



The cult of St. Stanislav and the monastery of Augustinian eremits in Veľký Šariš (north border of Hungary - Slovakia)

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The article deals with the history of the beginnings of a small Augustinian monastery built on the limit of former Hungarian kingdom (nowadays Slovakia). Priory established the friary of the Order of St. William and was dedicated in honor of St. Stanislav, Krakow bishop and martyr canonized in 1253. The Order of St. William acted in Hungary until 1266. These two facts are crucial for the beginnings of the monastery. Extinct monastery became an important center of the castle comitatus Veľký Šariš. At its beginnings, it was shaped as a town monastery located close to a major road leading to Poland. Estates of the monastery were very modest, so the development of the monastery buildings was relatively limited. Nevertheless, it became the origin of expansion of Augustinians who founded the other three monasteries nearby (in Bardejov, Hrabkov and Spišské Podhradie).

Keywords: Augustinian Order. Order of St. William. Middle Ages. Slovakia. St. Stanislav. Veľký Šariš.



Already from ancient times central spot of Christian church was an altar. In some cases relics have become its part and parcel. After all, according to St. Ambrose, saints are element of Christ altar sacrament.¹ One of such persons—well popular in Slovakia—is St. Stanislav, Cracowian bishop and martyr. How there was happened that he was/is in awe of people in the region of nowadays Slovakia?

Several Slovakian authors were concerned by problems of St. Stanislav cult. First of all Jozef Kútnik Šmálov ranks among them, whose works there was not possible to publish for the sake of communism ideology. Thus it came out for a long time 24 years after his death in 2006. Štefan Eliša and Stanislava Kuzmová are ones of younger researchers connected with the topic in question.² As far as occurrence of St. Stanislav patrociniun in the entire region of medieval Hungary it belongs among less popular. Primarily, localities with this devotedness were situated in Slovakia, namely in Pongracovce, in vanished settlement Míloj, in Staré, and in Veľký Šariš, too. In fact, all of them constituted north border region of Hungary (Spiš, Šariš, Zemplín) with vivid communications and business contacts on neighboring Cracow.³ St. Stanislav church in Pongracovce

is the last vital patrociniun from the Middle Ages. Other churches devoted to St. Stanislav one can find in Podolíneč (half of the 17th Cent.), Radošovce (beginning of the 19th Cent.), and in Trenčín-Opátske (end of the 17th Cent.).⁴ There is interesting case of the parish church of St. Matthew from the first half of the 15th Cent. in Partizánska Ľupča which was originally devoted to St. Stanislav but after re-Catholicization this devotion has been changed into present (for sure in the end of the 17th Cent.).⁵ Among former locations of cult belongs Míloj in Spiš (the church dates back to the 13th Cent.⁶ but the devotion is proved by documents only from 1402⁷) and the church in Staré whose patrociniun came to end during reformation. According to J. Kútnik Šmálov's hypothesis the cult in Staré was established thanks to local aristocratic family of Szárar (lords of Staré) with relatives in Cracow region.⁸ Apparently the St. Stanislav's relic was found even within vanished Augustinian monastery in Veľký Šariš. This monastery is going to be in the centre of our deeper study.

The history of St. Stanislav monastery in Veľký Šariš has not been studied so much but there is well known that its owner was the Order of Saint Augustine—original-

ly known as the Hermits of Saint Augustine (O.E.S.A. – Ordo Eremitarum sancti Augustini), now simply referred to as the Order of Saint Augustine (O.S.A.). Circumstantial mention can be found in the deed from 1345 which deals with a lawsuit about grounds next to the Šariš village Červenica (Werusalma) between Rikolf of aristocratic ancestry of Lords from Veľká Lomnica⁹—the son of Rikolf—and the St. Stanislav monastery in Veľký Šariš—represented by a monk Laurencius¹⁰—which was ruled by palatine Nicholas. In the deed the monastic community is referred to as “the Order of Williamites friars of St. Augustine from the martyr St. Stanislav’s monastery in Veľký Šariš”.¹¹ This is rather strange because, in times, regular and customary phrase “Hermits of St. Augustine” was unused.¹² Hermits were replaced by Williamites. Thus natural questions arise: Who in fact were those Williamites? How and when did they get under the Šariš castle? What kind of were relationships between Williamites and Augustinians? What was their mission in the region of Šariš during 13th Cent.? What could be written about the beginnings of the monastery in question, about its founder, and about connection with St. Stanislav patrocium, at all? Next we are going to make an attempt to find answers such questions in our study.

