kaplony kindred; the abbey of Csaholy was part of the domain of the Káta kindred, and the monastery of Sárvár was part of the domain of Ecsed, owned by the Gutkeled kindred (fig. 53).⁵⁴ In Szabolcs Co., the case of Adonymonostor should be mentioned; it was surrounded by estates owned by families who were descendants of the patron kindred, the Gutkeleds (fig. 54).⁵⁵

Although the topographical structure of land ownership often remains unclear due to lack of data, these examples suggest that monastic sites usually had a prominent topographic position on the patrons' estates. The sizes of the estates of kindreds or families are important because they might also indicate the status of the particular monastic site. It was often the case that abbeys were situated at the center of lands inherited by families descended from the patron kindred, which shows that monasteries were more likely to be situated in those parts of the estates which were – in the context of the Hungarian system of inheritance – regarded as more ancient, perhaps among the earliest acquisitions of a family. This can be demonstrated clearly in case of Pályi, where the Ákos kindred originally owned a large domain along the valley of the Berettyó River which was later divided through inheritance among the branches of the Bebek, Ernye, and Pocsaji families (fig. 51 and 52).⁵⁶ The monastery of Adony was surrounded by estates owned by the descendants of the Gutkeled kindred, i.e., the settlement of Szakoly was owned by the Szakolyi family, the villages of Aba, Kis- and Nagygút were owned by the Gúti family, and Encsencs and Lugos were owned by the Báthori family (fig. 54).⁵⁷ It is in this context that the names of these monasteries sometimes deliberately evoke the link with the founding kindred. The abbey of Kaplony is a similar illustrative example situated within the study area, but there are dozens with this name pattern around the kingdom. Among them, the case of Ákosmonostor is also worth mentioning; there were two monasteries with the same name – one in Pest County and the other in Közép-Szolnok County – and both were associated with the Ákos kindred.

In conclusion, the evidence surveyed thus far suggests that monastic sites were typically located at the heart of a kindred's domain, near the residences of the founders. Unfortunately, there are few documentary sources for such topographical issues. For instance, Fügedi mentions the

⁵² Módy – Kozák 1976; Károly Kozák, "A herpályi apátsági templomrom építéstörténete" [The Architectural History of the Abbey Church of Herpály], in *Berettyóújfalu története*, ed. György Varga (Berettyóújfalu, 1981), 121–139 (hereafter Kozák 1981).

⁵³ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 625, map 581.

⁵⁴ Németh 2008, *passim*.

⁵⁵ Németh 1997, 18–19.

⁵⁶ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, *passim* and Jakó 1940, *passim*.

⁵⁷ Engel, *Map*.

examples of the Benedictine Abbey of Szerencs and the Cistercian Abbey of Ábrahám.⁵⁸ In the case of Szerencs, there was a conflict between two branches (the Izsépi and Monoki families) of the patron's kin (the Bogát-Radvány family) over the property rights of the monastery. Fortunately, the details of the long lawsuit have come down to us and all the earlier charters documenting subsequent stages of the conflict were recorded in the final decision of the palatine's court in 1400.⁵⁹ The conflict began in 1380 when members of the Monoki family did not acknowledge the patronage rights of the other branch, denying even the bonds of kinship. The oldest document the parties were able to present concerning their rights of patronage dated back to 1252.

Such documents – apart from recording disputes – illustrate that patrons were directly involved in the administration of monastic estates and that they were able to use the economic resources of the monasteries for their own benefit and purposes – sometimes they could even expropriate their lands. Patrons were also in a position to appoint or dismiss the abbots whenever they thought it appropriate to do so. It is worth noting that parties did not question or contest the correctness of the jurisdictional statuses of their opponents, but merely claimed that there should be a clear division of such rights. In the aforementioned case, the abbot himself and the monastic community were not involved personally or collectively in the lawsuit. The supreme court of the palatine, however, influenced by the diocesan bishop, pointed out the abusive nature of such practices, and ordered that the rights of the monastic community should be observed. A decision was made to divide the rights of patronage between the two branches according to the proportion of 1/3 to 2/3, while the palatine also emphasized the principle to avoid potential abuses in the future. Also, the properties of the monastery should not be alienated should preserved for the use of the abbey only, and should be administered by the abbot without any patron interfering. The rights of the patrons should be limited to honorary functions acknowledged by the church – the most important one was the right to be buried within the monastic enclosure. It was explicitly forbidden to seize any part of the income of the monastic estate or to reside in the monastery. All in all, the patrons of Szerencs were not deprived of their rights due to their abusive practices in the past, which might imply that these were possibly not considered grave. In fact, other examples (e.g., that of Ják or Zselicszentjakab, which will be discussed in detail below) suggest that such disputes – between patrons and monastic communities over jurisdictional issues – were fairly common, as

⁵⁸ Fügedi 1991, 48-49.

⁵⁹ Fügedi 1991 cites (p. 48, note 101, and p. 49, note 102) the charter containing the final verdict issued 21 February, 1400 (DL 376), published in regesta in ZsO, II, 98. The other original copy of the verdict is at DL 71908, while a copy made in 1710 is at DL107345. Moreover, several acts were transcribed by the judge royal at an intermediate stage of the lawsuit, in 1387: DL 71896. These four documents, in slightly different variants, keep the integral text or the abstract of 17 charters issued between 1252 and 1400.

patrons often tried to administer monastic estates themselves, used their incomes for themselves, or partially or totally expropriated monastic possessions for themselves.⁶⁰

The above-mentioned case of Ábrahámmonostor (near Dombóvár, Tolna Co.), illustrates that patrons could also – probably quite often – reside at monastic sites. Ábrahám was one of the few private Cistercian monasteries. Ábrahám was founded in 1263 by Moys, master of the queen’s treasury, and his brother, Alexander.⁶¹ A century later, the patronage right was held by the members of the Dárói (or Daróczi) and Majos families.⁶² In 1343, one of the patrons, Nicholas, son of Stephan of the Dárói family, decided to have his residence built near the monastery (“*circa dictum monasterium descendere et curiam, domos et alia edificia construereniterentur*”),⁶³ so he announced his intention at the congregation of the nobles of Tolna County, asking whether anyone would oppose it. The act of declaration and the absence of opposition were put down in a charter by the palatine, who was also present at the meeting. A representative of the other patron family, Michael, son of Majos, was also present, and allegedly had no objection. A similar case was recorded in the case of Császló, which shows that such residential practices were rather usual. The patrons of Császló – members of the Surányi family of the Káta kindred – were summoned to court at their monastery in 1345.⁶⁴ According to customary law, parties should be summoned to court at their residential sites, so it seems probable that several members of the Surányi family had their residences in Császló near the monastery.

The topographic connection between monasteries and residences of patrons is also evidenced for the Árpáadian Age in a number of earthwork sites. Some of them were mentioned in the secondary literature as “small castles” (“kisvár” in Hungarian), several of them appear to have been residences of noble kindreds.⁶⁵ Péter Németh pointed out that several monasteries in Szabolcs and Szatmár counties were associated with such fortified sites. This is the case with the Abbey of Beszterec (fig. 60), which was built on the highest part of an earlier earthwork castle that had been abandoned shortly before the monastery was built.⁶⁶ At Sárvár (Szatmár Co.), the abbey was built

⁶⁰ Mályusz 1971a.

⁶¹ On the foundation: RA 1357; on the career of Moys see Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, 338, note 612. The founder made additional endowments to the monastery RPal, 161. See also Hervay 1984, 47-52.

⁶² Hervay 1984; Engel, *Genealógia*, s. v. *Majos rokonsága*, 1st table.

⁶³ Fügedi 1991 cites (p. 49, note 103).

⁶⁴ Cited by Németh 2008, 44-45: DL 76766; published in *Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vasonkeö. A zichi és vasonke i gróf Zichy-család id sb ágának okmánytára*, ed. Imre Nagy et al, vol. 1-2 (Pest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1872), (hereafter *ZichyOklt*), II, 150.

⁶⁵ These types of castles, usually of small dimensions and built of earth and wood, were regarded as fortifications with “no history” due to the lack of written sources referring to them. They were analyzed, though, with archaeological methods and several interpretations were proposed in order to establish their chronology and function. The overview of the research and analysis of several cases from the later period: Gábor Virágos, *The Social Archaeology of Residential Sites. Hungarian noble residences and their context from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century: an outline for methodology*, BAR International Series 1583, *Achaeolingua* – Central European Series 3 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006).

⁶⁶ Németh 1967, 128, note 7, and p. 132; Németh 1968, 93 and 94, and Németh 1997, 40-41.

next to the earthwork castle on an island in the marshland of Ecsed (fig. 62).⁶⁷ Similarly, Adonymonostora was situated near the earthwork castle of Bels -Gút – notably, the place name is closely similar to the name of the Gutkeled kindred (fig. 63).⁶⁸ Archaeological discoveries at Sárvár and Adonymonostora suggest that these monasteries functioned contemporaneously with the fortifications nearby.

A similar example, though somewhat larger, is Bény (Kisbény / Bina, Slovakia), where an earthwork castle was built on the Garam River at the end of the ninth century and was in use, researchers assume, as the early residence of the Hont-Pázmány kindred until the middle of the twelfth century.⁶⁹ A Benedictine abbey was built during the first decades of the twelfth century, just 500 meters away from the castle. In 1217, it was taken over by the Premonstratensians and a new monastery was built inside the former castle building.⁷⁰ The abbey of Ákosmonostora (Pest Co.) was also built on the site of a former earthwork castle that had been abandoned shortly before.⁷¹ The abbey of Kács, of which the Örsúr kindred were patrons, was built in the vicinity of the earthwork castle at Sály-Lator which belonged to the same kindred.⁷² The provostry of the Holy Cross at Bodrog-B was built at B , where there was also an earthwork castle of the B kindred (fig. 65).⁷³ The Benedictine Abbey of Hahót, dedicated to St. Margaret, was founded by the Buzád-Hahót kindred, built just few kilometers away from the residence of the kindred at Buzád-Sárkánysziget, a site which was localized by archaeological excavations.⁷⁴ The kindred was also patron of another monastery – the provostry of St. Martin – situated on the opposite side of the valley, near Alsórajk.⁷⁵

A recent comprehensive study on the settlement development of county seats considered the presence of monasteries in or near the castles as an important factor for their centrality and later

⁶⁷ Németh 1967, 128, note 4, and p. 132; for the archaeological research see Kálmán Magyar, “Nagyecsed-Sárvár nemzetségi központ kutatása (1975–77)”, *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae* (1984): 146–186 (hereafter: Magyar 1984); Tóth, “Sárvármonostor”, in *ParadisumPlantavit*, 368–370, and V. 6–10; for a more recent analysis of the archaeological research, focused on the stone fragments see Krisztina Havasi, in *Szatmár*, 27–59.

⁶⁸ Németh 1967, 128, note 3, and 132; Németh 1968, 98–100.

⁶⁹ Alois Habovstiak, *Frühmittelalterliche Wallanlage und romanische Bauten in Bina* (Nitra, 1966), 5–13.

⁷⁰ Tóth 2008, 54–88.

⁷¹ Györffy, *ÁTF*, IV, 508; *MRT*, no. 11, vol. XIII/3, *Pest Megye Régészeti Topográfiája. Az Aszódi és Gödöllői Járás* [Archaeological Topography of Pest County. Districts of Aszód and Gödöllő], sub voce *Galgahévíz*, site no. 8/2, 176–183.

⁷² Judit Gábor, “A Sály-Latori nemzetségi központ kutatása”, in *Középkori régészetünk újabb eredményei és időszerű feladatai*, ed I. Fodor and L. Selmeczi (Budapest: MNM, 1985), 115–122.

⁷³ Kálmán Magyar, “A Bodrog-alsó-b i nemzetségi központ régészeti kutatása (1979–1999)” [Archaeological research of the kindred center at Bodrog-Álsó-b], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (2000): 115–161.

⁷⁴ László Vándor, “Archäologische Forschungen in den mittelalterlichen weltlichen und kirchlichen Zentren des Hahót-Buzád-Geschlechts”, *Antaeus* 23 (1996): 183–217.

⁷⁵ Vándor 1996: 190–191. Béla Miklós Székely, “Die Prämonstratenserpropstei von Alsórajk-Kastélydomb”, *Antaeus* 23 (1996): 251–306.

development.⁷⁶ A considerable number of these monasteries were under royal patronage, but there were private foundations as well, like Pélmonostor at Baranyavár, Bodrogmonostor at Bodrog, Ellésmonostor at Csongrád, and Koppánymonostor at Komárom. Although these sites apparently belong to the above-described group of monasteries which were situated in or around fortified residential sites, the topographic relation between monastic complexes and earthworks is not always clear due to the limitations of archaeological interpretation or other circumstances. It seems probable that such sites were not necessarily chosen by the monasteries, but by the founders. However, in certain cases monasteries outlived residential sites that went out of use in later times.

Examination of Engel's map of estates and the lists of papal and bishops' tithes show that parish boundaries and their network were strongly correlated with the estates and not the settlements themselves. Furthermore, the implication of monasteries for pastoral care, assumed by the previous scholarship, is less evident. The tithe lists attest a weaker economic status among the monasteries under private patronage, while other sources reveal the complex topography of churches inside a settlement; besides abbey churches, there were separate parish churches, and besides them occasionally other types of churches. Furthermore, it became clear, that the abbeys were surrounded by the estates of the patrons in almost all cases. Although the inner topography of the estates remains unclear due to lack of data, it can be concluded as a result of the analysis of these case studies that the site of a private monastery was more or less central in the topography of the estate. The most important feature of this topographic situation was the relation with the patrons' residence – being fortified in several cases. Where estates of larger extent were formed, the central character of the monastic site can be detected even on micro-regional level.

⁷⁶ Katalin Szende, "Von der Gespanschaftsburg zur Stadt: warum, wie – oder warum nicht? Ein Möglicher weg der Stadtentwicklung im Mittelalterlichen Ungarn", in *Stadtgründung und Stadtwerdung. Beiträge von Archäologie und Stadtgeschichtsforschung*, ed. Ferdinand Opll (Linz: Österreichischen Arbeitskreises für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 2011), 375–405 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas. Bd. XXII), 386, fig. 3: map of monastic establishments in or near the county.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF PRIVATE MONASTERIES: PROPERTY OR PROPRIETOR

The regional analysis of the topographic issues of monastic sites demonstrates their strong correlation with the estate structure of patrons; they were located at the heart of the estates and close to the residence of the patrons. Besides the evident advantages offered by this central position, at the same time the monasteries became more vulnerable to the patrons. The patrons, in accordance with the customs, were directly involved in the administration of monastic estates and the management of their economic resources. Several cases were selected in order to analyze this issue in more detail.

Properties endowed on monasteries

Documentary sources attest that the earliest private foundations received considerable estates and movables of high value. The abbey of Almád (near Monostorapáti, Zala Co.) was founded and endowed in 1117 by Bánd (father of Atyusz, from whom the Atyusz kindred took its name); the foundation was subsequently confirmed in 1121.¹ These two charters are of great value since they contain detailed accounts on the foundation process and list the properties donated to the monastery. *Comes* Atyusz (Oiguz) donated all the properties he had inherited from his father and several of his other acquisitions to the monastery. As the donation was further enlarged by his step-mother, the estate finally comprised around ten settlements including arable lands, pastures, meadows, forests, mills, and fish-ponds, and a large number of serfs (farmers, wine-growers, craftsmen) and livestock (more than a hundred oxen, horses, pigs, and sheep). The church of the abbey was lavishly equipped with liturgical vestments, clothes, flags, chalices (one of which was made of gold), and a silver censer.

¹ Imre Szentpétery, “Az almádi monostor alapító oklevele II. István korából” [The foundation Charter of Almád Monastery from the Age of King Stephan II], *Magyar Nyelv* 23 (1927): 1117: *DHA*, 403 (no. 146); 1121: transumption in 1420: *ZsO*, *DHA* 411-414 (no. 151). See also Szovák, *Mons Sacer*, 413; and Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 477–478.

The abbey of Csátár was founded around 1141-1146 by *Comes* Martinus, a member of the Gutkeled kindred.² It seems that since he had no children he managed to obtain royal permission to found a monastery and granted all his estates in Csátár and elsewhere to the monks with the agreement of his brothers and his wife, who received other properties. The abbey was endowed with arable land, vineyards, fishponds, 200 horses, 200 oxen, 200 pigs, and 1500 sheep as well as shepherds, servants, and freemen. His wife, Magdalena, made her own contribution. The original donations included two silver chalices, and shortly after the foundation the abbey was also equipped with liturgical outfits and an illustrated Bible in two volumes (the Bible of Admont) worth 30 silver marks.

The foundation of the Benedictine abbey of Bánmonostor (or K , Szerém Co.) is documented by two papal charters by Innocent III, issued in 1198.³ As reported, the monastery was founded by Prince Belus⁴ around 1150, and it was endowed with estates sufficient for the subsistence of 30 monks and also provided care to the poor and visitors. In addition to landed properties, 300 silver marks, crosses, chalices and liturgical vestments were donated. The abbey of Baracska was founded before 1212, dedicated to All Saints.⁵ The founder, Hyppolit, son of Baran of the Baracska kindred, endowed the monastery with estates, vineyards, 135 horses, 50 oxen, 800 sheep and with a sufficient number of serfs.⁶ The Benedictine Abbey of *Mágócs* was endowed in 1251 by Elizabeth, wife of *Comes* Apsa (probably of the Szentemágócs kindred), with serfs which she received as dower, and with three properties in Pozsega County, which was her inheritance (dowry or *quartalia*). The donation was conditional; it was to be received by the monastery upon her and her two daughters' deaths.⁷

Similar examples are known from Bihar Co. As was mentioned, the estate of the abbey of Egyed consisted of parts of the village of Egyed and of the adjacent Jankafalva (Negyvenszil), while the greater part of the estate encompassed the settlements of Sárf , Petri, Kágya and Bag (fig. 52).⁸ As for the abbey of Gáborján, twelfth century sources mention the service people of the abbey and their obligations. They were to pay – per year – 60 loaves of bread, one three-year-old cow/steer, three geese, five hens, six barrels of beer, and three times a year they also had to pay

² RA, I, no. 74; Katalin Dávid, "A hahóti és csatári bencés apátságok alapításáról" [On the Foundation of the Abbeys of Hahót and Csátár], *Vigilia* 43 (1978): 291–296; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 486.

³ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 499.

⁴ Son of the Serbian Duke Uros II, brother of Queen Helena, wife of King Béla II, influential and a confidant loyal to King Géza II. He was *ban* of Croatia and Dalmatia from 1141 to 1157 and in 1163, and at the same time palatine from 1146 to 1157. See Zsoldos, *Archontológia*, passim.

⁵ Györffy, *ÁTF*, II, 348; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 539.

⁶ DF 262518, published by László Solymosi, *A földesúri járadékok rendszere a 13. századi Magyarországon* [The new system of the landlord's revenues in Hungary in the thirteenth century], (Budapest: Argumentum, 1998), (hereafter: Solymosi 1998), 197–199. See also Szovák, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 39.

⁷ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 502; *ZichyOklt*, I, 6–7. For the descendants of the Szentemágócs kindred see Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek ...*, 971–972, and Engel, *Genealógia*, passim.

money for the celebration of holy masses. Additionally, two washerwomen and two freemen were mentioned as serving the abbey.⁹ In Szatmár County, the estate of the abbey of Cégény consisted of seven settlements and parts of two other villages as noted in a charter from 1181 (fig. 53).¹⁰

The abbey of Zselicszentjakab, dedicated to St. James, was one of the earliest private monastic foundations in Hungary (fig. 66). Fortunately, the text of the foundation charter (1061) was preserved in later copies.¹¹ According to this, the monastery was endowed fairly lavishly, with lands (located mainly around the monastery in 26 settlements), serfs, and other goods. The founder, *Comes* Ottó, was a member of the Gy r kindred and the estate was later enlarged with further donations, as copies and confirmations from 1190, 1197 and 1217 attest. Altogether, there were around 20 donors and most of them were members of the kindred – their subsequent donations were all listed in these documents.¹²

In the case of private monasteries, it was rather common that following the original donation by the founder, they received other – royal or private – endowments. In the case of the abbey of Vértesszentkereszt (fig. 67), founded by *Comes* Ugrin of the Csák kindred, one of the *hospites*, named Fulco, granted estates to the monastery in his last will, in 1146.¹³ A certain *Comes* T. granted lands and serfs to the abbey of Kapornak around 1230.¹⁴ The abbey of Almád (founded by the Atyusz kindred, who were also the patrons) received a vineyard from Farcasius, son of Thomas from Tótdörög, by his last will in 1238.¹⁵

The royal support of private monastic foundations can be illustrated by the example of the abbey of Kompolt. It was founded by the Aba kindred, and also received toll incomes as documented by a privilege of King Ladislaus IV in 1280.¹⁶ The above-mentioned Kapornak received several estates from King Géza II.¹⁷ King Andrew II granted the abbey of Koppánmonostor (founded by the Katapán kindred, which was also its patron) lands and serfs of the royal castle at Concó in 1222.¹⁸

Cases presented here suggest that several monasteries under private patronage were fairly well endowed at the time of foundation and later. Some of them – especially the early ones – had

⁸ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 614-615.

⁹ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 619; (VR, 209, entry 213.1).

¹⁰ Péter Németh, “A cégényi (Szatmármegye) monostor 1181. évi összeírásának helynevei” [The toponyms of the properties of Cégény Monastery, Szatmár County, in the year 1181], *A nyíregyházi Jósza András Múzeum Évkönyve* 42 (2000): 59-75; Németh 2008, 38-39.

¹¹ *DHA* 169-174 (50/I-II. sz.) kept in multiple transumption, see Kumorovitz 1964, 55-56, with further references. On the foundation see also *SRH*, I, 363-364.

¹² Kumorovitz 1964, 55.

¹³ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 522-523.

¹⁴ DF 262442, published in *Solymosi* 1998, 202-203.

¹⁵ The charter was issued by Bartholomew, bishop of Veszprém: DF 200007; published in *Solymosi* 1998, 209-210.

¹⁶ RA, II, no. 3047 (DL 1062); Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 498.

¹⁷ RA, I, no. 1160 (DL 42919); Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 495-496, 523.

¹⁸ Györffy, *ÁTF*, III, 409; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 495-496, 523.

possessions and incomes similar to the minor monasteries under royal patronage. The analysis of papal tithe lists, however, attests that the majority of private foundation had a weaker economic status – even below the average incomes of a parish. Moreover, the patrons were involved directly in the administration of the monastic estates and the management of incomes. Several cases indicates that even these few resources were not used entirely for the subsistence of the monastery, but for the patrons’ own purposes, a situation which created conflicts between the patrons and the monastic community.

Conflicts with patrons

The relationship of monasteries to their patrons changed considerably during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are many records concerning conflicts between the different patrons of monasteries, between patrons and other authorities (ecclesiastical or royal) and between patrons and the monastic communities themselves. The changing attitudes of patrons reflected their changing ideas on patronage rights and on the patronage of monastic houses in general.

As for the aforementioned abbey of Zselicszentjakab,¹⁹ thirteenth century documents suggest that the responsibility for administering the properties of the monastery was shared between the abbots and the patrons.²⁰ This collaborative relationship seems to have lasted until the second half of the fourteenth century, when the three branches of the patron kindred divided the possessions of the monastery – sharing also their administrative rights – as recorded in three successive charters in 1366, 1367, and 1372.²¹ These decisions were mediated and documented by the cathedral chapters of Veszprém and Pécs. However, certain parts of the estate remained in the possession of the abbot, a fact which unmasks the reality: The patrons took possession of the wealth of the monastery, invoking the duty of protection, and only a smaller share was left for the monastery. The abbot protested several times against these decisions and finally managed to summon the patrons to the royal court in 1374. Three years later a sentence was brought (quite quickly, considering how long such procedures usually took), depriving the patrons of the rights of

¹⁹ On the history of the abbey, especially on the foundation charters and the other documents relating to the history, see the comprehensive study of Kumorovitz 1964. I will use this study to exemplify a conflict between an abbey and its patrons. On the early history of the patron kindred see also C. Tóth 2001. On the remnants of the abbey and its archaeological research see: Emese Nagy, “El zetes jelentés a kaposszentjakabi apátság feltárásáról” [Preliminary Report on the Research of the Abbey of Kaposszentjakab], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* (1973): 335–339; Kálmán Magyar, *Kaposszentjakab, Bencés apátság romjai* [Kaposszentjakab. The Ruins of the Benedictine Abbey], Tájak, Korok Múzeumok kiskönyvtára, 68 (Budapest: Tájak, Korok Múzeumok, 1981); Tünde L. Szabó, “A kaposszentjakabi bencés apátság m emléki helyreállítása” [The Rehabilitation of the Benedictine Abbey of Kaposszentjakab], *M emlékvédelem* 20 (1976): 165–167. For an art historical analysis see Tóth, “Zselicszentjakab”, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 342–346.

²⁰ In 1282 the abbot of Zselic and the patrons donated a piece of monastic land to reward the faithful service of one of the servants; in 1299, the abbot donated to his serf a house and the attached plot of land with the consent of the patrons. See Kumorovitz 1964.

²¹ Kumorovitz 1964.

patronage due to their abusive practices.²² As the decision was unusually harsh, it was even beyond the expectations of the abbot. It created an uncomfortable situation for the monastery; although the three main branches of the patron family lost their rights, members of other – less prominent and poorer – branches took over, so the monastery was not escheated by the royal authorities. The mutually unfavorable situation forced the two parties to seek consensus; the abbot finally renounced his right to claim back parts of the monastic estates in favor of the former patrons. The community of monks did not seem to agree with this agreement, as *Paulus litteratus*, a member of the monastery, protested in 1382.²³

Four years later, however, during the troubled period that followed the death of King Louis the Great Anjou, the former patrons turned to the widowed queen and her daughter (Elisabeth and Mary) asking for approval of their right to present the abbot to the monastery according to the old customs. They presented their nephew as the new abbot, with recommendations from the abbot of Pannonhalma, the most prestigious and wealthiest Benedictine house in the kingdom, who was finally invested by the bishop of Veszprém in January 1387. The queen's only condition for giving her consent was that a survey made of all monastic properties had to be made in order to avoid further quarrels.²⁴ Nevertheless, it did not help to settle the controversy with the members of the monastery, who repeatedly protested against the abusive practices of the patrons in 1404.²⁵ Finally, in 1422 the abbot requested the king to be the patron of the monastery, King Sigismund, however, rejected this, tacitly approving the rights of the former patrons.²⁶ In doing so, the royal court's sentence only referred to formal considerations; doubts were raised about the authenticity of the documents presented by the abbot, as the eleventh century foundation charter was not sealed – in accordance with the contemporaneous usage – and it was considered corrupt. The verdict of the royal court confirmed the rights of the patron and made clear that the monastery would have no future chance to claim them back. The patrons secured their control over the monastic properties; there is evidence that most of them were in the hands of patron families during the second half of the fifteenth century. Moreover, the patrons also managed to obtain further confirmations of their rights in 1438. In 1499,²⁷ the lawsuit between the monastery and its patrons seems to have ended in favor of the latter party.

²² 1377: The sentence of the judge-royal was: ... *pro huiusmodipotentiarisdetentionibus, spoliationibus et depredationibus iurium possessionariorum ipsius monasterii contra ... Thomam abbatem in facto potentie convictos fore, iure etiam patronatus dicti monasterii privari decrevisset ...*", Kumorovitz 1964.

²³ Kumorovitz 1964.

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ Ibidem.

The story of Ják Abbey²⁸ is similar in many respects, but the conflict between the monastery and its patrons ended in a different way. Ják was founded around 1220 by Martin of the Ják kindred. The building project lasted for three decades and the church was only finished and consecrated in the times of Martin's sons, in 1256 (fig. 68.). The abbey church is one of the best preserved and most important monuments of the Hungarian Romanesque period; art historical interpretations connect its outstanding sculptural program to that of the Bamberg Cathedral.²⁹ The high quality of the artistic decoration demonstrates the founder's effort to create a prestigious monument, even though the estate endowed to the abbey was not as large as such an artistic program might imply. The latest phase of the church building had a simplified character and the cloister was never built, which suggests that the project was finished hastily – perhaps on the initiative of the founder's heirs. The building complex comprised a chapel situated on the southwestern side and several rectangular stone buildings identified through archaeological excavations as the dwellings of the patrons, together with those of the abbot and monks.

As the last grandson of Martin died in 1292, the direct lineage of the patron family became extinct. In the last decade of the thirteenth century and in times of anarchy and civil war in the first decades of the fourteenth century, the monastery suffered a great deal – it was once even burnt down.³⁰ It seems that during this time the monastery had no patrons at all. In 1321, the abbot signed a charter on an exchange of land without mentioning any patrons, whose consent would have been normally required, as also happened in the case of Zselicszentjakab.³¹ Four years later, in 1325, a distant relative of the founder claimed a part of the estate for himself, referring thereby to his right of patronage.³² The court made an inquiry with regard to this, and Abbot James (Jakab) finally acknowledged the claimant as kin of the founder, who had the right of patronage. This, however, soon led to conflicts: in 1332, the successor of James, Abbot Hieronymus (Jeromos), obtained a letter of protection from the king, claiming that the true patrons were not known since the charters

²⁸ On the historical sources referring to the abbey see Rácz 2000; Rácz 2001. I will use these studies to present below the conflict between the abbey and its patrons.

²⁹ The most comprehensive studies on the building of the abbey church were published in the context of the renovation of the sculptures in the volume: *A jáki apostolszobrok*, with the previous literature. For more recent summaries see Alice Mezey: "Ják", in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 400–405; and Edit Szentesi, "Jáki bencés apátsági templom" [The Church of the Benedictine Abbey of Ják], in *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon*, vol. 4, ed. Péter K. Szeghy, et. al., (Budapest: Balassi 2005), 398–406. On the architectural and archaeological research see Ilona Valter–Erika P. Hajmási, "Ják, Szent György-templom. Az épület körül végzett kutatás" [Ják, the St. George Church. The Research Around the Building], *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 13, no. 2 (2003 [2007]): 49–54; Alice D. Mezey, "Ják, Szent György-templom. Homlokzat kutatás (a déli mellékszentély és a szentélynégyyszög déli fala) [Ják, the St. George Church. Research on the Facades – the southern side-apse and the southern wall of the quadrum]", *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* 13, no. 2 (2003 [2007]): 54–56; Valter 2004, 69–81, 150; Ilona Valter, "A Ják nemzetség Árpád-kori lakóhelye Jákon" [The Residence of the Ják kindred at Ják, during the Árpadian Age], *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae* 25 (2005): 537–564.

³⁰ Mezey, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 400–405.

³¹ Rácz 2000.

³² Ibidem.

of the monastery had perished during the times of anarchy.³³ This does not seem to have been of much use, as the monastery gradually lost a significant part of its possessions to the patrons during the second half of the fourteenth century. The process was marked by protests of the abbots in 1352 and 1372.³⁴ In 1375, the descendants of the patron family came into conflict with each other over alienated possessions – formerly part of the abbey estate – but the representatives of the monastery were not summoned to court.³⁵

In spite of such losses, the abbots seem to have been persistent in protecting the monastic estate and managed to renew the royal protection letter in 1383.³⁶ From this point on, there is no evidence of the involvement of the patron family in the business of the impoverished monastery and it seems that they abandoned their claims. In 1439, when Abbot Nicholas asked the pope to confirm his position as abbot, it is mentioned that his predecessor was deposed by the abbot of Pannonhalma due for misbehavior as well as negligence in the loss of monastic properties.³⁷ With regard to the patronage right, it is illustrative that Nicholas, a priest-monk of the monastery (*presbiter monachus professus*), was invested by the local bishop without any interference of the patrons. Since the election of new abbots was the most important element of the patronage right, it seems that such rights were not exercised. As the descendants of the former patrons lived in the neighborhood of the monastery they must have known about the vacancy, which suggests that they did not consider their right to be of any value or importance. Resulting both from the lack of a powerful patron and the mismanagement of the monastic properties, it is not surprising that the yearly income of the monastery was estimated to about only 10 florins – apparently a critical situation from an economic point of view.

In 1457, the king appointed new patrons, the Ellerabachs of Monyorókerék – an aristocratic family holding a large estate in the neighborhood of Ják.³⁸ The monks did not protest this time, perhaps keeping in mind past events which have pointed to the necessity of protection and care that could be provided by secular lords. The former patron family had been of relatively low rank; the new one could more easily integrate the remaining lands of the monastery with their large estate and secure the financial stability of the convent and satisfy the needs of both parties from the economic and social points of view. Thus, the monastic community remained active for centuries, until its dissolution around the middle of the twentieth century.

In case of B dmonostora (Tiszab d/Tiszavasvári, Szabolcs County), conflicts with patrons are not documented in such detail, and the available evidence is only indirect. The abbey was

³³ Ibidem

³⁴ Ibidem

³⁵ Ibidem

³⁶ Ibidem

³⁷ Ibidem

founded by the Gutkeled kindred before 1280, in honor of St. Michael(?).³⁹ In 1321, the impoverished descendants of the founders decided to sell the monastery and its properties. It seems that the monastery was dissolved shortly thereafter, around 1347, while the other church in B d, which was dedicated to St. Nicholas, still functioned – probably as the parish-church of the settlement.

As exemplified by the case of Egyedmonostor, the secularization of monastic lands and the first conflicts with patrons started relatively early, i.e., in the last decades of the thirteenth century. As was already mentioned, the abbey was endowed fairly well by members of the same Gutkeled kindred.⁴⁰ In 1275, the patrons made an agreement that the patronage rights would be exercised by different members of the kindred based on a yearly exchange. Three years later, however, the two branches divided the possessions of the abbey amongst themselves and in the same year one of the branches occupied the monastery with the intention of transforming it into a castle. The bishop and the king started an investigation which revealed that the patrons had demolished the buildings of the monastery, including its carved pillars, and transported the stones to the castle of Diószeg. The conflict lasted until 1311, and during that time the monastery was besieged on several occasions and lost a number of its properties.

Most of the available sources that document the secularization of monastic properties date from the fourteenth century, or even later. The Benedictine Abbey of Rudina, e.g., is first mentioned in 1279, when one of the lands of the monastery was exchanged by the abbot with the consent of the patrons, the sons of Odola of the Borics kin.⁴¹ A century later, in 1395, the abbot filed a complaint against the patrons – the Cserneki/Dezisló family in Podversa (Podvrsko, Pozsega County) and Godezna for alienating six different monastic properties around Podversa. In 1443, the Tamási family obtained the patronage of the monastery; the former patrons, members of the Cserneki family, were mentioned as having caused damage to the monastery worth 200 golden florins.

The case of Aranylábubács is somewhat unusual, as the dispute over the right of patronage ended with an agreement between the two parties before the archbishop of Kalocsa in 1291;⁴² the Cistercian Abbey of Pétervárad (Bélakút) acknowledged the patronage right of *Comes* Csaba (Chaba) and his kin, but the agreement included several conditions in order to limit the patrons' influence. For example, the rights of patronage were to be exercised by one person only. As *Comes* Csaba was the most suitable person at that moment, he should have been appointed by the kindred

³⁸ Ibidem

³⁹ Németh 1968, 128; Németh 1997, 50–51; Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 540.

⁴⁰ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, 614–615.

⁴¹ Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 508–509; and Tóth, “Rudina”, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 374–378.

as the future patron. The patron's rights were limited to honorary functions. If he visited the monastery on the feast of its patron saint, St. Nicholas, the monastery was to provide food for him and his company, but not more than a sheep, five cubitus of wine, and bread in sufficient quantity. The patron or other members of the kindred were to have no administrative power over the lands or peoples of the monastery, but they were exempt from paying tolls to the abbey of Pétervárad. Such strict conditions probably point to the influence of the Cistercians and other ecclesiastical authorities (the archbishop) involved in the conflict.

Based on the example of Zselicszentjakab and Ják, one may assume that in the early stage – i.e., until the end of the thirteenth century – the properties of private monastic foundations were administered jointly by the abbots and patrons. Details concerning the responsibilities of the two parties remain difficult to outline, it was, however, typical that the legal records concerning property rights were kept by the patrons, not by the monastery. In the course of the fourteenth century, patrons often turned against the convents, aiming to secularize their possessions. Zselicszentjakab and Ják are not the only examples in this period; there are many other monasteries for which the documents are less informative or not available due to the extensive loss of records. It is also likely that many cases remained simply undocumented, as no opposition was raised or none of the parties turned to the courts. Most of the available documents concern the final stages of often long and complicated juridical processes when monastic property – or significant parts of it – was finally acquired by secular proprietors.

The abbot of Zselicszentjakab tried to reach an agreement with the former patrons who had lost their rights earlier. At Ják, new patrons were appointed after several decades of independence. These examples imply that despite the conflicts, both abbeys were concerned to get help and protection from secular patrons. Theoretically (and according to canon law), private foundations were landowners with full control over their properties. In practice, however, they could administer their estates only with the help of patrons. Their limited right to administer property was reflected in customary law: Because land transactions were typically made with the consent of the patrons. These occasions offered also an instrument whereby patrons could claim back their rights to these properties, as shown by the case of Zselicszentjakab.

The economic status of the monasteries, therefore was dual: they were proprietors, but at the same time also properties. Similarly, the relationship with the patrons evolved dually; there was a loss of income and properties in favor of patrons, but most private foundations managed to survive in a weakened condition. This suggests that monasteries served several functions for the patrons and for the wider community – probably strongly related to the spiritual functions of the monastery,

⁴² DL 1311, mentioned in Solymosi 1998, 60, the source is published at: 244-245. See also: RA, no. 1869; and Hervay, *Paradisum Plantavit*, 539.

among which the most important seems to have been burial places and the commemorative liturgy performed there. The interdependent relations among patrons and their monasteries weakened over the centuries and were transformed to some extent, but did not cease to exist entirely.

Chapter V

THE ÁKOS KINDRED: GENEALOGY, POSSESSIONS AND MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS

This historical analysis of the Ákos kindred will focus on the genealogical data, the career of the significant family members, and the development of the possessions held by the family. The monastery foundations will be analyzed in the context of the family history and the system of its estates in order to clarify the social and economic background, together with the possible implications for the evolution of the family.

The Ákos kindred in the historical literature

Perceived as one of the oldest and most prestigious kindreds, the Ákos kindred piqued the interests of genealogists and historians rather early. The earliest genealogical tree and family history was compiled by Mór Wertner,¹ although it contained several errors and misstatements. The most comprehensive and quite accurate family history was made by János Karácsony.² He identified six branches of the kindred, established their genealogy, and analyzed the evolution of the kindred's possessions, but, due to the lack of the early sources on the family history, the exact kinship relation among the branches was not established. Karácsonyi recognized that the kindred was so ancient that the earliest sources already recorded the individual branches, their single link to the kindred being the usage of the name Ákos, whether in the *de genere* formula or as a first name.

Unfortunately, the lineage of the branches still cannot be established, although later scholarship completed and clarified some aspects of the family history. Emil Petrichevich-Horváth identified another branch of the kindred, the ancestor of the Folti and Dienes families, which owned

¹ Mór Wertner, *A magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [The Hungarian Kindreds until the mid-fourteenth century], vol. 1-2 (Temesvár: Csanádegyházmegyei Könyvsajtó, 1891-1892), vol. 1, 54.

² Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek...*: 109-135.

possessions in Transylvania.³ This called attention to the fact that other noble families might be the successors of the Ákos kindred, but they cannot be identified as such, as the lineage of the kindred is not clear and direct sources on the family relations (on kinship or on the names) are missing.

Karácsonyi regarded the settlements owned in Pest County, in the lower valley of the Galga River (fig. 55), as the earliest possessions of the kindred and assumed that the possessions along the Berettyó (Barc u) and Ér (Ier) Rivers in Bihar (fig. 51) and Middle Szolnok Counties (fig. 50) were occupied at the order of the Holy Kings in order to assure the defense of the eastern borders. In his monograph about medieval Bihar County, Zsigmond Jakó⁴ identified the Ákos kindred as among the earliest noble kindreds present in the county, though arriving not during the conquest, but later, during the tenth century. He maintained the assumption of Karácsonyi, reinforced by the most influential monograph in Hungarian history of that time,⁵ that the Ákos kindred, among others, moved from their possessions in the central parts of the territories conquered by the Hungarian tribes (later Pest County) in order to defend the eastern borders.

Compiling the monumental historical geography of Árpadian Age Hungary, György Györffy addressed issues related to the history of the Ákos kindred in the case of both Bihar and Pest Counties.⁶ In contrast to the previous scholarship, Györffy regarded the possessions in Bihar and Middle Szolnok Counties the oldest ones of the Ákos kindred, though not settled during the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin, just during the tenth century. Györffy considered the distribution of possessions among the branches and noticed that many of them held possessions in Bihar and Middle Szolnok, while only one had possessions in Pest County. Therefore he regarded them as later acquisitions, even though he dated them rather early, tracing them back to the age of the Holy Kings, the eleventh century.

Studies on the heraldry of the kindred were also published at an early stage of historical research. In the appendix of Karácsonyi's work, József Csomai identified the heraldic signs of the most important kindreds, among them the Ákos'.⁷ In several cases, the oldest kindreds split into family branches before the use of proper coats-of-arms became common; therefore, the eventual signs used by these kindreds can be identified based on the representations of the seals and

³ Emil Petrichevich-Horváth, "Az Ákos-nemzetségbeli Folthy-család és a nemzetség címere" [The Folthy family of the Ákos kindred and the heraldic sign of the kindred], *Turul* 12, no. 1-2 (1904): 40-42 (hereafter: Petrichevich-Horváth, 1904).

⁴ Jakó 1940, 27, and 33-39.

⁵ Bálint Hóman – and Gyula Szekf , *Magyar Történet* [Hungarian History], vol. 1, *störténet. Törzsszervezet. Keresztény Királyság* [Prehistory, Tribal organization, Christian Kingdom], 2nd ed. (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935.), 123.

⁶ Györffy, *ÁTF*, vol. I, 3rd edition (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987), the chapter on Bihar County: 567-692, on the Ákos kindred: 573, and the entries on the settlements owned by the kindred. On Pest County, see Györffy, *ÁTF*, vol. IV, (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1998), 495-579, on the Ákos kindred: 501, and the entries on the settlements owned by the kindred in this county.

tombstones of the descendants. Csomai noticed the diversity of heraldic signs among the descendants of the Ákos kindred, making it a difficult task to reconstruct the common heraldic sign of the kindred. During the thirteenth century several descendants of the kindred had the double cross as the main charge on their coat-of-arms, or had an empty escutcheon. Csomai, therefore, reversed the heraldic rule that the main charge represented on the escutcheon becomes usually the crest, and proposed the two fish as the sign of the kindred, used by two descendant families of the kindred, the Bebek and Csetneki, as a crest held by a female – line[?]. The double cross was considered a symbol of dignity as several members of the kindred held the office of palatine and judge royal. Csomai's interpretation was criticized by Elemér Varjú in a review,⁸ but did not reject either the methodology applied (the inversion of the heraldic rule) nor the premises (the double cross as symbol of dignity). Varjú could not propose another interpretation, but emphasized the multiplicity of possible solutions.

Based on the newly discovered lineage with the Folti family, Emil Petrichevich-Horváth identified the female bust as the sign of the kindred, keeping it as the main charge in the coat-of-arms of this branch and as a crest for the other branches.⁹ The warnings of Varjú and the solution proposed by Petrichevich-Horváth were neglected by other scholars, thus the two fish were considered the sign of the kindred until recently. The issue was discussed again by György Rácz, based on newly discovered heraldic representations of the family members, including seals and tombstones.¹⁰ Due to these new elements and the revision of the genealogical data, the main charge of the kindred's coat-of-arm was identified as a bird of prey – perhaps a white hawk, as Rácz suggested, in order to be in concordance with the meaning of the family name of Turkic origin.¹¹

Modern contributions on the kindred history include short dictionary entries with the overview of the family history and on the career of the most famous members of the kindred,¹² and results of new archival research were compiled in the genealogical database of medieval Hungary¹³

⁷ József Csoma, "Magyar nemzetségi címerek" [Heraldic Signs of the Hungarian Kindreds], in Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek* ..., 1147-1316.

⁸ Elemér Varjú, "Csoma József, Magyar nemzetségi címerek" [Coats-of-Arms of the Hungarian Kindreds], *Turul* 12, no. 2 (1904): 90-100, on the Ákos kindred, 95.

⁹ Petrichevich-Horváth, 1904: 40.

¹⁰ György Rácz, "Az Ákos nemzetség címere" [The Coat-of-Arms of the Ákos Kindred], *Turul* 68, no. 1-2 (1995): 11-34 (hereafter: Rácz 1995).

¹¹ Zoltán Gombocz, "Árpád-kori török személyneveink" [Turkic first names in the Árpadian Age], *Magyar Nyelv*, 10, no. 26 (1914): 246-247 (hereafter: Gombocz 1914).

¹² Gyula Kristó, ed., *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9-14. század)* [Dictionary of Early Hungarian History, ninth to fourteenth centuries], (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1994), sub voce: Ákos (settlement Acâ, by Géza Entz); Ákos nem (the Ákos kindred, by István Petrovics); Bebek (a descendant family of the kindred, by I. Petrovics); family members: Ákosmester (Magister Ákos, the chronicle writer, by Kornél Szovák); Erney (Ernye, voievode of Transylvania, judge royal, by I. Petrovics); István (judge royal, palatine, by I. Petrovics); Mikcs (ban of Slavonia, by I. Petrovics). See also *Magyar M vel déstörténeti Lexikon. Középkor és kora újkor* [Culture-Historical Dictionary of Hungary], vol. I (Budapest: Budapest, 2003), sub voce: Ákosmester (by Péter Kulcsár).

¹³ Engel, *Genealógia*, references will be made sub voce on the genealogical table of the family.

and the archontologies produced subsequently.¹⁴ The careers of two of the most prominent figures of the kindred, Palatine Ernye and his son, Stephan, the judge royal, were presented by Péter Kiss,¹⁵ while the newly acquired possessions in Borsod County with the castles of Dédes and Diósgyőr were presented by Tamás Guzsik.¹⁶ The history of a descent branch living in Bihar, the Csire family of Álmosd, was published by Attila Bárány.¹⁷ Further, István Tringli studied a law suit over the early residence of the kindred in Pest County and identified the family tradition on their genealogy and possessions, linked to the historical events of the kingdom and kept almost exclusively orally.¹⁸ The later scholarship completed and amended the history of the kindred, but the monumental work of Karácsonyi constitutes still a starting point for research. The later contributions are significant, especially on the early history of the kindred, through the identification of the kindred's heraldic sign and the recovery of its historical tradition.

The early history of the kindred

The earliest sources on the history of the kindred are the narrative sources of the twelfth century. According to Joannes Kinnamos, a certain Hungarian noble, Akusis, was captured by the Byzantine army following the battle of Harám (1128).¹⁹ The writer –emphasizing the importance of this capture – said that Akusis was one of the most illustrious persons of the Hungarian Kingdom. The *Hungarian Chronicle*, discussing events which took place a few years later, mentions *Moynolth de genere Acus* being killed in 1132 by the followers of King Béla II because it was suspected that he supported the pretender, Boris.²⁰

In both cases, the chronicle contexts reveal that these persons were influential and prestigious members of the royal court. They were also mentioned in legal documents: *Comes Acus*

¹⁴ Zsoldos, *Archontológia*; Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301-1457* [Secular Archontology of Hungary, 1301-1457], vols. 1-2, (Budapest: História – MTA TTI, 1996); idem, *Magyarország világi archontológiája, 1301-1457* [Secular Archontology of Hungary, 1301-1457], electronic database released on CD: idem, *Magyar Középkori Adattár* (Budapest: Arcanum, 2001).

¹⁵ Péter Kis, “A király hű bárója’ (Ákos nembeli Ernye pályafutása)” [‘The Loyal Baron of the King’: The Career of Ernye of the Ákos kindred], *Fons* 2, no. 3 (1995): 273-316 (hereafter: Kis 1995); Idem, “Ákos nembeli István. Egy magyar elkel életútja a 13-14. század fordulóján” [Stephan of the Ákos kindred: The Career of a Hungarian Aristocrat in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries], in *R. Várkonyi Ágnes emlékkönyv születésének 70. évfordulója ünnepére*, ed. Péter Tusor (Budapest: ELTE BTK, 1998), 57-78.

¹⁶ Tamás Guzsik, “Az Ákos-nemzetség birtokai a középkori Borsodmegyében” [The possessions of the Ákos kindred in Borsod County], *Architectura Hungariae* 4, no. 1 (2002), electronic version: http://arch.et.bme.hu/korabbi_folyam/13/13guzsik.html (accessed December 2012).

¹⁷ Attila Bárány, “Egy bihari család, az Álmosdi Csirék története” [The History of a family from Bihar: The Csires of Álmosd], *Turul* 77, no. 3-4 (2004): 99-116.

¹⁸ István Tringli, “Ákos sátorhelye – Ákosudvarhelye” [The Campsite and the Residence of the Ákos Kindred: Ákosudvarhelye], in „*Magyaroknak eleir l.*” *Ünnepi tanulmányok a hatvanesztendő s Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* [“On the Ancestors of Hungarians.” Festive Studies on the Honour of Makk Ferenc on his 60th birthday] (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász M hely, 2000), (hereafter: Tringli 2000): 655-671.

¹⁹ Augustus Meineke, *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, (Bonn: 1836), 11.

and *Magnold*(= *Moynolth*) in the *series dignitatum* of a charter issued by Stephan II in 1124.²¹ Moreover, a certain Acus or Achus appears as *comes* of Bihar county in 1138 and in 1146.²² It is plausible to suggest that this latter person and Akusis, mentioned first, were the same persons, a member of the Ákos kindred. This type of identification, based on the Christian name, is a widely accepted method in scholarly studies, especially for the early period.²³ Therefore, at least two persons: Magnold/Moynolth and Ákos (Akus, Achus, Akusis) appear as members of Ákos kindred living during the twelfth century. The first was killed in 1132, but the other remained an influential person between 1124 and 1146.

In contrast with the written sources, the own historical tradition of the Ákos kindred, together with the family name and the heraldic sign bearing direct links to Turkic origins, indicate a much older history of the kindred than the twelfth century. Moreover, the structure of possessions and the place names linked to the Ákos kindred also suggest an older presence in Bihar and Közép (Middle) Szolnok counties. All of these historical sources deserve closer attention.

History and legitimation. The Ákos kindred and the memory of the past

Similar to the other noble kindreds of medieval Hungary, the principal role of the historical tradition of the Ákos kindred was to secure the inheritance of the properties. It consisted, therefore, of pieces of information on the genealogical descent and issues of property rights. In case of the Ákos kindred, the lineage was established directly with the conquering Hungarians. This was not a singular case; starting from the end of the twelfth century, medieval chronicles regarded the noble kindreds as directly continuing the kindreds of the Conquest period.²⁴ The first elements of such links are mentioned in the *Gesta* of Anonymus, when the acts of the seven chieftains are described; the author also indicates several of their descendants living in the twelfth century. Magister Ákos, a member of the Ákos kindred, completed the early history of the kingdom with his chronicle, composed around 1270.²⁵ He mentions the ancestors of several prestigious kindreds of his age as

²⁰ *SRH*, vol. 1, 449. See also: Ferenc Makk, “Megjegyzések II. Béla történetéhez” [Observations on the Reign of King Béla II], *Acta Universitatis de József Attila nominatae. Acta Historica* 40 (1972): 31-49.

²¹ Published *in extenso* in *DHA*, no. 153, 417-419. The charter is a forgery made at the end of the thirteenth century. The critical analysis, however, demonstrated that a real early twelfth-century charter was used as a model for the forgery. Therefore, the list of officials can be accepted as valid information for the reign of King Stephan II, see László Fejérpataky, *Oklevelek II. István korából* [Charters from the reign of King Stephan II]. *Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből* 16 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1895), 36, 40, no. 4; and: Makk 1972: 43. About the identification of Magnold and Moynolth see Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpád-házi királyok alatt* [History of the Hungarian Nation under the Reign of the Árpadian Kings], vol. 1, 2nd edition, (Budapest: Atheneum, 1899), 241, 477 and note 438; and Ferenc Makk, “Megjegyzések ...,” 43. note 81.

²² *RA*, vol. 1, no. 63, 72.

²³ Kristó 1975.

²⁴ Györffy, 1948: 171.

²⁵ Mályusz 1971b.

the conquering chieftains, and among them his own, and his kindred's progenitors, attributing to them a highly significant role in the conquest and the early history of the kingdom.

Magister Ákos incorporated the traditions of his own family and other kindreds into the official history of the kingdom.²⁶ These oral traditions proved to be less accurate on historical facts than charters or other legal sources, but they provide valuable information on the intentions of the author to fulfill, probably, the expectations of his audience. Recounting the deeds of the ancestors of the kindreds reveals the tendency to link the history of individual families to King St. Stephen, or even earlier periods, up to the Conquest. Real or fictitious dukes, chieftains, and other prestigious persons committed real or invented acts which accorded honor to them and their carefully mentioned descendants. But were all the stories, all the details, pure invention? Magister Ákos put some parts in his work from oral sources which cannot be linked to the ancestor of any kindred, such as the story of Lél and Bulcsú (killing the emperor with the horn), and Botond (breaking down the gate of Byzantium).²⁷ These stories suggest that not all of them were invented and some might contain true parts. It is difficult to assess what is invention and what is true, but the intentions of Magister Ákos as author are clear: The ancestors of the kindreds, and among them those of the Ákos kindred, were famous and prestigious persons in the past and their glory might be useful in the contemporary world of the author.

Györffy noted that there were heraldic elements and names used by medieval kindreds which could be linked to totems (animal divinities) of the ancient kindreds of the Conquest period.²⁸ The newly identified sign of the Ákos kindred (the white hawk),²⁹ seems to provide additional support for this theory. The frequent use of the kindred name 'Ákos' as a first name among the members of the kin group suggest an additional link to Turkic traditions.³⁰ Both the use of the heraldic sign and the name suggest significant respect for family traditions. It must be noted, however, that the existence of this tradition does not imply that the kindred originated in the Conquest period or that their possessions were truly acquired and settled during that time.

The fact that the tradition of the Ákos kindred was not a mere tale, but was perceived as a source of rights was fortunately kept in legal documents due to a lawsuit on properties of the kindred in Pest County. The case has been studied and extensively presented by István Tringli,³¹ who noted its direct link with the historical tradition of the descendants of the Ákos kindred. Two uninhabited estates on the margins of the Ákos kindred's block of possessions in Pest County, Körtvélyes and Dusnok, were settled around 1350 by some of their neighbors, members of Péceli

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ Mályusz 1967: 51.

²⁸ Györffy 1958.

²⁹ Rác 1995.

³⁰ Gombocz 1914.

family. In response, in 1362, István, grandson of *Ban Mikcs*, founder of the Mikcsfi branch, expelled Péceli's serfs, seized the goods and animals found there, and built a manor-house on that spot. During the lawsuit, the members of the Ákos kindred argued that these properties belonged to their ancient possessions, being called the place where Ákos, the ancestor of the kindred, had his tent (*ibi locus tentoriicondam Akus vocaretur*), in other words, had his residence. This argument was confirmed by several witnesses from among the neighboring landowners and other noblemen of the county,³² calling this place Akosülése (*AkosIlyse*) or Akosudvara (*Akuswduara*), meaning the residence, seat or court of Ákos.

The lawsuit was lost by the descendants of the Ákos kindred, not because they were wrong, but because their neighbors held important offices in the royal court, so that they were able to acquire written documents on their rights and had sufficient influence to enforce their claims – even surpassing that of the descendants of the prestigious old Ákos kindred. The key element in the case relating to the historical tradition of the kindred is the place-name referring to the ancestor's residence. In the perception of the kindred, their property rights originated from the Conquest period, when their ancestor had pitched his tent at this place.³³ As was observed by István Tringli, the terms describing “pitching of the tent” or “settling the camp” were used by other kindreds, too, in order to link their origin to the Conquest period, to emphasize their antiquity, and to explain the source of their rights. At the same time, these terms were popular *topoi* of the chronicles to describe the events of the conquest.³⁴ For the descendants of the Ákos kindred living during the fourteenth century, and for other kindreds, too, it was plausible that calling a place the campsite of their ancestor meant that the territory was held from the Conquest period. It must be noted, though, that the existence of this tradition does not imply that the possessions of the kindred were truly acquired and settled during the Conquest period.

The tradition seems to be true in that these possessions were settled by the kindred rather early, before the wide-spread use of written documents. Certainly this fact does not necessarily imply that the possessions were settled as early as the Conquest period, as this process might well have happened later, even during the eleventh or twelfth centuries – these types of place-names being created in this period, too. In this sense, the historical tradition of the Conquest period can be perceived as the fashion of several prestigious kindreds of the thirteenth century in order to explain their rather early emergence (in the reality during the eleventh and twelfth centuries) and strengthen their prestige.

³¹ Tringli 2000.

³² The procedure to hear witnesses on real estate is an effect of the orally transmitted rights and the lack of written documents on early property rights. The importance of this procedure and the oral tradition for noble families is emphasized by Fügedi 1981.

³³ Tringli 2000: 668.

The branches of the Ákos kindred: Genealogy and possessions until 1300

According to the earliest written sources, *Comes* Ákos and Moynolth, living during the twelfth century, were the earliest known members of the kindred. They had significant careers and held important administrative and political functions in the kingdom, which is why they are mentioned in the narrative sources, positions confirmed by the witness list of the royal charters. It is especially important that they were mentioned as *comes*, an office that might have produced a significant income. According to Erik Fügedi, the economic potential of an Árpadian Age noble person was much more determined by his functions than the size of his estates. The administrative functions – such as being the *comes* of Bihar county – generated much more income (part of it in cash!) than landed estates.³⁵ This made it possible for the members holding high dignities to afford to found (and build) a monastery. *Comes* Ákos and Moynolth both had such functions, therefore they might be the family members who founded the earliest monasteries of the kindred.

Unfortunately none of the earliest known members can be integrated into the genealogical tree of the kindred. Due to the scarcity of the sources, the lineage can be reconstructed only starting with the first half of the thirteenth century. In this period, the kindred was split in several branches, as Karácsonyi noted, and their connection cannot be identified at this stage of the research. The structure of the possessions held by the branches of the kindred, especially the zones where all the branches owned settlements, suggest, that these were the oldest estates possessed by the kindred. Due to the system of inheritance, all descendants in the male line were entitled to an equal share of the ancestors' wealth, therefore, the oldest estates were divided in multiple parts, while the newer ones remained in the possession of single branches. This consideration can be combined with the linguistic analysis of place names and the reconstruction of the property structure owned by the kindred³⁶ in order to determine a more precise chronology.

Karácsonyi identified six main branches of the kindred and one more was added in later scholarship. The oldest ones seem to be the Bebek and Ernye branches. The founders of the Bebek branch, the brothers Detre (called “Szár”) and Philip, sons of Mathew, served in the army of Prince Coloman, brother of King Béla IV, during the Mongol invasion of 1241. After the loss at the battle of Muhi and the death of the prince, they joined the king and offered to help him in his effort to regain and resettle the kingdom. In recognition for their support, the king granted the brothers the domain of Pels cz (Plešivec) in Gömör and several other possessions in Borsod County in 1243.³⁷ The third son of Mathew, Magister Ákos, followed an ecclesiastical career, unlike his warrior

³⁴ Tringli 2000: 663-664.

³⁵ Fügedi 1986: 62-65, 90-95.

³⁶ See Jakó 1940: 33; and Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, *Bihar megye*, 573; Györffy, *ÁTF*, IV, *Pest megye*, 501.

brothers. He was chaplain of the court (1241-1245), then the chancellor of the queen (1248-1261), then provost of the Óbuda chapter from 1254 until his death in 1272.³⁸ During the reign of King Stephen (1270-1272) he revised and completed the history of the kingdom, incorporating the historical tradition of his own and other kindreds. The descendants of Detre inherited the possessions in Gömör County, creating here a large domain. During the first decades of the fourteenth century, two families arose from the generation of Detre's grandsons, the Bebek of Pelsőc and the Csetneki. No sign can be detected that they had any business with the other branches of the kindred. The descendants of Philip inherited possessions in Bihar County, probably part of their inheritance from the ancestral estates: (Ó- or Kis-) Marja, Vasad, and Kasza (fig. 52).³⁹ The latter two were settled rather later, just during the thirteenth century, while Marja was settled earlier, though not among the earliest settlements, most probably during the twelfth century.⁴⁰ The neighboring settlement of Gyapoly was added to these possessions after the Mongol invasion.⁴¹ The grandsons of Philip founded two noble families, the Gyapolyi and the Marjai.⁴²

The founder of the other branch, Ernye (the Hungarian version of Ireneus), was contemporaneous with the brothers Detre, Philip, and Magister Ákos. Like his kin, Ernye fought in the army of King Béla IV at the battle of Muhi, offering the king his own horses for an escape.⁴³ Ernye joined the king's army during the war campaigns following the Mongol invasion, and, after that, held several offices in the royal court and the kingdom. Finally he ascended among the barons of the kingdom, being *ban* and holding the office of judge royal. As a reward for his faithful service, he received several royal grants of real estate, and thus created the domain of Dédes and Diósgyőr in Borsod County during the 1260s, building castles and founding monasteries at both sites. Stephen, the son of Ernye, also had a spectacular career, becoming palatine during the reign of the last monarch of the Árpadian dynasty.⁴⁴ The glory of this branch, however, did not last too long, all seven sons of Stephen joined the uprising against King Charles Robert, being allied to Kopasz of the Borsa kindred, the petty king of the northeastern parts of the kingdom, and their kin through marriage. Defeated by the king, the members of his faction were killed and lost their possessions around 1320. Ernye inherited parts of the village of Pályi and settlements around it (Csanálos or/and Alba) from the kindred estates, together with the monastery of Pályi,⁴⁵ an earlier foundation of the kindred (fig. 52). Ernye did not take particular care of the kindred heritage and the monastery of

³⁷ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek* ...: 123-125.

³⁸ Györffy 1948, 171, and Mályusz 1967, 47.

³⁹ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek* ...: 123-125, for Marja see Jakó 1940:36

⁴⁰ Jakó 1940: 35-36.

⁴¹ Jakó 1940.

⁴² Engel, *Genealógia*.

⁴³ Kis 1995: 280.

⁴⁴ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek* ...: 116-117.

⁴⁵ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, *Biharmegye*, 650.

Pályi, instead he moved to the newly acquired possessions, created a new residence there (the castles at Diósgyőr and Dédes), and founded new monasteries. Few sources have survived on the career of the brothers of Ernye, Albert and Erdő, though they also held important offices. Their descendants were involved in the rebellion of Borsa Kopasz, therefore they were killed or executed after the revolt was suppressed.

The Pocsaji branch seems to have been more closely related to Ernye's, as they held the settlement of Pályi in common and probably the monastery there at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This possession probably had a particular importance for the kindred earlier as some kind of residence, as during the thirteenth century a monastery was in operation here. Moreover, after the descendants of Ernye lost all of their possessions due the revolt of Borsa Kopasz, the ancestral estates of the kindred were acquired by the Pocsaji branch. Thus, the entire settlement of Pályi, together with Csanálos (identical probably with Alba), owned by the Ernye, were in the possession of the Pocsaji branch starting in the second half of the fourteenth century (fig. 52). The descendants of this branch, the Pocsaji and Csire families, owned the neighboring settlements: Vértes, Álmosd, Bagos and Pocsaj. Further possessions of the branch were in the valley of the Ér River around Pér (Pir), Érkörös (Chereușa), Szédmeter (Seuca), Csány (Cean), Szopor (Supur) (fig. 50). No member of this branch is known for a significant career, but they were rather prolific, as three noble families issued from among the descendants during the fourteenth century, named after their most important possessions: the Szopori (Supur), the Szédmeteri (Seuca), and the Csire of Pocsaj or/and Álmosd (figs. 50 and 52).

The branch which patronized the abbey of Ákos, called the branch of Mikcs, appeared only at the end of the thirteenth century. The four sons of Michael: Ákos, Mikcs, Lóránd, and Elek, inherited possessions from the kindred: Estates in Közép Szolnok, the village of Ákos (fig. 50), and possessions in Pest County (fig. 55).⁴⁶ The later situation shows that the descendants of Ákos inherited the possessions in Közép Szolnok and the descendants of Mikcs (calling themselves *Mikcsfi*, sons of Mikcs) the estates in Pest. The other two brothers, Elek and Lóránd, seem to have died without any male descendant. Both in Pest and Közép Szolnok counties, monasteries were founded on the domains of this branch, called by the same name: Ákosmonostor. While the descendants of Ákos did not have significant careers, Mikcs and his sons were faithful servants of the Angevin kings, gaining significant possessions in Slavonia and southwestern Hungary.⁴⁷ The case of Mikcs is particularly interesting, as he obtained royal grants excluding his brothers in 1325. This was perceived as the earliest example which questioned the solidarity of the kindred and the

⁴⁶ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek ...*, 131.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

principle of common possessions, limiting the inheritance right of the kin through side-lines.⁴⁸ The principle of kindred inheritance and common possession was not abandoned totally, however; this procedure was one of the changes which modified the system gradually.

The three other branches identified by the genealogical literature, the Torockói (or Thoroczkay), the Folti (Illyei), and the Cselénffy (or Sági – Karancság) were formed around the turn of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth centuries.⁴⁹ All of them held possessions far from the core areas of the kindred: In Transylvania (Torockói and Folti) and in Nógrád and Gömör (Cselénfi). No connection with the old possessions or the other branches of the kindred can be detected at this stage of the research.

In conclusion, before the middle of the thirteenth century the Ákos kindred owned the settlements along the Berettyó⁵⁰ and Ér rivers⁵¹ in Bihar and Közép Szolnok counties and the settlements in Pest County, in the lower valley of the Galga River.⁵² These possessions formed three groups, each a coherent, monolithic block. The concise review of the main branches and their beginnings reveals that the Ernye, Pocsaji, and Bebek branches inherited the possessions belonging to the group in Bihar, along the Berettyó River; the Micsk and Pocsaji branch acquired the settlements of the second group in Közép Szolnok at the Ér River, and the Micsk branch alone owned the third settlement group along Galga River in Pest County.

It is noteworthy that all three blocks of the possessions were at the border of the hilly forest zone and the lowlands. Jakó supposed that the family settled the eastern territories in Bihar and Közép-Szolnok, ordered there by the central power, during the tenth century.⁵³ The analysis of place names and the fact that the southern group of estates is unique in northern Bihar County, suggests early ownership; however, the present state of research indicates that the Ákos' settled their estates in an inverse direction, occupying their possessions in Pest later.⁵⁴ The territory of Bihar and Közép Szolnok was settled in successive phases directed from the open lowland area toward the hilly forest zones, starting in perhaps the tenth century and ending in the fourteenth or even the fifteenth centuries. According to a linguistic analysis, and considering the geographical positions, the earliest settlements were Bagos, Pocsaj, and Konyár; the second stage of the settlements the villages of Pályi, Álmosd and Vértes, seems to have been created at the turn of the eleventh and in the twelfth century,⁵⁵ while the villages of Vasad and Kismarja were settled only

⁴⁸ Fügedi 1984.

⁴⁹ Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek ...*, 110, 113; Engel, *Genealógia*.

⁵⁰ Álmosd, Bagos, Csanálos (Alba), Konyár, (Ó- or Kis-) Marja, (Monostoros- and Hosszú-) Pályi, Pocsaj, Vértes, Vasad and Kasza, Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek ...*, 131.

⁵¹ Pér, Érkörös, Csány, Sz demeter, Szopor, with the center at Ákos, *ibid.*

⁵² Ákosmonostora, Bag, Héviz, Ákosnyíre, and Tura, *ibid.*

⁵³ Jakó 1940.

⁵⁴ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, *Bihar megye*, 573.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

during the thirteenth century (they appear as twin localities of earlier settlements). The kindred managed to increase their estates by adding the neighboring Gyapoly village and settling some further hamlets (*predium*) during the thirteenth century.⁵⁶ Thus, the beginnings of the kindred in Bihar County can be dated to the tenth century or the first half of the eleventh century at the latest. The geographic position of the settlements they owned in Közép Szolnok is similar, moreover, they are situated on the margins of the area settled earlier, suggesting that the earliest ones were created roughly in the same period as those in Bihar.

The situation in Pest County is somewhat different suggesting a later occupation. The Ákos kindred appeared first in 1284, when they were neighbors of the deserted Tas village.⁵⁷ Their possessions formed a block along the lower valley of the Galga River, the whole list of possessions is known only from the end of the fourteenth century. As Györffy suggested, the name of the settlement Tas kept the memory of the grandson of Duke Árpád, who probably had his residence here. This indicates that these parts in the valley of the Galga River were owned by Prince Tas and then other members of the Árpáds kindred during the early tenth century. The estate was divided and granted to the ancestors of noble kindreds, probably during the first half of the eleventh century: the Zsidó kindred got the upper part of the valley, the Kartals the middle part, and the Ákos kindred the lower part.

Monastic foundations of the Ákos kindred

Examination of the estates owned by the kindred reveals three early monastic foundations, each corresponding to a block of estates owned. The monastery of Ákos was founded at Ákosmonostor (Ákos, Acâ) in Közép Szolnok, in the domain formed along the Ér River; the monastery of Pályi (Nyírpályi, or Monostorpályi) was founded in Bihar, in the domain next to Berettyó River; while the other monastery of Ákos (Ákosmonostor or Hévíz) was founded in Pest in the domain along the Galga River.

Written evidence for the monastery of Ákos in Közép Szolnok is poor. Apart from one source, the existence of the monastery can be implied only from the name of the village where it is located. In 1342, the village was called Akusmonostura (the monastery of Ákos). At that time, Ákos, son of Michael (and brother of Mikcs) gave one quarter of all his possessions to his daughter, among them parts of the Ákos village (called Akusmonostura).⁵⁸ This marked the first step when the village began to be divided. The descendants of Elek (brother of Ákos and Mikcs) had

⁵⁶ Jakó 1940: 37.

⁵⁷ Györffy, *ÁTF*, IV, *Pest megye*, 508.

⁵⁸ *ZichyOklt*, no. 12, p. 14-16; see also *CDTRans*, vol. 3, no. 87. The original: DL 76663.

possessions there, too, but in 1411 they had to give a quarter of their possessions in the village (one street and a mill) to another noble family as *quarta filialis*.⁵⁹

The first and at the same time the last direct mention of the monastery dates to 1421. At that time, parts of Ákos village were in the possession of the Csáky family. The brothers György and Miklós divided their possessions between themselves, but the right of patronage of the monastery dedicated to the Holy Virgin of Ákos (*iura patronatus monasterii de Akos*) remained in their common possession.⁶⁰ At the end of the fifteenth century, the Csáky family was no longer the owner of this village. Instead, the settlement was divided among small noble families such as the Szentkirályi, Kisfaludi, Oroszi, and Ákosi.⁶¹ At this time, the settlement was no longer called Ákosmonostora, just Ákos, which suggests that the monastery had ceased to exist. The church, however, was used continuously as a parish church. The family and the estate history combined with the architectural chronology of the monastery church of Ákos demonstrate that it was founded during the second half of the twelfth century.

The village of Pályi was mentioned as early as 1219, called *villa Pauli de Nyr* and owned, at least partially, by a certain *Johannis*, an unidentified member of the Ákos kindred. One year later the settlement, *villa Pauli*, was owned by Erd (Erdey), probably the ancestor of the Ernye branch (eventually identical with the ancestor of the Pocsaji).⁶² The monastery of Pályi was first mentioned in 1222, when the monastery had a possession in Ajka (*praedium ecclesie de Pauli nomine Heyka*).⁶³ The monastery was a Premonstratensian provostship; in 1234, according to the catalogue of the houses of the order, the monastery was affiliated with the St. Stephan provostry of Várad (Oradea), and, at the same time, it had the monastery of Ábrány (Érábrány, Abram) as a *filia*.⁶⁴ Between 1294 and 1320 the monastery was the *filia* of Luka (Moravia), but after 1320 the earlier situation was restored.⁶⁵ According to the tithe list paid to the bishop of Várad in 1291 and 1294, the settlement was divided in three parts, called by the name of their owner: Pályi of Erd , Pályi of Salamon, and Pályi of Dénes,⁶⁶ all the three owners being members of the Pocsaji branch.⁶⁷ The parish priest of the settlement paid the tribute to the bishop together with the provost. Some decades later, during the payments of papal tithes, from 1332 to 1337, the provost paid separately from the parish priest.

⁵⁹ DL 79005.

⁶⁰ *Oklevéltár a gróf Csáky család történetéhez* [Registry of Charters on the History of Count Csáky's Family], ed. László Bártfai Szabó, vol. 1, no. 1 (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1919), (hereafter *CsákyOklt*), 312-313; the original: DL 71453.

⁶¹ Csánki, *Tört.Földr*: 549.

⁶² Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, *Bihar megye*, 650-651.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Oszvald 1957: 238.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Györffy, *ÁTF*, I, *Bihar megye*, 650-651.

⁶⁷ Engel, *Genealógia* ...

Considering the name of the settlement and its forms kept in the catalogues of the Premonstratensian houses (*Pauli monasterium*, *ecclesia Pauli*, or *Sanctus Paulus*) scholars assume that the provostry was dedicated to St. Paul. This implies that the provostry was founded before the earliest mention of the settlement as *villa Pauli* (1219).⁶⁸ During the archaeological research, the northern part of the abbey church was identified under the present-day Calvinist church of Monostorpályi.⁶⁹ The foundations discovered suggest the ground-plan arrangement of a three-aisled basilica. No finds were discovered which can establish a more precise chronology; this type of ground plan arrangement, however, suggests that the building period of the church was the beginning of the thirteenth century. The provostry, or at least its church, lasted until the end of the Middle Ages, the monastery church being mentioned as *monasterium lapideum cum duabus turribus lapideis ab ante constructis*, in 1482.⁷⁰

The earliest mention of the Ákosmonostor in Pest County is as the abbey of Hévíz in 1214.⁷¹ The name of the monastery appears in written sources as a place name, Akusmonostora, in 1389, while the monastery itself and its patronage rights were mentioned in 1394.⁷² The descendants of the Ákos kindred abandoned their ancestral possessions in Pest County and moved to Slavonia; they exchanged the settlements they owned with the king in 1421. The domain, and the patronage rights of the monastery were granted to the Rozgonyi family in 1438. The latest written document dates from 1523, but the monastery functioned until the period of the Ottoman conquest of Buda (1541).⁷³

The remains of a monastery were found at Galgahévíz, Monostorliget, the Szentandrás part site, a promontory, dominating the valley of the Galga.⁷⁴ A prehistoric-tell type settlement (Hatvani culture) and another one of early Árpáadian Age (eleventh and twelfth centuries) were identified here, with earthen fortifications: three rings of earthen walls and ditches enclose the central part of the promontory. Recent archaeological research suggests that prehistoric fortifications were reused during the Árpáadian Age,⁷⁵ while the monastery was built during the second half of the thirteenth

⁶⁸ Oszvald 1957:237-238.

⁶⁹ Z. Rácz 1984: 69-77; János S regi, "Középkori templom alapjának feltárása a Bihar megyei Monostorpályiban" [Archaeological Research on a Medieval Church in Monostorpályi, Bihar County], in *Debrecen sz. kir. város múzeumának 1930. évi jelentése*, (Debrecen: Debrecen sz. kir. város Múzeuma, 1930): 80-83.

⁷⁰ DL 18706, see Jakó 1940: 318.

⁷¹ Györffy identifies the abbey of Hévíz with Ákosmonostora (Györffy, *ÁTF*, IV, *Pest megye*, sub voce *Hévíz*, 521), rejecting the attribution of Karácsonyi to the abbey of Tapolca. See also Ilona K. Fábián, *A Váradi Regestrum helynevei* [The place names of the *Regestrum* of Várad/Oradea] (Szeged: Magyar Középkorász M hely, 1997), 76, no. 267 (Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 13).

⁷² Györffy, *ÁTF*, IV, *Pest megye*, 508.

⁷³ *MRT XIII/3*, sub voce Galgahévíz, site no. 8/2, 176-183.

⁷⁴ Zsuzsa Miklós, *A Gödöllő i Dombvidék várai* [The Castles of the Gödöllő Hills], (Aszód: Pet fi Múzeum, 1982), 43-47; eadem, "A Galga-völgyi földvárkutató újabb eredményei" [New results in the Research on Earthen Castles in the Galga Valley], in *Egy múzeum szolgálatában. Tanulmányok Asztalos István tiszteletére* [In the Service of a Museum: Studies in Honor of István Asztalos], ed. Tamás Asztalos (Aszód: Pet fi Múzeum, 1998), 106-110.

⁷⁵ *MRT XIII/3*, 176-183.

century, after the early Árpadian Age settlement and the fortifications had been abandoned.⁷⁶ The monastery church, unfortunately, was destroyed completely during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, even its foundations could not be identified during archaeological research. In spite of this, the additional buildings of the monastic complex and other late medieval features were identified.⁷⁷ The single source on the ground-plan arrangement of the monastery church is a report with a sketch, kept in the archive of the Hungarian Office of Monument Protection, dating from 1876.⁷⁸ The sketch is not very detailed, but it suggests that the church had one nave, with a prolonged, semicircular apse and transept. On the short façade of the nave foundations of a tower with buttresses can be observed. Unfortunately there are no other details which permit any chronological observation, but it must be noted that the archaeological situation does not exclude the foundation of the monastery at the beginning of the thirteenth century, being later than the abandonment of the settlement and fortification of the early Árpadian Age. According to this, and to be in concordance with the early written sources, the foundation of the monastery can be dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Conclusions

Whether the emergence and settling of the Ákos kindred happened in the period of the Conquest, or later remains an open question. At this stage of the research it seems that they acquired their oldest possessions rather early, as the settlement structure and the place names indicate, but somewhat later than the Conquest period. The exact period of this process cannot be determined due to the scarcity of sources. The twelfth century seems to have been a flourishing period for kindred; several members had significant careers – that is why they are known – and the earliest monastic foundations were made.

The own historical traditions of the Ákos kindred have kept the memory of an ancient descent. They established a more or less fictive lineage with the chieftains of the conquering Hungarian tribes of the ninth century. This tradition seems to be reinforced by their use of the white hawk as a heraldic sign in concordance with the name Ákos, therefore constituting a direct link with the nomadic traditions of Turkic origins. Certainly the historical tradition of the kindred, known only from the thirteenth century, cannot be regarded fully accurate on their origins. This tradition is especially imprecise on the chronology of the origins. The emergence of the kindred might have happened much later than the Conquest period, but the memory of the descendants confounded this period with the Conquest. This historical tradition, though, is accurate in recording the self-

⁷⁶ Ibidem, 182.

⁷⁷ Zsuzsa Miklós and Tibor Sabján, “Kés középkori szemeskályha Galgahévíz-Szentendrásparton” [Late Medieval Oven at Galgahévíz-Szentendráspart], in *Ház és Ember* 8 (1992): 103-108.

perception of the kindred on their beginnings as one of the most ancient and prestigious in the kingdom.

The analysis of the estates owned by the kindred reveals that they can be grouped roughly into three main blocks: One along the Berettyó and one along the Ér River in Bihar and Közép Szolnok Counties, with a third one in Pest County, in the lower valley of the Galga River. Three early monastic foundations were made, each corresponding to the block of estates owned. Among them, the monastery of Ákos in Közép Szolnok seems to be the earliest, founded during the last decades of the twelfth century. In case of Pályi the ground-plan arrangement suggests a later building period (the first decade of the thirteenth century), while in the case of Ákosmonostor the earlier fortification and settlement do not allow dating the foundation before 1200. All of them, however, functioned until the end of Middle Ages, though only in case of Ákosmonostor (Pest County) is the existence of the monastery attested in the later phase (the last data in 1523). The relation of the descendants of the kindred with the early monasteries weakened gradually and led to the abandonment (Ákosmonostor) or the dissolution (Ákos) of the ancestral monastic establishments of the kindred.

⁷⁸ Archive of the Forster Center, Budapest: 33/1876, no. 8146.

Chapter VI

THE MONASTERY CHURCH OF ÁKOS: AN ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Only the abbey church is preserved at the medieval monastery of Ákos (Acâ , Romania): fig. 3-5. The good state of the edifice confers on it a special role among the Romanesque monuments of medieval Hungary, offering the possibility of an exhaustive architectural and functional analysis. Due to the small number of monuments in such a good state, the case of Ákos becomes rather important for the issue of monasteries under private patronage.

In more or less continuous use since medieval times, the former abbey church has now been transformed into the Calvinist church of Ákos village. Due to this situation, only partial research could be made on the building and its surroundings, in successive phases. In 1998, an archaeological excavation was started in order to identify parts of the monastic complex that have disappeared and to reveal possible earlier building phases. An architectural survey was later completed on the building together with archival research on the building's history. This archival research revealed a large set of written documents and sketches created between 1896 and 1902 during the restoration of the church. This set of data permitted the establishment of the medieval layout of the church, making it possible to eliminate the newly added and restored parts. In addition, the inquiry into the architecture of the church was combined with the history of the noble kindred – the Ákos family – which founded the abbey and were later its patrons.¹

¹ The early results of this combined research were incorporated in my MA thesis, entitled “The Problems of Kindred Monasteries: A Case Study of Ákos Monastery” (Budapest: Central European University, 2002), and published in part in: Péter Levente Sz cs, “The Abbey Church of Ákos: An Architectural and Functional Analysis of a ‘Kindred Monastery Church’”, *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 155-180; more recent results of the research were presented in three studies: idem, “Az ákosi református templom régészeti kutatása” [Archaeological Research on the Calvinist Church of Ákos], in *Szatmár*, 60-65 (hereafter Sz cs 2011); Tamás Em di, “A középkori ákosi templom és Schulek-féle helyreállítása” [The Medieval Church of Ákos and its Renovation conducted by Frigyes Schulek], in *Szatmár*, 66-85 (hereafter Em di 2011); and Béla Zsolt Szakács, “Ákos, református templom. M vészettörténeti elemzés” [The Calvinist Church of Ákos. Art Historical Analysis], in *Szatmár*, 86-91 (Szakács 2011). Finally, a more recent summary of the research on the abbey church see Péter Levente Sz cs, “Az ákosi monostor és az Ákos nemzetség” [The Ákos Monastery and the Ákos kindred], in *A Szilágyság és a Wesselényi család (14–17. század)* [The

As a result of debates on the art historical significance of monasteries belonging to noble kindreds, it has become clear that the methodology concentrating on the ground-plan typology and spatial arrangement must be combined with a functional analysis.² This means that the architectural and spatial details must be considered in the context of their possible liturgical, social, legal and economic implications. These considerations have an increased significance in the context of Hungarian Romanesque monuments, with no or only a few preserved artistic details suitable for classical art historical analysis based on stylistic comparisons. The growing number of archaeological research projects at monastic sites has provided comparative information on the abbey church and the additional buildings of the monastic complex, enlarging the database for analyses of this kind. As Ernő Marosi suggested, the existence of a crypt, the number and the position of towers (western or eastern), the presence or absence of gallery(ies) and their structure and position, the entrances (western or/and southern/northern), and the existence of additional liturgical spaces (annexed or independent chapels, and so on) have special significance.³ The combination of multiple sources and research methods allowed the analysis of the architectural arrangement of the abbey church of Ákos and its functional scheme. The goal of this analysis was to establish the ground plan and spatial arrangement of the church and to attempt to link certain functions to particular zones in the church itself and to the complex as a whole.

Previous research on the abbey church of Ákos

The church appeared relatively early in the art historical literature: in 1864, in a short field trip report signed by Flóris Rómer and Imre Henszelmann (fig. 21-22).⁴ Since then, all major syntheses on Hungarian Romanesque architecture mention the abbey of Ákos,⁵ Due to its ground plan arrangement, the abbey church has been cited as among the best examples of the so-called Benedictine-type church or kindred-monastery-type church. The pair of western towers and the western gallery led scholars to cite the case of Ákos in the debate on the western arrangement and the so-called patron gallery, while, due to the supposed eastern pair of towers, it was given as an example for the interpretation of eastern arrangements. Despite this “popularity” – which otherwise

Szilágy Region and the Wesselényi Family], ed. Géza Hegyi and András W. Kovács (Kolozsvár-Cluj: EME, 2012): 7–24 (hereafter Sz. cs 2012).

² Ernő Marosi, “Bencés építkezések a 13. században”, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 275-288.

³ Ernő Marosi, “Megjegyzések a magyarországi romanika épület tipológiájához”, in *Erdély* vol. 1: 10-32.

⁴ Flóris Rómer, “Magyar régészeti krónika” [Chronicle of Hungarian Archaeology], *Archaeológiai Közlemények* 4 (1868): 158 (hereafter Flóris Rómer, “Magyar régészeti krónika”); Imre Henszelmann, “A szathmári püspöki megyének középkori építészeti régiségei” [The Medieval Architectural Monuments of the Diocese of Szatmár], *Archaeológiai Közlemények* 4 (1868): 132.

⁵ Gerevich 1938, 30; Dezső Dercsényi, “A román stílusú művészet fénykora” [The Golden Age of Romanesque Art], in *A magyarországi művészet története*, vol. 1, ed. Lajos Fülep and Anna Zádor (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1956), 49-118, esp. p. 69; Virgil Văntianu, *Istoria artei feudale în România* [The history of feudal art in the Romanian Principalities], vol. 1. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RPR, 1959), 33; Entz 1994, 27.

underlines its important role in medieval Hungarian architecture – only Tamás Bogyay dedicated a short article entirely to the study of the church.⁶ Recently, Sándor Tóth made an art historical and stylistic analysis of the Ákos abbey church in a general survey on the Hungarian Romanesque architecture of the monastic orders.⁷ Written sources from the first period of the church are lacking, along with artistic details that might serve as a solid basis for stylistic considerations. This situation has led scholars to propose different chronologies.⁸

The uncertainty of dating is due to the fact that there have been no significant architectural and archaeological surveys of the church since the restoration work of 1896 to 1902 led by Frigyes Schulek. All the remarks in the scholarly literature regarding Ákos have been based on the ground plans, sketches, and photos that reflect the situation of the church after Schulek's restoration. It was not clear, however, which architectural elements were original and which were added by Schulek. In general, scholars have regarded this purist restoration as a set of changes in the architecture of the church in order to obtain a 'classical' Romanesque basilica. Due to these uncertainties, the first task of the present inquiry was to establish the medieval layout of the church by eliminating later interventions. The best way to carry out this task was to examine the early modern history of the church and the documentation of Schulek's restoration. The large set of written reports and sketches made during the restoration are kept in the archive of the Office of Cultural Heritage in Budapest (now the Forster Center), and, fortunately, among them are several photos and sketches which record the layout of the church before the restoration (photos: fig. 16-20, sketches: fig. 23-24). Due to planned new restoration works, the archaeological and architectural research of the church became necessary during the 1990s. This research, although not exhaustive, confirmed and extended the data provided by the archival sources. The archaeological results and the historical context of the monastery were presented in a short article,⁹ along with a new and comprehensive art historical analysis by Béla Zsolt Szakács,¹⁰ and an architectural analysis of the church by Tamás Em di.¹¹ All these results were summarized again in 2012.¹²

⁶ Tamás Bogyay, "Az ákosi református templom" [The Calvinist Church of Ákos], *Magyar Épít m vészet* 34 (1944): 67-70, (hereafter: Bogyay 1944).

⁷ Sándor Tóth, "A 11-12. századi magyarországi benedek-rendi templomaink maradványai", in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 255-258.

⁸ Henszlmann and Rómer dated the construction of the church to the turn of the twelfth century; Gerevich modified this chronology to the first half of the thirteenth century; Bogyay dated the construction of the church to the middle of the twelfth century; Dercsényi modified this date to the end of the twelfth century, while V t ianu returned to the thirteenth century dating (the second quarter of the thirteenth century); Entz adopted the chronology established by Bogyay and dated the construction to the middle of the twelfth century; Tóth finally put this event in the second half of the twelfth century. This date was also confirmed by the archaeological research and later art historical analysis.

⁹ Sz cs 2011, 60-65.

¹⁰ Szakács 2011, 86-91.

¹¹ Em di 2011, 66-85.

¹² Sz cs 2012, 7-24.

Building history and the 1896-1902 restoration

Data referring to the early modern history of the church were kept in the account books of the Calvinist congregation in Ákos. They were collected and listed by Flóris Rómer in 1864. According to him, the roof was renewed several times during the eighteenth century and some other minor repairs were also made.¹³ In addition, Rómer, on his field trip to Ákos together with Henszlmann, made a number of sketches of the church (fig. 21-22).¹⁴ The church was in poor condition due to an earthquake and other damage and the local community had limited resources for repair. This was the reason why the newly established National Committee for Monuments in Hungary (M emlékek Országos Bizottsága, Budapest) started to be concerned with the church in the 1880s. István Möller was sent to inspect the church and to make draft plans for the restoration in 1889.¹⁵ The project, however, was not started until 1896 due to financial problems. Frigyes Schulek was sent to Ákos at this time.¹⁶ He made a new restoration plan and in the autumn of the same year the first phase of the work was started and finished. Due to additional financial problems, the second – and last – phase of the restoration was not begun until the summer of 1901; it was finished the next year.¹⁷ During the twentieth century, apart from a few minor repairs, no significant changes were made to the architecture of the church.

The written reports,¹⁸ sketches,¹⁹ and photographic documentation²⁰ allowed identifying the restored portions of the church. The steeples of the western towers and the western porch were newly built during the restoration. In addition, the gable between them was completed, and the roof of the western part was unified with the roof system of the main body of the church. Inside, the vaults of the western gallery were rebuilt and the lower masonry of the western pillars was replaced. Documents on the second phase of the restoration are incomplete, therefore additional information were obtained from the observations on the masonry. Since the bricks used in the restoration are

¹³ During an Ottoman or Mongol raid the church was destroyed by fire in 1642. The roof and the towers were restored in 1732, the towers were restored again in 1763, but due to a lightening strike they were repaired again in 1775 and 1776. The Baroque steeples of the towers, made at this time were kept until the major renovation of Schulek. The church was damaged by an earthquake in 1834 and a fire in 1862, see Flóris Rómer, "Magyar régészeti krónika", 158.

¹⁴ The set of sketches and ground plans made at this time are at the Hungarian Office for Cultural Heritage, Budapest, called now Forster Központ – Forster Center (hereafter FK), Tervtár (Draft Archive, hereafter TT), 13197 and 13198.

¹⁵ FK, TT: K 512, K 878, K 884, K 885. Unfortunately, the written reports made at this inspection were not accessible.

¹⁶ István Möller left his position of assistant architect at the National Committee for Monuments (M emlékek Országos Bizottsága, hereafter MÖB) on 17 February 1893 due to the overwhelming obligations that stopped him from starting new projects (FK, Proceedings of MÖB vol. 22 (1893): 12). He resumed only the restoration of the castle of Vajdahunyad after that time.

¹⁷ The restoration was financed entirely by the MÖB. The whole process can be reconstructed with the help of the Proceedings of MÖB (henceforth Proc.), kept in the archive of Department of Cultural Heritage, Budapest. See Proc. vol. 25 (1896)/48, 114, 125, 139, 145, 206, 224, 235, 244/10; vol. 26 (1897)/40, 116, 168, 206; vol. 27 (1898)/10, 170, 209; vol. 28 (1899)/252; vol. 29 (1900)/113; vol. 30 (1901)/96, 108, 202, 223, 235, 249, 266, 287, 310, 350, 388, 396, 401, 414, 436, 441, 445, 481, 491, 495; vol. 31 (1902)/11, 19, 28, 51, 58, 98, 116, 149, 150, 168, 189, 217, 221, 227, 242, 329, 370, 403, 466, 561.

¹⁸ Kept in the archive of FK, fascicle no. 700.

¹⁹ FK, TT, drafts no. K 512, K 868-900.

²⁰ Photo archive of FK, no. 145055-145065, 128135-128141, 128246-128272, 130970-130971.

different from the medieval bricks,²¹ the new interventions can be observed on the outer wall. In the second phase of restoration, the upper parts of the clerestory, side naves, and main apse were renewed, together with their blind-arch decoration. Inside, the foundations of the pillars were replaced, the sanctuary was vaulted again, and a new triumphal arch was built with a triple niche. The diaries²² of the restoration work record that the level of the floor was lowered and a new brick floor was laid. The archaeological excavation made inside of the church in 2002 demonstrated that the present floor was lowered approximately 40 cm, but it did not affect the medieval floors. An important intervention can also be seen in the lower zone of the masonry up to 1 m high. The renewal of this part is probably related to the destructive effect of humidity. In the 1950's, a plinth of concrete was added here, too. Furthermore, at that time the northeastern part of the northern aisle was entirely rebuilt, together with its corner zone. This indicated the possible existence of a connected building, later demonstrated by the archaeological excavations in this zone.

According to the sketches and photos made before the restoration, the interventions between 1896 and 1902 did not change the architecture of the church too much. Most of the renewed elements are accurate copies of the original ones, and the only completely new parts are those which were not been preserved in 1896. These were the steeples of the towers, the western gable, the roof of the naves, the vault of the main apse, and the triumphal arch. Overall, it must be recognized that the restoration was good quality authentic work which increased the value of the monument.

The building history of the church and the analysis of the restoration have shown that the former abbey church of Ákos presents one of the fortunate cases where the standing structure has preserved almost all the characteristic features of its medieval phase. At that time, a triple-aisled basilica with one apse and two western towers was built, with a gallery between the towers. Significant changes – apart from a few Baroque modifications – were made only under the general restoration of the church between 1896 and 1902. At this time, several parts of the church were entirely rebuilt, but the original ground plan arrangement and spatial distribution were not changed. This means that the church is still a good potential source of information for architectural and art historical study, especially for the goal of the present inquiry: the functional analysis of a medieval monastery church under private patronage.

²¹ An original – Árpáadian age – brick is 29x14.5x4.5/5 cm, and the mortar used is yellow to white, with a great deal of lime. The bricks for the restoration are 30x15x6.5/7 cm, and the mortar contains less lime. The difference is the most visible on the northern façade: fig. 6.

Archaeological research at the Abbey Church of Ákos

Archaeological research on the church at Ákos was started in 1998 and lasted until 2005, preceding planned restoration works, its intensity being determined by the available financial resources.²³ The excavations had a preventive character, being limited by the partial renovations of the building or constituted merely monitoring of the work. Due to the constant use of the church and the partial nature of renovations, the archaeological research was not exhaustive and can be perceived only as a first step in the complete research of the monument. Even at this stage, however, several remarks can be formulated on the history of the building, especially on the more thoroughly investigated parts.

Most of the excavated trenches are located in the northeastern corner of the church, this part being almost completely investigated (fig. 32). In addition, one section was opened on the southern (southwestern) side of the church, one more on the western side, and another two at a greater distance from the church to the northeast and southeast.²⁴ Except for the northeastern corner, the archaeological research must be continued in all other areas.

Both the church and settlement of Ákos (Acâ) are on the left bank of the Kraszna (Crasna) River on a lower terrace, but protected from flooding (fig. 1 and 2). Here, the Crasna River flows out of the S laj hills and enters the plains, flowing into the former Ecedea Marsh not far from the settlement. Throughout the Middle Ages, the road along the Kraszna and Ér (Eriu) rivers led from Transylvania towards Tasnád (T nad), Szalacs (S lacea), and branched to the north to Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare), passing through Bélték (Beltiug) and Erd d (Ardud). This favorable position strengthened the central character of the Ákos settlement. The first military topographic survey²⁵ recorded the modern site of the settlement; the church shown on a plot situated between the two parallel streets of the village (fig. 1). The medieval settlement was not around the monastery,

²² Archive of FK, fasc. 700, no. 33-39.

²³ The archaeological excavations were led by myself, and they were financed by: County Museum Satu Mare; Medieval Studies Department of the Central European University (in 2002), Budapest; the Calvinist Eparchy of Oradea (in 2005).

²⁴ Section SI: 3 x 2 m, at the northern door, SII: 3 x 2 m, the extension of SI to northward; SIII: 14 x 1 m, on the northern side of the church, at 2 m from the church wall; SIV: 2 x 1.70 m in the northeastern corner of the church, and later extended with SIVA and SIVB, SIVA: 2 x 1.5 m, in the eastern extension of the northern side nave; SIVB: 2 x 1.70 m, on the northern side of the church; SV: 2 x 4 m, on the northern side of the church, on the northeastern shoulder of the chapel; SVI: 2.50 x 5 m, in the central part of the chapel; SVII: 2.50 x 3 m, on the northern side of the church, in the northwestern corner of the chapel, expanded northward with a section of 1 x 7 m; SVIII: 2.50 x 1.70 m, on the northern side of the church, where the chapel is added to the northern wall of the nave; SIXA: 1 x 10 m, on the southern side of the church, in the southeastern corner, with a section of 3 m in the middle, under the sidewalk, not researched correctly[?]; SX: 3 x 3 m, in the western side of the church, in the southwestern corner; SXI: 2 x 3m, on the northern side of the church, where the tower meets the nave; SXII: 2 x 3 m, the northern extension of SXI; SXIII: 1 x 4 m, in the northern extension of SXII; SXIV: 2 x 2 m northeastern corner of the church; SXV: 2 x 2 m, southeastern corner of the church; CI 2.70 x 4.70, inside the church in the northern side-aisle.

²⁵ The first military survey of the Transylvanian Principality (1763-1787), Col. XXVII, Sect. 4, zone 15.

the archaeological field survey²⁶ identified the early period of the settlement farther to the south, on the left bank of the Kraszna River, on a high terrace. According to the archaeological material found in the center of the present village of Acâ , it appears that the settlement was moved near the church during the late Middle Ages.

The archaeological material and architectural features of the church show the origins of the settlement and church in the Árpáadian age. The earliest written document mentioning the village, however, dates later, to 1342.²⁷ At that time the settlement name was Akusmonostora, which refers to the monastery here. The monastery was mentioned again only once, in 1421, when the members of the Csáki family divided their estates and among them the patronage right of the monastery of Ákos dedicated to the Holy Virgin.²⁸ The right of patronage remained common and undivided among the family members at this time. During the second part of the fifteenth century, the settlement was owned by several families from the lower nobility, and the abbey was no longer mentioned in the written sources.²⁹ Due to the lack of documents mentioning the monastery and abbey church directly, the archaeological and architectural researches have an increased importance in understanding the history of the monastery.

On the masonry of the church the original bricks of Árpáadian age can be clearly identified through the size, color, and material of the bricks as well as by the mortar Frigyes Schulek used in the restored parts (figs. 28-31). The original Árpáadian Age masonry used a narrow brick measuring $26 \times 15 \times 5.5$ cm, dark red in color; the mortar was white and crumbly with a great deal of lime. The brick sizes Schulek used were $29 \times 14 \times 7$ cm and they are lighter red in color. The mortar is gray colored and harder than the original. The masonry of the church reveals these two major construction phases and this distinction serves as the basis for most of the conclusions made after the excavations.

Foundations

During the renovation coordinated by Schulek the church wall was rebuilt down to between 40 and 80 cm below the floor level, depending on the state of the original masonry. Consequently, the original foundation of the church remained intact below 40 cm deep (fig. 35 and 37). The base of the foundation varies between 190 and 208 cm below the surface and all rests in the compact sandy yellow sterile clay. The lower part of the foundation, to a depth 90 to 100 cm below the floor

²⁶ The Satu Mare County Museum conducted small-scale rescue excavations in 1998, in the center of the village, near the main road, and in 2000, in the southern part of the settlement, on the left bank of the Kraszna River. Several field surveys were also conducted in the area at this time.

²⁷ *ZichyOklt*, no. 12, p. 14-16; see also *CDTrans*, no. 87. The original: DL 76663.

²⁸ *CsákyOklt*, 312-313; the original: DL 71453.