With respect to Slovakian fields of temporal religious historical studies our topic takes little bit unusual place: as another histories of several monasteries and monk communities is out of mainstream in spite of the fact that in Slovakia they played crucial roles. So the Order of St. Augustine¹³ and the Order of St. William¹⁴ are ones of “less well-known” in this region. But these exact two orders are close related to spirit history of Veľký Šariš town.

Among pioneer researchers of medieval Hungary church structure belongs Peter Pazmányi who—in documents of Trnava’s synod in 1629—included the list of orders and monasteries of Hungary, too. Occasionally, some short historical notes were attached.¹⁵ But the monastery Veľký Šariš has not been mentioned in the roll of 17 Augustinian monasteries. No evidence is even at the list of Williamites monasteries.¹⁶ One can deduce that in the 17th Cent. the cardinal was aware of monastery existence but he did not know by which order it was settled.

First works partially concerned the topic were published in 1778. Their authors were Viennese Augustinians Pál Xystus Schier a Martinus Rosnák, order historians.¹⁷ They already knew the monastery under Šariš castle. Another mention one can find in Šariš comitatus’s (district) *Codex diplomaticus*, Carolus Wagner’s pioneer work.¹⁸ Its author collected a lot of (paper) documents on the history of this region. Followers worked in their research just with

this opus. Monumental writings Monasteryology of Hungarian Kingdom from Damián Fuxhoffer and Maurus Czinar¹⁹ can serve as a good sample. As far as the authors gained mostly older works (above mentioned), about Šariš monastery one can learn just basic knowledge. The same situation occurs in the work by Ferenc Falenbüchl from 1943.²⁰ Again, sources on Veľký Šariš problem offered by predecessors (mostly by C. Wagner) were compiled. In the beginnings of 60-ties last century there was published the book on the Order of St. William from distinguished monastery-historian Kaspar Elm in Germany. In accordance with state of facts he included Veľký Šariš in this order’s monasteries.²¹ Moreover, later he enlarged his knowledge on the topic and new facts were published in almanac *Augustiniana*.²² First modern study on the history of Augustinians was offered up to Hungarian author Beatrix Romhányi in 2005.²³ But she discussed monastery in Veľký Šariš not so much. Even another Hungarian historians publishing on Hungarian history of Augustinians deal with the topic marginally.²⁴ As far as Slovak authors and study of Veľký Šariš monastery there is necessary mention works of Michal Slivka²⁵, Ferdinand Uličný²⁶, Jozef Kútnik Šmálov²⁷ a Marián Čizmár²⁸.

Probably the first document evidence on existence of the monastery under Šariš castle (by order historians referred as *Kirche, Conventus Kurchensis*²⁹) gives donation deed by the king Ladislaus IV from April 26, 1274.³⁰ In this rather unknown document there is not mentioned monastery foundation but only donation for “friars of the Order of St. Augustine Hermits from our town Veľký Šariš.”³¹ Thus it does not deal with monastery foundation but with donation for already existing community of friars-hermits in Šariš. It implies the monastery had to arise before submission of the document.³² Concerning the question about the date of its foundation, resp. when hermits did come under Šariš castle, it is necessary to give the answer of question what sort of hermits they were in fact. It seems to be the question without sense because the answer is elementary. After all, the donation document from 1274 says clearly that the gift is intended for Augustinians, resp. for the Order of St. Augustine Hermits. But real situation is complicated by statement in the document from 1345, mentioned in introduction of this paper. And this is not the only unique one evidence on being Williamites, resp. the Order of St. Williams, in Veľký Šariš. The same king, Ladislaus IV, passed new deed already after 4 years by which he divided estate near Červenica among sons of Tecule (Tekuš), comes (comitat governor) Thomas and his brothers Lede (Ladislaus?) and Martino on one

hand, and Andreas, son of Budun, on the other.³³ It is interesting that divided estate was situated next to Červenica behind border notches. According to the document, as a part of dividing process the account 20 marks of silver should be paid out in the presence of friars Williamites from the Order of St. Augustine from Velký Šariš.³⁴ Well then Williamites are again spoken about, and once more in connection with estates next to Červenica. They play the role representatives of reliable locality, and good neighbors, too. It implies the founders of monastery under Šariš castle were not Augustinians but older monastic order of Williamites.³⁵ But who in fact were Williamites?