²⁹ Mór Petri, *Szilágy vármegye monographiája* [Monograph on Szilágy County], vol. 3 (Zilah: Szilágy Vármegye Közönsége, 1902), 18-34; Csánki, *Tört.Fölldr*, vol. 1, 549; Entz 1994, 70.

level, is made of large raw stones smothered in mortar; gaps between the stones were filled with small stones and brick fragments in order to equalize the rows. In this part brittle mortar was used; its composition contained less lime and more sand. The upper part of the foundation, to the depth of 90 to 60 cm below the floor level, is built of brick rows arranged regularly. Here a good-quality mortar was used, whiter in color. Over this section (at about 40 cm in depth) a row of rectangular stones was set, crafted and polished carefully. There are no shoulders at the edges of the three parts of the foundation. These characteristics are similar to those observed at the foundations inside the church and chapel, which was built at the same time as the church. The masonry was renewed during Schulek's restoration down to the row of bricks of the foundation, but in some places (e.g., in the northern entrance, which is built up) the row of rectangular stone blocks was preserved. During the restoration, a 20-cm-wide shoulder was created over the preserved part of the foundation and the regular rows of modern bricks were placed over a thick bed of mortar.

Inside the church a small section was opened in the northeastern side apse, among the main apse, the northeastern pillar, and the northern wall of the church (fig. 34 and 39). Five unknown foundations were identified in this small research area (fig. 36). Foundation no. 1, oriented north-south, is 1.30 m wide and made of raw stone blocks. The direction of the foundation differs slightly from the direction of the pillar column. Thus, the pillar was built on this wall, but certainly in another phase. In the southern part of the section, foundation no. 1 continues eastward, making a shoulder. Due to its direction and the building material this foundation might be interpreted as an earlier apse than that existing today, built farther to west. This conclusion, however, is contradicted by observations on the existing masonry of the church wall, which indicates that it was built with the foundation of the church in single phase all around the church. The depth of the foundation no. 1 cannot be determined because of the narrow space, just as one cannot even define its exact role until the research area is expanded.

Foundation no. 2 is oriented east-west; it is made of brick and is 60 cm wide. It was added both to the original foundation of the Árpadian period of the pillars and to the foundation of the apse. The interventions on the masonry made during by Schulek's work, however, do not overlap foundation no. 2. The foundation depth could not be determined because of the narrow space. This construction may be either the foundation of a wall designed to separate the eastern side of the side nave from the nave or a subsequent foundation designed to strengthen the support.

Foundation no. 3 is also oriented east-west and was made of bricks (measuring $28 \times 15.5 \times 5$ cm). The original width cannot be determined because the northern edge was destroyed by another excavation (it may have been the pit dug for foundation no. 2). The preserved width varies from 20 to 40 cm. The bottom of the foundation slopes to the north; on the south side is 35 cm deep (three rows of brick), while on the north it is 55 cm deep (5 rows of bricks). This feature is seemingly the

foundation of steps and, considering the size of the bricks, it belongs to the first phase of the church, the Árpáadian period. Probably the steps led from the side apse to the main apse – which had a somewhat higher floor than the other parts of the church.

Foundations no. 4 and 5 are oriented east-west and can be seen on the western side of the pillars. Foundation no. 5 was made of stone and could be part of a continuous foundation realized under the row of pillars along the nave. Foundation no. 4 is made up of three rows of brick (brick size: $28 \times 16 \times 6$ cm). Probably it was a later addition to the foundation of the pillars (no. 5).

Floors and walking surfaces

According to the stratigraphic observations made inside the church, several floor layers can be identified, along with layers created during construction or repair work. A thick layer of sand with few traces of mortar lies under the present floor over a thin layer of mortar, whose base is at the same level everywhere (at the foundations of the pillar, the northern wall or the apse). It is the same as the lower limit of Schulek's renovation, thus, this level was the floor level during, and maybe before, the Schulek's renovations. Different fills and pits can be seen below this level, and on smaller surfaces even traces of the floor. In the eastern section, sterile soil was observed at a depth of 80 to 100 cm, the variation being due to the excavations conducted in different periods. The situation is more regular in the eastern section, in the main apse. The sterile soil appears at 30 cm in depth below the floor level. The earlier floor surface from above the sterile soil level is indicated by a thin layer of mortar. The mortar layer corresponds in fact to the bottom of the brick rows of foundation no. 3 (steps) and the level of the apse foundation. Thus, this layer was probably the medieval floor of the main apse.

The medieval walking surface outside the church was not defined. The stratigraphy, however, indicates that it was very close to that of today (fig. 38). The difference between the medieval and present level is cca. 20 cm, as can be assumed by the level of stone-blocks row at the top level of the church foundation and northern side chapel. The current topsoil layer is very thin, and the layers created during Schulek's restoration can be seen and delineated below it. The most significant among the features belonging to this period is a narrow ditch filled with sand and crushed debris around the church wall and chapel foundation (which might also be a trace of István Möller's excavation in 1889). There are no other recent features except for a few shallow holes.

The ditch surrounding the medieval complex

Under the modern layers (corresponding to Schulek's restoration and subsequent work) older episodes of fill can be found, among them ones with medieval origin (the most significant category being graves). In several zones, the sterile soil, represented by loamy black clay, can be

identified relatively close to the modern walking surface. Among the medieval archaeological features, besides burials, the most important is the ditch surrounding the whole monastic complex of the church and its annexed buildings (fig. 40 and 41). The V-shaped ditch was identified on the northern side at 10 to 13 meters from the church wall, and on the southern side at a distance of 7 m. The upper edge of the ditch could not be identified because of recent graves. The maximum width is 1.90 m and the depth of the ditch is 2.78 m below the current walking surface. The fill contains black and yellow clay with chunks of stone and brick. Medieval burials were identified only in the zone enclosed by the ditch (modern burials are located along the ditch line outside of it). The researched sections allow assuming the original width and depth of the ditch: cca. 3 m in width, and cca. 2.5 m in depth, a considerable dimension for a ditch which surrounded the early church and monastery. According to the items found in the ditch, it was filled relatively quickly, during the Middle Ages, when one of the buildings of the monastic complex, built of stone and brick, was demolished.

The chapel on the northern side

To the eastern side of the northern aisle of the church (actually the northern side apse) a small sized chapel was added (fig. 33, 35 and 37). The existence of a former annexed building is also indicated by the renewed masonry up to the cornice on the northern wall of the church. The foundation of the chapel was discovered by István Möller in 1889, after the archaeological excavations carried out to prepare for the restoration of the building. His drawing records the foundations of the chapel together with an already walled-up opening in the wall in this zone (not visible in the masonry today), presumably the door between the church and chapel.³⁰ During Schulek's renovation, the masonry on this side was completely renewed, which may mean that the chapel wall was as high as the side nave or somewhat shorter. The almost quadrangular building of the chapel had a small semicircular protuberance on the east side. The southern side of the chapel was in fact the northern wall of the church. The width of the chapel inside was 7.20 m, and, together with the semicircular apse, had a length of 6.70 m; the width of the foundation varies between 1 and 1.20 m. The chapel foundation is tied with the church's and the technical characteristics are identical. This indicates that it was built at the same time as the church. Among the medieval burials, only one was found inside the chapel, a tomb of a young child, under 3 years old, built with a brick frame and no grave goods. Two tombs from the modern era and a lime pit (probably made during Schulek's restoration) were also found inside the chapel. The character of the fill indicates

³⁰ FK, TT, no. 4917 (K876). The small, bricked-up door between the chapel and the church appears on Schulek's drawings, with its dimensions: height 2.06 m, width 0.86 m: FK, TT, no. 4915 (K899).

that the demolition of the chapel occurred during the Middle Ages, but because no items with chronological attributes were found, the demolition cannot be dated precisely.

Burials

76 tombs were discovered during the research around the abbey church. All were inhumations containing skeletons laid on their backs, oriented nearly east-west, following the long axis of the church (fig. 43). According to the depth and fill of the graves and their inventory, two periods of burials can be distinguished; around one third of them are medieval burials (dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century), and the remainder date from the early modern era (seventeenth to nineteenth century). Many of the medieval burials were found in the southern and western part of the church, but none in the eastern side of the chapel or outside the surrounding ditch. Inside the church and the chapel there is only one grave belonging to this horizon (M40 /church/ and M15 /chapel/ - fig. 42). These inhumations can be identified from 60 cm to 1 m in depth below the present walking surface. The fill is made of black earth, mixed with fragments of brick and rubble granules, with several human bones in a secondary position. The graves of this horizon usually have no grave goods. Two graves, of very young children, however, each under three years of age, are special because they were made with brick frames. The grave of a young child, M15, discovered inside the chapel, had no grave goods, but a brick frame (fig. 42). Grave M3, also a young child, was discovered in front of the northern entrance (now walled up) of the church, being disturbed and partially destroyed by later intrusions. The grave had a brick framework (identifiable only partially due to later disturbance), too, and the inventory of grave goods was unusually rich, comprising a bronze cross with yellow enamel (fig. 44), a silver cross (fig. 45), and a string of pearls (fig. 46), found on the skeleton's neck. Furthermore, the fill of grave M18 contained a denarius of Friesach type (fig. 47 – unfortunately it was found in secondary position, and not in the same context as the skeleton).³¹ Based on this material, the graves of this horizon can be dated to between the thirteenth and fifteenth century.

Modern age burials are located on the northern side of the church; from a distance of 4-5 m from the wall of the church as far as the present fence of the churchyard (a few of them may be located on neighboring lots). Each of them reached a depth of 2.50 / 2.80 m, dug down to the sterile yellow clay, which is why, the fill contains large lumps of yellow clay. Almost half of the graves of this period had grave goods; this usually comprised remnants of garments, hair pins, buttons or brooches, nails, and sometimes traces of the coffin planks (fig. 48-49). Several graves even preserved fragments of textiles. In grave M57 (fig. 43), a mature man, a piece of a hat cloth was

³¹ CNA. I. CA9. The coin was identified by Dr. Csaba Tóth (The Numismatic Cabinet of the National Museum of Budapest), to whom I wish to express here my gratitude for his help.

found, while grave M75 contained a metal embroidered bonnet with floral motifs around the skull. According to the inventory, this horizon can be dated to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and seems to be the resting places of ministers of the church and their families. According to local informants, their funerary monuments (made of wood) were still visible in the middle of the twentieth century.

Interpretation of the archaeological results

The growing number of archaeological research projects on monastic sites has provided a large number of new sources. This evidence is no longer a mere illustration of written sources, but, through analysis with specific archaeological methods, makes a relevant contribution to monastic studies. The research at the Cistercian Abbey of Bordesley (England)³² is significant, because monastic patronage has been addressed with archaeological methods; while Hungarian research, however, has not yet dealt systematically with this issue. The case of this royal foundation allowed archaeologists to identify several architectural and archaeological features which – in their explanation – were signs of noble patronage. Two important observations for the study of patronage have resulted from their work. First, the number of features which might be related to patronage was enlarged; apart from the spectacular – but rare – so-called “founder’s graves” and “patron’s galleries”, the rhythm of building projects and renewal of the monastic complex was interpreted as an indicator of new endowments. Certain architectural features – ceramic floor-tiles and stone-carvings decorated with the coats of arms of the patrons – were explained as expressions of noble patronage. Moreover, the structure of the cemetery, the location and chronology of lay burials and their position within the monastic complex, was correlated with the patronage. The second result of the Bordesley case was the combination of archival data with the archaeological and architectural information. Periods of large and quick renovations were identified with archaeological/architectural methods in the abbey. These renovations were more expensive than the monastic community could have afforded, considering their average income. The combination with the archival information demonstrated that these rebuilding periods were correlated with a growing number of endowments. The opening of new parts of the abbey church for lay burials was also interpreted as a response to the pressure of the patrons. In other words, the information provided by each source group was contextualized with the help of the others. The wave of endowments

³² Grenville G. Aston and Susan M. Wright, “Perceiving Patronage in the Archaeological Record: Bordesley Abbey”, in *In Search of Cult. Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz*, ed. Martin Carver, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993): 125-137.

explains the architectural changes and the new archaeological features, and at the same time, these changes illustrate the purpose and effect of the endowments.³³

In context of medieval Hungary, the case of Bordesley Abbey has only methodological significance because archival sources are not so abundant in Hungary and the non-royal foundations do not provide rich and various discoveries, it is difficult to assess details of monastic patronage. But the growing number of Hungarian case studies has widened the church-centered archaeological approach to include the whole monastic complex, providing new data on its architectural features and on the surrounding cemetery. As in the case of Bordesley Abbey, these features should be analyzed with archaeological methods and then the results contextualized with the written or other sources. In this sense, the analysis of cemeteries, of the individual burials and the grave-goods, seems to be significant. Although there are as yet no attempts at synthetic analysis, several elements of cemetery topography, especially the inner structure and the structures of burials (whether they are built or embedded with stones or bricks) have been interpreted as signs of social status that might identify the burials of founders and patrons of the monastery.³⁴ In parallel, certain grave-goods (like S-ended earrings) regarded in the previous research as significant for social attributions, were accredited with less importance, questioning their chronology and even their use.

Regarding the topography of monastic sites, several cases of research are of note. One of these, due its complex ground-plan, is the abbey of Ják.³⁵ According to the archeological research, a small church with a centralized ground-plan was built at the site of the monastery before the foundation act of the abbey (dated around 1220). A rectangular brick building also stood to the southwest at that time. The abbey church was built between 1220 and 1256 (fig. 68); in this phase, the small parish church was rebuilt in a quadrifoil form, while a square tower was added to the rectangular building. Although only preliminary results are known of the numerous research campaigns carried on at the site,³⁶ through the analysis of the cemetery³⁷ and its topography the

³³ The view of authors on the role the monastic community played in this process is interesting for the general study of monasticism. The monastic community was regarded previously as more or less a passive partner in this relationship. It accepted the endowments and it provided spiritual and other services as a reward: prayers, retirement for poor and old members of patron family, and burial place for them. In the case of Bordesley Abbey, the authors emphasize the active role of the community in attracting patrons and endowments, implementing a more or less conscious “development plan”.

³⁴ Ritoók 2004, 115–123; Ritoók 2007, 249–276; Ritoók 2010, 473–494.

³⁵ For a summary of the research on the abbey, with previous literature, see Alice Mezey-Debreczeni and Edit Szentesi, *A Ják nemzetség, a jáki Szent György-monostor és Ják falu* [The Ják kindred, the St. George Abbey of Ják and the settlement of Ják], in *A jáki apostolszobrok*, 3–34; and Alice D. Mezey, “Ják” in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 400–405.

³⁶ Reports on the research campaigns: Ilona Valter, “Ják – apáti ház” [Ják – The house of the Abbot], in *Az 1992. év régészeti kutatásai. Régészeti Füzetek*, ser. I, 46 (1994), ed. by Katalin Wollák (Budapest: MNM, 1994): 96.; eadem, “Ják – Volt bencés apátság” [Ják – the Former Benedictine Abbey], in *Az 1997. év régészeti kutatásai. Régészeti Füzetek*, ser. I, 51 (1998), ed. Károly Mesterházy (Budapest: MNM, 2001): 147; eadem, “Ják, Bencés Apátság” [Ják, the Benedictine Abbey], *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon 1998* (Budapest: KÖH – MNM, 2001): 151; Ilona Valter and Erika P. Hajmási, „Ják, Bencés Apátság” [Ják, the Benedictine Abbey], *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon 1999* (Budapest: KÖH – MNM, 2002): 211–212; Ilona Valter, “Ják, Bencés Apátság” [Ják, Benedictine Abbey], *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon 2000*, 153–154; Ilona Valter – Erika Hajmási, “Ják, Bencés Apátság” [Ják,

small church next to the abbey church was identified as the parish church of the village (lying toward the north), while the rectangular building seems to have served as the residence of the patron kindred during the Árpáadian Age.³⁸

The research on Bátmonostor Abbey provided another significant result on monastic topography.³⁹ The Árpáadian age church (founded in 1198) was a triple aisle basilica, with three apses, decorated with carved stones.⁴⁰ The side apses had rectangular ends on the outside. Due to the massive foundations of the easternmost and westernmost pillars, four towers are presumed to have stood here. Two smaller foundations lay between the eastern pillars (it is presumed that they supported a gallery). A rectangular space was built at the southeastern corner of the church. Around the abbey church a ditch was identified, filled with twelfth-century finds, among them fragments of a metal basin.⁴¹ The monastery was destroyed during the Mongol invasion, but it was rebuilt in the fourteenth century for Austin hermits. In the area enclosed by the ditch, a Gothic parish church, an ossuary chapel and 2642 graves were identified. According to a survey of the research made by Henszlmann in 1871, two graves, built with bricks/stone slabs, were identified inside the Romanesque church in front of the main altar, and identified as the burials of patrons. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the village was called by the name of the monastery: Bátmonostor.

At Ellésmonostor, the triple-nave and triple-apse basilica was built at the beginning of the twelfth century (fig. 69).⁴² On the northern side of the apses, a rectangular room was built together with the church. In a later phase, this northern side room was rebuilt with an apse and used for burials. Graves, carefully built in brick with “pitched tent” covers, were sited here. In the same phase, two western towers were built, and on the southern side of the basilica two more buildings were added – arranged around a rectangular courtyard with a well in the center. There were also burials inside the southeastern annex. Burials with grave goods indicating high social status were inside the basilica. A small parish church stood 50 m to the west – built together with the first phase of the abbey church – and around it (as around the basilica) lay a large cemetery (altogether more than 320 graves were identified). A ditch from the earliest phase surrounded the whole complex.

Benedictine Abbey), *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon 2001*, 173-174; Ilona Valter and Erika P. Hajmási, “Ják, Bencés Apátság” [Ják, the Benedictine Abbey], *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon 2002*, 220; iidem, “Ják, Bencés Apátság” [Ják, the Benedictine Abbey], *Régészeti Kutatások Magyarországon 2003* [title translation], 232-233.

³⁷ Kinga Éry and Antónia Marcsik, “Embentani vizsgálatok Ják 11-18. századi népességén” [Anthropological Analysis of the population of Ják living during the eleventh to eighteenth century], *Savaria* 35 (2012): 13-97.

³⁸ Valter 2005, 537-564.

³⁹ Piroska Biczó, “A Bátmonostori ásatások” [Archaeological research at Bátmonostor], in *Középkori régészetiünk újabb eredményei és id szer feladatai*, ed. István Fodor (Budapest: M vel désügyi Minisztérium – MNM, 1985): 363-369 (hereafter: Biczó 1985).

⁴⁰ On the carved stone decorations at the abbey of Bátmonostor see *Paradisum Plantavit*, 388.

⁴¹ Piroska Biczó, “Román kori táltörredék Bátmonostorról” [A Fragment of a Roman Basin found at Bátmonostor], *Cumania* 13 (1992): 87-111; *Paradisum Plantavit*, cat. no. IV.6. 189.

The monastic complex was situated on the site of a tenth and eleventh century settlement; the village was 50 m south of the monastery from the eleventh to seventeenth century. High-status burials were placed inside the basilica, the northern side chapel, and the southeastern annex. Their chronology is, however, not clear (which space was used in which period). Close to the northern wall of the abbey church, near the chapel, fragments of several crosses were identified (with Corpus of Christ, the figure of the Holy Virgin and fragments of decorative plaques).⁴³

Due to the architectural features, similar to monastic sites under private patronage, research on the Benedictine Abbey of Boldva⁴⁴ is significant even though it was a royal foundation dedicated to St John the Baptist (fig. 70 and 71). In the southern part of the abbey-church, a small parish church of rounded shape dedicated to St. Margaret was identified, built at the same time as the abbey during the 1170s. The buildings of the cloister were on the northern side, but they were built in a later period. Similarly, research on the royal abbey of Somogyvár, lasting roughly four decades, has provided significant results for all types of monastic sites.⁴⁵ The *quadrum* of the monastic buildings were on the northern side of the abbey, while farther to the north a small parish church was identified, surrounded by a cemetery. Around the abbey church and parish church more than half thousand graves were identified, making it possible to establish its chronological evolution and zones which were burials of higher social status were concentrated. The whole complex was surrounded with earthworks, ditches, and later with stone fortifications.

Returning to the monasteries under private patronage, at the abbey of Kána⁴⁶ a large cemetery was researched around the church (built in the second half of the twelfth century). On the northern side of the abbey church a nave-long side-chapel used for burials was built of stone-blocks (fig. 72). At the southeastern corner of the church, graves were identified that had been paved and built with great stone-blocks, but with no special finds in the graves. The adjacent settlement and its parish church were identified in the neighborhood of the monastery, across the valley.⁴⁷

⁴² Éva Pávai, “Ellésmonostor kutatása” [The research of Ellésmonostor], in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 219-232.

⁴³ Éva Pávai, “Egy limoges-i Mária figura az ellési monostor (Csongrád megye) területén I” [A figure of the Holy Virgin in Limoges style, discovered on the site of the Ellés Monastery, Csongrád County], in *A k kortól a középkorig. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60. születésnapjára*, ed. Gábor L. Rinczy (Szeged: Móra Ferenc Múzeum, 1994), 455-461; see also Pávai in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 228; *Paradisum Plantavit*, cat. no. IV. 3-4-5. 188.

⁴⁴ Ilona Valter, “A boldvai bencés apátság” [The Benedictine Abbey of Boldva], *Művészet* 25 (1984):4; eadem, *Boldva, református templom* [The Calvinist Church of Boldva], (Budapest: Tájak, Korok, Múzeumok, 1998), [TKM 399] 2nd rev. ed.; eadem, “A boldvai református templom (volt bencésapátság)” [The Calvinist Church at Boldva, the former Benedictine Abbey], in *Myskovszky Viktor és a mai emlékvédelem Közép-Európában. Nemzetközi konferencia Myskovszky Viktor születésének 160. évfordulója alkalmából. Kassa, Bártfa – 1998. május 18–21*, ed. Alexander Balega (Budapest – Bratislava: Országos M emlékvédelmi Hivatal – Pamiatkovy Ustav, 1999), 162–169 (hereafter: Valter 1999).

⁴⁵ Bakay 2011.

⁴⁶ Katalin H. Gyürky, *A Buda melletti Kánai apátság feltárása* [Research on the abbey of Kána near the city of Buda], (Budapest, Akadémiai, 1996), (hereafter: Gyürky 1996).

⁴⁷ Researches coordinated by György Terei, under press.

Further relevant researches were made at Csoltmonostor,⁴⁸ where a ditch surrounding the monastic complex was identified which dated to the two early periods (when the *quadrum* was built, but during the third period it was filled). In the third period, a wall surrounded the monastic complex (fig. 73). A cemetery with more than 300 graves was identified around the church. At Sárvármonostor,⁴⁹ the monastery is located in an earthen fortification which dates from the Bronze Age (fig. 62). The fortification was reused in the Árpáadian Age, two small villages are located inside the earthworks. On the southern part of the abbey church a small chapel(?) was identified, and to southwest a cloister wing. A large cemetery (around 200 graves) was excavated; some of them had rich inventories (hair rings, finger-rings, coins, cloth accessories), and others were built with bricks.

At Babócsa,⁵⁰ the abbey church (fig. 74) – dedicated to St. Nicholas – had a single nave with a single apse and a western hall in which a brick-walled grave was identified (with a niche for the head!). The church and a surrounding cemetery were encircled by a ditch. To the north and south traces of a village were identified; to the south a small parish church and a cemetery (contemporary with the abbey) were found, surrounded by another ditch. The curia of the patron family was built to the west during the fourteenth century. No difference between the two cemeteries was observed in the research at that time. The ground plan of the abbey church of Bodrog-Bü (fig. 65),⁵¹ the monastery of the B kindred dedicated to the Holy Cross, was similar to Babócsa – it had one nave, one apse, and a western hall. Around 150 graves were identified in a cemetery with two periods (eleventh to thirteenth century and fourteenth to fifteenth century). The graves were placed densely, disturbing each other. Three settlements were identified around the church (cca. 500 m). At Zsámbék⁵² inside of the twelfth century church, especially in the western hall and in the western zone of the nave, burials built with stone blocks were discovered, and identified with the founder and patron's grave (fig. 75). Additional information on the topography of monastic complexes and the cemeteries surrounding them were offered by the research at Hahót⁵³ (significant especially for

⁴⁸ Irén Juhász, "Csolt nemzetség monostora" [The monastery of the Csolt Kindred], *M emlékvédelem* 36, no. 2 (1992): 105; the dating of the building-periods was revised by Melinda Tóth, "Csoltmonostora" [The Monastery of Csolt], *Henszlmann Lapok* 4 (1994): 6-10; for a new survey of the results – with the former chronology – see also Irén Juhász, "A Csolt nemzetség monostora" [The monastery of the Csolt Kindred], in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 281-303.

⁴⁹ Magyar 1984.

⁵⁰ Magyar Kálmán, "A babócsai Nárciszos-Basakert településtörténete" [The settlement history of Babócsa, the site of Nárciszos-Basakert], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 10 (1994): 73-91.

⁵¹ Magyar Kálmán, A Bodrog-alsó-b i nemzetségi központ régészeti kutatása [Research at the Kindred Center at Bodrog-Alsó-B], *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei* 14 (2000): 115-161.

⁵² Dezs Dercsényi and IlonaValter, *Zsámbék, Templomrom*, Tájak Korok Múzeumok Kiskönyvtára 184, 3rd rev. ed., (Budapest: TKM Egyesület, 1998).

⁵³ Vándor 1996, 187-190, 205-207.

the extension of the research and field survey to the whole micro-region), Szermonostor,⁵⁴ and Vértesszentkereszt.⁵⁵

Graves built and covered carefully with stone slabs or bricks were identified at the monastic sites of Ellésmonostor, Kána, Zsámbék, Nagyecsed-Sárvár, Vértesszentkereszt, and around the abbey churches of Esztergom-Sziget (fig. 76) and Feldebr .⁵⁶ Further cases from Békés and Csongrád counties were identified by Ildikó Papp.⁵⁷ These types of burials were positioned only on the south side of the church and are regarded as burials of the patrons.⁵⁸

Over 30 cemeteries have been researched at sites in Upper Hungary (today Slovakia); cca. 100 graves covered with a simple stone slab laid on the surface were identified through archaeological research.⁵⁹ In the case of the cemetery excavated at Ducó (Moravanynad Vahom) a three-stage evolution was established: the earliest graves were covered with multiple stone-blocks in an oval or rectangular shape, below which the body was laid and covered with a layer of earth 50 to 60 cm thick. The next stage was marked with a cover made of two to four stones, while in the last phase – starting with the twelfth century – a single, larger stone slab was used to cover the grave. Ágnes Ritoók examined this burial type for the territory of the whole medieval kingdom. According to her results, single slabs were used to cover the graves in the earliest phase of the churchyard cemeteries in several cases in the eleventh century and more widely starting in the twelfth century; in some cases multiple stone blocks were discovered over the grave.⁶⁰

Graves surrounded stones or bricks are also present around monastery churches, but they also appear in cemeteries belonging to rural communities. It is supposed that they represent high status burials, but this presumption has not yet been reinforced by a comprehensive analysis of the inventory. Ágnes Ritoók, however, suggests several cases where this social differentiation can be detected, like at the cemetery of the St. Michael parish in Esztergom-Kovácsi, and observes that the

⁵⁴ Ferenc Horváth, “Szer plébánia temploma és a település középkori története” [The Parish Church of Szer and the Medieval History of the Settlement], in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 123-142.

⁵⁵ M.-Kozák 1993: 27.

⁵⁶ On Esztergom-Sziget, see Zs. Lovag 1985, 343-350; Feldebr : Kovalovszki 1993, 87-98; moreover, at the abbey church of Lébény the grave-stones of patrons belonging to the Hédervári-Kont and Pót families were recorded by Arnold Ipolyi (Ipolyi 1997, 118-119, 122, 124) – their attribution, though, has been questioned recently: Zsófia Bendig-Zsilinszky, “Ipolyi Arnold rajz- és fénykép gyűjteménye az esztergomi keresztény múzeumban” [The Collection of Drawings and Photos belonging to Arnold Ipolyi in the Christian Museum of Esztergom], *M emlékvédelem* 54, no. 5 (2010):, 302-307, 305-306.

⁵⁷ Ildikó Papp, *Téglás és téglakeretes temetkezések Csongrád és Békés megyében az Árpád-kortól a késő középkorig* [Burials with bricks and brick frames in Csongrád and Békés counties from the Árpadian Age to the Late Middle Ages], (Szeged: OTDK, 1998).

⁵⁸ Ritoók Ágnes, “Templom körüli temetők Árpád-kori sírjelei Magyarországon” [Grave markers of Árpadian-Age in the Churchyard cemeteries of Hungary], *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* 1997; 205-213 (hereafter Ritoók 1997); Pál L. Vei, “Temetők sírjelei a középkori Magyarországon” [Grave markers in Medieval Hungary], in *Templom körüli temetők*, 77-84.

⁵⁹ Hanuliak 1978, Hanuliak 1980, and Habovstia 1985.

⁶⁰ Ritoók 1997, 208, and 205-206.

burials of clerics were quite often marked with stone slabs.⁶¹ Abandoning the use of stone slabs in churchyard cemeteries during the fourteenth century also seems to be linked with the status of the burials; Ritoók suggests⁶² that the abandonment of stone slabs outside the church is in correlation with the growing number of the burials inside the church and the foundation of funeral chapels. The higher-status members of the community – who had earlier built their graves with stone (or brick) outside the church moved their burials inside from this point onward because they could afford it.

Based on these results, in case of the abbey of Ákos, the topography of the cemetery and some of the graves does not follow the usual pattern of medieval cemeteries; for this reason, and due to the presence of graves with richer inventories, it can be presumed that this cemetery was used not by the common people living in the nearby rural settlements of this age, but by a narrower community of the elite, most likely the family members who were patrons of the church. The Árpadian age cemetery belonging to the community living in the settlement should be sought elsewhere.

The results of the archaeological research at Ákos, although only partial, permits seeing the building of the abbey church in the context of its Árpadian architectural ensemble, comprising the church itself, fitted with a side chapel, surrounded by a cemetery, and enclosed by a ditch. This complex seems to have had no other buildings related to the monastery or perhaps they were made of wood or earth, and their traces may not be identifiable with archaeological methods. The name of the settlement, identical with the name of the kindred, suggests that there was a residence of the Ákos patron kindred in the neighborhood of the monastery during the Árpadian period. The precise date of the monastery foundation cannot be determined, but the results of the archaeological investigations, considering especially the inventory of the early graves, suggest that the monastic site started during the last quarter of the twelfth century. The settlement of Acâ remained in the possession of families descended from the kindred, who gradually lost their wealth and estates. Perhaps the members of the Ákosi family were also descendants of the kindred; this family, belonging to the lower nobility, held properties only in this settlement. At some point, the descendants lost the right of patronage of the monastery, which was disbanded, but the abbey church probably assumed the function of parish at that time and thus it was preserved until nowadays.

Architectural analysis of the church

The church is a triple-aisled basilica (fig. 25) with one apse and two western towers with a gallery between them. It is built in brick, stone was used only for significant parts: the door-frames

⁶¹ Ibidem, 209.

⁶² Ibidem, 208.

(fig. 8), the niches of the side altars (fig. 14), and the headings of the pillars (fig. 15). As was mentioned above, the bricks used during the first construction phase can still be seen all around the masonry of the church, even today, demonstrating that it was built in a single phase. The bricks used during later restoration can be identified easily due their different dimensions.

Except for the bays under the towers, the naves were never vaulted, being provided with a simple plane ceiling. They are relatively long – 29.31 m – compared to the width of the church – 14.05m. At the eastern end of the aisle, vaulted side apses were built with small niches on their eastern wall (probably serving as altar niches for the side-apses) (fig. 10); from the outside, the walls of the side apses appear rectangular (fig. 4). The main apse is semicircular, composed from the sanctuary itself and a short rectangular choir, which assures connections to the main nave and the side altars.

The naves are divided by five pairs of pillars, identical in shape except for the easternmost and westernmost pairs. The eastern pillars have an L shape because they connect the main nave and the choir, were built with different widths (fig. 25). Since the main apse is wider than the main nave, the side-altars are narrower than the side naves. The transition of these differences was achieved through the special shape of the easternmost pillars. The arms of the pillars are not at right angles, the distortion being more evident on the northern pillar. This arrangement of pillars contributes to the delimitation of the sanctuary zone (comprising, apart from the main sanctuary, the choir and the two side apses) from the naves – observable only inside; from the outside only the semicircular sanctuary protruded from the bulk of the church. The western pillars support the towers, being placed somewhat closer to each other than the other pairs of pillars in the nave. They have a different form than their inner counterparts, too, being shorter but wider. Moreover, they are broken above the arches of the first level and recessed toward the outer walls of the nave. This unusual feature suggests a modification of the building plan, with the result that the central part of the western gallery is somewhat narrower than the main nave. The three inner pairs of pillars are rectangular, with a single recess on each corner corresponding to the arcades that separate the aisles from the nave and hold the clerestory. None of the pillars has a plinth, but each of them has a simple cylindrical heading expanded with a rectangular profiled block.

At present, the church can be accessed from two directions: from the west, through the new porch by a round arched door with no stone frame, and from the south, in the second bay of the aisle. This southern door (fig. 8) is also round-arched and has a simple triple-layered stone frame with a pair of columns. The semicircular tympanum is made of stone, but no decoration has been preserved on it. Originally there was a northern entrance, too, but it was walled up at some point. It had a simple stone frame, which was discovered during the Schulek's restoration. On the sketch of the northern façade made by Möller before the restoration, another walled up entrance was recorded

toward the east.⁶³ This niche is not visible today on the masonry of the church, but it seems that it connected the side apse with the northern side chapel. The stone frames of the southern and the northern doors are tied together with the masonry of the nave wall; therefore both of them were created at the time of the construction of the church. The northeastern entrance also seems to have been created in the first period because the northern side chapel was built together with the church. A written report by Frigyes Schulek⁶⁴ records that the western entrance had jagged margins, which suggests that this niche was broken into the western wall of the church (or perhaps just widened) after finishing the construction.

The main nave has seven windows on the southern wall of the clerestory. The southern aisle also has seven windows, but the northern aisles have only one, near the walled-up entrance. All the windows are round-arched; they widen towards the outside, and they have no frames. In the center of the apse is a round (rose) window and two side windows with round arches.

The decoration of the church is simple. Apart from the doorframes, no carved-stone material is present. Only the outer walls are decorated in some places. The most generally used decoration is a pair of lesenes linked on the top with a row of blind arches (fig. 7). This system was also applied to the façades of the towers and to the façade of the sanctuary. In addition, the cornice of the clerestory is decorated with blind arches. These few decorative elements are not able to support a precise chronology, which is one of the reasons why scholars have been ambiguous about the dating and established wide time intervals for the foundation period.

The eastern arrangement

The L-shaped eastern pair of pillars separate with arcades the side-altars from the eastern bays of the side naves and from the main apse (fig. 23, 24 and 25). None of them has its arms at right angles to each other, although this distortion is less evident on the southern pillar. The side altars are rectangular, but on their eastern end each of them has a small niche with a semicircular arch on the upper side (fig. 13). According to the research of Lóránt Kiss, the niches were provided with stone frames and, on the inner parts, remnants of painted fresco decoration were discovered.⁶⁵ The side altars were vaulted and a small cell was created above them which can be accessed from the west by a ladder. Both of them originally opened toward the sanctuary with a large arcade which

⁶³ See above on the archaeological research of the chapel: FK, TT, no. 4917 (K876), and no. 4915 (K899).

⁶⁴ Written instructions of Frigyes Schulek to Vilmos Blachó, the leader of the builders' team, on 7 September, 1896. Archive of FK, fasc. 700, no. 20, page 1.

⁶⁵ Kiss Lóránt, *Az ákosi református templom falkutatása (Szatmármegye)* [Research on the Masonry at the Calvinist Church of Ákos, Szatmár County] (Marosvásárhely: Imago Picta, 2011), research report in the archive of the Satu Mare County Museum.

is now walled up.⁶⁶ The main apse is wider than the nave – corresponding to the length of the north-south arm of the L-shaped pillars.⁶⁷ It is composed of a short rectangular choir – its length corresponding to the length of the side altars – and a semicircular apse. Both of them were vaulted initially and Schulek restored them. Archaeological research suggests that the floor level of the main apse was somewhat higher than that of the nave and the side altars, as traces of steps were discovered in the northern side apse.

The shape of the pillars and the two-storied arrangement of the side apses suggested to Tamás Bogyay a change in the building project.⁶⁸ He inferred that the first building project planned a pair of eastern towers, a wider main apse, and narrower side apses. The change occurred – according to his hypothesis – when the apse and the side altars, together with the first two levels of the supposed towers, were already finished. At that point there was a change of plan and a narrower main nave was built. Tamás Bogyay argues that this change must have been related to the western gallery: the builder dropped the original concept, which emphasized the eastern part, and adopted a new plan that put the accent on the western part. He explains this shift of building concept with the emergence of the new fashion of western galleries – to display the social status of the founding noble family. In fact, postulating this shift between the two building plans gave him a basis for dating the church to the middle of the twelfth century. This theory of a change in the building concept provided arguments to explain the strange shape of the easternmost pillars and the difference between the widths of the apse and nave, too.

Two contradictory elements, however, remain. As was mentioned in the section on building history, no change in the masonry can be observed on the outer wall (except of Schulek's renovation). In consequence, the church seems to have been built in a single phase. Therefore, if a change occurred in the building project, it could have only have happened after the outer walls were built (including the western towers). In addition, no positive data exist to prove the existence of eastern towers: they cannot be seen from outside, the walls of the eastern bays are no higher than the entablature of the aisles or the nave, moreover, neither did the sketches made before the renovation record any higher parts. Inside, the archaeological excavation investigated the northeastern side bay on the southern side (toward the sanctuary), and found no foundation which

⁶⁶ A small investigation was made in these upper cells which revealed that the masonry and the vaults were renewed; the walls toward the sanctuary are much narrower than the other walls of this part, which indicates that they are the result of a later walling up.

⁶⁷ The diameter of the main apse is 6.50 m (the inner radius being 3.25 m); the width of the eastern bays is 1.99 m. In contrast, the width of the main nave is just 4.83 m, while the aisles are 2.63 m. The length of the eastern bays – 2.06 m – is significantly less than the western bays, varying between 2.83 and 4.10 m. It must also be noted that the church is not perfectly symmetrical; the northern aisle is slightly narrower – by 3 to 5 cm – than the southern one, and there are minor differences in the lengths of the northern and southern bays.

⁶⁸ Bogyay 1944, 69.

was contemporary with the northern and eastern sides of the hypothetical tower.⁶⁹ On the western side, a massive wide foundation was found, but it extends much further toward the south than the opening of the apse. The north-south arm of the pillar overlaps this foundation and adapts its position, distorting the right angle with the other arm of the pillar. It is not plausible to consider any project that builds foundations for a tower only on three sides. Therefore, the two-storied structure of the eastern bays is not part of unfinished towers, but they were originally intended as such, only with an upper level for the vaulted side altars.

Extensive archeological research inside the church has not been possible; therefore, neither the existence or absence of a *lettner* (altar screen) nor the extent of the choir zone toward the west could be determined. Moreover, wall no. 1, excavated in the northeastern bay, proved to be earlier than the present pillars. The limited character of the archaeological research could not determine whether it continues toward the south or not. Overall, the form of the pillars could be explained in several ways, but probably it was intentionally created to delimit the choir zone. Their shape and distorted angle with the east-west arms can be explained with the reuse of the former foundations, as confirmed by; archaeological research.

From outside, the eastern part of the church does not reflect the inner complexity and it looks uniform (fig. 4), in fact, from outside no trace of side altars can be detected, these parts being perceived as parts of the side naves. The northeastern corner presents an exception; here the masonry was completely renewed (fig. 6) due to the former side chapel built here with an apsidal end. The northern door is near this zone as well, together with the other walled up entrance, so it has always been an open problem for scholars whether other buildings of the monastic complex stood here or not. The existence of the chapel might explain the presence of the doors here and suggest the complex functions of the inner spaces of the church and chapel in this zone.

The upper rooms above the side sanctuaries resemble the upper oratories – *emporia* – that appeared in Hungary as early as the twelfth century in the context of the monastic reform architecture of Southern Germany.⁷⁰ Some scholars infer that this type of arrangement appeared first in the St. Adalbert church of Esztergom and the cathedral of Győr, and later in the cathedral at Gyulafehérvár (in the transept), although the data about this are not very conclusive. In addition, towers above the eastern ends of the aisles were inferred for the first cathedral of Eger.⁷¹ This type of arrangement is preserved at the abbey church in Boldva (fig. 71).⁷² Here the eastern pair of towers were built, but the inner arrangement of the eastern part is almost identical with Ákos; the

⁶⁹ Foundations no. 2 and 3 on the south side of this bay are later than the walls of the aisle. The ground plan of the test excavation and an overview are shown in fig. 34. and fig. 39.

⁷⁰ Marosi 1986, 100-103.

⁷¹ Marosi 1986, 100-103.

⁷² Valter 1999, see also Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 256-258.

upper rooms of the side-apses open toward the sanctuary with wide arches and these rooms can be accessed from the west through a staircase inside the southern wall. At Ákos, this sophisticated access system is not present; probably the upper levels were accessed by wooden ladders (or steps). Other examples among monastery churches are less evident. At Harina, only the two-storied windows on the eastern wall of the aisles and the trace of a stair on the northern wall indicate the possible existence of an upper oratory.⁷³ In the case of Bátmonostor⁷⁴ (and perhaps at Kemeceomonostor⁷⁵), foundations of columns between the eastern pillars indicate the possible existence of an upper oratory. The example of Kaplony is often cited in this context (fig. 77);⁷⁶ stairs placed inside the pillars between the apses are inferred to have led to upper levels. Recently published drawings, dating from the 1840's, show that there was a small room above the side apses, preserved until now,⁷⁷ but the crypt was also placed under the main apse and the stairs might have served to go upwards and downwards.

In the case of the chapel annexed to the abbey church there are numerous similar arrangements at other monastic complexes. Three main types can be identified according to the position and the relation of the chapel to the abbey church. Chapels in the first group stand unincorporated in the monastic complex at a short distance from it. This kind of chapel is present at Zselicszentjakab (fig. 66), Ják, Bény,⁷⁸ and Boldva (fig. 70)⁷⁹. At great royal monasteries like Somogyvár and Zalavár this type is also present, usually together with other chapels with stronger connections to the monastic complex.⁸⁰ Archaeological excavations have demonstrated that extensive cemeteries lie around the chapels of this group, used by the surrounding rural population. Therefore, scholars have unanimously accepted that these chapels functioned as parish churches.

Sándor Tóth noted that the chapels that are parts of the monastery should be differentiated from the first group and from those that are linked to the abbey church.⁸¹ Indeed, the chapels at the abbeys of Széplak⁸², Sárvármonostor (fig. 62)⁸³, Csoltmonostor (fig. 73)⁸⁴, and Esztergom-sziget

⁷³ Eastern towers were inferred here, as at Ákos (see Entz1994, 28-29; on Harina see also the booklet by Corneliu Gaiu, *Biserica evanghelică Herina* [The Lutheran Church of Herina], (Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2009), hereafter Gaiu 2009), but no further evidence exists for the construction of any upper level.

⁷⁴ Biczó 1985.

⁷⁵ Nicolae S car , "M n stirea Kemenche[!]" [The Monastery of Kemece], *Tibiscus* 3 (1974): 165-171 (hereafter S car 1974); and Móre-Heitel 2010, 13.

⁷⁶ Marosi 1986, 100.

⁷⁷ Imre Takács, "A kaplonyi apátsági templom keresztmetszete" [The Cross-Section of the Kaplony Abbey Church], in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 447; Béla Zsolt Szakács, "Kaplony, római katolikus templom" [The Roman Catholic Church at Kaplony], in *Szatmár*, 238-248.

⁷⁸ For the most recent contributions, with the previous literature for Zselicszentjakab, see Sándor Tóth, "Zselicszentjakab," in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 342-345; for Ják, see Alice D. Mezey, "Ják" in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 400-405; and for Bény, see Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 259, note 12; and Tóth 2008.

⁷⁹ Valter 1999, and Sándor Tóth, "A 11-12. századi ...", in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 256-258.

⁸⁰ For Somogyvár see Szilárd Papp and Tibor Koppány, "Somogyvár" in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 350-358; and Bakay 2011; for Zalavár, see Ágnes Ritoók, "Zalavár" in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 322-327; both articles cite previous literature.

⁸¹ Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 263, note 89.

⁸² Ibidem, 244.

(fig. 76)⁸⁵ present a special situation. They are incorporated in the cloister or they are in its courtyard. The parish church function is less evident in these cases; the chapels served the monastic community. Chapels connected directly to the abbey church form the third group. Such examples show a heterogeneous arrangement; the ground plan of the chapel can be rectangular (Herpály⁸⁶ – fig. 57, Bátmonostor, and Mórchida⁸⁷) or apsidial (Ákos, Deáki [Deakovce]) – fig. 78,⁸⁸ and Ellésmonostor – fig. 69),⁸⁹ or have a rectangular sanctuary, as at Lébény⁹⁰. They can be placed on the northern or southern side, and in some cases, the side chapel even has the same length as the abbey church (Kána – fig. 72⁹¹, Érábrány⁹², and Tapolca⁹³). A variety of interpretations has been offered for the function of this type of chapel, but in the absence of any positive evidence none of them can be accepted uncritically. In some cases the simple arrangement (Herpály, Bátmonostor, or Mórchida) suggests a relatively simple purpose: depository or sacristy. The arrangements in other cases are more complex; moreover, the dimensions and the positions of the chapels suggest special functions like stations for procession at Deáki or funeral chapels at Kána, Érábrány, and Tapolca. At Ákos, the single burial identified inside the chapel during the archaeological excavations – belonging to a young child, positioned sideways – seems to be an additional element; therefore, the initial function as a funerary chapel seems less probable in this case. If the whole eastern part of the church is considered, the southern side altar, the main apse, the northern side altar, and the annexed chapel form a “chain” of spaces with liturgical functions, indicating the increased significance of this role. Their exact role, however, remains unclear.

The presence of a relatively developed eastern choir at Ákos, with a main apse, a rectangular space before it connected to side spaces with two levels and an annexed chapel on the northern side show deliberate intention to accentuating this zone of the church. The appearance and spread of this type of arrangement in Hungary is supposed to have been an effect of the eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic reforms.⁹⁴ More precisely, this emphasis on the eastern part of the church – oratories, towers, and side chapels created around the main sanctuary – is regarded as the result of

⁸³ Magyar 1984; for the art historical interpretations see Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 240; idem, “Sárvármonostor,” in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 368-370; and recently, Krisztina Havasi, in *Szatmár*, 26-59.

⁸⁴ Irén Juhász, “A Csolt nemzetség monostora” [The Monastery of the Csolt Kindred], in *Dél Alföld és Szer*, 281-303 and Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 242-243.

⁸⁵ Zsuzsa Lovag, “Esztergom-Sziget”, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 347-349.

⁸⁶ Kozák 1981.

⁸⁷ Valter 2004.

⁸⁸ Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 245-249, with the previous literature.

⁸⁹ Éva Pávai, “Ellés monostor kutatása”, in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 219-232; Lajos Bozóki, “Ellés monostor faragott kőtöredékeinek stílus kapcsolatai” [The Stylistic Connections of the Carved Stone Material from the Abbey of Ellés], in *Dél-Alföld és Szer*, 233-256.

⁹⁰ For the most recent contribution on the abbey of Lébény, with the previous literature, see Ernő Marosi, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 275-278.

⁹¹ Gyürky 1996.

⁹² Unpublished researches coordinated by T. Erdődi.

⁹³ Unpublished researches coordinated by Tamás Pusztai.

South German influences.⁹⁵ The upper oratory – as the name shows – was used for the choir and for the participants in the *responsorium* during the mass. In the case of monastic churches, the presence of the side chapels and oratories added to the main sanctuary show the intention to create a *chorus minor*. This intermediary zone (between the nave and the *chorus maior* – the sanctuary itself) could also have served for the daily hour prayer routine for the whole community. The *chorus minor* was formed by the choir itself, a rectangular space before the main apse, the side sanctuaries along with the upper oratories above them, and the side chapel annexed on the northern side, while the main apse served as a sanctuary or *chorus maior*. This “chain” of spaces and altars supports the assumption that a large community of monks was present, and at the same time created the possibility for processional liturgies – a preferred form of divine service at monastic reform communities.⁹⁶

Bogyay’s theory on the change of the building project of the abbey church of Ákos cannot be accepted. The supposed eastern towers cannot be proved, therefore, the side-apses were planned to be built as only two-level structures: an upper oratory and beneath it a side sanctuary or chapel. The break of the pillars probably did not result from a chronological delay in the building process, but they show (together with the unity of the outer masonry) a shift in plans during the construction process itself, probably due to the discovery of an earlier foundation. As a functional consequence, this break in the pillars accentuates the sanctuary zone: the north-south arms of the L-shaped pillar separate the choir from the nave, although at the same time it connects with the nave through the triumphal arch.

The western gallery

The western towers, with the gallery between them, form the other pole of the abbey church of Ákos. The westernmost bays of the aisles extend under the tower (fig. 11). They are vaulted; each of them is connected to the other and they open towards the east with arcades. The first floor can be accessed from the northern aisle via a straight staircase – originally probably made of wood, now, after the restoration, made of brick (fig. 12). The arrangement of the ground floor is repeated on the second level: the spaces are opened to each other and to the east by wide arcades. On both levels the central arcades are more pronounced than the side ones, being higher. Moreover, the central space of the gallery on the upper level is somewhat narrower; the westernmost pair of pillars from the nave being broken and recessed toward the outer walls.

⁹⁴ Marosi 1986, 99-102.

⁹⁵ The example of Hirsau reform is accentuated in this respect, *ibidem*.

⁹⁶ Marosi 1986.

The towers do not protrude outward to the west, south, or north, so the western façade of the church is a single plane. Only the small porch built by Schulek breaks this unity. The restoration completed the gable on the western façade and unified the roof of this part with the main body of the church (fig. 5). Now the gable has a new window, its shape copied from the fifth level of the towers. Otherwise, the façade has kept the original impressive and monumental character given by its monolithic structure. There is only a single round-arched window in the central part, corresponding to the first floor of the gallery. There is also a round-shaped zone in the center part of the third level, built exclusively with modern brick. It is hard to say whether there was an opening of any kind (maybe a rose window or twin windows in the style of the tower windows?) bricked-up later or whether it is just a massive renewal of masonry with an intriguing shape.