Williamites represent hermit- already order-community which was founded shortly after death of St. William of Malavalle (February 10, 1157, five miles to the north of Castiglione della Pescaia, near Grosseta in Italy)³⁶ by his unique follower Albert who composed order rules in *Regula sancti Guillelmi*.³⁷ Around hermit's grave there was created smaller congregation which has started to grow up rapidly. The grave was very popular with pilgrims and thus the pope Alexander III (1159 – 1181) validated saint's cult in Grosseto province during 1174 – 1181 period. As the saint for the whole church St. William was finally sanctified by the pope Innocent III (1198 – 1216) in 1202.³⁸ The order was quickly spread out all over Northern Italy and sometimes after 1244 it crossed frontier of Alps.³⁹ Due to its strictness, the pope Gregor IX (1227 – 1241) replaced the rule of St. Williams by the Cistercian-type rule of St. Benedict in 1237. But this act was not accepted by Williamites. Because of disagreements and loose discipline representatives of the Order of St. William were invited to Roma in 1256 for so-called Famous Chapter which was held in Santa Maria del Popolo together with other hermitic communities. As one of its result the Order of hermits of St. Augustine was founded i.e. so-called Great Union of Augustinians. Thus Augustinian order was created by unifying several hermitic communities which were listed in the bull of Alexander IV *Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae*, submitted in April 9, 1256.⁴⁰ There are namely indicated jambonits, hermits from Toscana, from Ancona Mark, from Monto Favale, and among them even Williamites. During next years the order did its best to regain autonomy which was finally achieved. In August 30, 1266, the pope Clement IV (1265 – 1268) issued the bull *Ea quae iudicio* on gaining of independence.⁴¹ But despite the document German and Hungarian Williamitenian monasteries (with exception of three in Germany) remained part of the Order of St. Augustine permanently. During negotiations with the bull *Ea quae iudicio* at the end, protector of Williamites, cardinal

and Esztergom archbishop Stefan Bánca (Vancas)⁴² played an important part. According to Kaspar Elma the cardinal was originally a member of this order, apparently.⁴³ Another part—as a witness of drawing up the bull—was played by archdeacon Paulo from Komárno.⁴⁴ One of main arguments for regaining of independence from Augustinians was even the fact that Williamites were using still the rule of St. William which was substituted by Benedictian-one.

The monastery in Velký Šariš was significantly affected by the whole mentioned process, too. Differences about monastery itself calling can serve just as a good example. Let us recall that Williamites came to Šariš probably before 1256 year when Augustinians were united, or during so-called transitional period when they have been struggling for regaining independence from being part of Augustinians (1256 – 1266).⁴⁵ Thus expression “Williamites of the Order of St. Augustine” refers to unifying those two monastic communities, but in fact it is incorrect because the rule of St. Augustine has never been accepted by Williamites.

Now let us bring up a question of the date and circumstances of monastery foundation. Considering its dedication, namely to a martyr St. Stanislav, Cracowian bishop, who was sanctified by the pope Innocent IV in 1253 in Assisi⁴⁶, there was not possible to establish the convention with such patrocinium before 1253 year. One can suggest that this reverence for new saint could be brought to border region with hermits from South Poland. But what monastery at Southern Poland could Williamities (Augustinians) come from in generally? The problem is that with respect to knowledge up to now there is evidence of neither Williamitien, nor Augustinian monasteries existence in this area. As far as Poland the oldest Williamitien monasteries are proved in nowadays Western Poland, namely in 1253 in Szczecin (Szczecëno, Stettin) and Lipina, both in Western Pomerania (Pomorze Zachodnie, Pommern). Both of them ceased to exist before 13th century.⁴⁷ But due to strong German population in this area (riverside of Oder) two monastery in question cannot be consider as Polish. Moreover, they belonged into Saxon province, and not into Bavarian-one, as it was the same with the rest of Poland during later development. In South Poland first monasteries of the Order of St. Augustine were established up to under reign of Casimir III the Great (1333 – 1370) who got to know Augustinians at court of the emperor Charles IV where they acted as sermonisers and confessors.⁴⁸ Probably the first monastery established in this region was the one in Kazimierz which was founded in 1343.⁴⁹ To sum up Germany (and Czech during next period) had dominant effect on development of Augustinians

in Poland during 13th Cent. Thus the question how the patrocinium reached Northern Hungary still remains open.