The towers have six levels and above them are the – entirely renewed – steeples, built of brick. From the fourth level upwards, the wall-façade of the towers is pushed inward a little, creating offsets – *lesenes* – that are decorated on the upper side by rounded arches. The third and fourth levels have a narrow window, placed in the center. On the fifth and sixth levels there are twin windows, divided by tapering columns with cubic capitals (fig. 7). The other façades of the towers are the same in the decorations and window arrangement, with one exception, on the eastern façade of the southern tower the window of the third level is not centered, but is placed significantly towards the south. No explanation can be found for this particular case. The masonry shows that the fifth and sixth levels of the southern tower and the sixth level of the northern one were almost entirely rebuilt. Pictures made before the restoration show that these levels existed before and the restoration preserved their decoration and window arrangement.

The problem of the western arrangement, with a gallery and towers, and especially a functional interpretation, has generated intense debate in the scholarship. In general, this part of the church was regarded as the best place where the requirements of the founder could be reflected in the architecture of the church. Therefore, it was considered the most suitable part of the church in which to study the social background of the group of churches called kindred monasteries. Initially, two western towers with a gallery between them were regarded as a later derivation of Carolingian *Westwerks*, and an expression of social prestige and display.⁹⁷ Géza Entz brought in a new term in order to demarcate this arrangement: “the patron’s gallery.” According to him, the founder and later the patron of the church had his place here during the mass. The complex structure with two impressive towers and a gallery where the secular lords sat offered the perfect opportunity to express high social status. Géza Entz demonstrated that this spatial arrangement also appeared, in a reduced form, in smaller abbey churches (with one nave) and even more frequently at parish

⁹⁷ Entz 1959a and Entz 1959b.

churches. Furthermore, he argued that this type of western arrangement is a special Hungarian feature because – at that time – he was not able to find any foreign parallels.⁹⁸

This point especially was contradicted by the general survey of Andrzej Tomaszewski.⁹⁹ He widened the problem to Central Europe, referring to numerous examples from medieval Hungary, the Bohemian Kingdom, and Poland. Moreover, he explained the function of these spaces by special liturgical needs was linked mostly to funerals and memorial cults. This interpretation was supported by the presence of niches for the *sacramentarium*, frescoes, and *stallums* in one or both of the side spaces at the second level of the gallery. These features indicated that chapels were installed here. The presence of high-status burials under the towers (as in the case of Zsámbék) and the iconography of frescoes (as at Ják) allowed scholars to connect these spaces with the funeral and memorial cult. Géza Entz himself has accepted this new functional explanation; he noted, however, that some elements which suggest the function of towers as a place for social display cannot be neglected.¹⁰⁰ Several written sources indicate a possible defensive function for the towers of abbey churches; the documents and the treasure of the patron family were deposited there. In consequence, some scholars have inferred that the towers with a gallery could have been a substitute in the absence of stone-built castles in this period.¹⁰¹

Recently, the analysis of western galleries has demonstrated that their similarity at first sight disappears when a closer inquiry is carried out, especially considering the relation of the particular spaces of the gallery to each other and to the other parts of the church. No typological and chronological development can be reconstructed among them; each reflects an individual and unique situation. Some common patterns, however, cannot be denied regarding their general arrangement and purpose.¹⁰² The arrangement at Ákos is different from the pattern where the side spaces are isolated from the central space; in some cases chapels functioned there. At Ákos, the rooms of the gallery form a common space with each other; they also opened into the nave. To a certain extent, however, the arcades separate these spaces from the main body of the church. According to Béla Zsolt Szakács, the earliest examples of this arrangement were built at Esztergom and Kapornak, in the middle of the twelfth century, while in eastern Hungary the case of Ákos presents the earliest example, followed by the churches of Harina (fig. 58), Kisdisznód, Kaplony, Ábrány, Pankota, and Bátmonostor in the eastern part and Lébény and Mórchida in western part of

⁹⁸ Ibidem.

⁹⁹ Tomaszewski 1974.

¹⁰⁰ Entz 1980 and Entz 1984.

¹⁰¹ Fügedi 1991, 53.

¹⁰² Szakács 1993; Szakács 1994; Szakács 1997; Szakács 2004; Szakács 2007, and Tajkov 2010.

the kingdom.¹⁰³ From a functional viewpoint, however, any elements which might suggest the use of these spaces are absent at Ákos, therefore nothing can be said on this issue at this moment.

Conclusions: Ground plan arrangement, spatial disposition and functions

There are no perfect similarities to the general ground plan arrangement of the church at Ákos, however, some elements are in common with other abbey churches. The most frequently used form is the three-aisled arrangement combined with three semicircular apses. The reduction of the apse forms is somewhat rarer. The closest similarity to Ákos was noted by Sándor Tóth: the prolonged nave and the main apse with the side apses remaining rectangular was realized in the third phase of Csoltmonostor, during the last two to three decades of the twelfth century (fig. 73).¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the decorative program of Ákos and the ground plan arrangement, except for the ends of the side apses, is very close to the abbey of Kapornak.¹⁰⁵ Noble kindreds founded all of these abbeys during the second half of the twelfth century. Kapornak has the presence of rectangular pillars with simple rectangular headings in common with Ákos. In addition, the church of Harina presents several similarities in spatial and ground-plan arrangements (fig. 58).¹⁰⁶ The side-apses at Harina, however, are semicircular inside and rectangular outside, the pillars are somewhat different to Ákos, the lesenes are more protruding and more densely used, while the decorative elements are carved stone, all suggesting a more prestigious work. Two more churches – Bátmonostor¹⁰⁷ and Kemecsemonostor¹⁰⁸ – have similar ground plans. Both of them are known only from archaeological excavations so no additional data exists on their possible decoration. The similarity is weakened in both cases by the inner apsidal end of the side apses. The inner or/and the outer end of the side-apses, despite the fact that in the previous literature this feature was credited with great significance, seems less important in a functional sense. The rectangular eastern end – with a small niche in case of Ákos – and the inner semicircular, as a transitional layout toward fully developed side apses, could have satisfied the same liturgical demand: to create space for side altars (quasi-side chapels).

The analysis of these monuments has led scholars to eliminate the possibility of a unique building-lodge which created these abbey churches. It has also been clarified that the beneficiaries were several social and ecclesiastic groups. The common patterns of the architecture of abbey churches, however, allow some functional conclusions. They are displayed along a prolonged

¹⁰³ Szakács 2011, 90.

¹⁰⁴ Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 255. For Csoltmonostor see ibidem, 242-243, with the previous literature.

¹⁰⁵ Bogyay 1944, 70; Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 255-256; for Kapornak see ibidem, 247-249, with the previous literature.

¹⁰⁶ Entz 1994, 28-29; Gaiu 2009.

¹⁰⁷ Biczó 1985.

¹⁰⁸ S car 1974.

western-eastern axis – in several cases, like at Ákos, the length is more pronounced than the width. In addition, they have a more or less centralized ground plan in a functional sense; the nave is just a linking space between the sacral poles, such as the eastern sanctuary and the possible chapels or altars placed on the west and along the entire body of the church. This arrangement needs a shorter nave, and sometimes is linked to the absence of a western entrance, indicating the preference for a processional liturgy.¹⁰⁹ In the case of Ákos, the preference for a processional liturgy is suggested by the arrangement of the eastern part as a “chain” of altars. The presence of the western entrance creates an axial arrangement from the west towards the east – the main sanctuary. In this case, a much longer nave could be built and, in addition, the liturgical accents shifted toward the eastern part.¹¹⁰ Two types of arrangements – axial and centralized – existed simultaneously,¹¹¹ and the example of the abbey churches mentioned above shows that it was even possible to combine these arrangements. At Ákos, the relatively long nave, accessed through the southern and northern entrances, links two poles: the western gallery – with the vaulted bays under it – and the sanctuary with the side chapels and oratories. These two zones represent the most important parts of the church, but the axial arrangement is less accentuated by the undecorated and rather small western entrance.¹¹² Therefore, this ground plan seems to be a compromise between centralized and axial arrangements. The opening of the western entrance at Ákos, however, shows that the axial arrangement was considered, and even emphasized later by closing and walling up the northern door. This shift, indicating also a change of liturgical preferences, could not have happened too much later than the building of the church, perhaps linked to the demolition of the side-chapel.

The Abbey of Ákos(monostora) in Közép Szolnok County, on the Kraszna River, seems to be the earliest foundation of the Ákos kindred; the archaeological finds and the art historical analysis suggest that it was established during the last part of the twelfth century, corresponding to the first flourishing period of the kindred (as was discussed in chapter V), and probably connected to an early residence of the Ákos kindred there. The complex architectural arrangement of the abbey church, with a western tower and gallery, the eastern altars and oratories with the side-chapel, indicates the ambitious program of the founder(s), above the average level seen in the region in that period. Other buildings of the monastic complex, surrounded by a ditch in the early phase, are not known; perhaps they were built of wood or clay – with small chance of being discovered – or there

¹⁰⁹ Marosi 1986, 108.

¹¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹¹ See the examples given by Sándor Tóth, in *Paradisum Plantavit*, 229-266.

¹¹² The period immediately after the building of Ákos, the beginning of the thirteenth century, marked the appearance of a new fashion of highly decorated portals on the western façade, as in the case of Lébény and Ják. From this point onward, the western entrance was well emphasized and the prolonged nave with an axial church arrangement became generally accepted.

were no other buildings at all. The diversity of architectural arrangements and various configurations of burial places at monasteries under private patronage suggest that similar functions and needs were met with multiple solutions and no unitary architectural or stylistic program can be associated with private monasteries.

CONCLUSIONS

According to Karácsonyi's definition, monasteries founded by noble families served as links between the different branches of kindreds: They were used as common burial places and as cult centers. Based on his views, private monasteries started to be referred in the scholarship as 'kindred monasteries', an artificial linguistic construct as such a term does not appear in the sources ('kindred' as an attribute, modifying 'monastery' as the noun). In this sense, monasteries became inseparable from the concept of the kindred and each had to be linked to a certain kindred in order to provide links among family branches. Starting in the 1950s, socio historical research developed new methods and revealed new sources, thus questioning the validity of Karácsonyi's concepts and proposing more refined interpretations. The most important of these was the separation of the historical meaning of 'kindred' as the social elite from related concepts of social organization, a system of inheritance and property rights (synthetized by A. Kubinyi). In this latter sense, a kindred was the assembly of male-line descendants of an ancestor, who enjoyed special rights of inheritance and property. The basis of social status and prestige was landed property, inherited and divided equally among the male members. Even when land inherited in common was divided among the (male) members, the rights of the family members to their shares were limited by the kindred. They could sell the inherited – 'ancestral', as it is called in the sources – property only with the consent of the other members of the family, and if they had no descendants other branch(es) had the right to inherit their properties.

The foundation and patronage of monasteries does not seem to be linked to the meaning of kindred as a form of social organization, but to another meaning, as social elite, which kindreds may have used develop and express their influence and social status. Some of the kindreds emphasized their lineage's connections with historical figures by calling themselves *de genere* (descendants) of famous ancestors. An additional sign of the importance of origins was the use of certain heraldic signs, their preference for certain first names (as noted by Györffy), and certain elements of oral historical tradition of kindreds – several of them incorporated in narratives on national history (as Mályusz wrote). All of these provided legitimation to kindreds through increased prestige. The foundation of monasteries could plausibly be an element of such strategies through dedication to the cult of the ancestors. There were, however, prestigious kindreds who do

not seem to have patronized any monastery and there were other kindreds that founded two or even more monasteries, which suggests that the role of monasteries could have been more complex than focusing only on the veneration of such ancestors.

Focusing on the relationship of monasteries with patron families, it was concluded (first by Petrovics and then by Fügedi) that there were no collective foundations. Monasteries were founded by individuals and collective patronage was only the result of inheritance. In fact, it has been demonstrated that monasteries were not factors in defining the concept of the kindred, as the patrons were not always identical with the whole family. Economic factors of patronage were also important (e.g., monasteries could increase the revenues of patrons, they could be sold, divided, etc.) and there were similarities to other types of church institutions patronized by the kindred (e.g., parish churches, chapels). The importance of the spiritual functions of monasteries was discussed, too, emphasizing especially the role as burial places.

From the viewpoint of ecclesiastical history, the patronage of kindreds over monasteries fits into the general development of private patronage in medieval Hungary (addressed by Kollányi, Kumorovitz and Mályusz). It follows the development from the system of the proprietary church to the use of the *ius patronatus* terminology, maintaining, at the same time, the essential features related to the role and rights of patrons. The most important feature of this system was that the founder could appoint and remove priests from the ecclesiastical institution he had created. In addition, the newly founded monastery – or chapel, parish church, etc. – together with its estates, remained part of the founder's domain, and he could freely dispose of it (sell, pledge, etc.). It was pointed out in the scholarship (by Mályusz, among others) that the foundation of parish churches and chapels had a similar function for families at a lower social level as endowing monastic foundations for the upper elite. From the viewpoint of the church, there was no legal difference among the types of church institutions that attracted patrons (monasteries, parish churches or chapels), and no distinction was made among the lay founders and patrons.

Petrovics and then Fügedi focused on kindreds, but there was no analysis of monasteries within the framework of private patronage. In this sense, I prepared a general overview on this issue on the basis of a recently edited monastic catalogue (the *Kolostor CD* compiled by Romhányi). From about 480 monasteries founded in Hungary before 1400, 234 – roughly one half – of the monasteries were under private patronage. For the identification of the patrons, it was necessary to analyze the types of patronage and their transfers (royal, ecclesiastical and private). I conclude that change in the type of patronage was rather rare and special. The chronological distribution of private foundations reflects the general development of monasticism in medieval Hungary. The origins date back to the eleventh century, although they were founded in greater numbers during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The practice of foundation continued in later periods, but with

significant changes in regard to affiliation. While almost all private foundations were Benedictine until the last decades of the twelfth century, during the next century the Premonstratensians became more popular. During the fourteenth century, private foundations were directed toward the Pauline Hermits – which became the most popular order in this period – and toward the mendicants. The number of private Cistercian houses remained rather low in Hungary. This evolution indicates a shift in strategies of patronage and suggests that the role of monasteries belonging to classic monastic orders were gradually taken over by mendicants and Paulines from the fourteenth century. Moreover, it can be assumed that among people of lower social status private patronage was practiced toward lesser churches: parishes and chapels, the patterns being, however, identical for all categories. The spatial distribution of private monasteries shows that they were rare on the peripheries of the kingdom and in Transylvania, which is explained by the geographical and natural conditions and the special social organizations existing there.

In order to examine in more detail the position of monasteries within the ecclesiastical and socio-economic landscape I have narrowed the analysis to a regional level, examining cases from Bihar, Szabolcs and Szatmár counties. The relation with the parishes and the position of monasteries within the estate structure was analyzed using the map of estates and their owners by Pál Engel and the lists of papal and bishop tithes. These show that parish boundaries and their network were strongly correlated with the estates and not the settlements themselves. Furthermore, the implication of monasteries in pastoral care assumed by the previous scholarship is less evident. The tithe lists attest a weaker economic status of the monasteries under private patronage, while other sources reveal the complex topography of churches inside a settlement; besides abbey churches, there were separate parish churches, and besides them occasionally other types of churches. Furthermore, it became clear, that the abbeys were surrounded by the estates of the patrons in almost all cases. Although the inner topography of the estates remains unclear due to lack of data, it can be concluded as a result of the analysis of these case studies that the site of private monasteries was more or less central in the topography of the estate. The most important feature of this topographic situation was the relation with the patrons' residence – which was fortified in several cases.

I have completed the regional analysis with several cases studies in order to establish a more accurate picture of the economic and social status of the monasteries. They were located at the heart of the estates and close to the residence of the patrons. Besides the evident advantages offered by this central position, monasteries became more vulnerable to the patrons at the same time. The patrons, following cultural custom, were directly involved in administering monastic estates and managing their economic resources. The cases of Zselicszentjakab and Ják show that in the early stage the properties of private monastic foundations were administered jointly by the abbots and

patrons. Later, during the fourteenth century, patrons often turned against the monasteries, aiming to secularize their possessions. Zselicszentjakab and Ják are not the only examples in this period of abbeys that lost their properties to their patrons. These examples imply that despite conflicts, both abbeys were concerned to get help and protection from secular patrons. Theoretically (and according to canon law), private foundations were landowners with full control over their properties. In practice, however, they could administer their estates only with the help of patrons.

The economic status of the monasteries, therefore, was dual; they were proprietors, but at the same time also properties. Similarly, the relationship with the patrons evolved dually; income and properties were sometimes lost to patrons, but most private foundations managed to survive in a weakened condition. This suggests that monasteries continued to maintain several functions for the patrons and the wider community – probably strongly related to the spiritual functions of the monastery, among which the most important seems to have been burial places and the commemorative liturgy performed here. The interdependent relations among patrons and their monasteries weakened through the centuries and were transformed to some extent, but did not cease to exist entirely.

I have made a more detailed case study of the Abbey of Ákos, integrating the genealogy of the kindred and the history of their possessions. According to sources, it was among the most prestigious kindreds of the twelfth century. Until the beginning of the fourteenth century, members of this family had important administrative positions as high as the office of palatine (*comes palatinus*). At a later stage, the kindred disintegrated into several branches and, although some members still had bright careers, others, among them the owners of the village of Ákos together with a monastery, gradually lost almost all of their possessions. Analysis of the estates owned by the kindred reveals that they can be grouped roughly into three main blocks: One along the Berettyó, one along the Ér River in Bihar and Közép Szolnok Counties, and a third in Pest County in the lower valley of the Galga River. Three early monastic foundations were made, each corresponding to a block of estates. Among them, the monastery of Ákos in Közép Szolnok seems to have been the earliest, founded during the last decades of the twelfth century. In case of Pályi, the ground-plan arrangement suggests a later building period (the first decade of the thirteenth century), while in the case of Ákosmonostor the earlier fortification and settlement do not allow dating the foundation before 1200. All of them, however, functioned until the end of Middle Ages, although only in the case of Ákosmonostor (Pest County) is the existence of the monastery attested in the later phase (the last data in 1523). The relations of the descendants of the kindred with the early monasteries weakened gradually and led to the abandonment (Ákosmonostor) or the dissolution (Ákos) of the ancestral monastic establishments of the kindred.

The three monasteries founded and patronized by kindreds were significantly weaker from an economic point of view and did not have the administrative, juridical, and ecclesiastical privileges which were typical for royal foundations. A considerable number of abbey churches belonging to the monasteries of kindreds have been preserved, being the most significant extant architectural monuments of Hungarian Romanesque style; royal monastic foundations were almost entirely demolished or transformed, together with cathedrals and collegiate churches. In contrast with parish churches and chapels, abbey churches are of high standards and more impressive in their decorative programs, and which provoked the interest of art historians. The concept of a “kindred monastery”-type church (a triple-aisled basilica with its variations) was created (by Divald, Gerevich, and others) on the grounds of social historical concepts and the interpretations of J. Karácsonyi. This art historical concept influenced the historical research in general for decades, not only with its artistic implications, but also in its social meaning. In the light of new data provided by field studies, the existing conceptual frameworks, as well as the typological and stylistic classifications, have been revised. It was demonstrated that this type of ground plan arrangement was not specific to abbey churches belonging to monasteries patronized by kindreds, but to other churches, as well, while stylistic connections are not restricted to certain monasteries related to a single order or patronized by a particular social class. It became clear that typological categorization should consider architectural details which might have liturgical, juridical or even economic implications. Both social and church historical studies suggest that among such elements burials seem to be the most significant as they were the most important links with the patrons.

The architectural and archaeological research on Ákos Abbey offers a significant contribution in this sense. The triple-aisled basilica with the western tower and gallery, the eastern altars, and oratories with the side-chapel indicate the demands and ambitious program of the founder(s), above the average level seen in the region in that period. The monastic complex was surrounded by a ditch in the early phase, and apart from the chapel, no other annexed buildings are known. The revealed architectural features and finds, among them the burials, fit into the group of monastic sites of this period. Overall, during the research and processing of the discoveries a more detailed and accurate picture was formed on a twelfth-century abbey under private patronage, probably built in connection with an early residence of the patron kindred.

Abbreviations used:

AO	<i>Anjou-kori Oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia</i> [Angevin Cartulary]. 38 vols. Ed. Gyula Kristó, et al. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, 1991-2014.
CDTrans	<i>Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae. Diplomata, epistolae et alia instrumenta litteraria res Transsylvanas illustrantia. Erdélyi okmánytár. Oklevelek, levelek és más írásos emlékek Erdély történetéhez</i> [Transylvanian Cartulary]. 3 vols. Ed. Zsigmond Jakó, et al. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997–2008.
CsákyOklt	<i>Oklevéltár a gróf Csáky család történetéhez</i> [Registry of Charters on the History of Count Csáky's Family]. Ed. László Bártfai Szabó. vol. 1. Budapest: Stephaneum, 1919.
DHA	<i>Documenta Hungariae Antiquissima</i> . Vol. 1 (1001-1131). Ed. György Györffy. Budapest: Academia Scientiarum Hungariae, 1992.
<i>Dél Alföld és Szer</i>	<i>A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer</i> [The Southern Part of the Great Plain and Szer during the Middle Ages]. Ed. Tibor Kollár. Szeged–Budapest: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár – Open Art, 2000.
<i>Dél Magyarország</i>	<i>Építészet a középkori Dél-Magyarországon</i> [Medieval Architecture of Southern Hungary]. Ed. Tibor Kollár. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010.
DF	Diplomatikai Fényképtár. Photocopies of Medieval Charters, National Archive of Hungary, Budapest
DL	Diplomatikai Levéltár. Collection of Medieval Charters, National Archive of Hungary, Budapest
<i>Erdély</i>	<i>Architectura religioas medieval din Transilvania – Középkori egyházi építészet Erdélyben – Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania</i> . 5 vols. Ed. Péter Levente Szcs et al. Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului S t m rean, 1999-2012.
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<i>Kolostor CD</i>	<i>Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon</i> [Monasteries and Collegiate Chapters in Medieval Hungary]. Electronic version released on CD-ROM, ed. Beatrix F. Romhányi. Budapest: Arcanum, 2008.
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Tudományos Akadémia, 1923-1987.

- RD Zsoldos, Attila, ed. *Az Árpád-házi hercegek, hercegnők és a királynék okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Regesta ducum, ducissarum stirpis Arpadianae necnon reginarum Hungariae critico-diplomatica.* Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár – MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2008.
- RPal Sz. cs., Tibor, ed. *Az Árpád-kori nádorok és helyetteseik okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke. Regesta palatinorum et vices gerentium tempore regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica.* Magyar Országos Levéltár Kiadványai II. Forráskiadványok 51. Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2012.
- SRH Szentpétery, Imre, ed. *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Tempore Ducum Regumque Stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum.* 2 vols. Budapest: Academia Litterarium Hungarica, 1937–1938. Reprint edition: Budapest: Nap, 1999.
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- ZsO *Zsigmond-kori Oklevéltár* [Cartulary of King Sigismund's Age]. 12 vols. Ed. Elemér Mályusz, et al. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1951-2013.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF MONASTERIES AND THEIR PATRONS IN KINGDOM OF HUNGARY, FOUNDED BEFORE 1400

Note: the list was compiled on the basis of the monastic catalogue edited by Beatrix Romhányi (*Kolostor CD*). According to the type of patronage, entries are marked with colors, as follows:

	royal and ecclesiastical patronage
	unknown patrons
	patronage transferred from private to royal or ecclesiastical hands or vice-versa

Monasteries under private patronage were left unmarked, but they were numbered in order to be identified on the map provided.

Only those references were given which are indispensable for the identification of the site, and on the affiliation and type of patronage: i.e. geographical history of Győrffy, entries in archeological topographies - MRT, significant excavation reports. In several cases the references were completed with relevant literature which is more recently than the catalogue used (i.e. after 2008).

Abbreviations - general

a	after
b	before
br	branch
cca.	near, around
des.	deserted settlement
f	founder
k	kindred
l.	later

Abbreviations – affiliation

Bas	Basilian
beg.	beguines
Can. A.	Augustinian Canons (Canons Regular)
n	nunnery
Coll.	Collegiate Chapter
Er. A.	Augustinian Hermits
OCist	Cistercian
OFM	Franciscan
OP	Dominican
OPraem	Premonstratensian
OSB	Benedictine
OSPPE	Pauline
p	priory

NR.	NAME	DEDICATION	AFFILIATION	PLACE	COUNTY	FOUNDERS / PATRONS	START	END	OBSERVATIONS
1.	Ábrahám	H. Virgin	OCist	Dombóvár – Vörössugár út II	Tolna	f: palatine Mojs and his kin ¹	1263/1272	1543	<i>Hervay 1984: 47-52; K.Németh 2011: 56-58.</i>
2.	Ábrány	H. Virgin	OPraem	Monostoros-ábrány / Abr muț, RO	Bihar	Monostoros-ábrányi fam. ²	1172/1234	b1350	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 590; Em di T.
3.	Adonymonostora	H. Virgin	OPraem	Nyíradony	Szabolcs	Gutkeled k.	1234/1294	1541	<i>Németh 1997: 18-19.</i>
4.	Adorján(Alsó-)	H. Virgin	OSB?	Alsó-Adorján, des.cca. Zenta / Senta, SER	Bodrog	Gesztei fam.	b1340	b1350	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 705.
5.	Adorján(Fels -)	St. Martin	OSB?	Fels -Adorján, des.cca. Zenta / Senta, SER	Bodrog	Haraszt k.	b1241	a1271	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I:704.
6.	Ajtonymonostor	?	Bas? OSB?	cca. Szemlak / Semlac, RO ³	Csanád	Ajtony k.	b1140	cca1400	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I:846; <i>Dávid 1974: 52; Heitel Móré 2010: 63-98.</i>
7.	Ákosmonostora	H. Virgin	OSB?	Ákos / Acâ , RO	Közép Szolnok	Ákos k.	1150/1200	b 1500	Sz cs 2012

¹ On the foundation see RA 1357; on the career of Mojs see Zsoldos, *Archontológia*: 338, note 612. Later the patrons were the Dárói and Majos families see Engel, *Genealógia*: s. v. *Majos rokonsága*, 1st table.

² *Jakó 1940*, 198-199.

³ The identification of the site is not certain, it is supposed to lie between Pécska / Pecica and Szemlak / Semalc on the Maros / Mure River, see Móré-Heitel 2010: 63.

8.	Ákosmonostora	St. Martin / St. George / H. Virgin	?	Monostorliget – Szentandráspart	Pest	Ákos k.	cca1200	1541	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 508; <i>MRT</i> XII/3, 176-183..
9.	Almád	H. Virgin	OSB	Monostorapáti	Zala	Atyusz k.	1117	1530	<i>MRT</i> I: 118-119; Imre Szentpétery, „Az almádi monostor alapító oklevele II. István korából”. <i>MNy</i> 23 (1927): 360-370; <i>Hangol</i> 2012. I-IV.
10.	Almás	?	OSBl. OPraem	Váralmás / Alma u, RO	Kolozs / Bihar	Borsa k., I. Kán k., I. Geregye k.	1200k	a1320	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 593; <i>Entz</i> 1994: 132.
	Alsán	?	OFM	Lipovac, CRO	Valkó	?	1374	cca1526	
	Alvinc	H. Virgin	OP	Alvinc / Vințu de Jos, RO	Erd. Fehér	?	b1300	cca1530	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 192-193; <i>Rusu</i> 1998.
11.	Andosmonostora	?	?	des. cca. Kérsenjen? ⁴	Szabolcs	Balogh-Senjen k.?	?	?	Hervay, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> 538.
12.	Apor / Apar	H. Virgin	Can. A:	des. cca. Pálfa – Csanáros / Téglás ⁵	Tolna	Apor k.	cca1334	?	<i>K. Németh</i> 2011: 133-134.
	Aracs	St. Nicholas	?	Aracs / Araca Franjova- Novi Becej, SER	Torontál	royal?	1220/1230	1551	Endre Raffay, <i>Az aracsi templomrom</i> . Újvidék 2005; Nebojša Stancjev, <i>Aracs. Templomok, teret , monostor</i> . (Újvidék: Forum, 2009).
	Arad	St. Martin	Coll.	Öthalom – Glogovac/Madimirescu,	Arad	f: Bélall (the blind)	b1141	cca1540	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 170–172.

⁴ Not identified and mentioned by Németh 1997.

⁵ Identified incorrectly with Aparhant, for the identification of the site see K. Németh 2011: 133.

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13.	Aranylábúbács	St. Nicholas	?	Pétervárad	Szerém	? ⁶	b1267	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 230-231.
14.	Babócsa	St. Nicholas	OSB	Babócsa	Somogy	Tibold k.	b1348	1554	LaHu I: 283; Kálmán Magyar, <i>Babócsa története. Tanulmányok a község történetéből</i> , (Babócsa, 1990): 56–57, 72; Kálmán Magyar: „A babócsai Nárciszos-Basakert Árpád- és középkori településtörténete a régészeti kutatások alapján”. <i>Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei</i> 10 (1994): 73–93.
	Bács	?	OFM	Bács / Bac, SER	Bács	?	1250/1300	1526	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 210-213.
15.	Bajcs	All Saints	OSPPE	des. cca. Nagytótfalu	Baranya	Siklósi br. of Kán k.	1280/1283	1542	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 276; <i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> .
16.	Bákamonostora	?	?	des. cca. Doroszló	Bács	Bákai fam. and Doroszlói fam.	b1323	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 213
	Bakony-Bél	St. Maurus	OSB	Bakonybél	Zala	f: St. Stephan I	1016/1020	1548	<i>MRT IV</i> : 20, 23; Végh, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> : 144-146.
17.	Bánmonostor (K) ⁷	St. Stephan prot mart.	OSB, I. Aug. Can. of St. Abraham, I. Cathedral	Bánmonostor / Banoštor, SER	Szerém	f: ban Belos, ⁸ transformed to chatedral chapter	1142/1163	?	Hervay, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> : 499;

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⁶ In 1291 the patronage was held by *Comes* Csaba and his kin.

⁷ Transformed into the chatedral chapter of Szerém in 1229, see Romhányi et al. 2008.

⁸ The founder was the son of Uros II, prince of Serbia, and brother of Queen Ilona, wife of King Béla II; he was *ban* of Slavonia (1146-1156) and palatine (1146-1156), see Zsoldos, *Archontológia*: 16, 41 and 288.

Chapt.									
18.	Bakva (Szt.-benedek)	St. Benedict	OSPPE	Bakva / Špiši Bukovica, CRO	Verce	?	1301/1328	cca1537	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
19.	Baracska	All Saints	OSB?	Baracska	Fejér	Baracska k.	1200/1212	b1241	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 348.
	Báta	St. Michael	OSB	Báta – Klastromvölgy	Tolna	f: St. Ladislaus I	1093	1539	<i>K. Németh 2011: 35-36.</i>
20.	Bátmonostor	?	OSB? I.Er.A.	Bátmonostor	Bodrog	Becse-Gergely k. ⁹	1192/1198	1543	<i>LaHu I.</i> 74, 80; Biczó P.
21.	Bátmonostora	?	OSB?	Feketebátor	Bihar	Borsa k.	b1177	cca1241	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 709–710.
	Belényesszentmiklós	?	?	Belényesszentmiklós / Sânnicolau de Beiu , RO	Bihar	?	b1200	b1300	Popa 1995. 73-74, 86.
22.	Bél / Bélháromkút	H. Virgin	OCist	Bélapáfalva	Borsod	f: Kilit of Bél k., bishop of Eger	1232	1480	<i>M emlékvédelem</i> 49 (2005). 99-102, 336-342.
23.	Béla (Vajas)	St. Margaret	OSB	Béla / Bijela, CRO	Körös	Tibold k.	b1237	cca1526	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 732.
24.	Bény	H. Virgin	OSB I.OPraem	Kisbény / Bina, SK	Esztergom	Hont-Pázmány k.	1100/1135	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 227-228; Tóth 2008.
25.	Berzétemonostora	H. Spirit	OSB	Berzétemonostora / Nuštar, CRO	Valkó	Berzétei fam.	b1225	b1485	Hervay, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> . 483.

⁹ Founded by Both, comes of Bihar, see Zsoldos, *Archontológia*: 291, and note 119.

26.	Beszterec	H. Saviour	Bas.?	Beszterce	Szabolcs	Hont-Pázmány k.	b1289	1342	<i>Németh 1997: 40-41.</i>
	Beszterce	H. Virgin	OFM	Beszterce / Bistrița, Ro	d. Beszterce		a1241/ b1268	1540	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 557-560; <i>Entz 1994: 44, 78</i> ; Rostás T.
	Beszterce	?	OFM–beg.	Beszterce / Bistrița, Ro	d. Beszterce		b1300	1540/ 1556	
	Beszterce	H. Cross	OP	Beszterce / Bistrița, Ro	d. Beszterce		b1303	1556	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 557-560; <i>Entz 1996: 240-241.</i>
27.	Bethlenmonostor	?	?	Bethlen / Beclean, Ro	Bels Szolnok	?	?	?	<i>Fügedi 1991, note 24.; Karácsonyi, I. 217.</i>
	Bizere	H. Virgin	OSB	Szépfa / Frumieni, RO	Arad	?	b1183	cca1500	Rusu – Bumichiou
28.	B	H. Cross	Coll. / or Can A.?	Bodrog , B. pusztá	Somogy	B. k.	b1257	?	Kálmán Magyar, „A Bodrog–alsó-büi nemzeti központ régészeti kutatása (1979–1999)”, <i>Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei</i> 14 (2000), 115–161.
	Bodrog	?	OP	des. cca. Monostorszeg / Backi Monostor, SER ¹⁰	Bodrog	?	b1303	b1400	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 711–713.
29.	Bodrogmonostor	St. Peter & Paul	OSB?	des. cca. Monostorszeg / Backi Monostor, SER ¹¹	Bodrog	Szente-Mágocs k.?	1050/1100	cca1526	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 713; Tóth, <i>Dél-Alföld és Szer.</i> 435-438.

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¹⁰ In the *civitas*, i.e. the earthwork castle.¹¹ Outside the earthwork castle, to the southwest.

30.	Bodrogszigete / Keresztúr	H. Cross	OSPPE	? ¹²	Baranya	Szente-Mágócs k. ¹³	1275/1282	cca1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 325-326; <i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> .
31.	Bökénysomlyó	H. Saviour	Coll. / OSB? I. OSB n. ¹⁴	des. cca. Székesfehérvár-Szabadbattyán	Fejér	Bökény k.	1241/1268	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 353.
	Boldogk	?	OSPPE	?	Krassó?	?	1300/1392	1392	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 483; <i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> .
	Boldva	St. John Bapt.	OSB	Boldva	Borsod	f: Béla III	1170k	cca1285	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 760; <i>Valter 1999</i> .
32.	Borsmonostor	H. Virgin	OCist	Borsmonostor / Klostermarienber, A	Sopron	Miskolc, I. K szeg k.	1194	1532	<i>Hervay 1984</i> : 47-52; Franz Sauer, „Die archäologischen Grabungen in der Zisterzienserkirche von Marienberg”. <i>Beiträge zur Mittelalterarchäologie in Österreich</i> 12 (1996): 197–206; <i>800 Jahre Zisterzienser im Pannonischen Raum. Katalog, Klostermarienber</i> . Hrsg. J. Perschy, (Eisenstadt 1996); <i>Österreichische Kunsttopographie</i> . 56. Barb. v. J. Schöbel – U. Steiner (Horn, 2005). 141–171.
33.	Bozók	King St. Stephan	OSBl.OPraem	Bozók/Bzovik, SK	Hont	Hont-Pázmány k.	1124/1132	1530	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 182; <i>Tóth 2008</i> ; <i>Vajk 2004</i> : 388.
	Brassó	St. Catherine	OCistn	Brassó / Bra ov, RO	d. Brassó		1202-1228	b1558	<i>Hervay 1984</i> : 80-82.

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¹² Unidentified site on an island in the Danube.¹³ It received endowments from the members of the Szentemágócs kindred in 1320: Györfy, I, 326 (Keresztúr 2).¹⁴ Transformed into a Benedictine nunnery in 1083.

Brassó	?	OPraem	Brassó-Bertalan / Bra ov, RO	d. Brassó		b1235	1241	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 827-828.
Brassó	St. Peter and Paul	OP	Brassó / Bra ov, RO	d. Brassó		1323	1545	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 827-828.
Bucsa	?	?	Kismonostor around Bucsa and Ényed ¹⁵	Békés	?	b1300	?	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 504.
Buda-Nyúlsziget	St. Michael	OPraem	Bp.	Pilis	f: Andrew II	1225e	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 644-657.
Buda-Nyúlsziget	H. Virgin	OPh	Bp.	Pilis	f: Béla IV	cca1253	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 644-657.
Buda-Nyúlsziget	H. Virgin	OP	Bp.	Pilis	f: Béla IV	b1259	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 644-657. ¹⁶
Buda-Nyúlsziget	St. Claire	OFM conv.	Bp.	Pilis	f: Béla IV / Stephan V	1270	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 644-657.
Buda-SzentL. rinc	St. Lawrence	OSPPE	Bp.	Pilis		cca1290	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 701; <i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
Buda-Szentpéter (Váralja)	St. Stephan prot. mart.	Er. A.	Bp.	Pilis		b1276	a1526	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 626-628.
Buda-Taschental	Mother of Mercy	Caremlites	Bp.	Pilis	f: Louis I Anjou (the great) and his mother queen Elisabeth	1372	a1526	Judit Benda: „Előzetes jelentés a budai középkori karmelita kolostor feltárásáról”, <i>Budapest Régiségei</i> 37 (2003): 137–150; Judit Benda, „A középkori budai karmelita kolostor feltárása”, <i>M emlévétel</i> 47

¹⁵ It may be identical with Szerepmonostor: Györffy, *ÁTF*, I: 514.

¹⁶ The convent was established next to the house of the nuns, for their care.

(2003): 114–119; <i>Végh 2006</i> 99-100.									
Buda	St. Nicholas	OP	Budavár, Bp.	Pilis	f: Béla IV	a1241	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 596-626; <i>Végh 2006</i> 67-68.	
Buda	St. John Ev.	OFM-abs.	Budavár, Bp.	Pilis		b1270	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 596-626; <i>Végh 2006</i> 63-64.	
Buda	?	OFM-beg.	Budavár, Bp.	Pilis		b1290	1541	<i>Végh 2006</i> 61-63.	
Buda	?	OP-beg.	Budavár, Bp.	Pilis		b1308	a1400	<i>Végh 2006</i> 265.	
Buda	H. Virgin& St. Sigismund	Coll.	Budavár, Bp.	Pilis	f: king Sigismund	b1410	1541	<i>Végh 2006</i> 70.	
34.	Büdmonostor	St. Michael?	?	cca. Tiszavasvári	Szabolcs	f: Gutkeled k., I. p.: Balogh-Semlyén k.	b1280	cca1347	<i>Németh 1997</i> : 50-51.
Bulcs	H. Virgin	OSB	Bulcs/Bulci, RO	Arad	?	b1225	1542	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 174; CDTrans I: no. 227; Heitelné-Móré, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> 269-270;	
35.	Buzgó	St. Nicholas	OSPPE	cca. Solyomk vár / oim, RO	Bihar	Turul k.	1300/1327	1424	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 606; <i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> .
36.	Cégénymonostora	H. Virgin	OSB?	Cégénydányád	Szatmár	Szente-Mágócs k.	1140/1181	b1350	<i>Németh 2008</i> : 38-39.
Cikádor	H. Virgin	OCist, I. OSB ¹⁷	Bátaszék – r.k. templom	Tolna	f. Béla II (the blind), finalized	1142	a1478	Ilona Valter, „A cikádori ciszterci monostor feltárása Bátaszéken”, <i>M emlékvédelmi</i>	

¹⁷ From 1421 OSB.

II					by Géza II			Szemle 11 (2001), 198–201; K Németh 2011: 38-39.		
37.	Csaholymonostor a	?	?	Nyírcsaholy	Szatmár	Csaholyi br. of Káta k.	b1270	?	Németh 2008: 41-42	
	Csanád	St.John Bapt.	Bas.,I.OSB	Csanád / Cenad, RO	Csanád	f: Ajtony k.,I.royal patronage	b1003	cca1200	Györfffy, ÁTF, I: 850-853; Dávid 1974; Heitelné-Móré, Paradisum Plantavit: 270-271; Heitel Móré 2010. 21-47.	
	Csanád	H. Virgin	OSB, I.OFVM ¹⁸	Csanád / Cenad, RO	Csanád	f: St. Gherardus, bishop of Csanád	1030/1046	cca1550	Györfffy, ÁTF, I: 850-853; Dávid 1974; Benk 2000; Heitelné-Móré, Paradisum Plantavit: 270-271; Heitel Móré 2010. 21-47.	
	Csanád	H.Saviour	Coll.	Csanád / Cenad, RO	Csanád	f: bishop of Csanád	b1241	1551	Györfffy, ÁTF, I: 850-853; Dávid 1974; Heitelné-Móré, Paradisum Plantavit: 270-271; Heitel Móré 2010. 21-47.	
38.	Császlómonostor a	?	?	Császló	Szatmár	Káta k.	b1342	cca1350	Németh 2008: 44-45.	
39.	Csatár	St.Peter	OSB	Csatár	Vas	Gutkeled k.	1138/1141	1508	Katalin Dávid, „A hahóti és csatári bencés apátságok alapításáról”, Vigília 43 (1978): 291–296.	
40.	Csatka	H. Virgin	Collection	OSPPE	Csatka	Veszprém	f: Miklós Kont	1350/1355	1552	LaHu I: 205; F. Romhányi 2010.
	Csázma	St. Mary Magdalene		OP	Csázma / Cazma, CRO	Körös	f: Stephan, bishop of Zágráb	1232/1241	a1537	

¹⁸ From 1493 OSB.

	Csázma	H.Spirit	Coll.	cca. Csázma / Pobjenik-Cazma, CRO	Körös	f: Stephan, bishop of Zágráb	1232	a1537	
41.	Csécse	St. Margaret	?	Csécse	Nógrád	Szücsi fam.	1262	1330	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 233.
42.	Csoltmonostora	All Saints	OSB?	Vészt —Mágori hill	Békés	Csolt k.	1100/1130	1383	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 504; <i>LaHu</i> I:83, 84; <i>MRTVI</i> : 183-187; Irén Juhász, „A Csolt nemzetség monostora”, in <i>Dél-Alföld és Szer</i> : 281-304; Tóth, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> : 242-243.
43.	Csorna	St.Michael	OPraem	Csorna	Sopron	Os k	1219/1226	1786	Károly Kozák, „A premontreiek építkezései Győr-Sopron megyében a XII–XIII. században” <i>Arabella</i> 1973:132; <i>Vajk</i> 2004.
	Cs t / Csút	St. Eustach	OPraem	Budafok, Bp.	Pest	f: Béla IV	1264	1541	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 567-568.
	Damó	H. Virgin	OPraem	cca. Olaszliszka	Zemplén	?	1241/1250	1541	DL 67129
	Deáki	H. Virgin	OSB	Deáki / Diakovce, SK	Pozsony	Abbey of Pannonhalma	1102	cca1600	Tóth, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> : 246-247.
44.	Debrecen	?	OFM	Debrecen	Bihar	?	?	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 609-613.
45.	Dédes	H. Spirit & Corpus Christi	OSPPE	Dédesszentlélek	Borsod	f: palatine István of Ákos k.	1301/1313	1530	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 769-770; <i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
46.	Dénesmonostora	H. Spirit	Can. A orOPraem?	? ¹⁹	Zaránd	Becse-Gergely k.	1150/1199	?	<i>Heitel Mór</i> 2010: 99-103.

¹⁹ Identified with the des. cca. Borosjen / Ineu, RO: *Móré-Heitel* 2010: 99-103.

47.	Derzs	H. Saviour	OSB, I. Can. A. ²⁰	p. Bácsújfalú m	Bács	Báncsa k.	1100/1192	b1400	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 217.
	Dés	H. Virgin	Er. A.	Dés/Dej Ro	Bels Szolnok	f. CharlesRobert Anjou	1310	1153	<i>Entz 1994: 88; Entz 1996: 37, 272; Weisz</i>
48.	Diósgy r	Corpus Christi	Can. A.I. OSPPE	Miskolc	Borsod	f: palatine István of Ákos k.	1300/1304	1545	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 774-775; <i>LaHu</i> I: 99; <i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> .
49.	Dombó	St. George	OSB?	Rakovac (Jug)	Szerém	Gutkeled k.?	1100/1150	1473	Stanojev, Dél-Alföld és Szer: 383-428; Tóth, Dél-Alföld és Szer, 429-448; Stanojev, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> : 122-123; Tóth, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> : 359-367.
50.	Dorozsma	?	?	Kiskundorozsma	Csongrád	Dorozsma k.	1175/1200	cca1300	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 894.
51.	Dömölk	H. Virgin	OSB	Celldömölk	Vas	?	cca.1200	1560	<i>Valter 2004: 65-66.</i>
	Dömös	St. Margaret	Coll.	Dömös	Pilis	f: prince Álmos	cca1107	cca1540	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 629-633; Tóth, <i>Pannonia Regia</i> , 60-61, 62, note 24, and cat. no. I-35.
	Dubica	?	OPI.OSPPE?	Dubica / Dubica, CRO	Dubica	?	1221/1235 ²¹	1496	<i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> .
	Eger	King St. Stephan	Coll.	Eger	Heves	?	b1200	1552	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 80-89.

²⁰ After 1241 Can. A.

²¹ Romhányi suggests that the Pauline cloister was founded made later, during the second half of the thirteenth century: F. Romhányi 2010, note 148.

	Eger	St. Peter	Coll.	Eger	Heves	?	b1300	1552	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 80-89.
	Eger	?	Er. A.	Eger	Heves	bishop	b1346	1552	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 80-89.
	Eger	H. Virgin	OFM	Eger	Heves	?	b1300	1552	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 80-89.
	Eger	?	OFM beg	Eger	Heves	?	b1358	?	
	Egres	H. Virgin	OCist	Egres/Igri , RO	Csanád	f: Béla III	1179	1514	Heitel Mór 2010: 49-61.
52.	Egyedmonostora	All Saints	OSB?	cca. Bihardiőrszeg / Diosig, RO	Bihar	Gutkeled k.	b1214	?	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 614-615.
53.	Elefánt	St. John Bapt.	OSPPE	Elefánt / Horné Lefantovce, SK	Nyitra	f. Dezs Elefánti, I. under royal p.	1369	1548	Fügedi 1998; <i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
54.	Elek	St. Mary Magdalene	OSPPE	Zalacsány	Zala	?	1250/126 3	1378	<i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
55.	Ellőmonostora	?	OSB?	cca. Csongrád	Csongrád	Bor-Kalán k.	1100/115 0	b1350	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 895; Éva Pávai, „Egy limoges-i Mária figura az ellősi monostor (Csongrád megye) területéről”, in <i>A k. kortól a középkorig</i> , ed. G. L. rinczy (Szeged: MFIV, 1994): 455–462; Pávai, in <i>Dél-Alföld és Szer</i> : 219–232; Bozóki, in <i>Dél-Alföld és Szer</i> : 233–240.
56.	Enyere (Tőttőš-)	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Óhid - Barátok	Zala	Enyerei fam.	1339	1543	<i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
	Eperjes	?	OSB	Maroseperjes/Chelmac, RO	Arad	royal?	b1177	a1233	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 175; Heitelné-Mór, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> : 271–272.

57.	Ercsi	St. Nicholas	OSB	Ercsi	Fejér	f: palatine Thomas, ²² l. royal patronage	1170/1186	a1523	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 360–361; Tóth, „Ercsi”, in <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> : 381–382, no. V.35–37.
	Érsomlyó	St. Dominic	OP	Ér(d)omlyó-Versec / Vršac, SER	Krassó	f. king or archbishop of Kalocsa	1237/1241	1551	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 493–494.
58.	Eszék	?	Er. A.	Eszék	Baranya	Kórógyi fam.	1330/1400	1541	
59.	Eszeny	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Eszeny / Esen, UA	Szabolcs	Baksa k.	1358	cca1540	Németh, <i>Kárpátalja</i> : 28; <i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
	Esztergom(-vár)	St. Stephan prot. mart.	Coll.	Esztergom	Esztergom	f: canons Sixtus and Valentinus	1272	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 237–250.
	Esztergom(-váralja)	St. Catherine	OP	Esztergom	Esztergom	?	b1231	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 250–269.
	Esztergom(-váralja)	H. Virgin	OFM obs.	Esztergom	Esztergom	f: Béla IV	b1235	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 250–269.
	Esztergom-Örmény	St. Anne	Er. A.	Esztergom	Esztergom	?	1272	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 273–274; <i>MRTV</i> : 164–167.
	Esztergom-SztGyörgy	St. George	Coll.	Esztergom	Esztergom	f: Archbishop Job	b1189	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 276–277; <i>MRTV</i> : 208–210.
60.	Esztergom-	H. Virgin	OCist	Esztergom	Esztergom	Szente-Mágócs	1200/120	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 282.

²² Zsoldos, *Archontológia*: 353, note 771.

Szentmáriamez					k.	4			
	Esztergom - Szt. Tamás	St. Thomas Becket	Coll.	Esztergom	Esztergom	f: Béla III	1186/1196	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 283–284.
	Esztergom - Sziget	H. Virgin	OSBn	Esztergom	Esztergom	royal	b1073	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 284–285; <i>MRTV</i> : 171–173; LOVAG Zsuzsa: Esztergom-Sziget, in <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> , 347–349.
61.	Falkos	?	OFMconv.	Hahót	Zala	Buzád br. of Hahót k.	1356/1384	cca1540	László Vándor, „Archäologische Forschungen in den mittelalterlichen weltlichen und kirchlichen Zentren des Hahót-Buzád-Geschlechts”, <i>Antaeus</i> 23 (1996): 208–210.
62.	Feldebr	H. Cross	OSB?	Feldebr	Heves	f: Aba Sámuel?	1035/1045?	1500k?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 77; Tóth, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> , 233–236.
	Felnémet	St. Mary Magdalene	OSPPE	Eger	Heves	f: MiklósDörögdi, bishop of Eger	1340/1347	1552	<i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
63.	Fels örs	St. Mary Magdalene	Can A. I. Coll.	Fels örs	Veszprém	Örs fam. of Rátót k.	1175/1199	1520	<i>MRT</i> II: 89–90; LaHu I 357; Sándor Tóth, „Felsőörs késő román templomtöme”, <i>Művészet</i> 21 (1980), 22–26; Sándor Tóth, „A felsőörsi préposti templom nyugati kapuja”, <i>M emlékvédelmi Szemle</i> 10 (2000), 53–76.
	Földvár	St. Peter	OSB	Dunaföldvár – Alsó-Öreghegy-Díós	Tolna	f: Béla II(the blind)	1131/1141	1543	<i>LaHu</i> I 309; Tóth, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> , 371, 425–426: no. V.25; <i>K. Németh</i> 2011: 59–61.
64.	Gáborjánmonostora	St. Michael	?	Gáborján	Bihar	Gyovadi k.	b1217	1405	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 618–619; <i>Nepper</i> 1997,

65.	Galádmonostora	?	Bas?	cca. Kikinda	Csanád/Temes	?	?	?	
66.	Gara	St. Margaret	OP	Gara/Gorjani, CRO	Valkó	Garai fam.	1323	1521	
	Garam-szentbenedek	St. Benedict	OSB	Garamszentbenedek /Hronský Be adik, SK	Bars	f: Géza I	1075	1920	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 441–444; Imre Takács, „Garamszentbenedek temploma és liturgikus felszerelése”, in <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> , 159–186, Takács, <i>Zsigmond</i> , 116–118.
67.	Garáb	St. Hubertus	OPraem	des. Garáb cca. Told	Nógrád	Kökényes-Radnót k.	1171	1436	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 243–244; RégFüz 1988. 68; <i>Vajl2004</i> : 388.
68.	Garáb	St. Margaret of Antioch	OSB	Garáb / Grabovo, SER	Szerém	Tibold k.	b1231	cca1526	
	Garics	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Garics / Bela Crkva CRO	Körös	? ²³	1272/1295	1571	
69.	Gatály	?	OSPPE	Gatály / Gataia	Krassó	?	1340/1345	1392	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 483; <i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
70.	Gédermonostora	?	OPraem	Géderlak	Fejér	Szente-Mágócs k.?	1250/1290	b1350	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 423.
71.	Gerla	?	?	des. cca. Doboz	Békés	Csolt k.	b1259	cca1300	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 507; <i>MRTX</i> /1 (1998), 405–427.

²³ Due to its position it seems to have been founded by a bishop of Zagreb. Later sources (from 1417 and 1486) suggest, however, that the patrons were the Csupor family of the Monoszló k.: DL35447 és DL 35718.

72.	Gétmonostora	St.Hippolytus	OSB?	des.cca. Majs and Kislak / Knezevo, CRO	Baranya	Gugfi fam. of Szenté-Mágócsk.?	b1261	cca1330	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 309.
	Glogonca	H. Virgin	Aug. Can. of H. Sepulchre	Glogonca / Glogovnica, CRO	Zágráb	?	b1245	1611	
73.	Gombaszög	H. Virgin	OSPPE	des. cca. Szalóc-Szalók / Slavec, SK	Gömör	Bebek fam. of Ákos k.	1371	1566	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
74.	Gorbonok	?	OFMbonv.	Gorbonok / Klostár Podravski, CRO	Körös	Herényk.	1292	1552	
75.	Gotó ²⁴	H. Virgin	OCist	Gotó / Kutjevo, CRO	Pozsega	f: Ugrin of Csák k., archbishop of Kalocsa ²⁵	1232	1535	
	Gölnic	H. Virgin	OP	Gölnic / Gelnica, SK	Szepes	town of Gölnic	1266?	1569	
	Gönc	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Gönc	Abauj	f: Louis I Anjou (the great)	1365/1371	cca1540	<i>Belényesi 2004: 19–31; F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Gyelid	?	?	cca. Arad-Gáj / Arad, RO	Arad	?	1100/1177	?	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 177.
76.	Gyer monostor	St.Ladislau?	OSB?	Magyargyer monostor / M n stireni, RO	Bihar I. Kolozs	Mikolafi fam.?	b1241	1275	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 645–646; Entz 1994: 48–49, 119.

²⁴ Known also as Honesta Vallis or Tisztesvölgy.²⁵ Zsoldos, *Archontológia*: 356, note 801.

	Gy r	St. Adalbert	Coll.	Gy r	Gy r		b1138	1558	
	Gy r	St. Elisabeth	OFMconv.	Gy r	Gy r		b1288	1594	
	Gy r	St. Dominic	OP	Gy r	Gy r		b1240	1560	
77.	Gyulamona ²⁶	?	?	cca. Gyula	Békés	?	1200/1300	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 907; <i>Szatmári</i> 2005: 119–120.
	Gyulafehérvár	St. Stephan prot. mart.	Er. A.	Gyulafehérvár / Alba Iulia, RO	Erd. Fehér	bishop of Transylvania	b12295	1556	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 152-154, 156-157; <i>Entz</i> 1994: 44, 99-100; <i>Entz</i> 1996: 63, 300.
	Gyulafehérvár	St. Anne and Elisabeth	OSPPE	Gyulafehérvár / Alba Iulia, RO	Erd. Fehér	f: Demeter, bishop of Transylvania	1376	1486 / 1551	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 157; <i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
	Gyulafehérvár	H. Virgin	OP	Gyulafehérvár / Alba Iulia, RO	Erd. Fehér		b1289	b1556	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 157.
	Gyulafehérvár	H. Spirit	OSB n?	Gyulafehérvár / Alba Iulia, RO	Erd. Fehér		b1294	cca1350	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 157.
78.	Hahót (Pliske)	St. Margaret of Antioch	OSB	Hahót	Zala	Buzád br. of Hahót k.	cca1220	cca1550	L. Vándor, <i>Antaeus</i> 23 (1996):205-207; Válfalvi 2004: 44, 63.
	Hajszentlőrinc	St. Lawrence	Coll.	des. Paka cca. Bezdan / Bezdan, SER	Bodrog	f: queen Anne de Chatillon, wife of Béla III	1173/1184	?	

²⁶ Mentioned as Julamonustra in 1313.

79.	Halász ²⁷	?	?	Nagyhalász	Szabolcs	Rátót k., I. Amadéfi fam. of Aba k., I. Pécz k.	b1299	?	<i>Németh 1997, 88–89; Attila Jakab–Norbert Jankovics, „Elpusztult középkori templomok Nagyhalász határában”, in: Kárpátalja. 178–186.</i>
80.	Hangony	St. Anne	OSPPE	Hangony	Gömör	Hangonyi fam.	1368	cca1550	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Hánta	St. Michael	Coll.	Hánta	Veszprém	p. of queens	b1244	?	
81.	Harva	St. George	OSB?	Harva / Chanava, SK	Gömör	Harva fam.	1241/129 3	1541	<i>Györffy, ÁTF, II: 505.</i>
	Haram	?	OFM obs.	Palánk / Banatska Palanka, SER	Krassó	f: Louis I Anjou (the great)	1366	1458	
82.	Harapkó	H. Spirit	Er. A.	Harapkó / Hrapkov, SK	Sáros	Perényi fam.	1334	1550	
83.	Harina	St. Peter?	OSB?	Harina / Herina, RO	Doboka	Kácsik k.?	1150/120 0	b1241	<i>Entz 1994: 28–29, 101.</i>
84.	Hárskút	H. Virgin	?	Hárskút / Lipovnik, SK	Toma	Tekesfi fam.	1240/124 3	1430	
85.	Hatvan	St. Margaret of Antioch	OPraem	Hatvan	Heves	Bór k. or Kacsics k.?	1150/118 0	1539	<i>LaHu I: 200, 201; Vajk 2004: 392.</i>
86.	Henye	St. Margaret of Antioch	OSPPE	Balatonhenye	Zala	local nobles	1250/130 0	1548	<i>MRT I: 41; F. Romhányi 2010.</i>

²⁷ Mentioned also as Monostoroshalász.

87.	Herpály	?	?	Berettyóújfalú	Bihar	?	cca1200	?	Módy – Kozák 1976: 49–103; K. Kozák, „A herpályi apátsági templomrom építéstörténete”, in <i>Berettyóújfalú története</i> , ed. Gy. Varga (Berettyóújfalú, 1981): 121–139.
88.	Hodosmonostora ²⁸	St. Peter	? I. Bas	Óbodrog / Bodrogu Vechi, RO	Arad	f. ban Pál and his kin of Gutkeled k. (Hodos br.)	1077/1177	1293	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 178.
89.	(Sopron)-horpács	St. Peter & Paul	Can. A.	Sopronhorpács	Sopron	?	1200/1295	?	Takács, <i>Pannonia Regia</i> , I–105; LaHu III; <i>Vajk</i> 2004: 391.
	Ittebe	?	OSB? I. Coll. ²⁹	Fels. ittebe / Srpski Ittebej, SER	Keve	?	b1199	1241	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 316–317.
90.	Iván	H. Virgin	OSB	Bonyhád – Leseberg / Óhegy	Tolna	Morgai fam.	b1326	a1543	<i>K. Németh</i> 2011, 43.
	Ivanics	H. Virgin	OPraem	Ivanics / Kloštar Ivani, CRO	Zágráb	bishop of Zágráb	1234/1246	?	<i>OSZVALD</i> 1957, 243;
91.	Izsómonostora / Gyán	St. Andrew	?	Kötegyán, Szabadgyán	Bihar	Pok k.	b1229	?	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 620–621.
92.	Ják	St. George	OSB	Ják	Vas	Ják k.	1215/1223	1562	<i>Rácz</i> 2000, 7–26, 159–181; Mezey – Szentesi, <i>Pannonia Regia</i> : 178–182, I–98–101; Marosi Ernő, „Die Benediktinerkirche St. Georg zu Ják. Bauwerk und kunsthistorische Problematik”, <i>Acta Historiae Artium</i> 39 (1997 [1999]), 19–70; <i>Jáki apostolszobrok</i> ; D. Mezey Alice, Ják, in: <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> ,

²⁸ Mentioned also as Hodosbodrog.²⁹ From 1221 Coll.

400–405, no. V.66–70; Valter – P. Hajmási 2003; D. Mezey 2003; Valter 2004, 69–81, 150; Valter 2005, 537–564.

	Jánoshida	H. Cross	OPraem	Jánoshida	Pest	f: Béla III?	1186	1541	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 104–105; Kozák Károly: A jánoshidai r.k. templom, volt premontrei prépostság régészeti kutatása (1970–74). Jász Múzeum Jubileumi évkönyve. Jászberény 1974. 277–294;
93.	Jánosi	St. John Bapt.	OSB?	Jánosi / Rimavské Janovce, SK	Gömör	Káta k.?	1100/1200	1520	
94.	Jásd	St. George	OSB	Jásd	Veszprém	Héder k.	1164/1190	1540	Tóth, in <i>Pannonia Regia</i> 115–122, no. I–61; Tóth, Jásd, in <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> , 372–373, no. V.26.
	Jászó	St. John Bapt.	OPraem	Jászó	Abaúj	f: prince Kálmán	cca1220	1553	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 96–100; Oszvald 1957 243–244.
	Jen	St. Mary Magdalene	OSPPE	Tüskevár	Veszprém	f: Miklós II, bishop of Gy ³⁰	1310/1315	1514	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
95.	Jofa ³¹	St. Jeromes	OSPPE	des. cca. Fugyivásárhely / O orhei, RO	Bihar	Fugyi fam. of Zovárd k.	1300/1325	1566	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 628, 688; <i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
96.	Kács	St. Peter	OSBI. OSPPE	Kács	Borsod	Örsúr k.	1200/1248	1561	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 778–779; <i>LaHu</i> I 92; <i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>

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³⁰ Later the nobles of Torna, the neighboring settlement, were mentioned as patrons.

³¹ Known also Szentjeromos.

	Kalocsa	St. Augustine	OPraem	Kalocsa	Fejér	?	b1320	?	
	Kalodva	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Kalodva / Cladova, RO	Arad	f: Ladislaus IV	1272-1290	1541	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
97.	Kána	All Saints?	OSB	Budapest	Pilis	Becse-Gergely k.	1150/1160	1541	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 571; H. Gyürky Katalin: A Buda melletti kánai apátság feltárása. Budapest 1996.
98.	Kanizsamonostor a	H. Cross	Bas?	Kanizsamonostor / Banatski Monostor, SER	Csanád	Csanád k.	b1237	cca1500	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 860.
99.	Kaplonymonostor a	St. Martin	OSB?	Kaplony / C pleni, RO	Szatmár	Kaplony k.	b1267	cca1500	<i>Németh 2008</i> : 130-131; Takács, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> , no. V.53-56; Béla-Zsolt Szakács, „Kaplony, római katolikus templom” in <i>Szatmár</i> : 238-248.
100.	Kapomak	H. Saviour	OSB	Nagykapomak	Zala	Kadar k., l.fam. of Henc, son of Wolfer	1145/1156	1575	Tóth, in: <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> , 229-266, kül. 247-249; Valter 2004, 58-60.
101.	Kapos-Szentbenedek	St. Benedict	OPraem	Kaposf	Somogy	descendants of Moys ³² , Geréczy fam.	1250/1252	1543	Oszvald 1957, 244-5.
102.	Kapronca	H. Virgin	TD Collection	Kapronca / Koprivnica, CRO	Körös	f: Henrik K szegi	1292	1552	
	Karánsebes	?		Karánsebes /	Temes	f: Louis I Anjou	b1385	cca1559	

³² Palatine Moys (father of Moys, founder of the Cistercian Abbey of Ábrahám): Zsoldos, *Archontológia*: 338, note 611. On the descendance of Geréci family, see: Engel, *Genealógia*: s. v. *Majos rokonsága*, 1st table.

				Caransebe , RO	(the great)				
	Kassa	H. Virgin	OP	Kassa / Košice, SK	Abaúj		b1303	1566	
	Kassa	St.Nicholas	OFMconv.	Kassa / Košice, SK	Abaúj	Perényi fam.	1390	1566	
103.	Kaza	St.John Ev.	Er. A.	Sajókaza	Borsod	Rátót k.	b1315	a1510	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 779–780.
	Kékes	St.Ladislau	OSPPE	Pilisszentlászló	Pilis	f: Béla IV	b1294		<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
104.	Kemecsemonostora	?	?	des. cca. Egres / Igri , RO	Csanád	Csanád k.	b1256	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 860; Nicolae S car , „M n stirea Kemenche”, <i>Tibiscus</i> 3 (1974): 165–171.
105.	Kenézmonostora	?	?	des. cca. Nagylak / N dlac, RO	Csanád	Monoszló k.	b1192	1241	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 860–861; <i>Dávid</i> 1974, 56; Zsuzsa Heitel-Móré: „Monasterium Kenez”, in <i>In memoriam Radu Popa</i> , Ed. D.Marcu-Istrate – A. Istrate – C. Gaiu, (Bistrita, 2003): 287–292; Heitel Móré 2010: 105-108.
	Kerc	H. Virgin	OCist	Kerc / Câța, RO	Fogaras	f: king Imre	1202	1474	
106.	Keresztúr	H. Cross	OSBl.OCistl. OSB	Vértesszentkereszt	Komárom I. Fejér	Csák k.	b1146	1478	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 415–416.
107.	Keresztúr	H. Cross	Can. A.	cca. Siklós	Baranya	Siklós br. of Kán k.	1200/1280	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 325-326.
	Keresztúr - Kesztlőc	H. Cross	OSPPE	Kesztlőc	Pilis	?	1245	1543	Júlia Kovalovszki, „A pálos remeték Szent Kereszt-kolostora (Méri István ásatása Klastrompusztán)”, <i>CommArchHung</i> 12

[1992]: 173–207.									
108.	Keresztúr	H. Cross	OSB	Murakeresztúr	Zala	Hahót k.	b1231	1542	Vándor László, „Kanizsa története a honfoglalástól a város török alóli felszabadulásáig”, in <i>Nagykanizsa. Városi monográfia</i> . I. Nagykanizsa 1994: 226.
109.	Keszthely	H. Virgin	OFMconv.	Keszthely	Zala	f: István Lackfi	1368	b1550	MRT I 21/50.
	Keve	?	OFM obs.	Kevevára / Kovin, SER	Keve	f: Louis I Anjou (the great)	1368	1457	
110.	Kisbáté	St. Ladislaus & Sigismund	OSPPE	Báté ³³	Tolna l. Somogy	Zámbó fam.	1355/1383	1383	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
111.	Kismarton	St. Michael	OFMconv.	Kismarton / Eisenstadt, A	Sopron	Kanizsai fam.	1386	1525	
	Kolos	H. Virgin	OSB	Apátkolos / Kliške Hradiš e, SK	Nyitra	f. St. Ladislaus I	b1230		
	Kolozsmonostor	H. Virgin	OSB	Kolozsvár / Cluj-M n tur, RO	Kolozs	f. St. Ladislaus I	cca1170		
	Kolozsvár	H. Virgin	OP	Kolozsvár / Cluj, RO	Kolozs	?	1397		
	Komár	St. Elisabeth	Er. A.	Zalakomár	Zala	f: Béla IV	1256		

³³ K. Németh 2011: 35. The site Báté-Templom-domb is identified with the medieval parish church of the settlement.

112.	Komárom	H. Virgin	OP	Komárom / Komarno, SLO	Komárom	f: magisterPaul	1305		
113.	Kompolt	H. Virgin	OSB	Kompolt	Heves	Kompolt br. Aba k.	1280	cca1500	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 109.
114.	Koppánmonostor / Katapánmonostora	H. Virgin	OSB	des. cca. Komárom	Komárom	Katapán k.	1150/1222	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 433–434.
115.	Koromszó	?	?	Máza – Koromszó II	Tolna	Csák k.?	b1276	1350	Patton Gábor: „A koromszói apátság kutatása”, <i>Baranya. Történelmi közlemények</i> 7–8 (1994–1995). 131–144; Patton Gábor: „Koromszó. Egy elenyészettnek hitt kolostor Máza határában”, in: <i>Mecsek Egyesület Évkönyve</i> , Ed. J. Baronek, (Pécs, 2009): 195–201; K. Németh 2011: 102–103.
116.	Kozmamonostora	?	?	des. cca. Doroszló / Doroslovo, SER	Bács	?	cca1200	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 242–243.
117.	Kökényesmonostora	H. Virgin	OPraem	Kisteresnye-Nagykökényes	Nógrád	Kökényes-Radnót k.	1173/1186	1552	Oszvald 1957:245; Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 262.
118.	Kút	St. Mary Magdalene	OSPPE	cca. Salföld	Zala	Kúti fam. of Atyusz k.	b1221	1487	<i>MRTI</i> 135–136; <i>LaHu</i> I: 367; <i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
	Körmend	H. Virgin	Er. A.	Körmend	Vas	f: Béla IV	1238/1256	1517	ERDÉLYI Gabriella: Egy kolostorper története. Hatalom, vallás és mindennapok a középkor és az újkor határán. Budapest 2005.

	K rös	H. Virgin	Er. A	Krizevci, CRO	K rös	?	b1325	a1529	
119.	K rösmonostora	St. Augustine?	OPraem?	Lázársziget or K rípuszta des. oca. Kisasszonyfa	Baranya	K rös fam. of Negol k.	1234/129 4	1543	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 331–332; Oszvald 1957 238.
120.	Körümonostora	H. Virgin?	?	Nagykör	Heves	Gutkeled k.?	b1212	oca1242	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 110.
	K szeg	H. Saviour	OSPPE	oca. Kisk szeg/ Batina, CRO	Baranya	?	1327/133 3	1526	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
121.	K szeg	?	OFM	K szeg	Baranya	Kanizsai fam. of Héder k.	b1289	b1403	
	Kövesd	?	OFMobs.	Várboksán/ Boc a, RO	Krassó	?	b1380	b1478	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 487..
122.	Lád	H. Virgin, Annunciation	OSPPE	Sajólád	Borsod	Ónodi Czudar fam.	1387	1536	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Landek	St. Nicholas	Aug. Can. of H. Sepulchre	Lándok/, Lendak, SK	Szepes	Provostry of Miechow	1313	1593	
123.	Lébény	St. James	OSB	Lébény-szentniklós	Moson	Gy r k.	1199/120 8	1563	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 155–157.
124.	Lehnic ³⁴	H. Virgin, St. John Bapt., St. Anthony the Abbot	Carthusians	Lehnic/ erveny Klaštör, SK	Szepes	f: Henrik, ban of Slavonia and his sons	1319	1560	

³⁴ Known also as Vallis Sancti Antonii.

125.	Léka	?	OFM	Léka / Lockenhaus, A	Vas	K szegi fam.Héder k.	b1332	a1522	
126.	Lekér	H. Saviour	OSB	Lekér / Lekýr, SK	Bars	Kacsics k.?	b1256	b1562	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 457.
127.	Lelesz	H. Cross	OPraem	Lelesz / Leles, SK	Zemplén	f. Boleszló, bishop of Vác	1193/119 6	1567	Oszvald 1957 245–246.
	Lippa	St. Louis of Toulouse	OFMconv.	Lippa / Lipova, RO	Arad	f. Charles Robert Anjou	1325	1551	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 180–181.
	Lórév	?	Er. A.	Csepel	Pest	royal	b1309	cca1541	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 203.
	L. cse	H. Virgin & St. Ladislau	OFMconv.	L. cse / Levoca, SK	Szepes	?	1309	1540	
	Lövöld	St. Michael	Carthusians	Városl d	Veszprém	f. Louis I Anjou (the great)	1347	1552	
128.	Ludány	St. Cosmas & Damian, H. Trinity?	OSB	NyitraLudány	Nyitra	Harabosi br. Ludány k.	b1204	1574	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 420–421.
129.	Ludbreg	?	OFMconv.	Ludbreg, CRO	Körös	Ban János Csúz	1373	a1533	
130.	Lulla / Lulyahegy ³⁵	St. Ladislau	Can. A.	cca. Ságvár	Somogy	Bór-Kalán k.?	1192/119 9	?	

³⁵ Also known as Szentlászlómonostora.

131.	Madocsa	St. Nicholas	OSB	Madocsa – ref. templom	Tolna	Bikács k.	1145/1150	1541	LaHu 1 157; Tóth, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> : 379–380, V.38–39; K. Németh 2011: 95–97.
132.	Mágocs	St. Peter	OSB	Mágocs – r. k. templom	Tolna	Szente-Mágocs k? (f. c. Opa)	b1251	1543	K. Németh 2011: 102.
133.	Majád	?	?	cca. Szentmargit-bánya / Sankt Margarethen, A	Sopron	Majádi br. Gutkeled k.	b1277	?	
134.	Majk	H. Virgin	OPraem	des. Majk cca. Oroszlány	Fejér	Csák k.	b1235	1543	Oszvald 1957: 247, Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 394; Csengel Péter: A majki premontrei prépostság feltárása. MSz 1991/2. 44–46.
135.	Mandamonostora	?	?	?	Baranya?	?	?	?	
136.	Márcfalva	St. Peter	Can. A.	Márcfalva / Marz, A	Sopron	Agyagos fam. of Osl k.	1222/1223	cca1445	Bazsó Gábor: Sopronharpács, plébániatemplom. LaHu III. 18; KÖRMENDI Tamás: A sopronharpácsi monostor Árpád-kori történetének vitás kérdései. Soproni Szemle 57 (2003). 276–288.
	Marcsa	?	Aug. Can. of H. Sepulchre	Marcsa / Marca cca. Ivanic, CRO	K rös	f: king Imre	b1204	1241?	
	Máriavölgy	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Marianthal / Marianka, SK	Pozsony	f: Louis I Anjou (the great)	1377	1786	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
137.	Martonos	?	OSB?	Martonos / Martonoš, SER	Bodrog	?	b1237	1241?	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 724.
138.	Martonyi-	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Martonyi	Borsod	Martonyi fam.,	1341	1550	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>

Háromhegy					Tekes fam.				
139.	Menedékk	H. Virgin, St. John Bapt., St. Margaret	Carthusians	Létánk , Lapis Refugii / Letanovce, SK	Szepes	f. c. Jordanus (ancestor of the Görgei fam.)	1299	1543	
	Meszes	St. Margaret of Antioch	OSB.OPraem	Mojgrád / Moigrad, RO	Közép Szolnok	f: prince Álmos, private patrons ³⁶	1100/1108	b1400	
	Mez somlyó	King St. Stephan	Coll.?	Mez somlyó oca. Gátalja / Gátalja, RO	Krassó	?	b1152	b1300	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 493-494.
	Mez somlyó	St. Thomas Becket	Er. A.	Mez somlyó oca. Gátalja / Gátalja, RO	Krassó	f: Béla IV	1256/1270	a1330	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 493-494.
140.	Mindszent	All Saints	OSPPE	Balatonszemes	Somogy	?	b1323	1543	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
141.	Mindszent (Okri-)	All Saints	OSB	Csonkamindszent	Baranya	Szalók k., Szák k. (or Kán k.?)	b1181	a1363	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 341-342.
142.	Mislye	St. Nicholas	Coll.	Fels mislye / Visna Mysla, SK	Abauj	Somosi br.Aba k.	b1284	cca1500	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 119.
	Mogyoród	St.Martin	OSB	Mogyoród	Pest	f. St. Ladislaus I?	b1100	1488	LaHu I 251; Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 531-532.
	Monostor	?	?	des. Vizesmonostor? ³⁷	Arad	?	?	b1331/1335	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 181; <i>Szatmári2005</i> 153-154, 184.

³⁶ The patronage was disputed among the Dobokai and Jakcs families in 1385. The monastery was deserted at that time.

³⁷ An unconvincing attempt at localization: *Heitel Mór* 2010: 109-111.

	Monostor	?	?	Bégamonostor, Ménfőcsanak, RO	Temes	?	b1241	cca1241	Al. Rădulescu, <i>Studii de istorie a Banatului</i> 19–20 (1995–96) 73–75;
143.	Mórichida	St. James	OPraem	Árpás	Győr	Pok k. ³⁸	1251	1526	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 578-579, 609-610;
	Munkács	St. James	Can. A.	Pécs	Baranya	bishop of Pécs?	b1333	1543	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 344;
	Nagyolaszi / Frankavilla	H. Cross	OPraeml.OSB	Nagyolaszi / Mandjelo, SER	Szerém	?	1172/1179	cca1404	<i>Vajk 2004</i> : 388.
	Nagyolaszi / Frankavilla	?	OFM	Nagyolaszi / Mandjelo, SER	Szerém	?	1229/1246	1391	
	Nagyolaszi / Frankavilla	?	OP	Nagyolaszi / Mandjelo, SER	Szerém	?	b1303	cca1521	
	Nagyszombat	St. James?	OFMconv.	Nagyszombat / Trnava, SK	Pozsony	?	1230	1786	
	Nagyszombat	H. Virgin, All Saints	Clarisses	Nagyszombat / Trnava, SK	Pozsony	f: Béla IV	1240	1683	
	Nagyszombat	St. John Bapt.	OP	Nagyszombat / Trnava, SK	Pozsony	?	1303e	1567	
144.	Nánásmonostora	?	?	Hajdúnánás	Szabolcs	?	b1361	?	<i>Németh 1997</i> , 141.

³⁸ Founded by Mór of the Pok kindred, master of the royal treasury. On the founder see Zsoldos, *Archontológia*: 339, note 617; on his kinship and descendants see Engel, *Genealógia*: s.v. *Pok nem*, 1st table.

145.	Nékcse-Szentmárton	St. Anthony	OFMconv.	Nékcse / Nasice, CRO	Baranya	?	cca1300	1542	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 346–347.
146.	Németi (Közép-)	St. Ladislaus	OSPPE	Tomyosnémeti	Abaúj	Drugeth fam.	1319	1320	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 121–124; <i>Belényesi</i> 2004: 15; <i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
	(Szatmár)-Németi	St. Nicholas	OP	Satu Mare / Szatmárnémeti, RO	Szatmár		1303/1348	1569	Németh 2008: 199–201;
147.	Németújvár	H. Virgin	OSB	Németújvár - Kúszin/Güssing, A	Vas	K szegi fam. of Héder k: sons of Wolfer	1157	1190	
	Nosztre	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Márianosztra	Nógrád	f: Louis I Anjou (the great)	1352	b1548	<i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
	Novák	H. Virgin	Aug. Can. of H. Sepulchre	Novák / Novaki, CRO	Körös	?	1255/1298	b1400	
	Nyitra	H. Virgin	OFMconv.	Nyitra / Nitra, SK	Nyitra	?	1245/1248	1552	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 429–440.
	Óbuda	St. Peter	Coll.	Bp.	Pilis	f. St. Stephan I or king Peter	b1046	1541	
	Óbuda	H. Virgin	Coll.	Bp.	Pilis	?	1331	1350	
	Óbuda	St. Francis	OFMconv.	Bp.	Pilis	f: Béla IV?	b1280	1533	
	Óbuda	H. Virgin,	Clarisses	Bp.	Pilis	f: queen	1331	1541	

St.Clara			Elisabeth						
	Ócsa	H. Virgin	OPraem	Ócsa	Pest	f: Andrew II?	b1235	1541	Oszvald 1957, 247; Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 534–535.
148.	Chatmonostora	H. Virgin	OSB?	Debrecen -Chat-Telekháza, Egyek	Szabolcs	Rátót k., I. Sátorányvecse k.	b1219	a1335	Németh 1997 144–145.
149.	Oroszlámos	St.George	Basl.OSB	Magyarmajdán / Majdán, SER	Csanád	f: dux Csanád	1009?	1340	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 865–866; TAKÁCS Miklós: Az oroszlánosi monostor oroszlánja. <i>ArchÉrt</i> 120 (1995). 47–61.
	Orsova	?	OFMobs.	Orsova, RO	Temes	f: Louis I Anjou (the great)	1385	b1516	
150.	Örményes	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Örményes	Vas	Kanizsai fam.	1350/1378	1578	<i>F. Romhányi</i> 2010.
151.	Pálmonostora	St.Paul?	?	des. Alsómonostor oca. Kecskemét	Csongrád	Becse-Gergely k.?	?	b1260	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 898–899; Sárosi Edit: Régészeti kutatások Bugac-Felsőmonostoron: egy erősen rombolt lelőhely kutatásának módszertani tanulságai. In: RITÓÓK–SIMONYI 2005. 223–238.
152.	Pályi	St.Paul	OPraem	Nyírpályi / Monostorpályi	Bihar	Ákos k.	1170/1222	b1500	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 650–651; Oszvald 1957 247; Rácz Zoltán: Szempontok Monostorpályi Árpád-kori templomának értékeléséhez. <i>BME</i> III. 1984. 69–77.
	Pankota	H. Virgin	OSB	Pankota / Pāncota, RO	Zaránd	?	b1217	a1425	Zsuzsa Heitelné-Mór, „Egyházi építészeti a Maros-völgy alsó szakaszán a 11–13. században”, I, in <i>Dél-Alföld és Szer</i> , 593–636; Zsuzsa Heitelné-Mór, „Monostorok a Maros mentén. Adatok”, in <i>Paradysum</i>

<i>Plantavit, 272–274; Daniela Marcu-Istrate.</i>									
153.	Papmonostora	?	?	des. Pusztamonostor cca. Hatvan	Heves	?	b1331	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 121.
154.	Pápóc	Corpus Christi &H. Saviour	Coll.	Pápóc	Vas	Nádasd k.	1360	1552	LaHu I 337.
155.	Pápóc	H. Virgin	Er. A.	Pápóc	Vas	Nádasd k.	1359	1552	LaHu I 337; VALTER 2004 96–97, 179–180.
156.	Pásztó	St.Nicholas	OSB	Pásztó	Heves	f: king Colomanus	1080/1100	b1544	Valter I.: A pásztói monostor feltárása. <i>CommArchHung</i> 2 (1982). 167–203; Valter I.: Das Zisterzienserkloster Pásztó. <i>Geschichte und neue archäologische Forschungsergebnisse. AC</i> 38 (1982). 129–138; Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 121–123; Valter I.: A pásztói XIII. századi hatszögű kápolna. <i>ArchÉrt</i> 118 (1991), 17–31; Valter I.: A pásztói román kori timpanon. In: Entz Géza emlékkönyv, Budapest 1993, 197–209.
	Patacs	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Pécs	Baranya	?	1334	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 356; <i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
157.	Pathlan	?	OSPPE	des. cca. Remete	Kolozs/ Bihar	Czibak fam. of Mindszent	1350/1382	1382	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Pécs	St.John Bapt.	Coll.	Pécs	Baranya	bishop of Pécs	b1217	1543	
	Pécs	St.Ladislau	Carmelites	Pécs	Baranya	bishop of Pécs	1372	1543	
	Pécs	St.Augustine	Er. A.	Pécs	Baranya	bishop of Pécs	b1309	1543	

	Pécs	St. Francis	OFMconv.	Pécs	Baranya	?	1280	a1548	
	Pécs	St. Vincent&St. Thomas Becket	OP	Pécs	Baranya	bishop of Pécs	b1238	a1546	
	Pécsvárads	St. Benedict &H. Virgin	OSB	Pécsvárads	Baranya	f: St. Stephan I	1015	1543	
158.	Pélmonostor ³⁹	St.Michael	OSB	Beli Manastir, CRO	Baranya	Majs k.	b1212	b1357	CSÁNKI II 508-509; Györfy, ÁTF, I: 343.
159.	Pentele	St. Pantaleon	Bas?	Dunapentele	Fejér	Andornak k? I. Zsadály k.	b1050	cca1241	Györfy, ÁTF, II: 400.
	Pest	St. Anthony	OP	Bp.	Pest	f: Andrew II	b1233	1541	
	Pest	St. Peter of Verona	OFMobs.	Bp.	Pest	?	1253/1260	1542	
	Pest	?	OP begina	Bp.	Pest	?	b1276	?	
160.	Pétermonostora	St.Peter?	?	des. Fels monostor oca. Kecskemét	Csongrád	Bethlen br.Becse-Gergely k.	b1219	cca1250	Györfy, ÁTF, I: 899; Edit Sárosi, „Régészeti kutatások Bugac-Felsőmonostoron: egy erősen rombolt lelőhely kutatásának módszertani tanulságai”, in <i>Templom körüli teret k</i> 223-238; Rosta Szabolcs.
	Pétevárads (Bélakút)	H. Virgin	OCist	des. Pétevárads oca. Újvidék	Szerém	f: Béla IV	1234	1525	

³⁹ Known als as Szentmihálymonostor, Baranyamonostor or Majsmonostor.

	Pilis	H. Virgin	OCist	Pilisszentkereszt	Pilis	f: Béla III	1184	1526	
161.	Pók	St. Stephan prot. mart	OPraem	des. Tét cca. Gy r	Gy r	Pók k.	1234/125 1	1308/15 60	Oszvald 1957 247–248, Kozák 1973.
162.	Pordánymonos- tora	?	OSB?	Porgány / Pordeanu, RO	Csanád	Telegdi br.Csanád k.	1247b	cca1300	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 867.
163.	Pomó	St. Margaret of Antioch	OSB, I. OCist ⁴⁰	Pomóapáti	Vas	Ják k.	cca1200	1532	Valter 2004 180–182.
164.	Poroszló	St.Peter& Paul	OSB?	Poroszló	Heves	Sártiván-Vecse (Sátrányvecse) k., I. Rátót k.	b1219	cca1500	
	Pozsega	St. Peter	Coll.	Kaptol, CRO	Pozsega	bishop of Pécs	b1200	1526	
	Pozsegavár	St. Demetrius	OFMconv.	Požega, CRO	Pozsega	?	1250	1537	
	Pozsony	H. Saviour	Coll.	Bratislava, SK	Pozsony	?	b1100	a1700	
	Pozsony	St. Mary Magdalene	OSBnl.OCistnl. Clarisses	Bratislava, SK	Pozsony	f: Béla II (the blind)	b1132	1782	
	Pozsony	St.JohnEv.		Bratislava, SK	Pozsony			a1700	
	Privigye	?	OSB	Prievidza, SK	Nyitra	Hontpázmány k.	a1200	1526	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 447–448

⁴⁰From 1234 OCist.

165.	Prügy	?	?	Prügy	Zemplén	Bodrog-Keresztúriand Debri br. of Aba k.	1267/135 2	1368	
166.	Rajk	St. Martin	OPraem	Alsórajk	Zala	Buzád br. of Hahót k.	1239	1550	Béla-Miklós Szöke, „Die Prämonstratenserpropstei von Alsórajk- Kastélydomb”, <i>Antaeus</i> 23 (1996), 251–306; Vándor, <i>Antaeus</i> 23 (1996), 190–191; VALTER 2004 64.
167.	Rátót	H. Virgin	OPraem	Gyulafirátót	Veszprém	Rátót k.	1241/124 5	1520	Oszvald 1957 248; PÁMER Nóra: A gyulafirátóti középkori premontrei monostor feltárása. <i>VMK</i> 6 (1967). 239–246; MRT II 94; Rostás Tibor: Udvari művészet Magyarországon a 13. század második negyedében és közepén, avagy a Gizella- kápolna hazai kapcsolatrendszere. <i>Műemlékvédelmi Szemle</i> 10 (2000 [2001]), 5–52., kül. 18-20, 29, 36.
168.	Regéc	St. Philip & James	OSPPE	Regéc	Abaúj	Aba k.	1250/130 7	1547	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Remete	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Pálosremete / Remeti, RO	Mára- maros	f: Louis I Anjou (the great)	1363	1554	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Remete	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Alsóremete / Nizsnyi Remeti, UA	Bereg	f: queen Elisabeth	b1329	b1562	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Remete	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Promontorium Zagrabiense, des. cca. Zágráb / Zagreb, CRO	Zágráb	?	1274/128 8	1786	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>

169.	Rohoncmonostor	St. Michael	OSB?	des. cca. Temesnagyfalu /, Satu Mare, Ro	Csanád	?	b1232	cca1241	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 845, 868 [Rahonca].
170.	Rosd-szigeti Szt. Megváltó ⁴¹	H. Saviour	OSB?	Szigetmonostor/Tiburcmonostor	Pilis	Tiburc fam. of Rosd k.	1198/1205	cca1241	MRT VII 300–302; LaHu I 246; Tari 2000 127.
171.	Rudina	St. Michael	OSB	cca. Podvrsko, CRO	Pozsega	Borics k.	b1279	a1526	Tóth, in: <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> 374–378.
172.	Ruszka	St. Catherine & St. Dominic	OSPPE	Göncruszka	Abaúj	Ruszkai fam.	1338	1545	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
173.	Ság	H. Virgin	OPraem	Ipolság / Šahy	Hont	f: Hont-Pázmány k., I. royal patronage	1224/ 1234	1552	<i>Tóth 2008.</i>
174.	Ság	St. Stephan?	OSB?	Karancsság	Nógrád	Záh fam.?	1200/1250	cca1400	<i>LaHu</i> I: 234; Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 290–291.
175.	Sáp Monostoros-	?	?	des. Malosáp / Veressáp cca. Heréd	Heves/Nógrád	Kökényes-Radnót k.	1268/1298	b1400	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 129–130 Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 291.
176.	Sáp Monostoros-	H. Virgin	OSB?	des. cca. Nagyrév	Szolnok	?	1241b	cca1241	Miklós Rácz–József Laszlovszky, <i>Monostorossáp, egy Tisza menti középkori falu</i> , (Dissertationes Pannonicae III.7.), Budapest 2005.
177.	Sár	H. Virgin	OSB	Abasár	Heves	Aba k.	ccaa1044	1541	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 130, PRT XII/B 361–364; Tóth, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> ,

⁴¹ Known also Szentszalvátor.

	Sáros	St. Stanislaus	Er. A.	Nagysáros / Velky Saris, SK	Sáros	f: Béla IV	1256	1528	
	Sárospatak	H. Virgin	OFMobs.	Sárospatak	Zemplén	f: Béla IV	b1261	a1548	
	Sárospatak	St. Anne	Clarisses	Sárospatak	Zemplén	f: queen Elisabeth	cca1385	1556	
	Sárospatak	St. Vincent	OP	Sárospatak	Zemplén	f: Béla IV	1230/1238	1540/1548	
178.	Sárvármonostora	St. Peter	OSB?	cca. Nagyecsed	Szatmár	Gutkeled k.	1050/1100	cca 1400	<i>Németh 2008: 258-259; Kálmán Magyar, „Nagyecsed-Sárvár nemzeti központ kutatása (1975–77)”, <i>Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae</i> 1984: 146–186; LaHui 305; Tóth, „Sárvármonostor”, in <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i>: 368–370, V.6–10; Krisztina Havasi, „Sárvármonostor XI. századi k. faragványainak katalógusa elé”, in <i>Szatmár</i>: 26-59.</i>
	Savnik / Szepes	H. Virgin	OCist	Savnik / Spišský Štiavnik, SK	Szepes	f: prince Kálmán and Dénes son of Árpád	1216/1223	1531	Keglevich Kristóf: A Szepesi Apátság története az Árpád- és az Anjou-korban (1223-1387). Fons XIV (2007). 1 sz. 3-58.
	Segesd	H. Virgin	OFMconv.	Segesd	Somogy	f: queen Fennena, wife of Andrew III	1290/1295	1555	
	Segesvár	H. Virgin	OP	Sighi oara, RO	Szászföld	?	b1298	1545	
	Selmecbánya	St. Nicholas	OP	Banská Štiavnica, SK	Hont	?	1275	1536	

179.	Siklós	St. Anne	Can. A.	Siklós	Baranya	Siklósi br.Kán k.	1300/133 2	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 378–379;
180.	Solymos	H. Virgin	Can. A.	Solymos cca. Lipa / Lipova, RO	Arad	Gutkeled k.	1241/127 8	?	Györffy I: 184-5.;
	Somogyvár	St.Giles	OSB	Somogyvár	Somogy	f. St. Ladislaus I	1091	1553	<i>Bakay 2011.</i>
	Sopron	H. Virgin	OFMconv.	Sopron	Sopron	f: Geissel-Jekel fam.	1241/125 0	1786	
181.	Stola	H. Virgin	OSBpriority	des. cca.. Mengusovce	Szepes	f: c. Eberlaus of Szentgyörgy	1314	a1508	
	Szaggú	St.Peter	OPraem?	M n stire or Karácsonyliget / Soca?	Temes	?	1234/129 4	b1400	Oszvald 1957 237–238;
182.	Szakácsi	St. Dominic	OSPPE	Nagyszakácsi	Somogy	nobles of Szakácsi	1250/126 3	b1550	Csilla Zatykó, „Reconstruction of the Settlement Structure of the Medieval Nagyszakácsi (Somogy county)”, <i>Antaeus</i> 27 (2004): 367-431; <i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Szakálmonostora	?	OSB	Nógrádszakál	Nógrád	royal	b1245	a1332	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 294–295.
	Szalánkemén	St.Peter	OPraeml.OSPP E ⁴²	Slankemen, SER	Szerém	?	1201/124 1	1393	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
183.	Szalárd	H. Virgin	CEU OFMobs.	Szalárd / S lard, RO	Bihar	Csáki fam.	b1395	1556	

⁴² Transferred to the Paulines around 1393.

184. Szalócmónostora St.Elisabeth ? des. Szalóksámson cca. Bihar Hontpázmány k. 1347 *Németh 1997, 172 (Szalóksámson). Jakó Bihar m. 334 (Túr-Sámson). Györffy, ÁTF, I: 658.*

Szászsebes	St.Nicholas	OP	Sebe , RO	Szászföld	?	1322	1560	
Szászváros	?	OFMconv.	Or tie, RO	Szászföld	?	b1302	1552	
Szatmár	H. Virgin	OFMconv.	Satu Mare, RO	Szatmár	?	b1285	1556	Németh 2008: 281-283.
Száva-szentdemeter	St. Demetrius	Basl.OSB	Sremska Mitrovica, SER	Szerém	royal foundation or by palatine Radó ⁴³	1018	1462	
Száva-szentdemeter	?	OFM	Sremska Mitrovica SER	Szerém	?	b1300	1391	

185. Százd H. Virgin OSB des. cca. Tiszakeszi Borsod Aba k. 1067 1242? Györffy I 804–805;

Szeben	St.Ladislaus	Coll.	Sibiu, RO	Szászföld	f: Béla III	1191	1424	
Szeben	?	OPraem	Sibiu, RO	Szászföld	?	b1235	1241	
Szeben	St.Elisabeth	OFMconv.	Sibiu, RO	Szászföld	?	b1300	1556	
Szeben	H. Cross	OP	Sibiu, RO	Szászföld	?	b1241	1543	

⁴³ Zsoldos, *Archontológia*: 15.

186.	Szécsény	H. Virgin	OFMobs.	Szécsény	Nógrád	f: Tamás Szécsényi of Kacsics k.	1332	1544	
	Szeged	H. Spirit	OPraerm	Szeged	Csongrád	?	b1400	1542	
	Szeged	St.Elizabeth	OFMconv.	Szeged	Csongrád	?	b1332	1542	
	Szeged	St. Nicholas	OP	Szeged	Csongrád	?	1318	1529	
187.	Szekcs	H. Virgin	OP	Dunaszekcs	Baranya	Herceg fam. of Szekcs	b1391	1541	
	Székesfehérvár	H. Virgin	Coll.	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	f: St. Stephan I	cca1018	1543	
	Székesfehérvár	St.Peter	Coll.	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	f: queen Elisabeth	1350/1367	1543	
	Székesfehérvár	St.Nicholas	Coll.	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	?	b1215	1543	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , II: 379.
	Székesfehérvár	St.Michael	Er.A.	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	?	1256/1274	1543	
	Székesfehérvár	St. Mark	?	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	?	1300/1372	1543	
	Székesfehérvár	?	OFMconv.	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	?	1230	1543	
	Székesfehérvár	St. Margaret of	OP	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	?	1221	1543	

Antioch									
	Székesfehérvár	H. Virgin	OPn	Székesfehérvár	Fejér	?	1276	1543	
	Szekszárd	H. Saviour	OSB	Szekszárd	Tolna	f: Béla I	1061	1543	K. Németh 2011: 154.
188.	Muraszemenye	H. Virgin	OFMconv.	Szemenye	Zala	Hahót k.	1248	1533	Valter 2004:64.
	Szentábrahám	St.Abraham	Bas? or Aug. Can. of St. Abraham	Ráckeve	Pest	royal?	b1211	b1216	
189.	Szentgyörgy	St. Gregory	OSB	des. cca. Szond / Sonta, SER	Bács	?	b1192	b1450	Györfy, ÁTF, I: 233.
	Szentgyörgy	St.Gregory	OSB	Grgurevci, SER	Szerém	?	b1206	b1490	
	Szentgothárd	H. Virgin	OCist	Szentgothárd	Vas	f: Béla III	1184	1532	
190.	Szentgyörgy	St.George	Can. A.	Drávaszent-györgy/ Sveti Gjuraj, CRO	Baranya	Tétény k.	b1333	a1526	Györfy I: 386.
	Szentimre	St.Emeric	OSB	Hegyköz-szentimre / Sântimreu, RO	Bihar	bishop of Várad	b1220	a1312	Györfy, ÁTF, I: 667,.
	Szentjakab (Jakabhegy)	St.James	OSPPE	Patacs / Pécs- Jakabhegy	Baranya	bishop of Pécs	1225	1543	F. Romhányi 2010.
191.	Szentjakab (Bakony-)	St.James	OSPPE	Sáska, Fels - Szarvasvölgy	Zala	p. from 1308 the Gyulafi fam of	1250/126 3	1563	F. Romhányi 2010.

Rátót k.

192.	Szentjános	St.John Bapt.	OSBl.Ocist	Biharszentjános / Sântion, RO	Bihar	Szentjános br.Hont-Pázmány k.	b1215	a1518	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 667–668.
	Szentjobb	H. Virgin	OSB	Sâniob, RO	Bihar	f. St. Ladislaus I	1083/1093	1556	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 668–669.
193.	Szentkirály	King St.Stephan	OSB	Losonc/Lucenec m, SK	Nógrád	palatine Dénes ⁴⁴ of Tomaj k.	1239/1240	a1500	Entz 1996, 378–379.
194.	Szentkirály (Maros-)	King St. Stephan & H. Virgin	OSPPE	Sâncraiu de Mure , RO	Székelyföld	nobles of Szentkirály	1350	1566	Entz 1996 378–379; <i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> . Soós
	Szentlászló	St. Ladislaus	OSBpriority	Püspök-szentlászló	Baranya	Abbey of Pécsvárad	1235	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 388.
195.	Szentlászló	St.Ladislaus	OSPPE	Szentága oca. Birján	Baranya	f: Konrád of Óvár of Gy r k.	1295	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 388–389; <i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> . C. Tóth N.
	Szentlélek	H. Spirit	OSPPE	Plisszentlélek	Esztergom	f. Ladislaus IV	cca1280		<i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> .
	Szentmárton (Pannonhalma)	St.Martin	OSB	Pannonhalma	Gy r	f: dux Géza	b997	1560	
	Szentmihályköve (Tóti)	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Tótfalud / T új, RO	Erd. Fehér	f: Domkos Szécsi, bishop of	1363	1551	<i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> .

⁴⁴ Zsoldos, *Archontológia*: 295, note 167.

Transylvania									
196.	Szentpál	St. Paul the Abbot	OSPPE	Somogy-döröcske – Klóster	Tolna	?	1333	1542	<i>F. Romhányi 2010, K. Németh 2011: 144.</i>
197.	Szentpéter	St. Peter	OSPPE	Pogány-szentpéter	Somogy	Kanizsai fam.	1350/1382	1552	<i>LaHu I 285; F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
198.	Szenttrinitás	H. Trinity	OSBl.OCistl.OSB	des. Terentápuszta cca. Siklós	Baranya	Siklósi br. Kán k.	b1183	1543	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 391–392.
	Szepeshely ⁴⁵	St. Martin	Coll.	Spišska Kapitula, SK	Szepes	royal	1150/1200	1756	
	Szepesváralja	St. Elisabeth	Er. A.	Spišské Podhradie, SK	Szepes	f: Charles Robert Anjou or his wife	b1328	1560	
199.	Széplak	H. Virgin	OSB	Abaszéplak / Krasna nad Hornádom, SK	Abauj	Aba k.	1143	b1556	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 145–146.
200.	Szer	H. Virgin	OSB?	Ópusztaszer	Csongrád	Bór-Kalán k.	1100/1120	?	Györfly, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 904–905; Trogmayer Ottó: „Fecerunt magnum aldumas” – Gondolatok Szer monostorának építéstörténetéről. In: Középkori Dél-Alföld, 81–106; MAROSI Emő: Szermonostor gótikus kerengőjének szobrai. In: Középkori Dél-Alföld. 107–122; TAKÁCS Imre: Szermonostor, in: <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> 383–389.
201.	Szerdahely	St. Ladislaus	OSPPE	des. cca. Gálósfa	Somogy	Gy r.k.	1335	1543	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>

⁴⁵Also known as Szentmártonhegy.

202.	Szerencs	St.Peter& Paul	OSB	Szerencs	Borsod	Bogát-Radvány k.	b1247	b1556	
203.	Szerepmonostora	St. George	?	Szerep	Békés I. Bihar	Zovárd k.	b1283	cca1350	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 514;
	Szkalka	St. Benedict & All Saints	OSB	Vágszklás / Skalka, SK	Trencsén	bishop of Nyitra	1208	1528	
	Szlat	St.Peter	OSPPE	Zlatkagora cca. Slavsko Polje, CRO	Zágráb	?	1304/1328	1451	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
204.	Szólátmonostora	St.Martin?	?	des. Monostor cca. Debrecen	Bihar	Apaj br.Gutkeled k.	b1308	1375	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 645; <i>Módy 1986</i>
205.	Szolnok	?	?	des. cca. Dunagálos / Gložan, SER	Bács	?	1200/1241	?	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 235.
	Szombathely	St.Anthony	OFMconv.	Szombathely	Vas	f. Kálmán, bishop of Győr	1360	cca1540	
206.	Sz. reg	St.Philip	OSB?	Sz. reg, Szentfűlöp	Csanád	?	b1192	b1280	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 873.
207.	Sztreza	All Saints	OSPPE	Pavlin Klostár, CRO	Körös	f. János Besenyi of Nezde	1373	1537	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
208.	Tálad (Pula)	St.Elisabeth	OSPPEI.OFM	Pula	Zala	Rátót k.	1275/1300	1543	<i>MRTII 182; F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
209.	Tapolca	St.Peter& Paul	OSB	Miskolc-Tapolca	Borsod	Miskolc k.	b1219	1532	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 809-810; <i>Pusztai T.</i>

	Tárkány ⁴⁶	H. Virgin	Carthusians	Fels tárkány	Borsod	f: Miklós Dörögdi, bishop of Eger	1332	1552	
210.	Tárnokmonostor	All Saints	OSB?	des. cca. Nagybaracska	Bodrog	Haraszt k.	1200/125 1	cca1330	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 730.
	Tarvasz	?	OSPPE	Tarvasz	Bereg	?	b1334	cca1451	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
211.	Tata	St. Peter & Paul	OSB	Tata	Komárom	f: c. Tata	b1093	1543	Györfy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 458–459; <i>LaHu</i> I 226; Raffay, <i>Paradisum Plantavit</i> . 442–443.
212.	Telegd	H. Virgin	OFMconv.	Mez telegd / Tileagd, RO	Bihar	Telegdi br.Csanád k.	b1329	1556	Em di T.
213.	Telki	King St. Stephan	OSB	Telki	Pilis	?	1190/119 8	1541	MRT VII 322–323;
	Temesvár	St.Ladislaus	OP	Timi oara, RO	Temes	?	b1323	1552	
	Teny monostora	St.Peter	Coll.	des. cca. Szolnok	Szolnok	?	b1299	b1388	
	Tereske	H. Virgin	OSB	Tereske	Nógrád	?	1219	a1466	
	Tétmonostora	?	?	des. cca. Szolnok	Szolnok	?	b1380	?	
	Tihany	St.Aignan	OSB	Tihany	Zala	f: Andrew I	1055	1534	

⁴⁶ Known also as Vallis Auxili / Segedelemvölgy.

	Titel	H. Wisdom	Coll.	Titel, SER	Bács	f: prince Lampert	1077/1093	1520	
214.	Told	H. Virgin	OSPPE	des. Toldoca. Karád	Somogy	Zámbó fam.	1384	1587	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
215.	Tomaj	St.Emeric	OSPPE	Badacsonytomaj	Zala	nobles of Tomaj k.	1250/1263	1520	MRT I 27–28; <i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> [Badacsony].
216.	Tomajmonostora	?	OSB	des. Tomaj cca. Abádszalók	Heves	Abád fam. Tomaj k.	b1322	cca1349	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , III: 142.
	Topuszkó (Toplica)	H. Virgin	OCist	Topusko, CRO	Zágráb	f: Andrew II	1203/1208	a1523	
	Torda	H. Virgin	Er. A.	Turda, RO	Torda	f. Charles Robert Anjou	1331b	cca1556	Entz 1996, 489–490;
	Torda	?	OSB?	Bihartorda or Pusztatorda?	Bihar	?	b1221	?	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 514–515; MRT VI 171.
	Toronyalja	St.Michael	OSPPE	Kóspallag	Nógrád	f: Louis I Anjou (the great)	1351/1381	1543	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	T I	?	Can. A.	Gyulaj – Túri-erd , Templomdomb	Tolna	?	1275/1342	?	K. Németh 2011: 74.
217.	Tömpösmonostor	H. Virgin	OSB?	des. Tömpös cca. Makó	Csanád	Csanád k.	b1247	cca1300	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 874–875.
	Trencsén	?	OFMconv.	Trencsén	Trencsén	f. Máté Csák	1301	1531	

	Túróc	H. Virgin	OPraem	Klaštor pod Znievom	Túróc	f: Béla IV	1251	1541	
218.	Türje	H. Virgin	OPraem	Türje	Zala	Türje k.	1230	1550	Valter 2004 67–69.
219.	Ugramonostora	H. Virgin	OSB?	Biharugra	Bihar	Borsa k.	b1214	cca1350	MRT VI 25–27.
	Újhely	King St.Stephan	Er. A.	Sátorajaujhely	Zemplén	f: Charles Robert Anjou	b1324	1546	
	Újhely	St.Giles	OSPPE	Sátorajaujhely	Zemplén	f: Béla IV	1258	1578	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
220.	Újlak	St. Anne	Er. A.	Ilok, CRO	Valkó	Újlaki fam.	1344	1526	
221.	Újlak	H. Virgin	OFMobs.	Ilok, CRO	Valkó	f: Ugrin of Csák k.	1250/ 1300	1526	
222.	Ungvár	Corpus Christi	OSPPE	Ungvár, UA	Ung	Homonnai Drugeth fam.	1384	1587	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
223.	Uzsa	H. Spirit	OSPPE	Lesenceistvándi-uzsa	Zala	Uzsai fam.	1320/133 3	1455	<i>MRT I 111; F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Ürög	H. Virgin	Can. A.	Pécs	Baranya	?	1218	1543	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 170-172.
	Vác	St.James	Er. A.	Vác	Nógrád	f: L. rinc, bishop of Vác	1319	1541	
	Várad	H. Virgin	Coll.	Nagyvárad / Oradea, RO	Bihar	f: Csanád, provost of Várad	1320	1560	

	Várad	St.Francis	OFMconv.	Nagyvárad / Oradea, RO	Bihar	bishop of Várad	b1298	1557	
	Várad	?	OFMbeg	Nagyvárad / Oradea, RO	Bihar	Chapter of Várad	1318	1557	
	Várad-Kápolna	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Nagyvárad / Oradea, RO	Bihar	bishop of Várad	1280/1294	1564	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Várad-Olaszi	St.Nicholas	Er. A.	Nagyvárad / Oradea, RO	Bihar	bishop of Várad	b1339	a1551	
	Várad-Velence	St. Anne	Clarisses	Nagyvárad / Oradea, RO	Bihar	f: Bátori András, bishop of Várad	1338/1340	1556	
	Váradhegyfok	St.Stephan prot. mart.	OPraem	Nagyvárad / Oradea, RO	Bihar	f: Stephan II	1130	1560	
224.	Várhely	H. Virgin& All Saints	OSPPE	CsáktomyaSzent Ilona /Šenkovec, CRO	Zala	Lackfi fam	1376	1570	<i>F. Romhányi 2010</i> [Csáktomya].
	Varasd	St.John Bapt.	OFMconv.	Varazdin, CRO	Varasd	?	1250 /1300	1786	
	Vásárhely	H. Virgin	OFMobs.	Marosvásárhely / Târgu Mureș, RO	Székelyföld	?	cca1350	1556	
	Vásárhely	St. Lamberth	OSBn	Somlyóvásárhely / Apácasomlyó	Veszprém	f: St. Stephan I?	b1100	1594	

	Vaska	St. Martin	OSBorCan. A	Vaška, CRO	Verce	?	b1300	1526	
	Vasvár	St. Michael	Coll.	Vasvár	Vas	f: Béla III	1172/1196	cca1600	
	Vasvár	H. Cross	OP	Vasvár	Vas	f: Béla IV?	1230/1244	1569	
	Verbice	?	OFM	Vrbica, CRO	Valkó	?	cca1350	?	
225.	Veresmart	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Abasár-Pálosveresmart	Heves	Csobánka br. Abak.	1304	1571/1590	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Verce	H. Virgin	OFMconv.	Virovitica, CRO	Verce	f: queen Mary, wife of Béla IV	b1250	1552	
	Verce	H. Saviour	OP	Virovitica, CRO	Verce	f: Béla IV	1242	1553	
	Veszprém	All Saints	Coll.	Veszprém	Veszprém	royal	b 1350	1552	
	Veszprém	St. Catherine	OPn	Veszprém	Veszprém	f: Bertalan, bishop of Veszprém	1240	1552	
	Veszprémvölgy	H. Virgin	greek rite nunnery ⁴⁷	Veszprém	Veszprém	f: St. Stephan I	b1020	1543	

⁴⁷ Transformed into a Cistercian nunnery around 1220.

226.	Vetahida	St. Nicholas	OSPPE	des cca. Lengyeltóti	Somogy	?	1317	1555	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
227.	Vidmonostora	H. Cross	?	des. Hajduvid cca. Hajdu-böszörmény	Szabolcs	Gutkeled k.?	b1216	1335	<i>Németh 1997, 203;</i>
228.	Villye	H. Virgin	OSPPE	Villya / Vovkove, UA	Ung	Császlóci fam.	1380	1543	<i>F. Romhányi 2010.</i>
	Visegrád	?	Bas	Visegrád	Pilis				
	Visegrád	?	Er. A.	Visegrád	Pilis				
	Zágráb	?	OFMconv.	Zagreb, CRO	Zágráb				
	Zágráb	?	OP	Zagreb, CRO	Zágráb				
	Zágráb	?	OCist	Zagreb, CRO	Zágráb				
	Zákánymonostor	?	?	Monostor / M n t ur, RO	Arad	?	b1300?	?	<i>Györfly, ÁTF, I: 181–182.</i>
	Zalavár	?	OSB	Zalavár	Zala				
229.	Zámmonostora	H. Cross	OSB?	des. cca. Hortobágy	Szabolcs	Káta k.	b1220	cca1350	<i>Németh 1997, 205–206;</i>
	Zebegény	St. Michael	OSB	Szebény	Baranya	royal	b1251	1483	
	Zebegény	St. Michael		Nagymaros,	Nógrád				

Szentmihályhegy									
230.	Zenta ⁴⁸	?	OSB?	Senta, SER	Bodrog	Haraszt k?	b1216	?	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , I: 726, 732.
	Zirc	?	OCist	Zirc	Veszprém				
	Zobor	?	OSB	Zobor-Nyitra / Nitra, SK	Nyitra				
	Zólyomlipcse	St.Nicholas	OFMconv.	Slovenská Lup a	Zólyom				
231.	Zovány	St.George	?	Szilágyzovány / Z uan, RO	Közép Szolnok	f.Jakab of Kusaly	b1300	cca1440	Entz 1996, 512.
232.	Zsámbék	St.John Bapt.	OPraem	Zsámbék	Pilis	Aynard k.	1205/1222	1541	
233.	Zselicszentjakab	St. James	OSB	Kaposszentjakab	Somogy	Gy r k.	1061	1543	Kumrovitz 1964.
234.	Zsidó	St.Blaise	OPraem	Vácegres	Pest	Zsidó k.	1241/1284	1541	Györffy, <i>ÁTF</i> , IV: 564-565.

⁴⁸ Known also as Salamonmonostora.

ILLUSTRATIONS

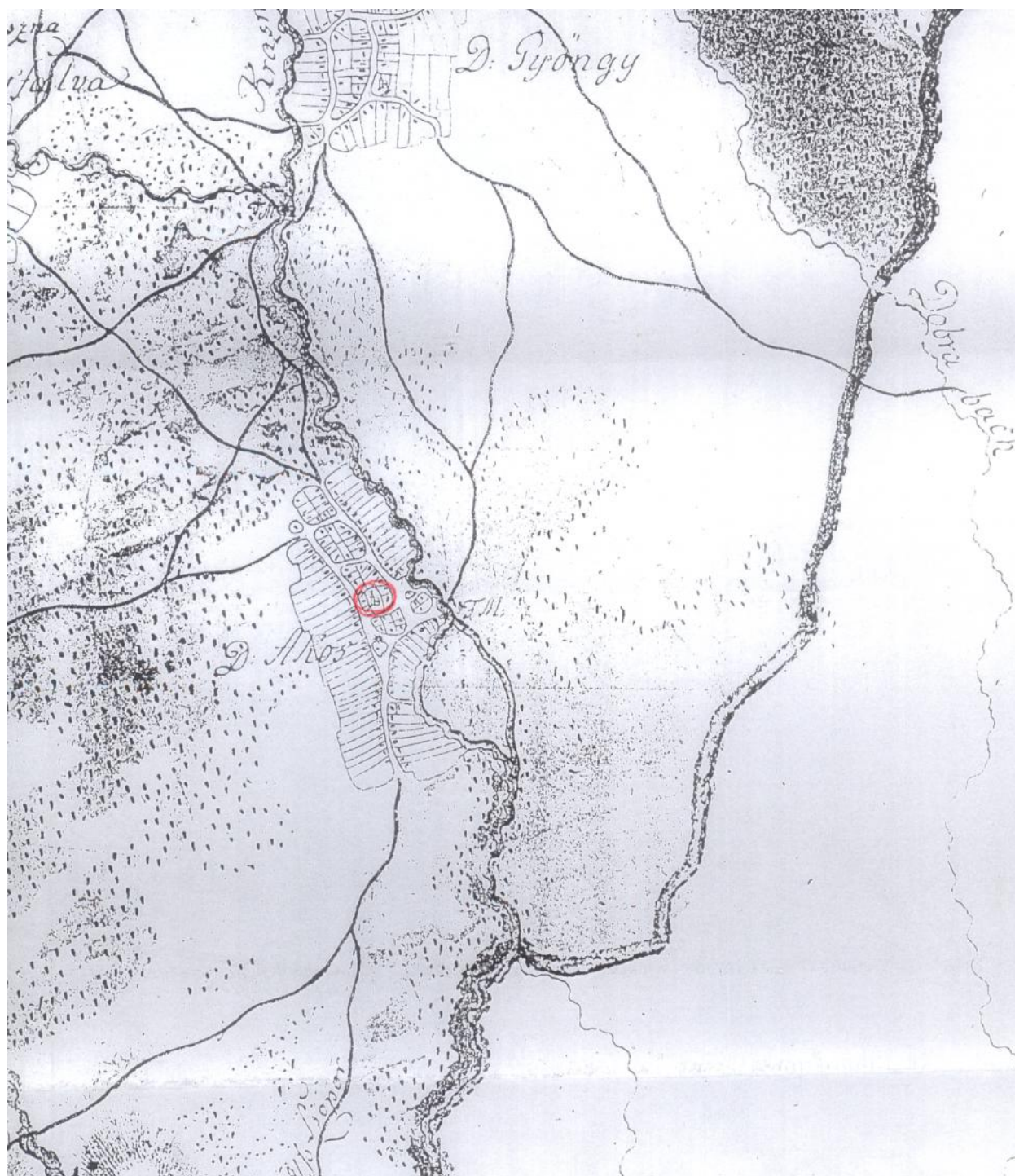


Fig. 1 First military survey-map of Transylvania, Col. XXVII, sect. 4. – Section with Ákos/Acâ - Institute of Military History, Budapest



Fig. 2 Third military survey-map of Hungary, 1869/70. Institute of Military History, Budapest



Fig. 3 Ákos, Calvinist Church, former Abbey. Southern view



Fig. 4 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Eastern view



Fig. 5 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Western façade



Fig. 6 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Northern façade



Fig. 7 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Detail with the decorations of the southern tower:
row of blind arches and twin windows



Fig. 8 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Southern Portal



Fig. 9 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Interior, view to the east



Fig. 10 Ákos, Calvinist Church. The southern side apse and view toward the main apse



Fig. 11 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Western gallery



Fig. 12 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Stairs to the western gallery



Fig. 13 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Niche of the altar from the south side apse
(research on the masonry by L. Kiss)



Fig. 14 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Stone frame of the altar niche from the south side apse (research on the masonry by L. Kiss)



Fig. 15 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Carved-stone capital of the pillars (research on the masonry by L. Kiss)



Fig. 16 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Northeastern view, before restoration. Forster Center, Budapest, Photo-Archive, 128246



Fig. 17 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Western view, before restoration. Forster Center, Budapest, Photo-Archive, 128255



Fig. 18 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Northern view, before restoration. Forster Center, Budapest, Photo-Archive, 128257



Fig. 19 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Eastern view, before restoration. Forster Center, Budapest, Photo-Archive, 145058



Fig. 20 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Interior, before restoration. View toward the Western Gallery, Forster Center, Budapest, Photo-Archive, 145058

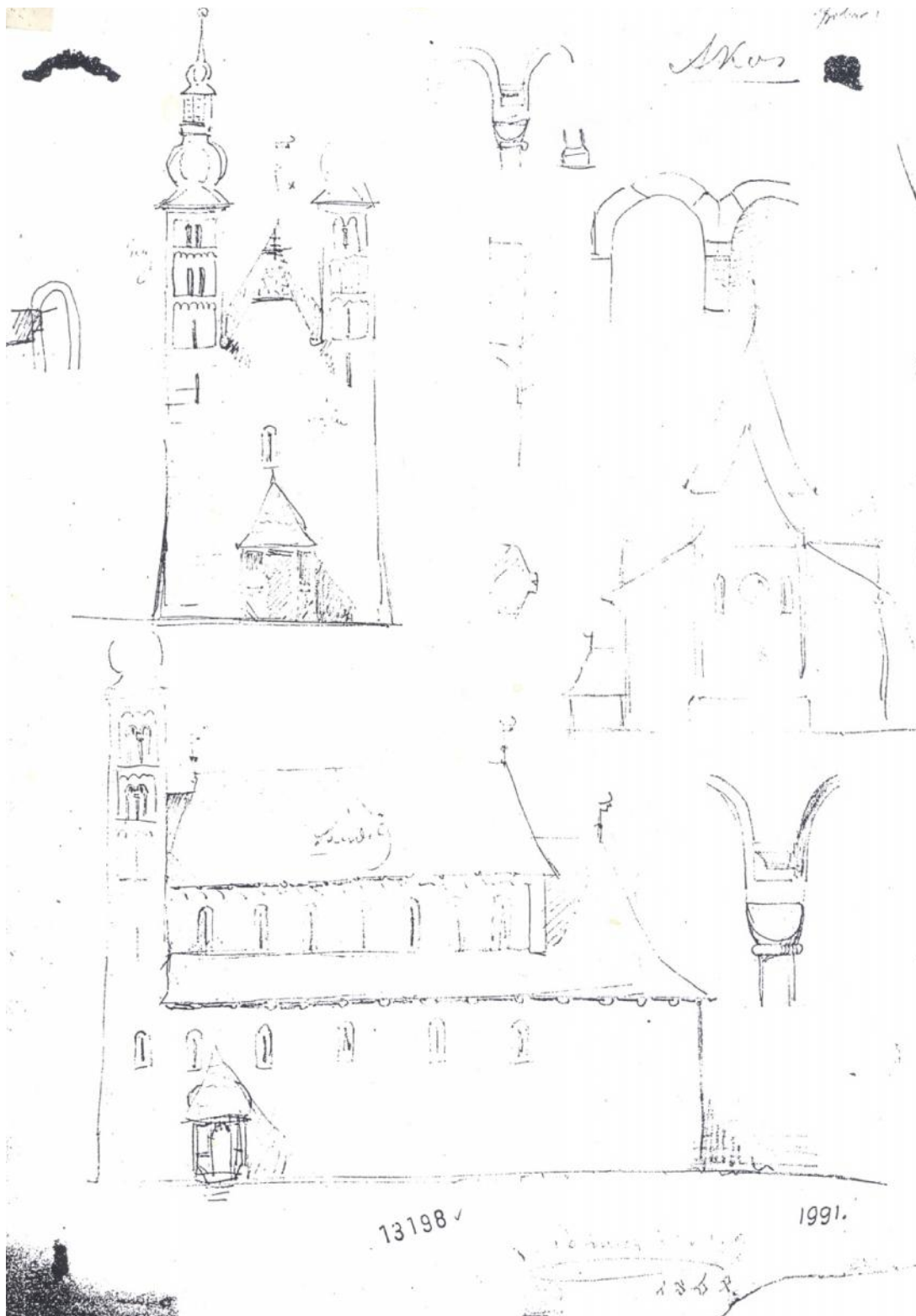


Fig. 21 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Sketch made by Rómer and Henszlmann. Forster Center, Budapest, Draft-Archive, 13198

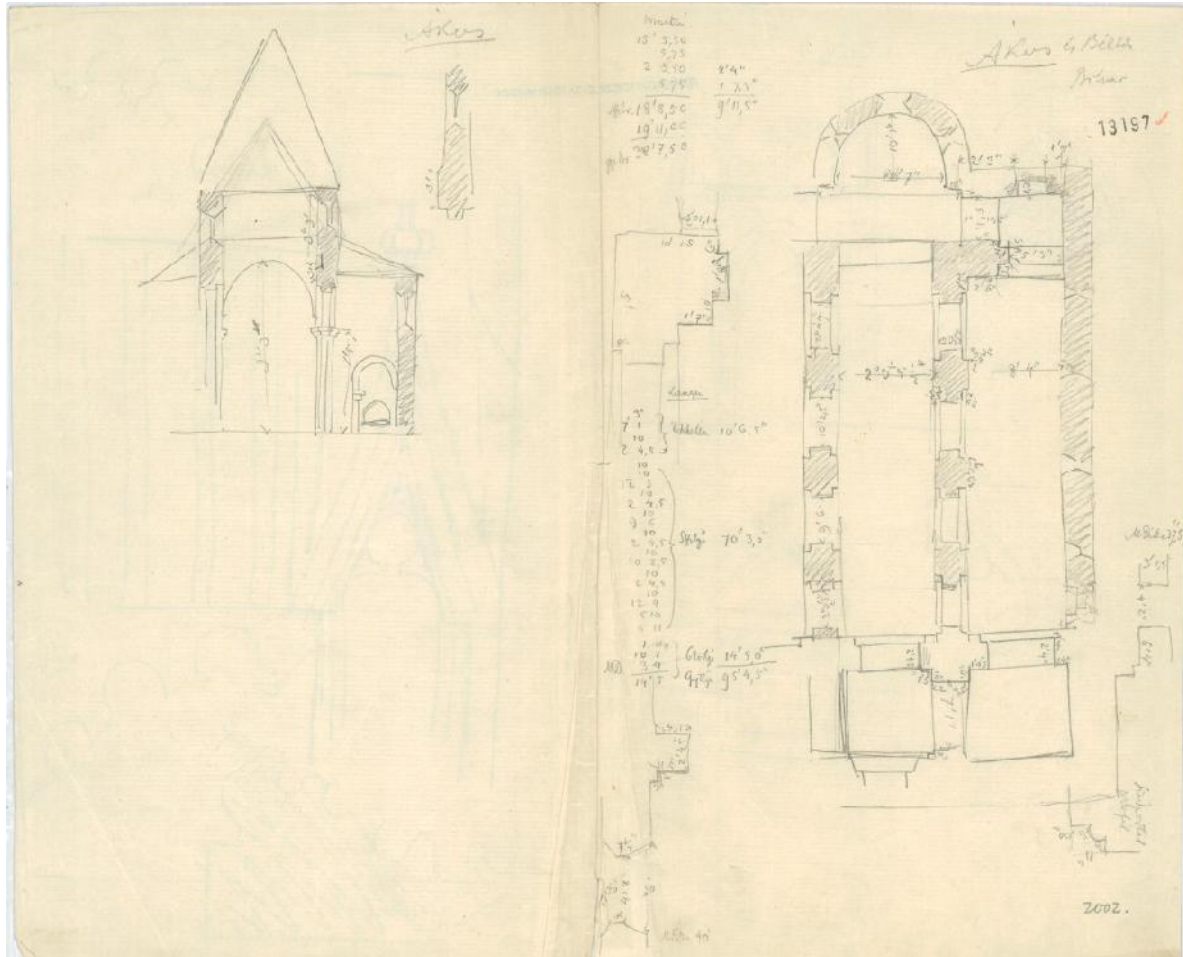


Fig. 22 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Sketch made by Rómer and Henszlmann. Forster Center, Budapest, Draft-Archive, 13197

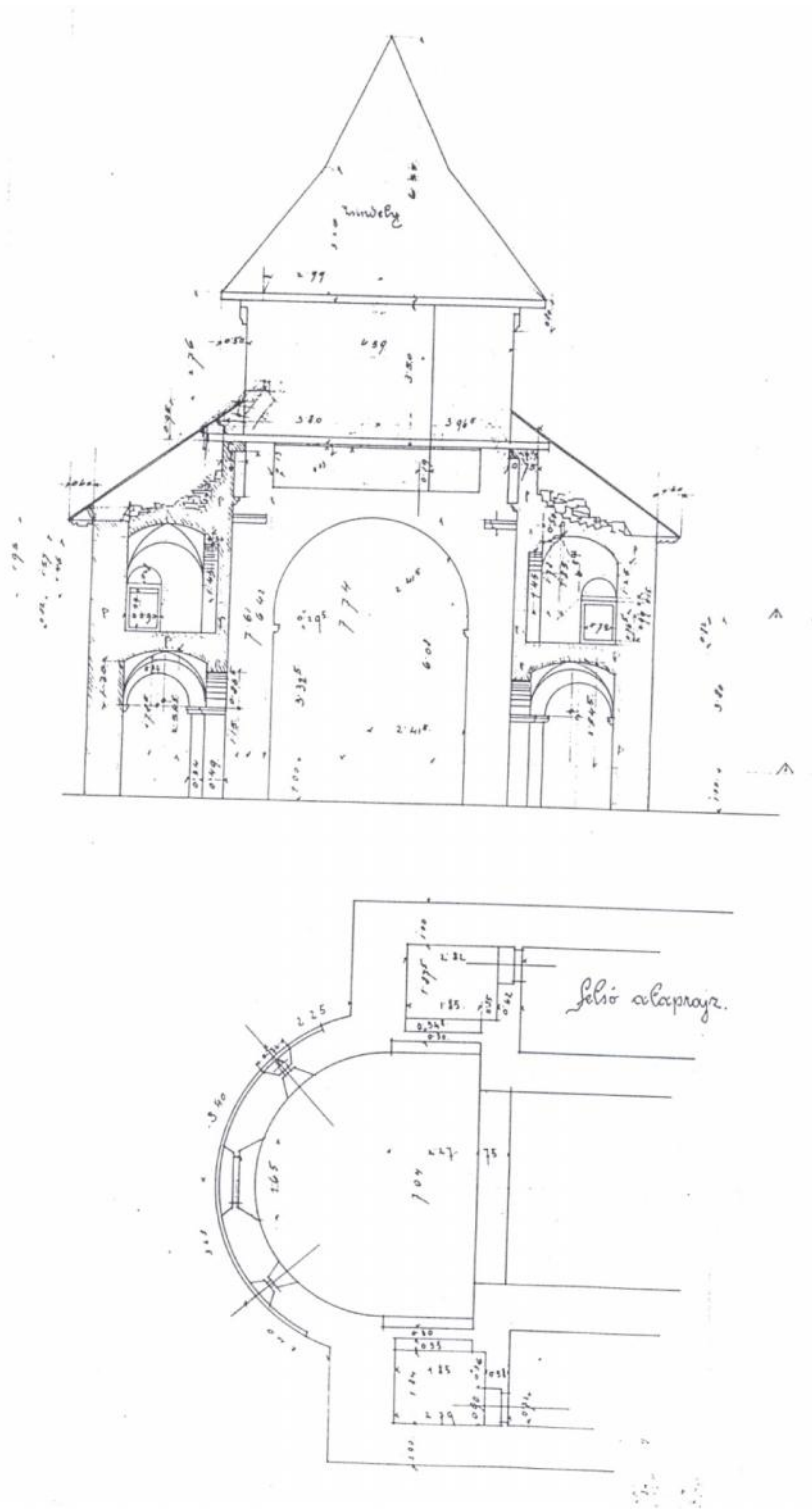
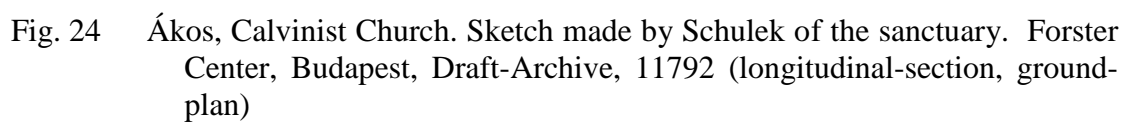
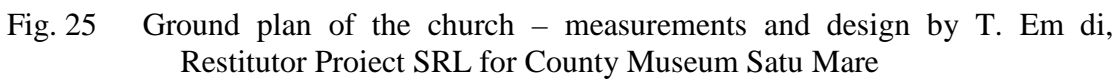


Fig. 23 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Sketch made by Schulek on the sanctuary. Forster Center, Budapest, Draft-Archive, 11792 (cross-section, ground-plan on the level of the oratory)





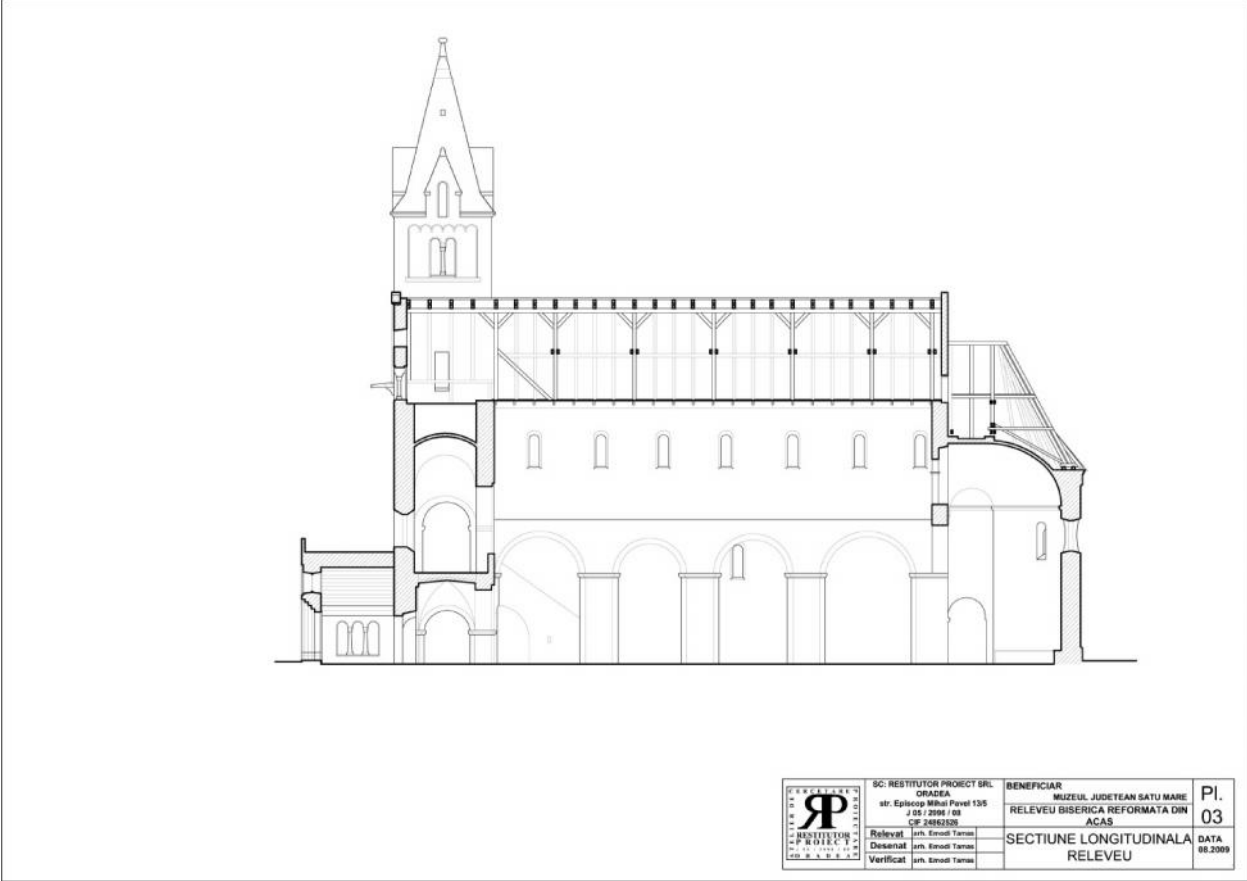


Fig. 26 Longitudinal section of the church – measurements and design by T. Em di, Restitutor Proiect SRL for County Museum Satu Mare

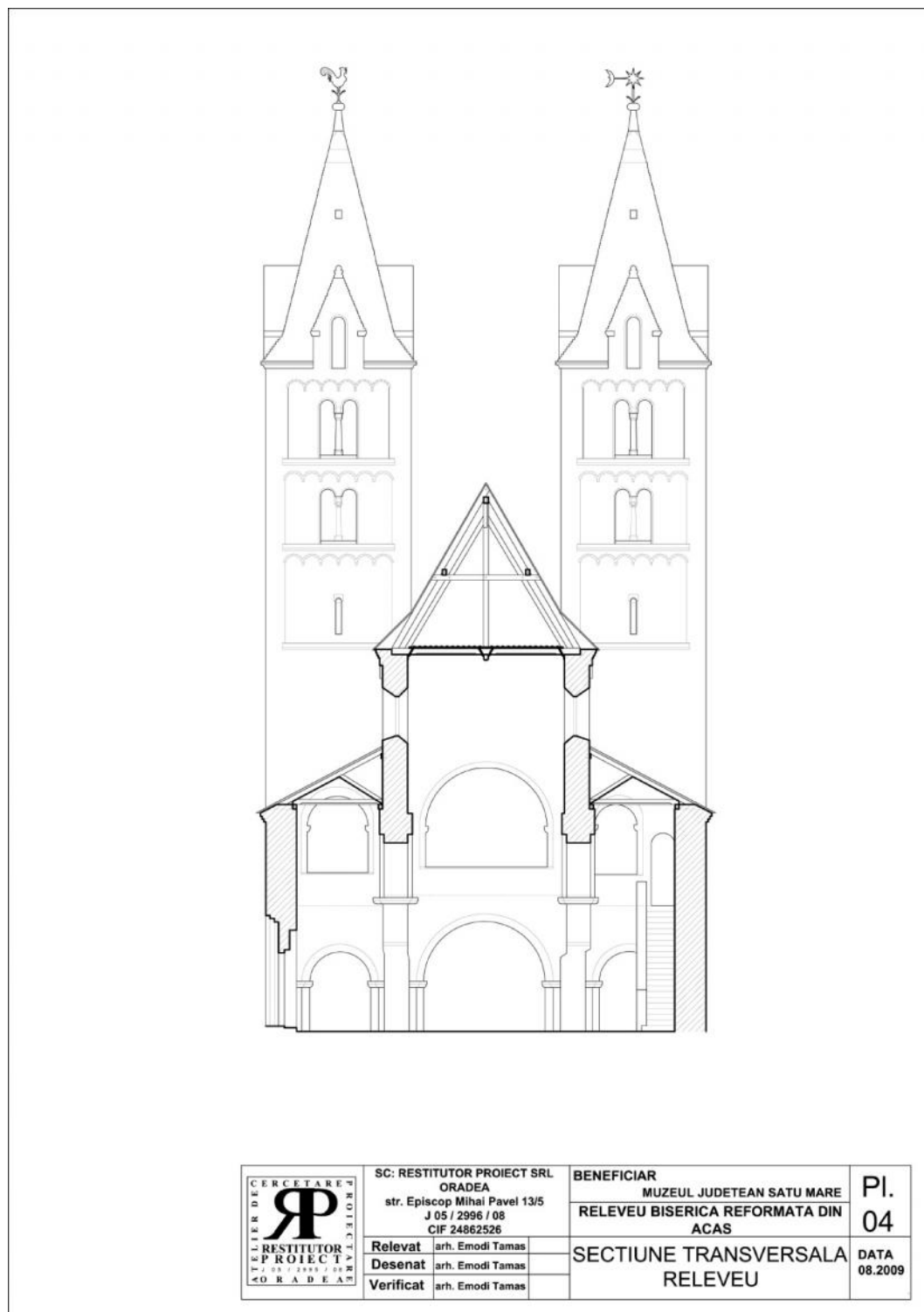


Fig. 27 Cross-section of the church – measurements and design by T. Em di, Restitutor Proiect SRL for County Museum Satu Mare



Fig. 28 Southern façade of the church, phases of masonry marked with colors – measurements and design by T. Em di, Restitutor Proiect SRL for County Museum Satu Mare

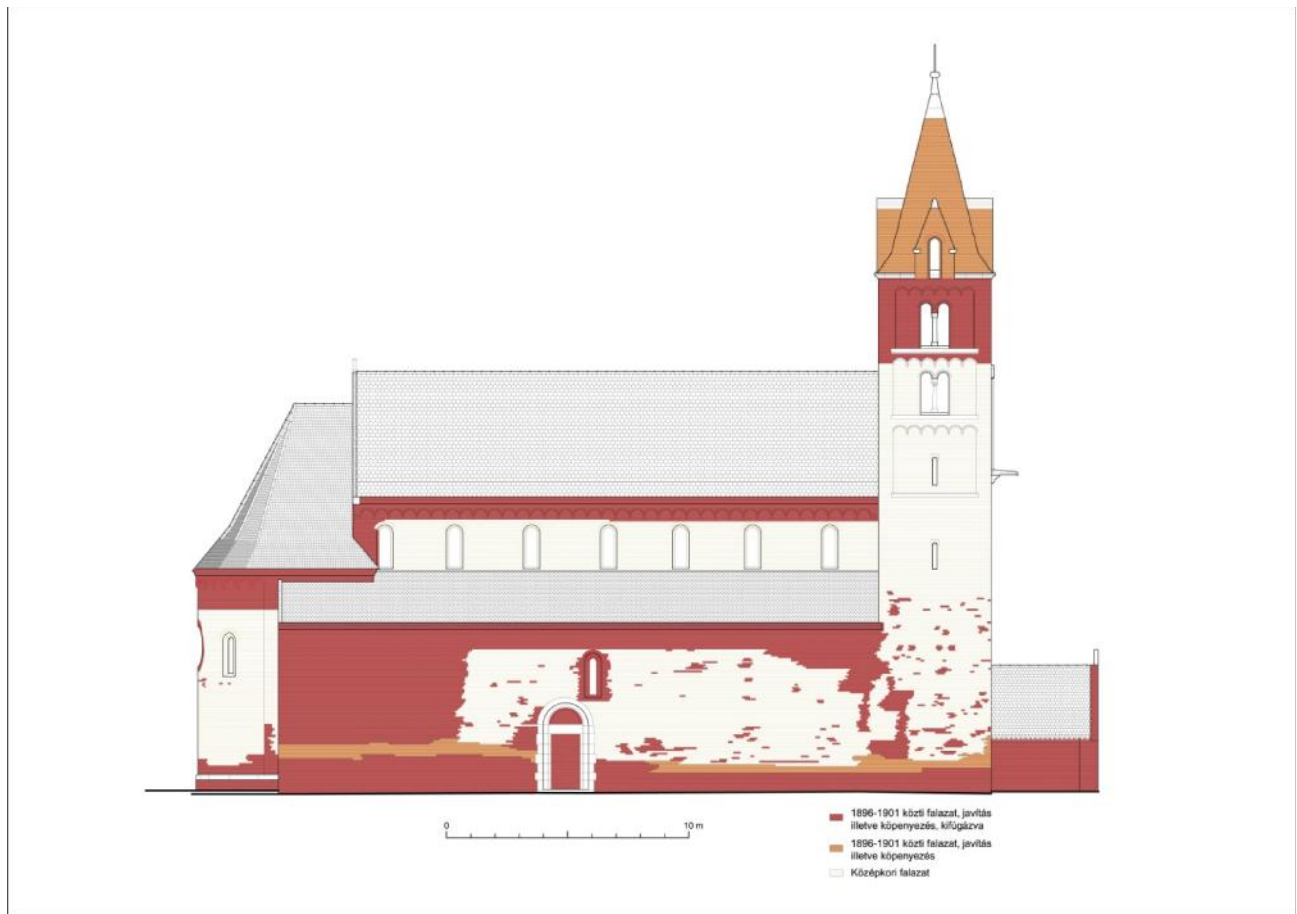


Fig. 29 Northern façade of the church, phases of masonry marked with colors – measurements and design by T. Em di, Restitutor Proiect SRL for County Museum Satu Mare

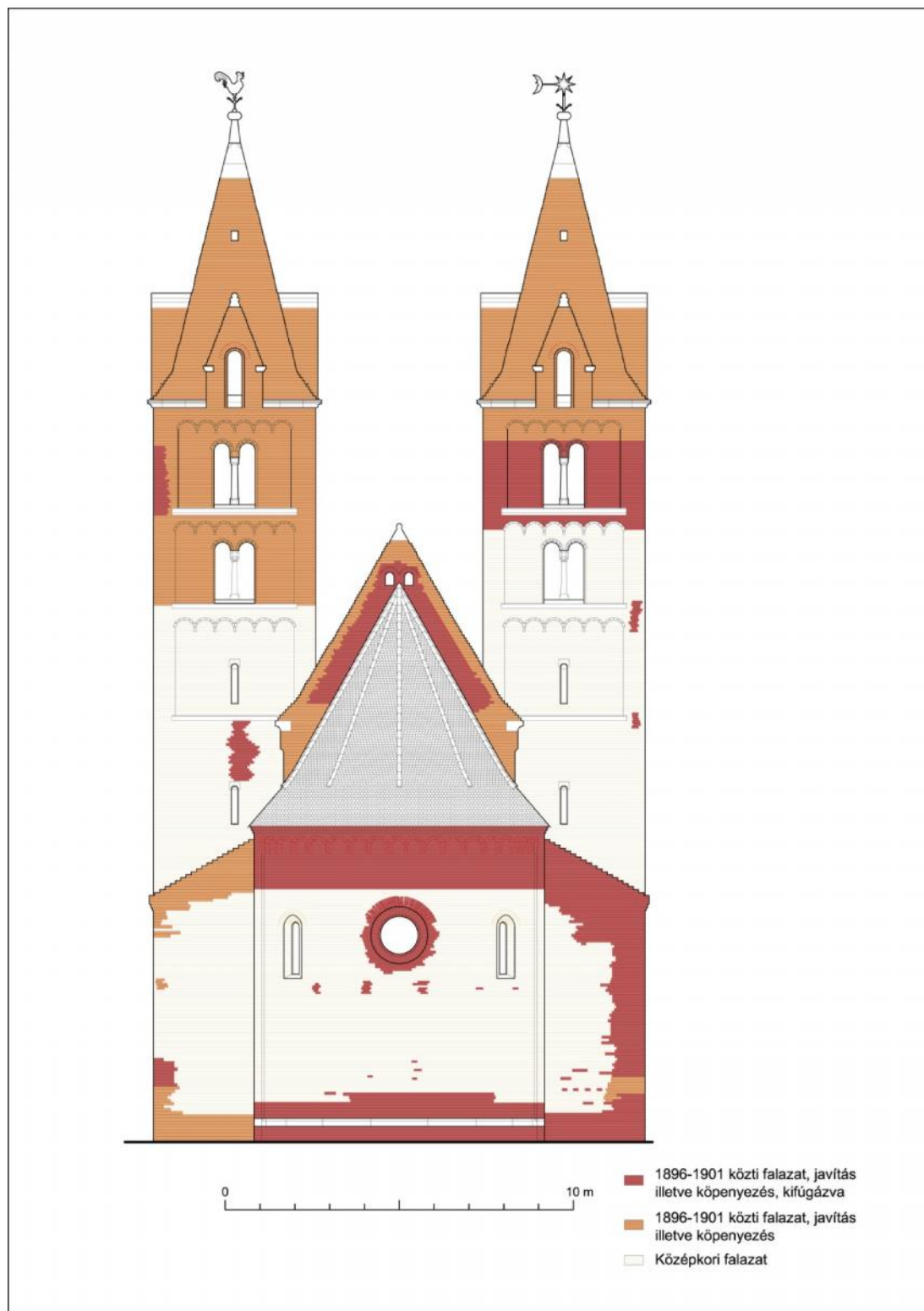


Fig. 30 Eastern façade of the church, phases of masonry marked with colors – measurements and design by T. Em di, Restitutor Proiect SRL for County Museum Satu Mare

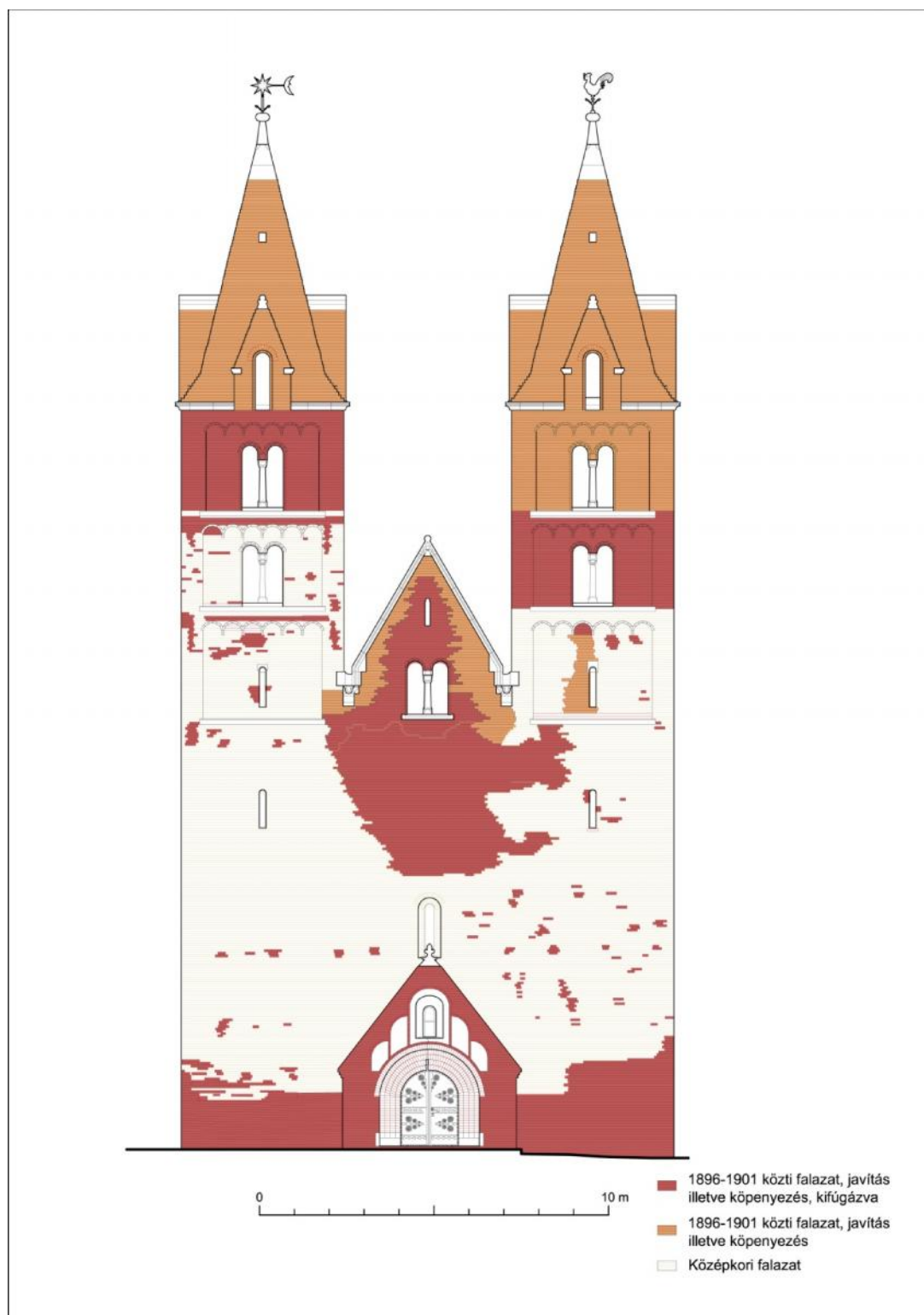


Fig. 31 Southern façade of the church, phases of masonry marked with colors – measurements and design by T. Em di, Restitutor Proiect SRL for County Museum Satu Mare

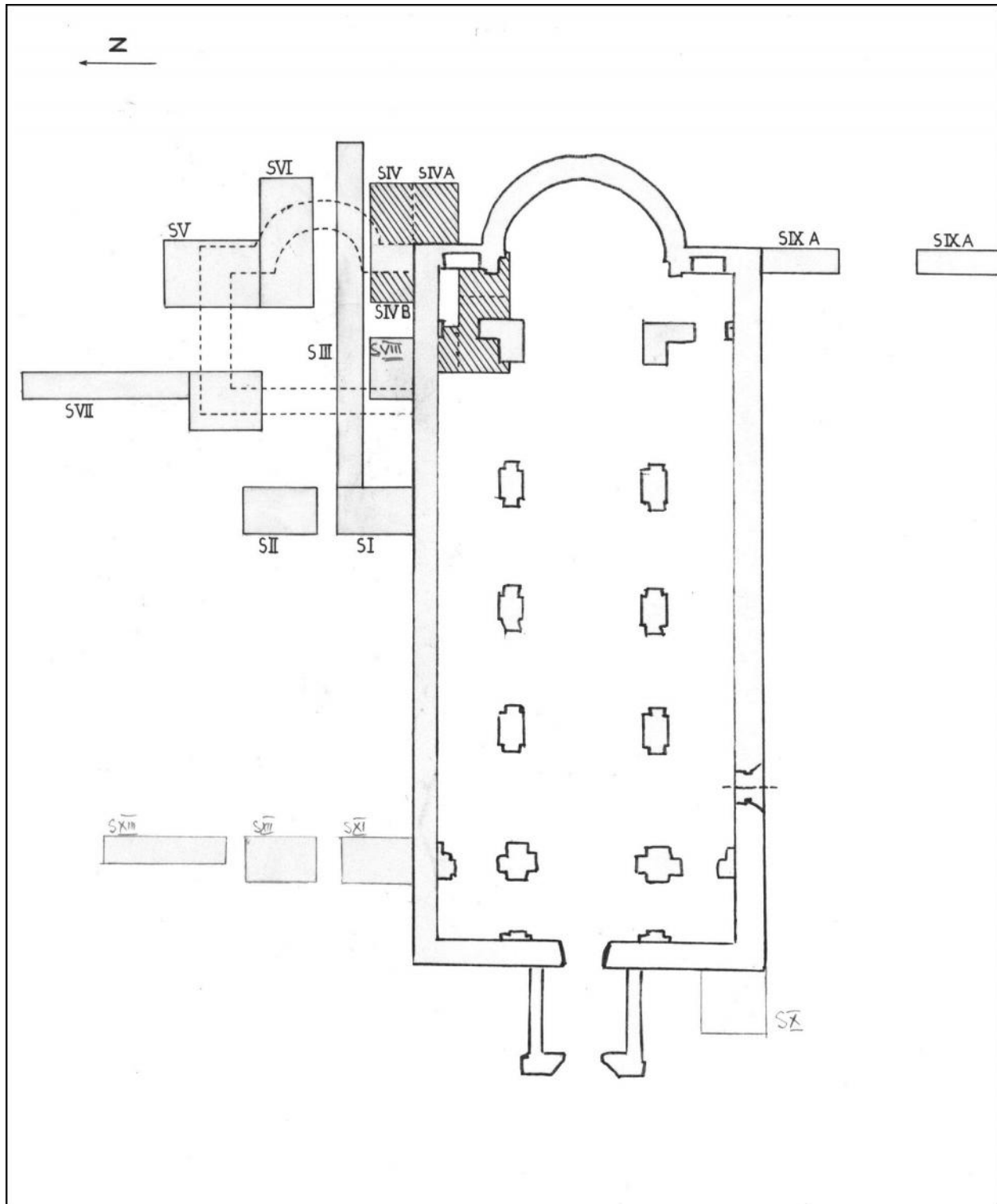


Fig. 32 Ground plan and the archaeological sections

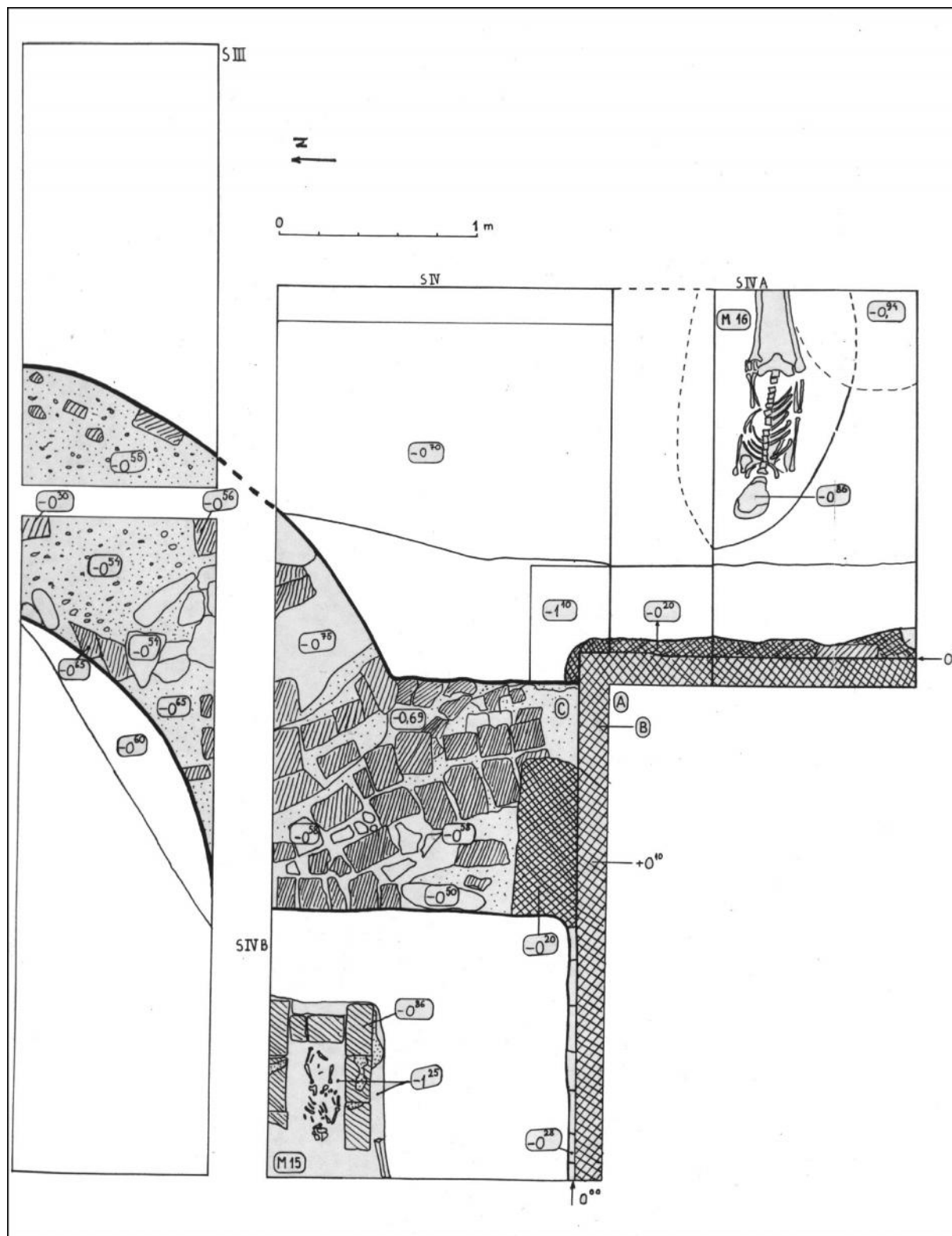


Fig. 33 The ground plan of the discovered foundation of the northeastern chapel – trench no. IV

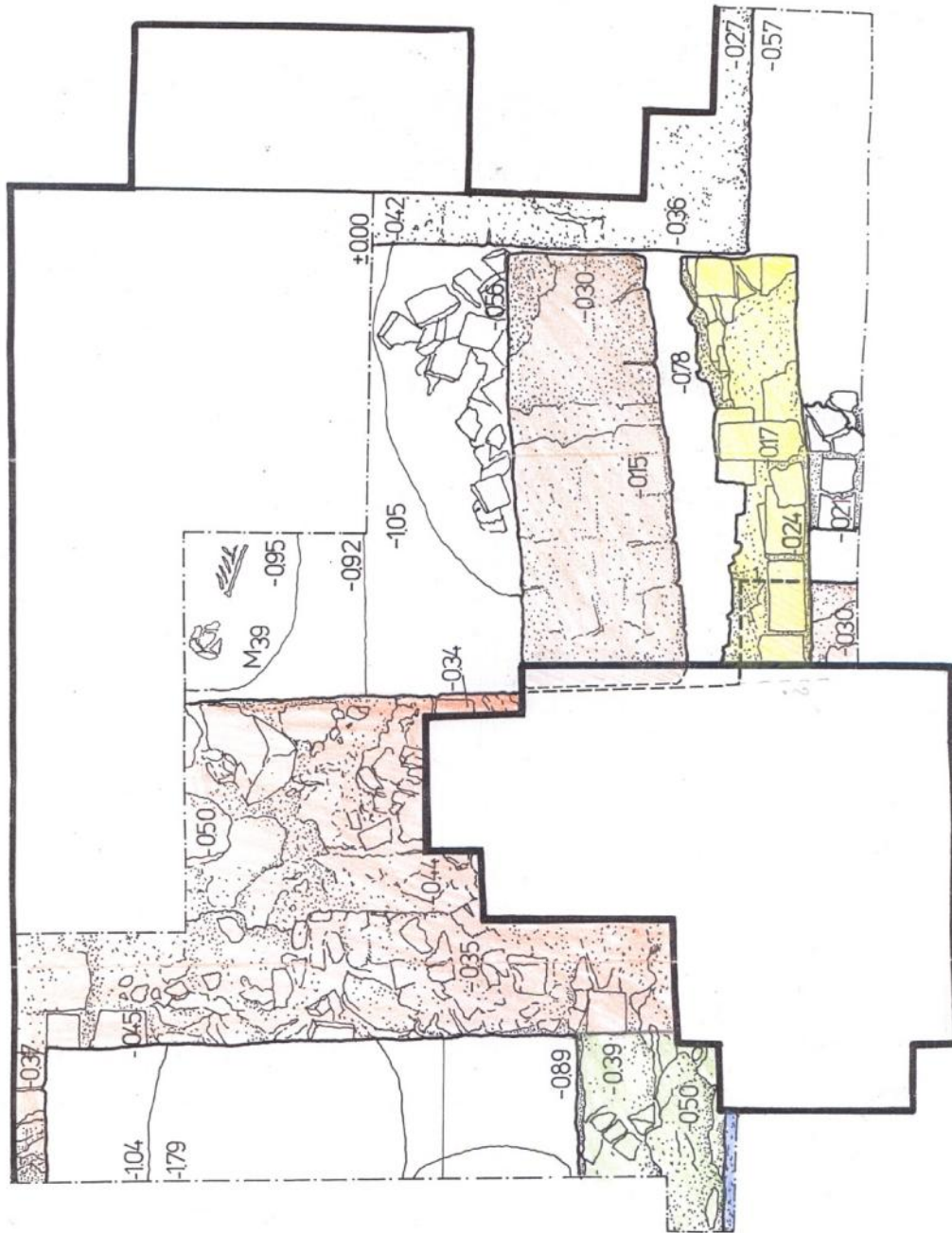


Fig. 34 The ground plan of trench CI, inside of the church

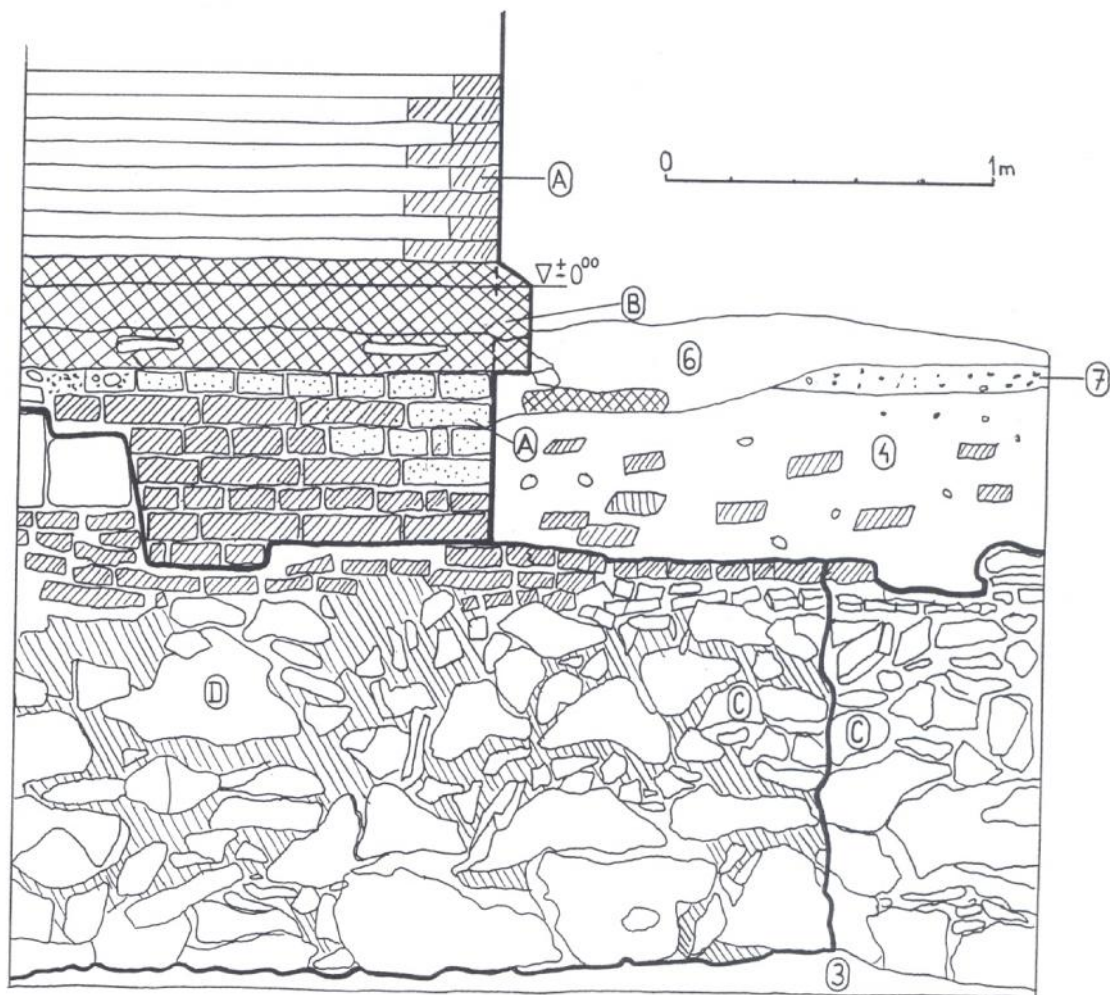


Fig. 35 Trench IV/A. Western Section

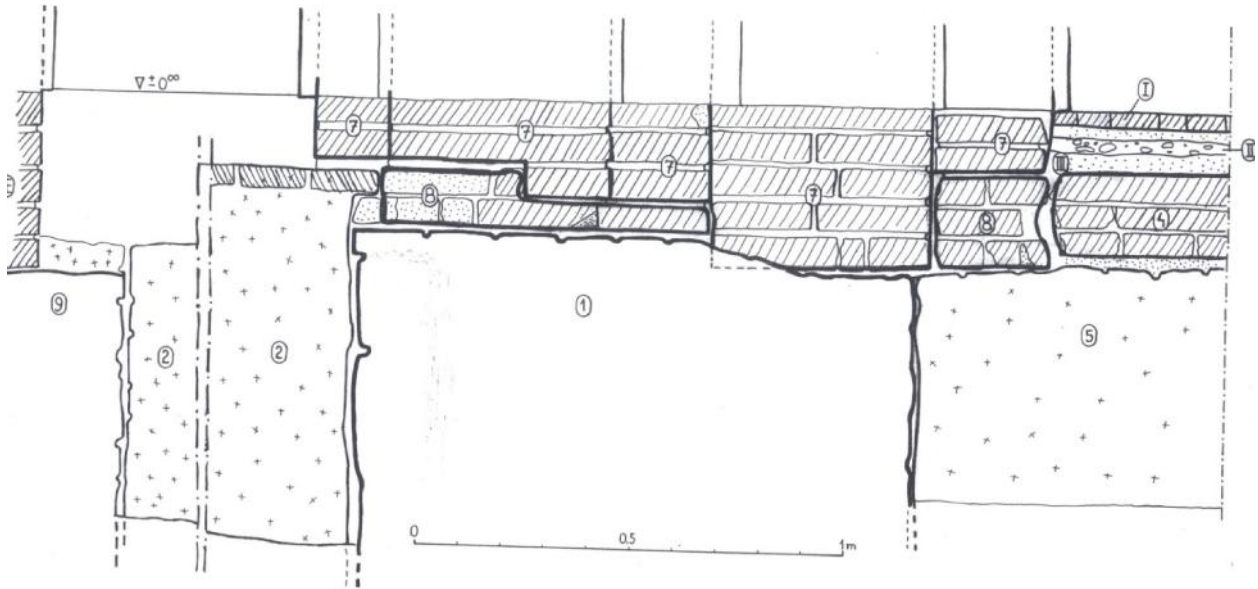


Fig. 36 Trench CI. Southern Section



Fig. 37 Trench IV/A. The foundations of the church and the side-chapel



Fig. 38 Trench IV. Southern section



Fig. 39 Trench CI in the interior, overview with the foundations

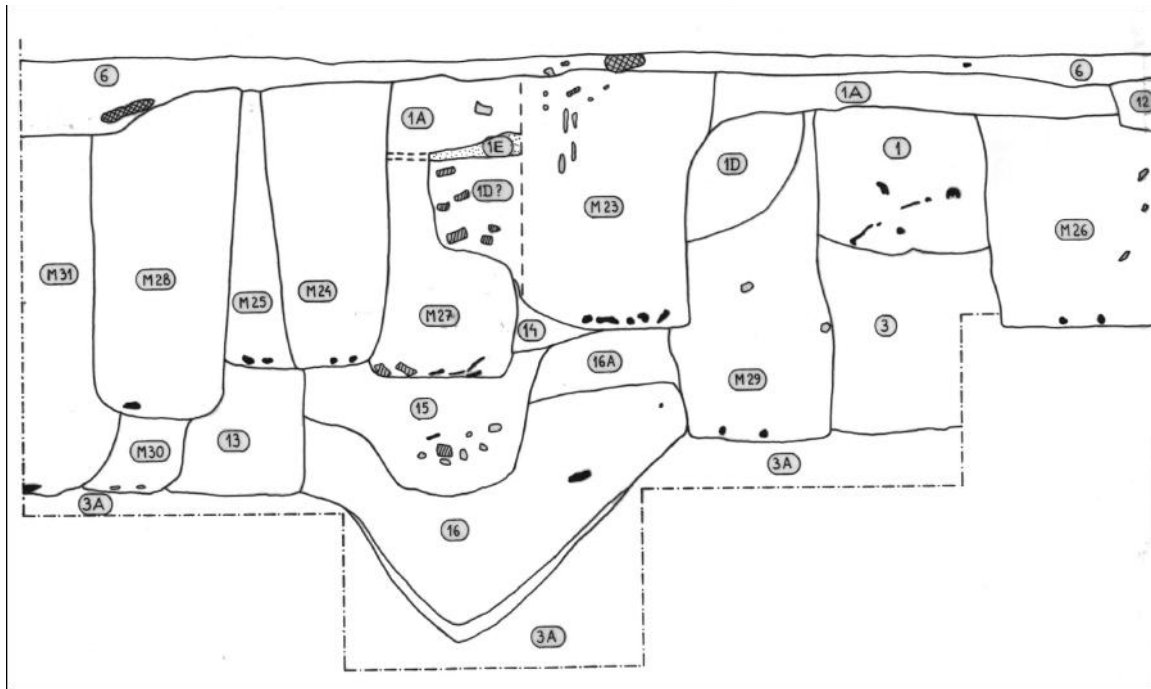


Fig. 40 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Trench VII. Eastern section – with the shape of the ditch which enclosed the medieval complex



Fig. 41 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Trench VII. The ditch which enclosed the medieval complex



Fig. 42 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Grave no. 15.



Fig. 43 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Grave nos. 57 and 58.



Fig. 44 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Bronz crucifix from grave no. 3.



Fig. 45 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Silver crucifix from grave no. 3.



Fig. 46 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Pearls from grave no. 3.

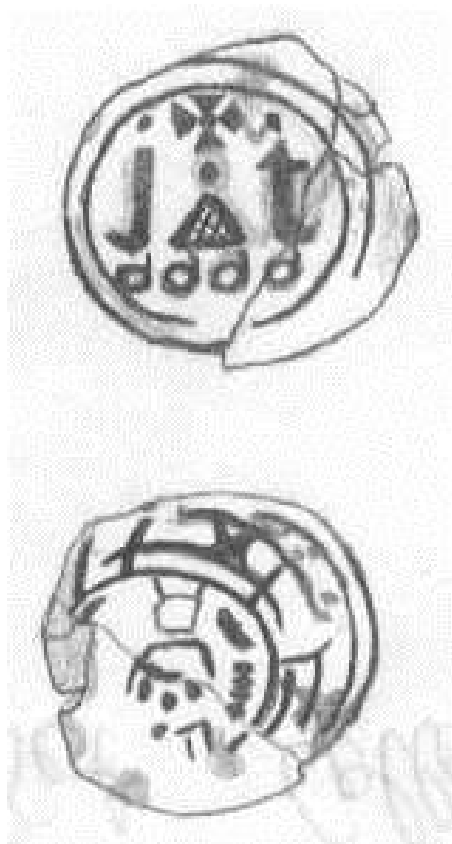


Fig. 47 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Coin from grave no. 18.



Fig. 48 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Lock-rings from grave no. 17.



Fig. 49 Ákos, Calvinist Church. Hairpin from grave no. 29.



Fig. 51 The block of the estates of the Ákos kindred along the Berettyó River, Bihar County, map after Jakó 1940

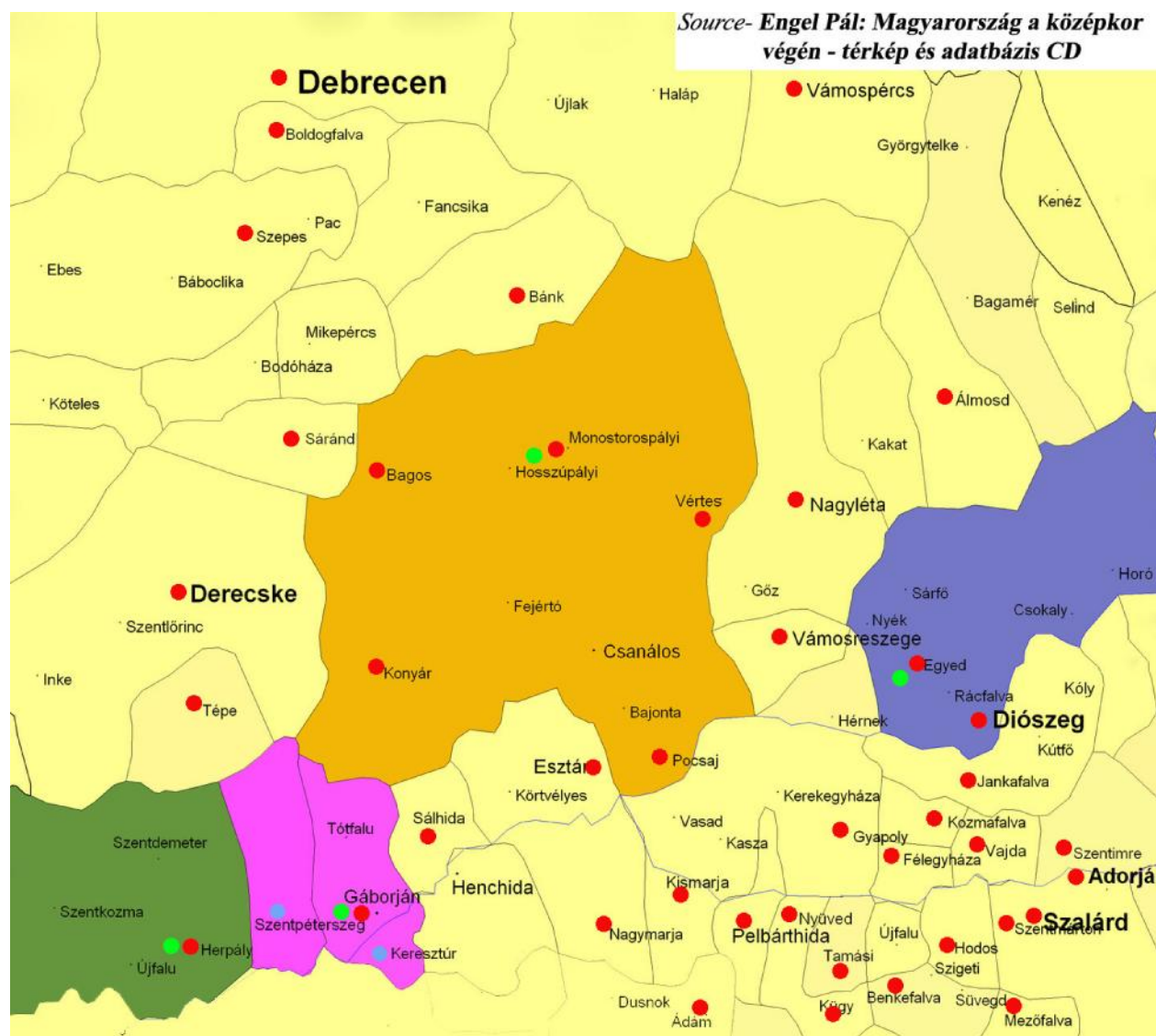


Fig. 52 Map with the monasteries, parishes and estates along the Berettyó River, Bihar County, map after Pál Engel (red dots: parishes mentioned in the papal tithe-list; green dots: monasteries)

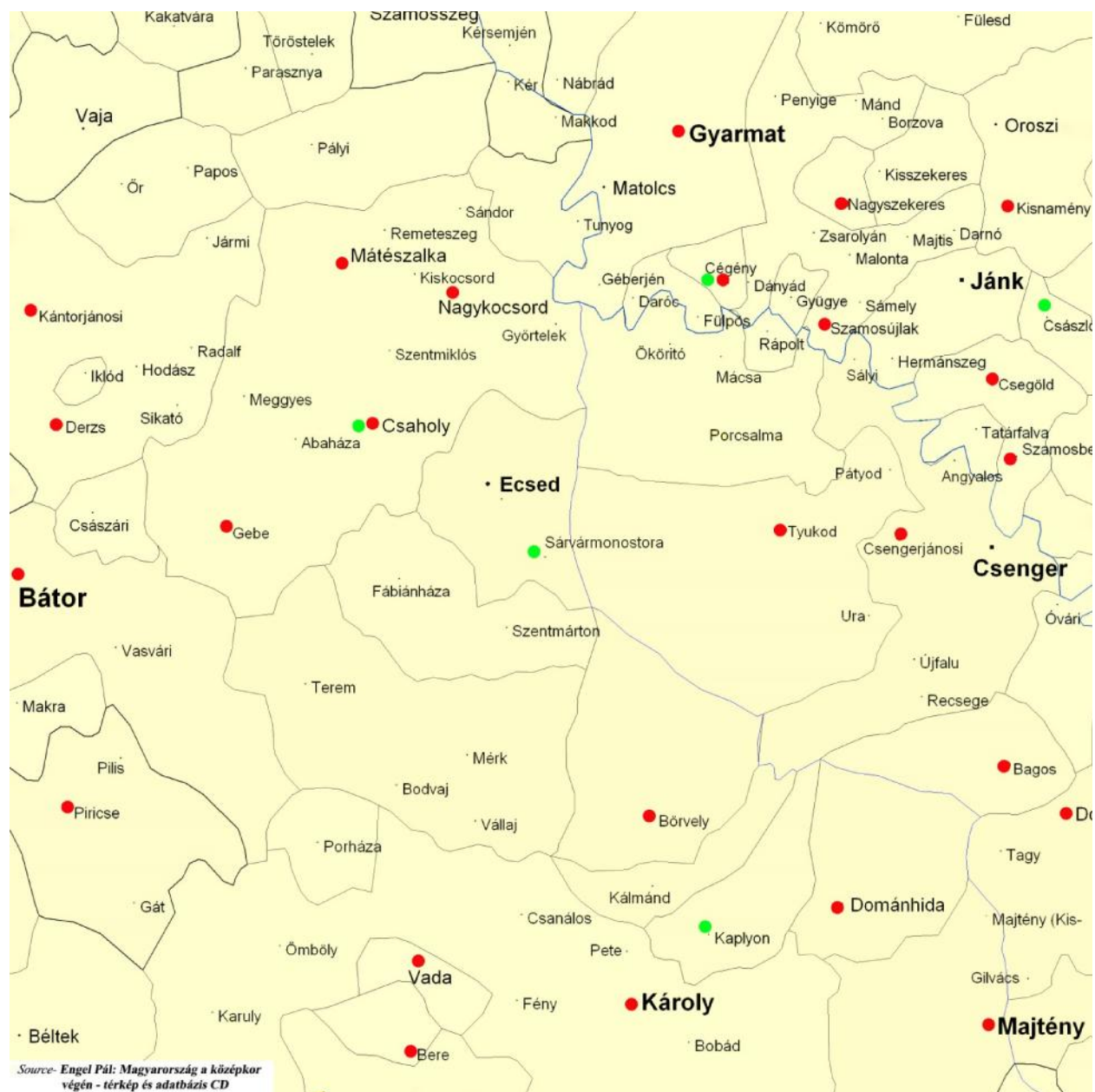


Fig. 53 Map with the monasteries, parishes and estates in Szatmár County, map after Pál Engel (red dots: parishes mentioned in the papal tithe-list; green dots: monasteries)

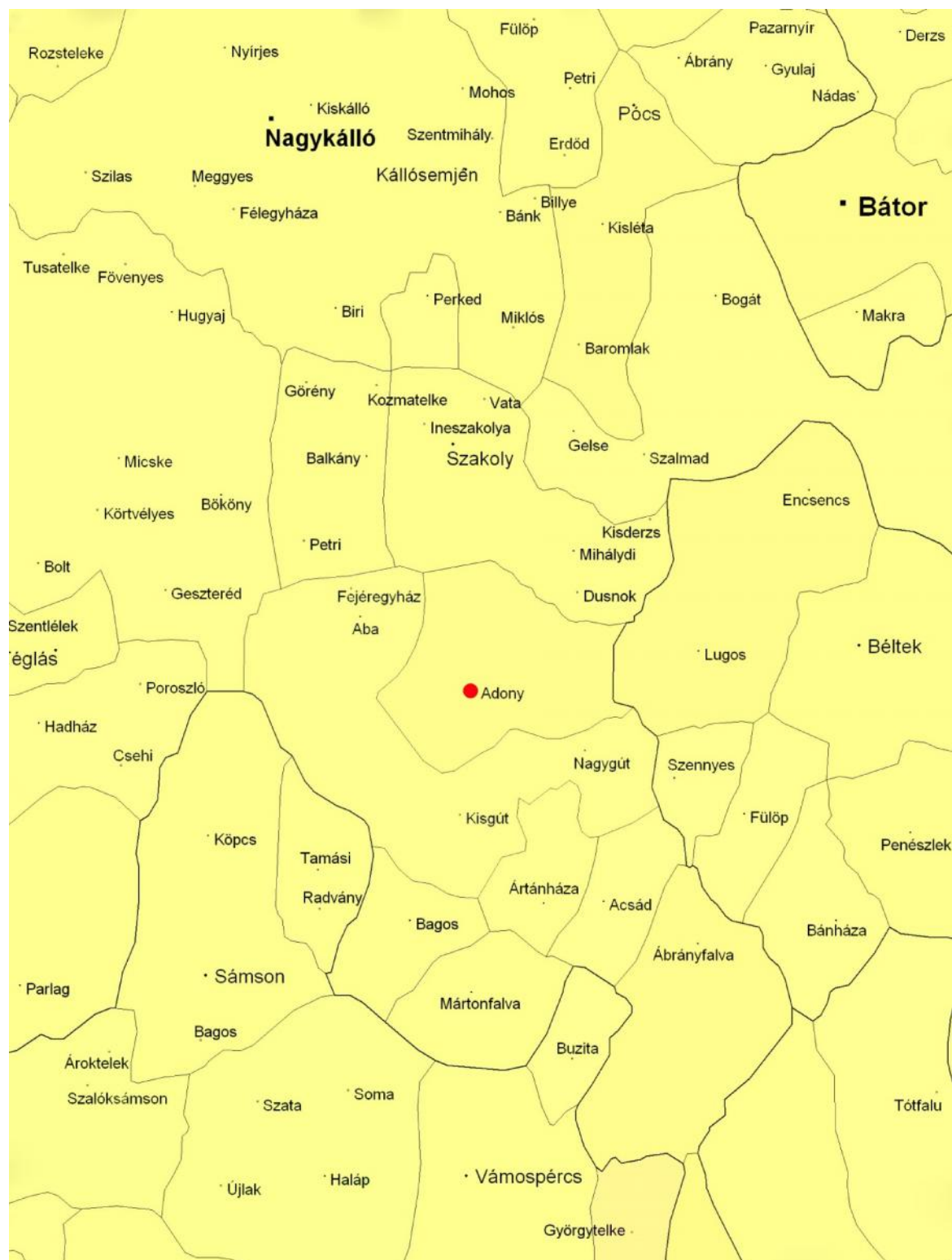


Fig. 54 Map with the monastery of (Nyír-)Adony, and the surrounding estates in Szabolcs County, map after Pál Engel (red dot: the only parish mentioned in the region in papal tithe-list)

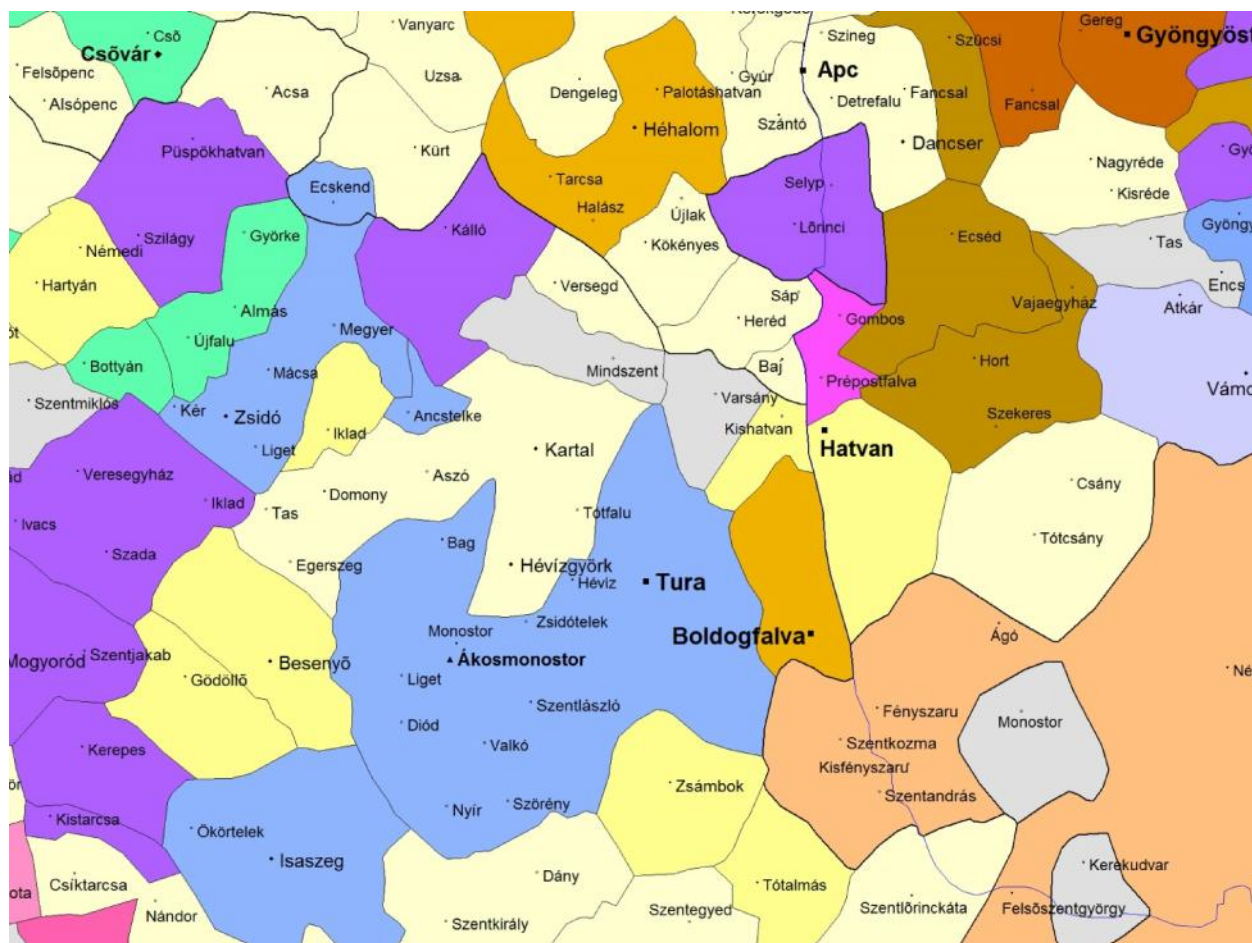


Fig. 55 Map with Ákosmonostora and the estate of the Ákos kindred along the Galga River, Pest County, map after Pál Engel

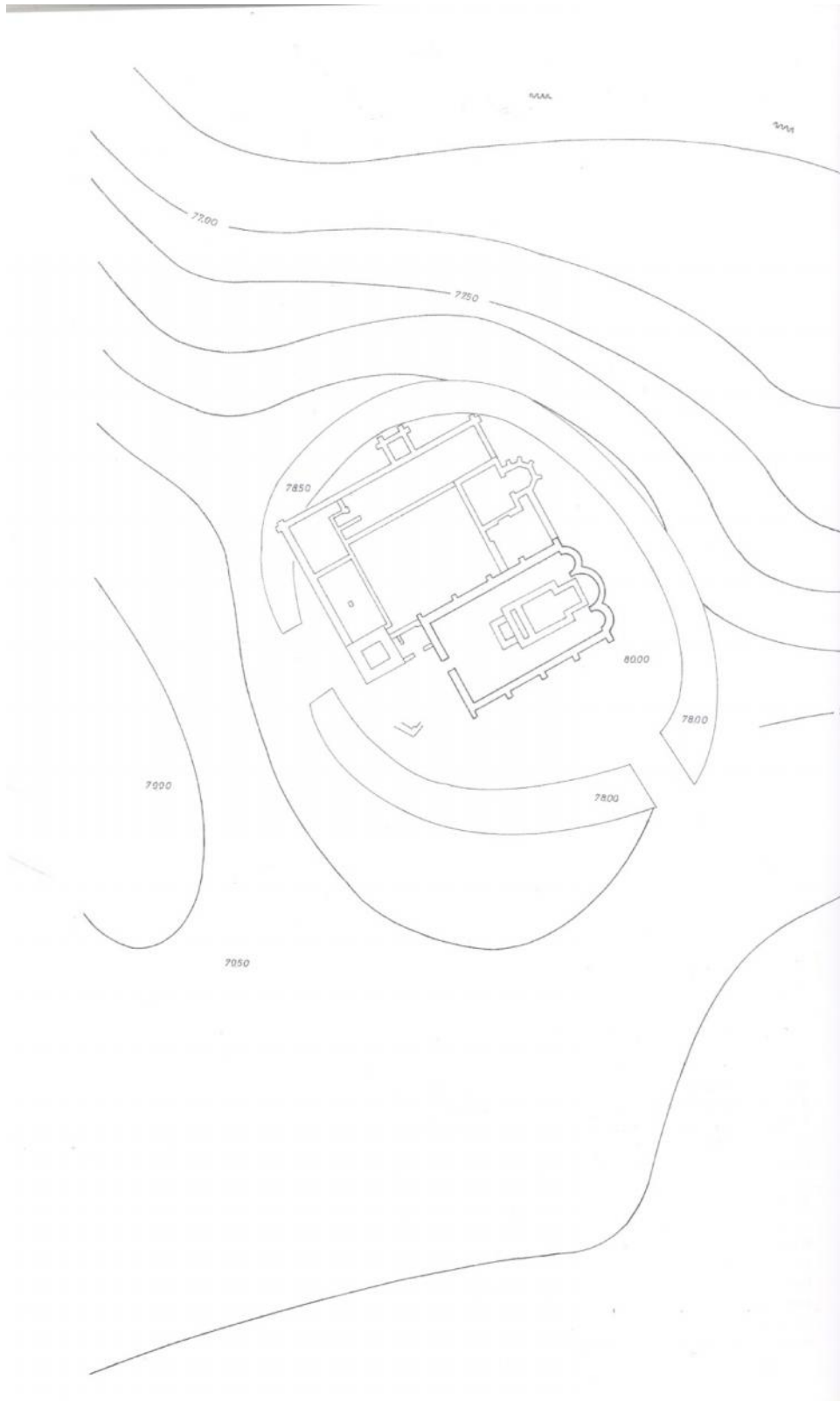


Fig. 56 Ground plan of the monastery of Aracs, after Stanojev 2012

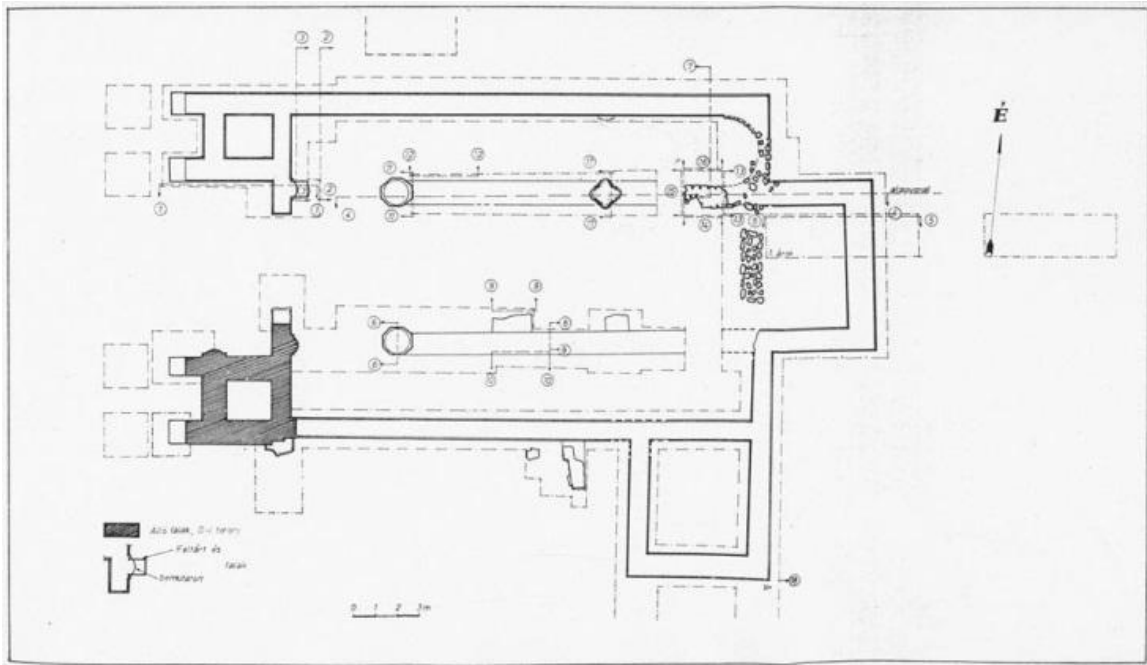


Fig. 57 Ground plan of the church-ruin at Herpály, after Módy 1979

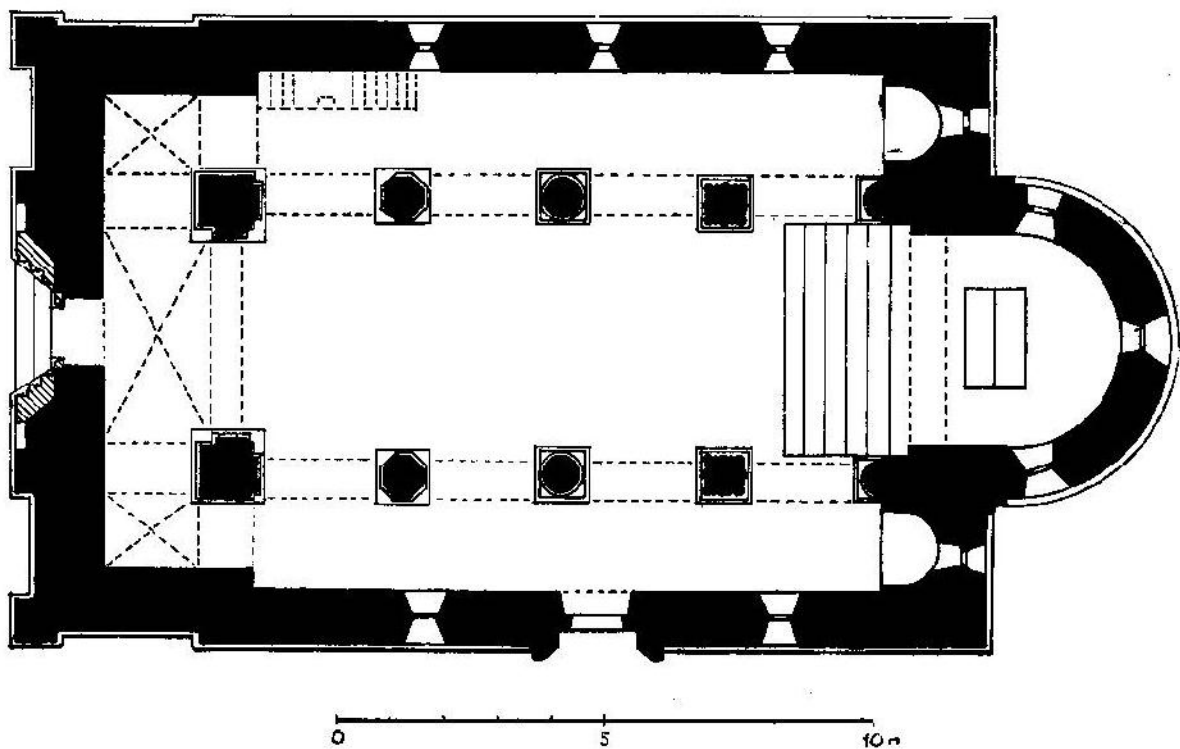


Fig. 58 Ground plan of the abbey church of Harina, after Gerevich 1938

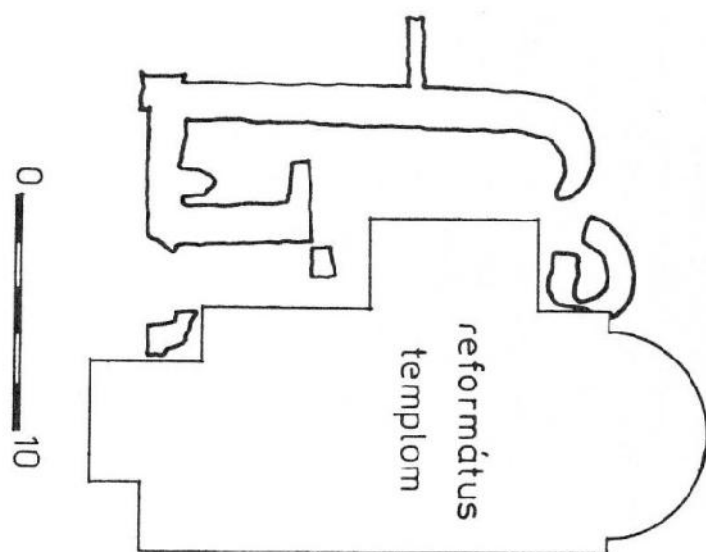


Fig. 59 Ground plan of the abbey church of (Monostoros-)Pályi, after Rácz 1984

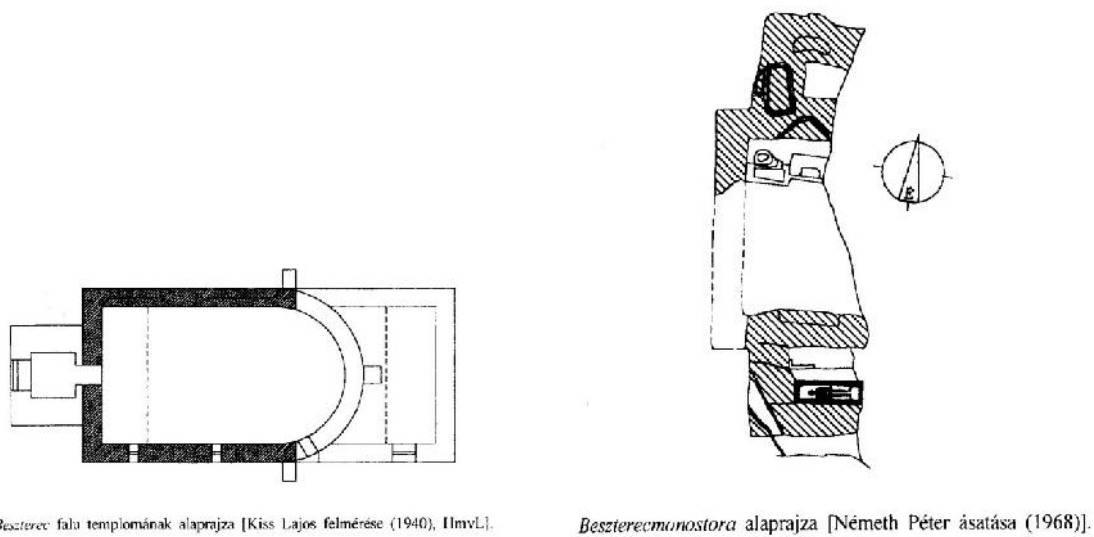


Fig. 60 Ground plan of the abbey and the parish church of Beszterec, after Németh 1997

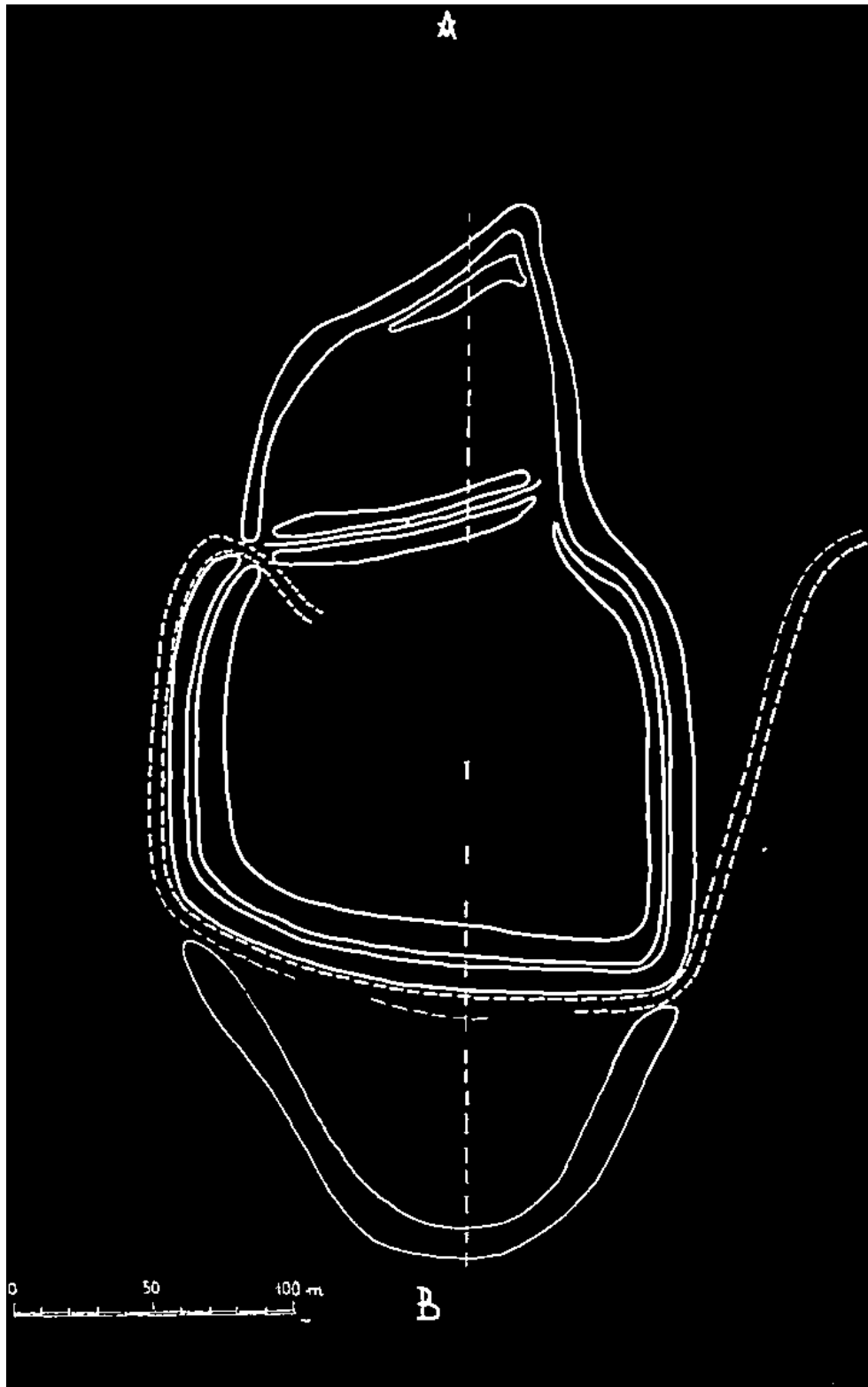
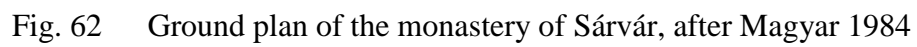


Fig. 61 Ground plan of the earthen castle of Beszterec, after Németh 1997



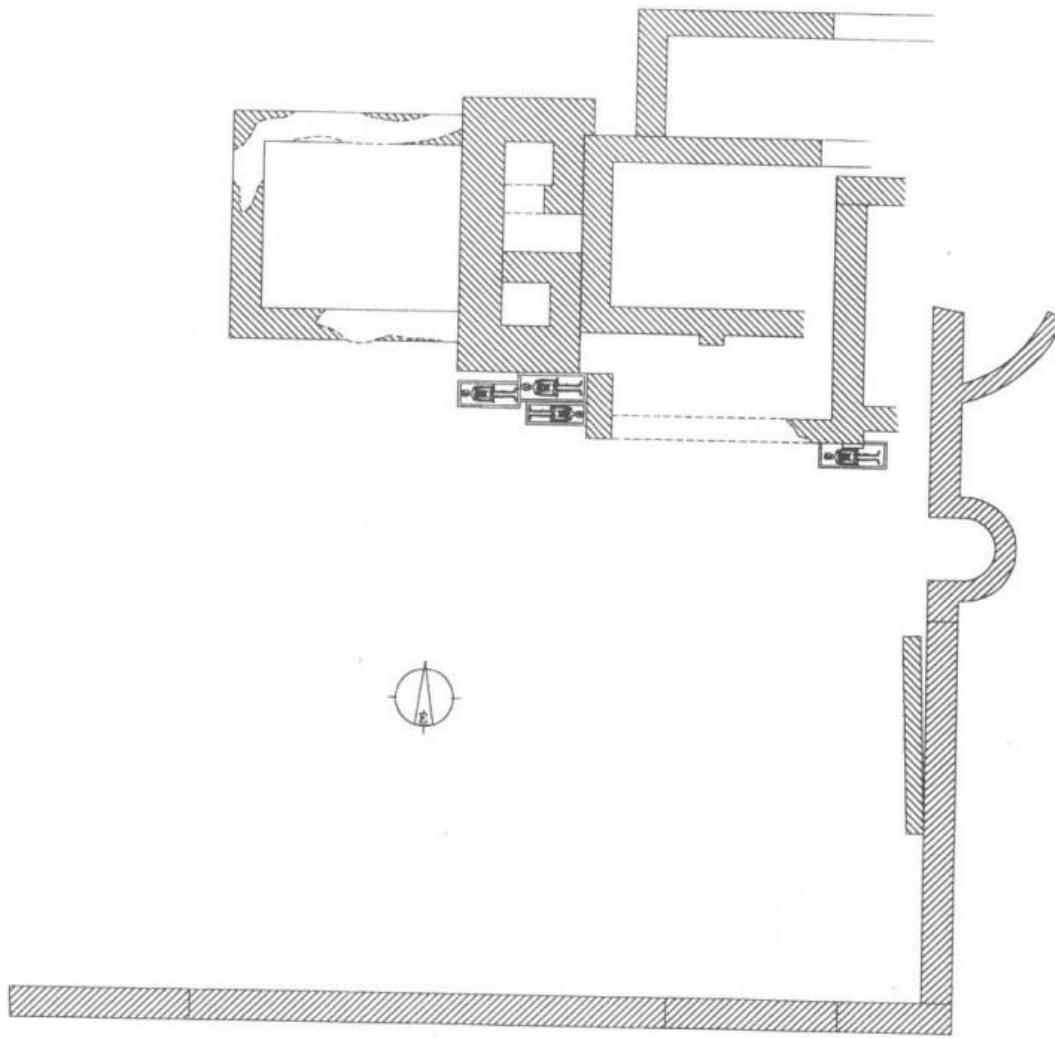
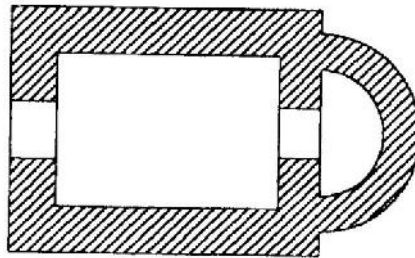


Fig. 63 Ground plan of the Provostry of (Nyír-)Adony, after Németh 1997



Adony falu templomának alaprajza [Kiss Lajos ásatása (1936)].

Fig. 64 Ground plan of the parish church of (Nyír-)Adony, after Németh 1997



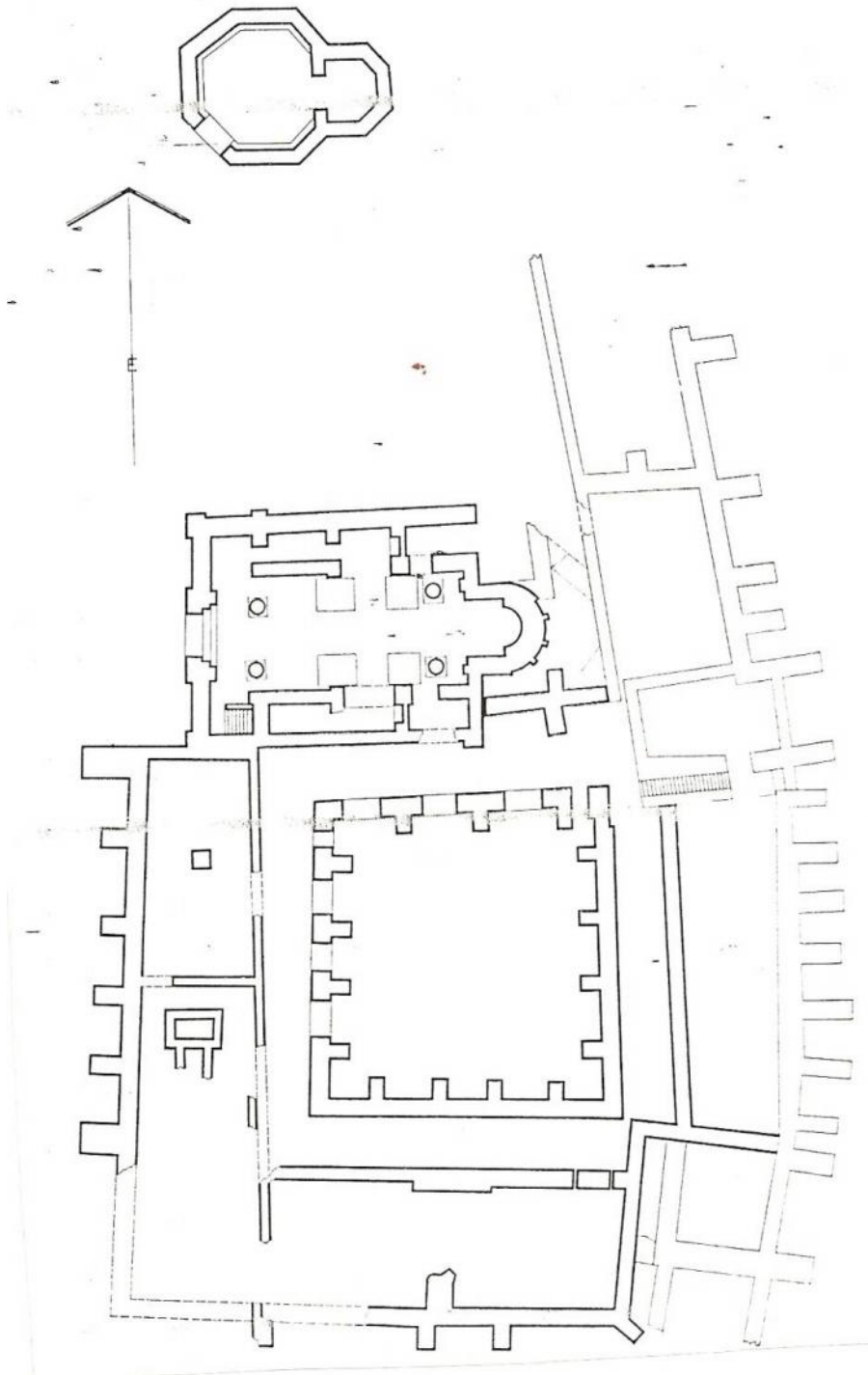


Fig. 66 Ground plan of Zselicszentjakab Abbey, after Nagy 1973

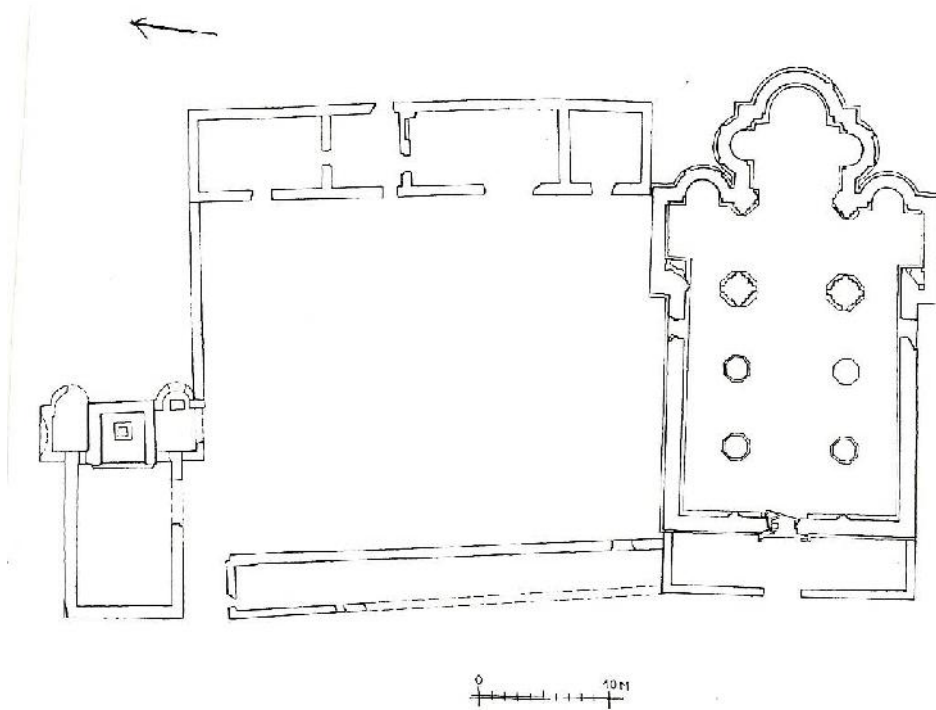


Fig. 67 Ground plan of Vértesszentkereszt Abbey, after M. Kozák 1993

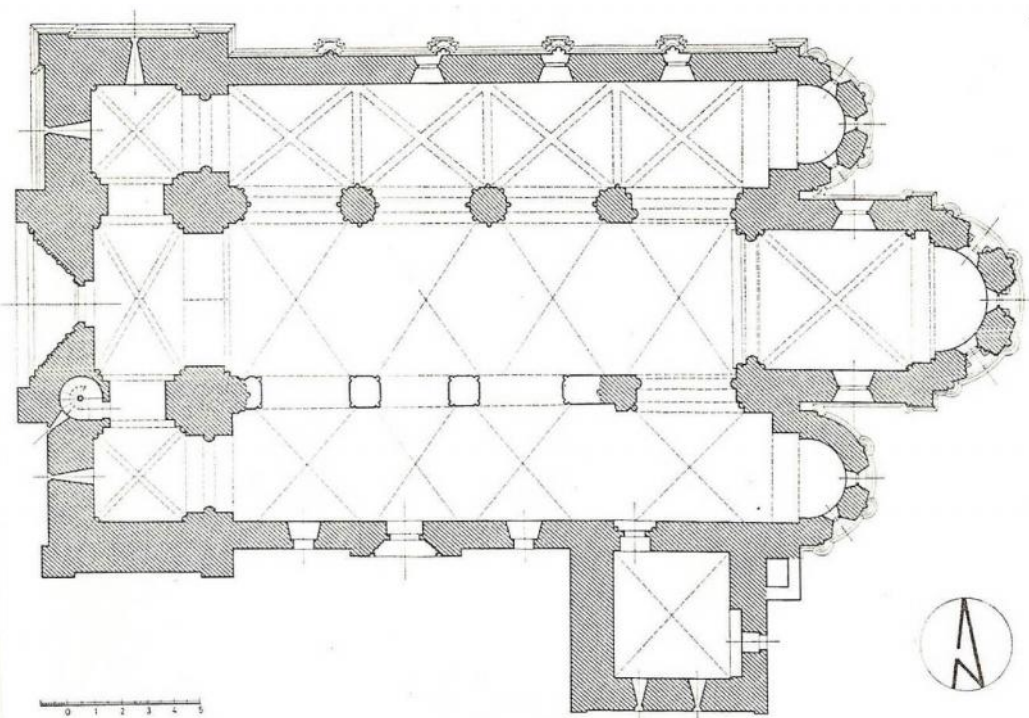


Fig. 68 Ground plan of Ják Abbey, after Valter 1985

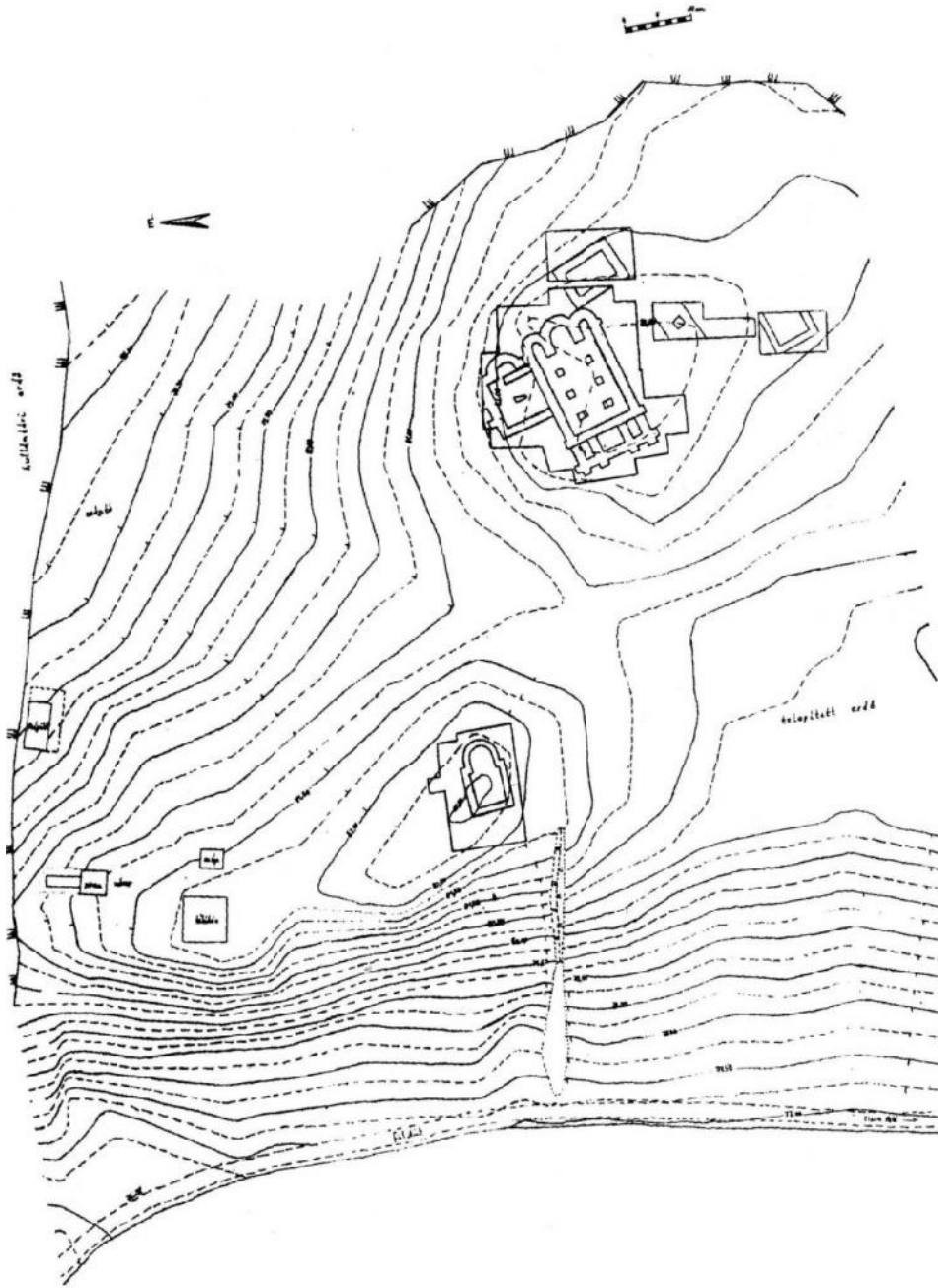


Fig. 69 Ground plan of Ellésmonostor, after Pávai 2000

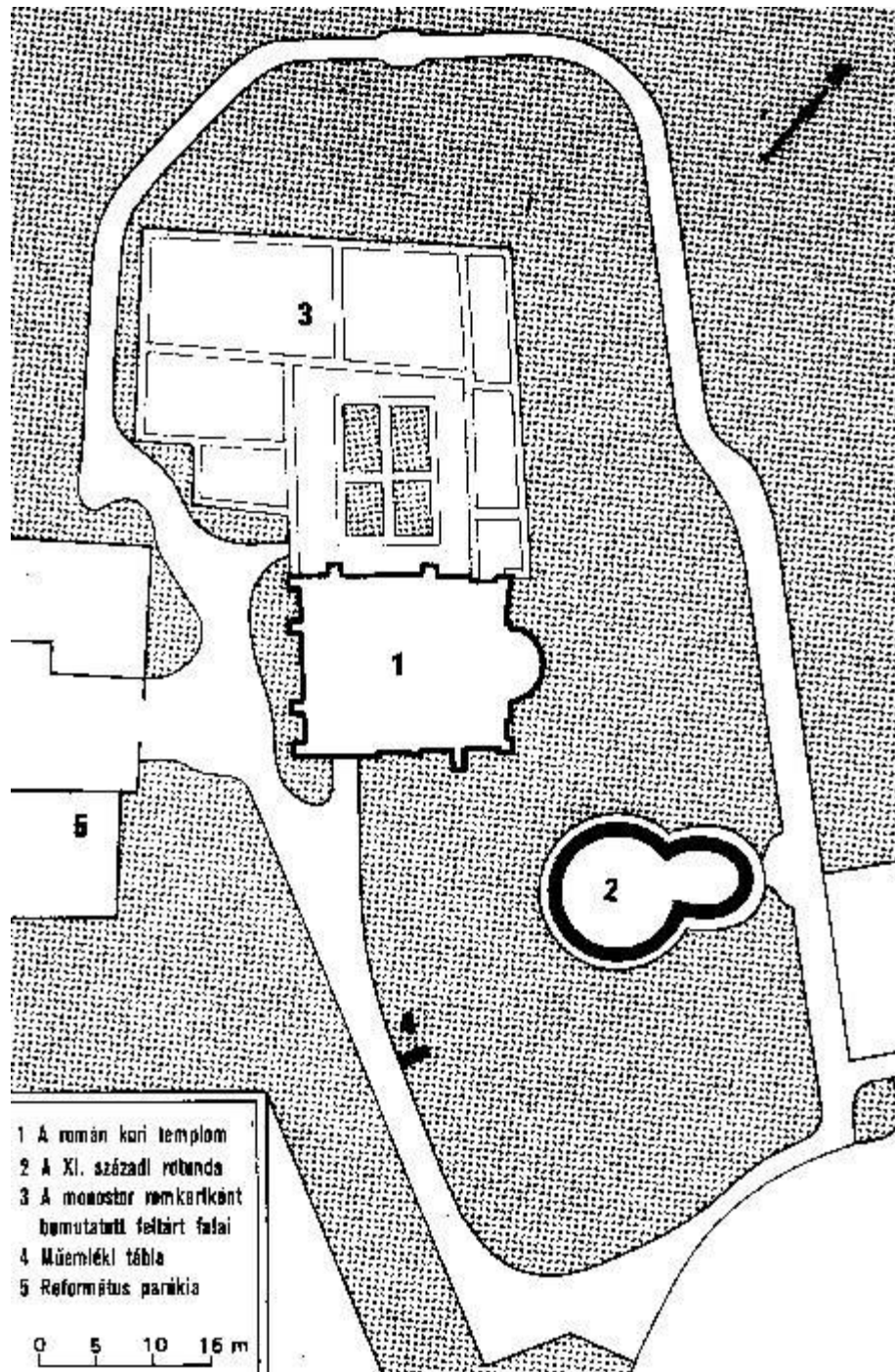


Fig. 70 Boldva Abbey and its surroundings, after Valter 1985

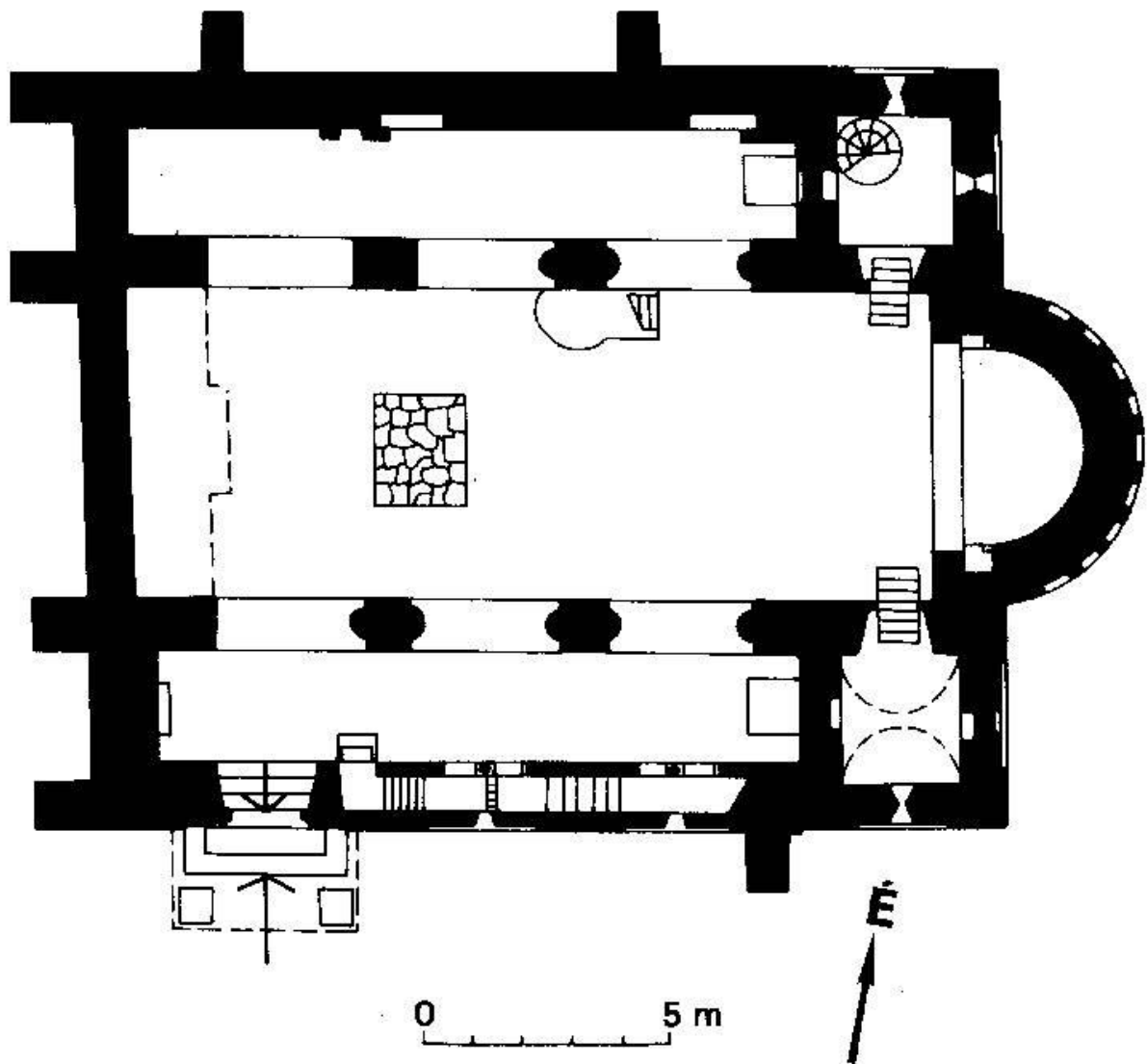


Fig. 71 Ground plan of Boldva Abbey, after Valter 1998

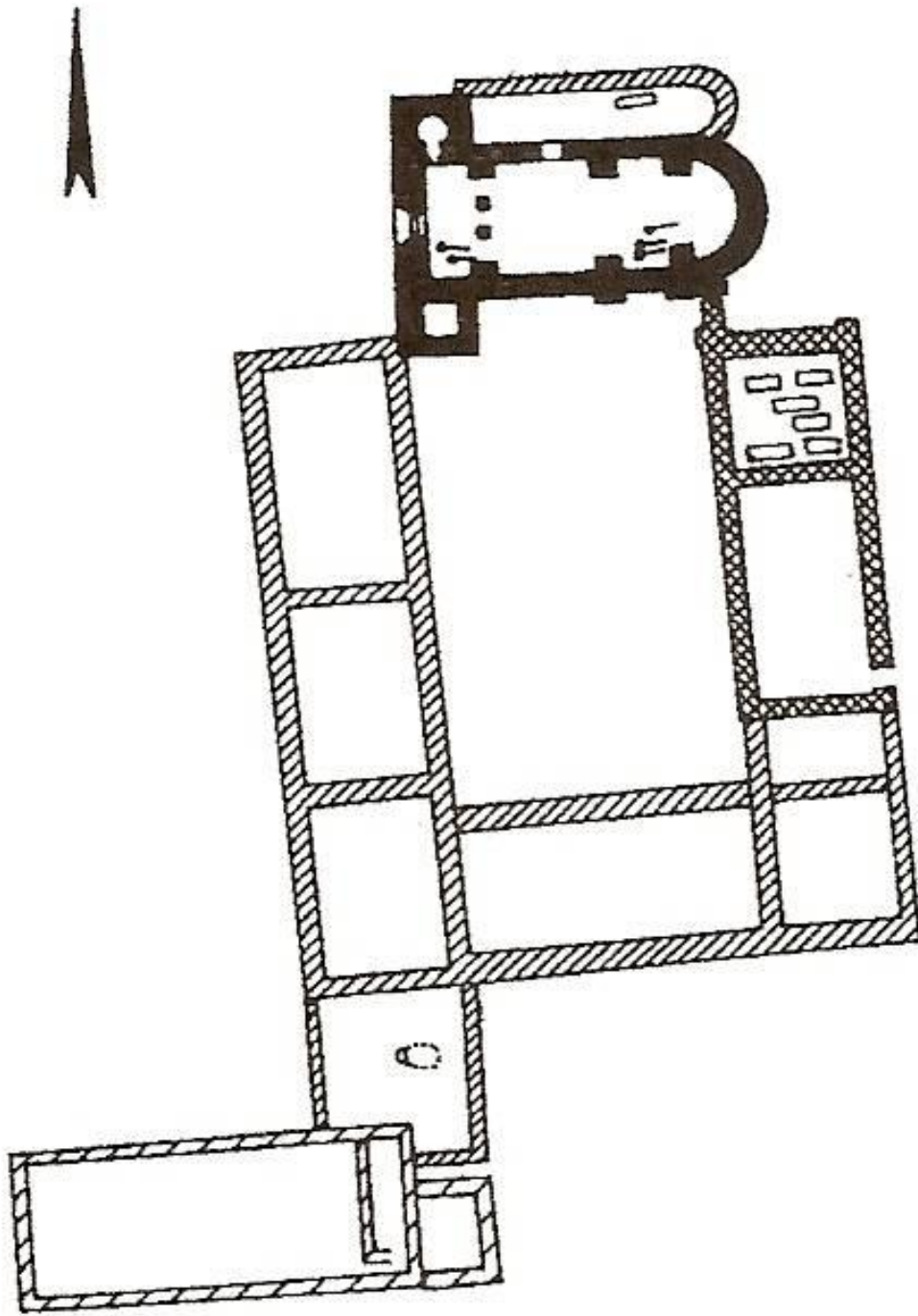


Fig. 72 Ground plan of Kána Abbey, after H. Gyürky 1996

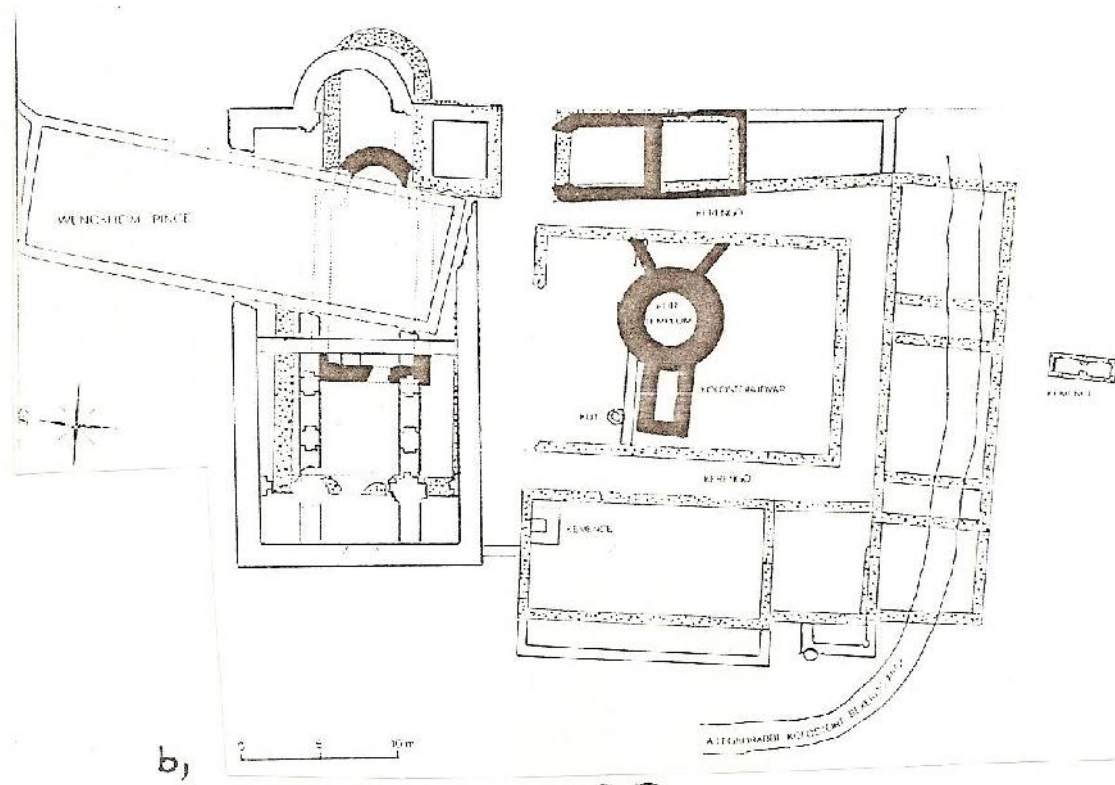


Fig. 73 Ground plan of Csoltmonostor, after Juhász 2000

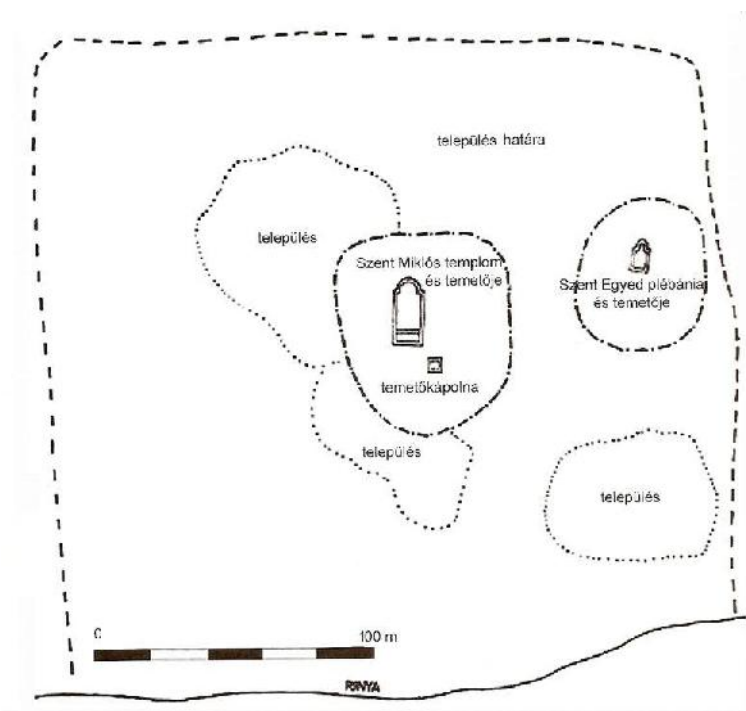


Fig. 74 Ground plan of Babócsa Monastery and its surroundings, after Magyar 1994

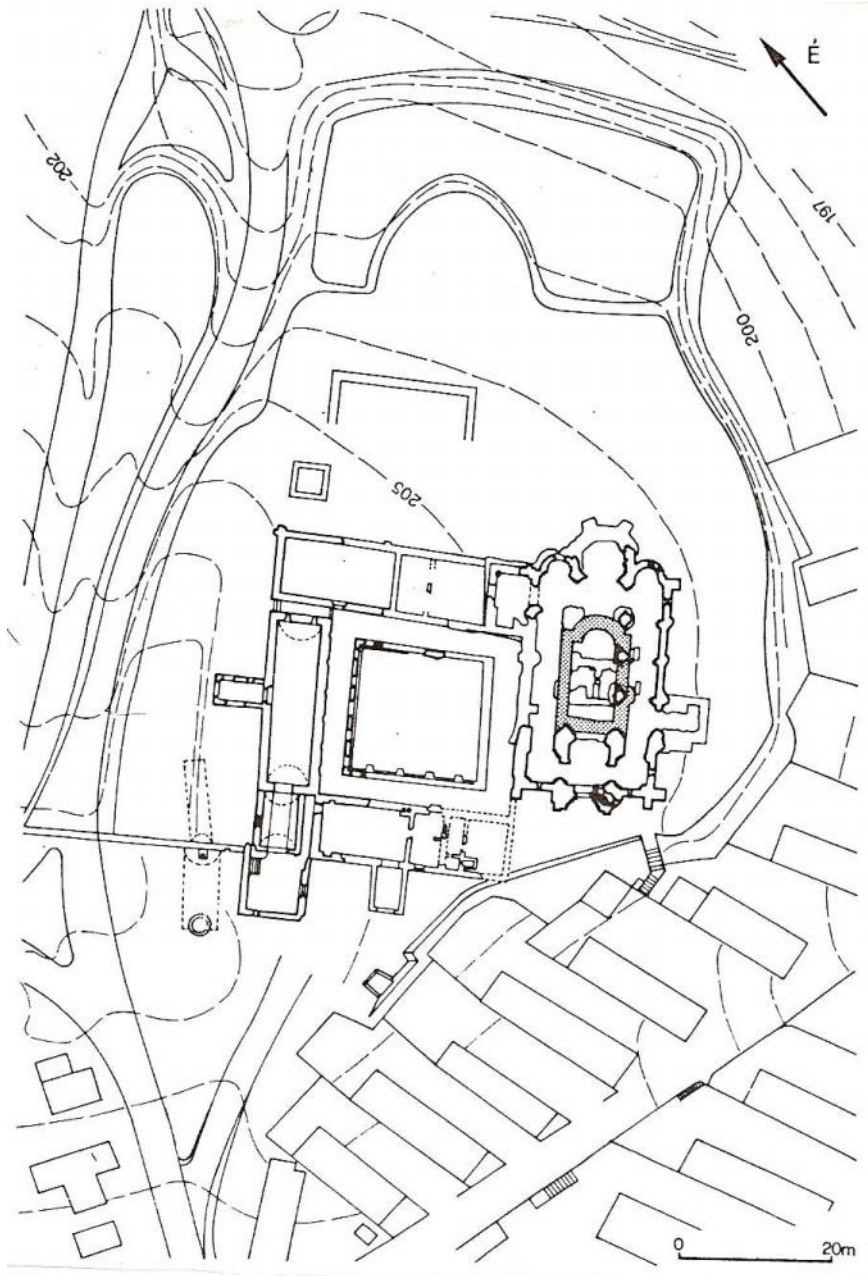


Fig. 75 Ground plan of the Zsámbék Provostry, after Valter 1991

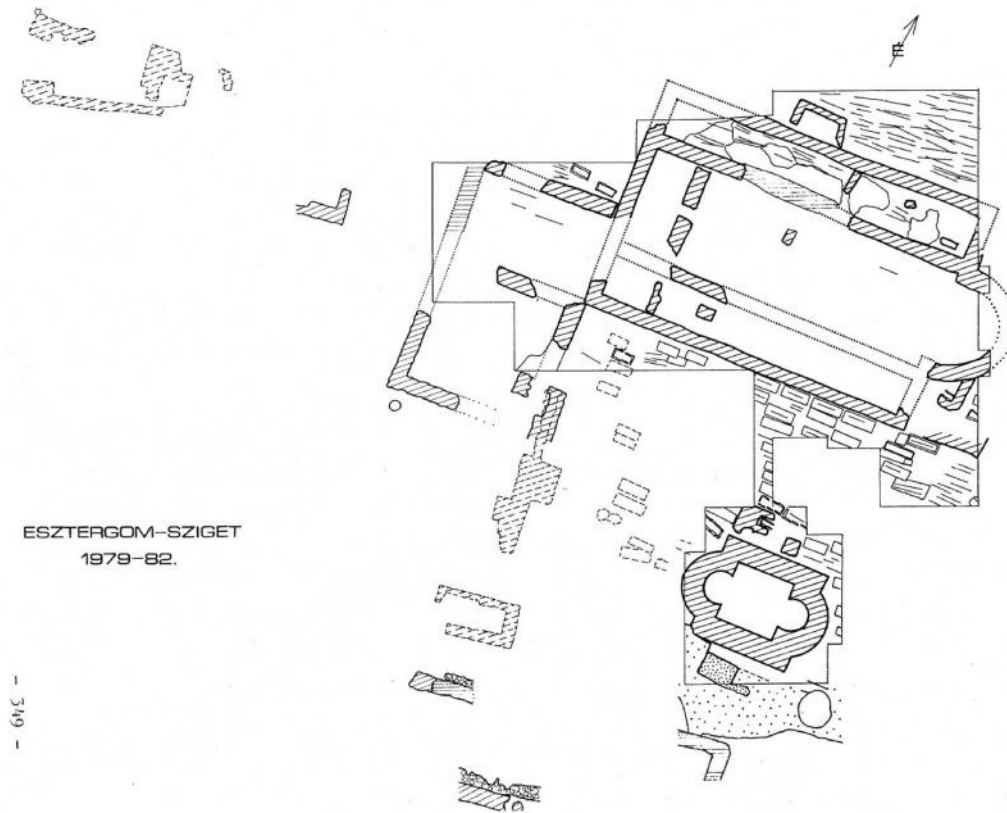


Fig. 76 Ground plan of the Esztergom-Sziget Cloister, after Lovag 1985

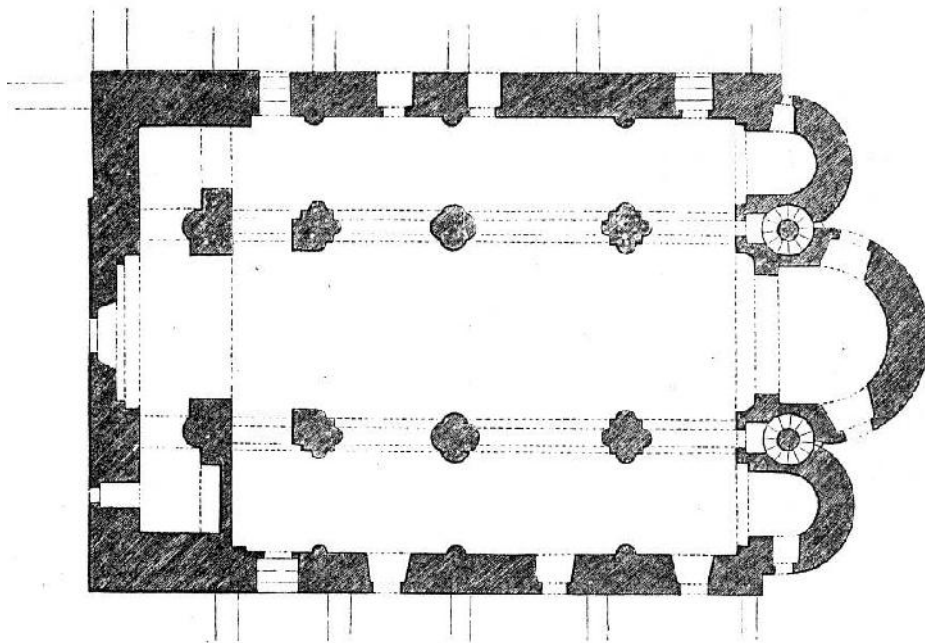


Fig. 77 Ground plan of the Kaplony Abbey, after Takács 2000

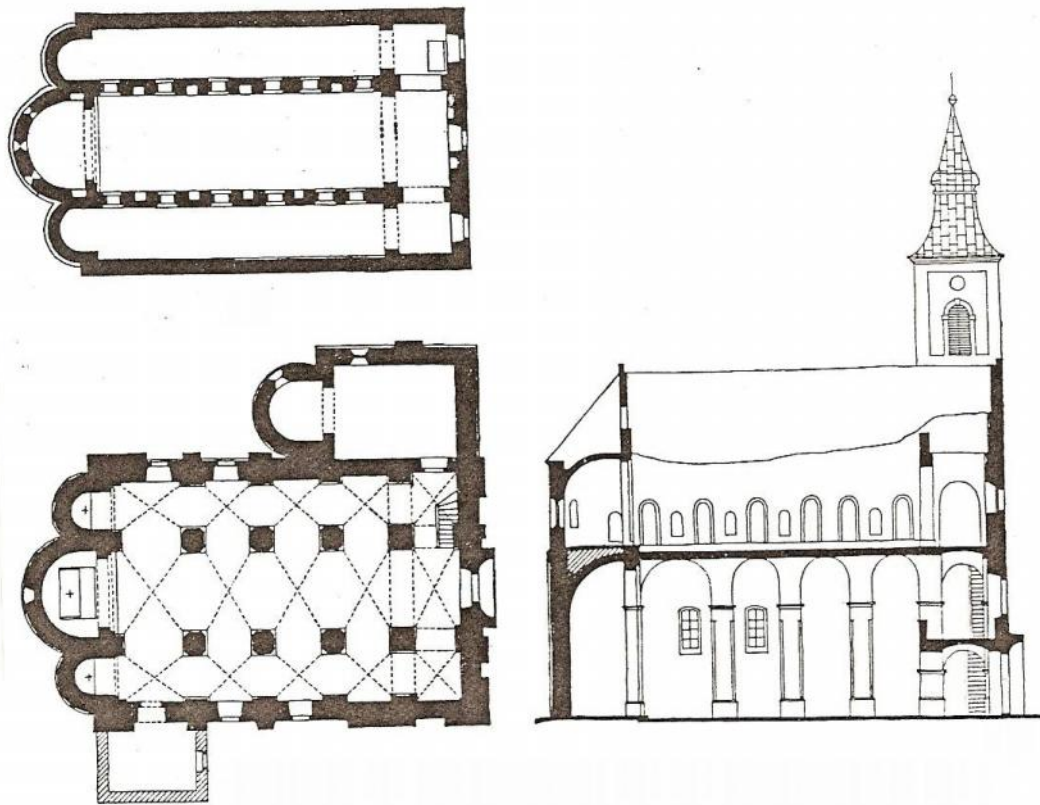


Fig. 78 Ground plan and church section of the church of Deáki, after Paradisum Plantavit

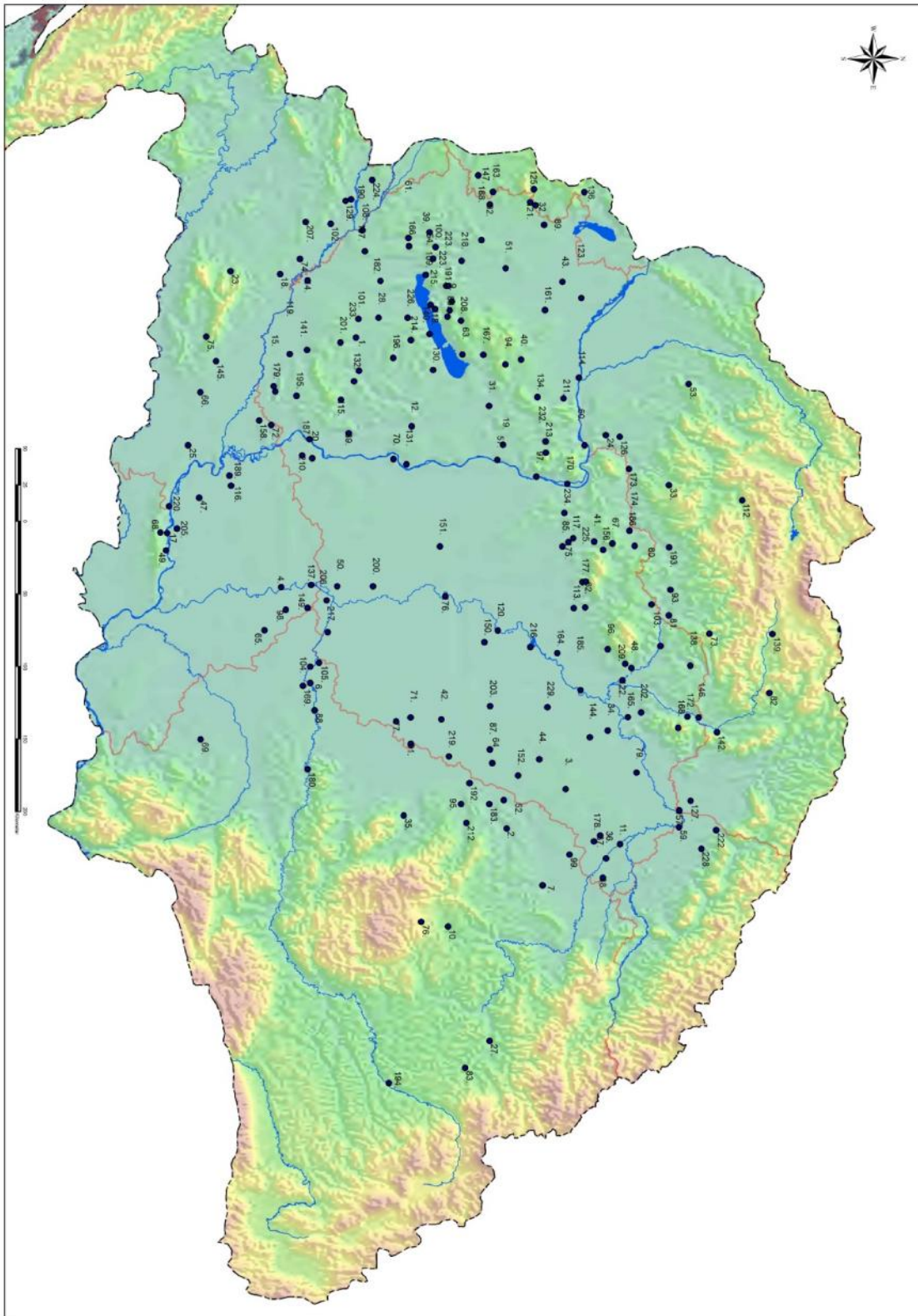


Fig. 79 Map of monasteries under private patronage founded before 1400 in medieval Hungary (drawn by Péter Márk)