The monastery of St. Stanislav in Veľký Šariš was apparently founded by a son of the king Belo IV, prince royal Stephen (later the king Stephen V, 1270 – 1272), who—on the basis of agreement about dividing powers between father and son from Bratislava—gain the title „*iunior rex*“, and dominion over East part of country, too. Šariš has got under his control and the castle there has become his “comitatus” and favourite one.⁵⁰ Probably, in order to strengthen his position and to prove his independence from father Stephen gave the hermit community—settled in the northern borderlands, not so far from border notches and near important route to Poland—the donation from annual in-kind tax yield from “royal table” which was collected at Šariš castle (as there is referred to in deed of Ladislaus IV, Kumansky, from 1274). Namely, 100 okovas (*acones*) of food were listed within while 50 okonas of crops (probably grain) and the same volume of malt (*brasio*)⁵¹ were involved. (Up to 50% of donation represented malt! Well it seems brewing industry has long tradition in Veľký Šariš.)

The fact mentioned above is even supported by event from 1270 (1268) when king Stephen came to Cracow to visit his sister Kunhuta (Kinga, Kunigunda) who was a wife of the duke Boleslav the Chaste.⁵² During his stay he honored St. Stanislav’s relics.⁵³ There is possible he used his arrival even to transfer some relics, or at least reverence for St. Stanislav under Šariš castle. According to *Vita Sanctae Kyngae* just St. Kunhuta initiated canonization of the saint in question. As the tradition gives proof the relation to Cracow was rather strong in Veľký Šariš. For instance, although in times of reformation reverence for St. Stanislav vanished, when in modern age the monastery church was consecrated again St. Kunhuta has become its patron.⁵⁴ To sum up both of patrociniums refer to significant connections with South Poland just via the king Stephen V, and his sister St. Kunhuta, too.

Similar opinion on foundation of the monastery was presented even by Jozef Kútnik Šmálov. According to his theory the patrocinium of St. Stanislav is not indigenous and hermits came to Šariš earlier, especially before 1253 year. Despite he does not present evidence such perspective need not to be wrong.⁵⁵ Actually, due to turbulences against the order in 60-ties of 13th century arrival of Williamites (hermits) could be really earlier. And thus Polish influence could be marginal and it is connected with up to prince royal Stephen and his sister. So it could come to happen, some hermits settled in north borderland of Hun-

gary already during 40-ties of 13th century in context of German colonists arrival into this region. And no need to forget Italian hermits were in Hungary in that times, too.⁵⁶

Let us come back to the donation from 1274 year. In addition it includes several lesser estates. For instance, the list consists of a land in Šariš area, suitable for building a mill house⁵⁷ and a field (meadow) behind border notches, exactly delimited by marks, probably near Červenica and Pečovská Nová Ves.⁵⁸ To discover their location it helps the deed from 1322⁵⁹ as well as the deed from 1514 year by which Augustinians gave some part of a field to Nicholas from Torysa.⁶⁰ The estate was situated between villages Červenica and Pečovská Nová Ves, roughly along the riverside of Lutinsky brook closer to Červenica.

Therein the estate with “homestead” or garden under castle Tubul is mentioned.⁶¹ As far as Slovak historiography the identification of this castle is still unknown or ambiguous. There are several localities connected with such name. Older historiography considers it as archaic title of the castle Šariš. New ones speculate about it like Kapušany⁶² or Medzianky⁶³ castle.

Since Šariš comitatus (district) was established sometime during 20-ties – 30-ties of 13th century⁶⁴ its name was derived from of the same name castle situated above of the same name settlement. Thus the name Tubul has to be related to another locality. Maybe the castle Kapušany—up to its destruction in rebellion of Henrich from Brezovica in 1315 year—was called by the hill Moglevec (*Moglod*)⁶⁵ and after its renewal (after 1410 year) already as Kapušany (*castrum Kapy*).⁶⁶

Another possibility is such Tubul coincides with the castle Medzianky. It is interesting there are no (paper) documents about this remarkable castle from 13th century while results of archeological research prove that the castle was established already in the end of preceding one century.⁶⁷ It would support its identifying with Tubul. Noticeable similarity with the name of the river Tople (*Tupul*, *Topul*) is next good argument for such theory.⁶⁸ Moreover, there was situated a monastery under this castle. But from 1212 till 1313 year only presence of The Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem (O.E.S.S.H.) is proved in this area, namely in Hanušovce nad Topľou and at estate Chmeľov (in 1313 year they moved to Lendak).⁶⁹ And even there is no evidence of Augustinians possession in Hanušovce and Chmeľov as the domain of O.E.S.S.H. or some aristocratic family.

Well, due to facts mentioned above we should suggest that Tubul is actually Šariš castle. But the situation is not so plain. In some documents one can find the name of castle

Tubul (*castrum Tubul*) and Šariš comes (comitat governor, *comitem de Sarus*) at the same place.⁷⁰ Thus, supposing Tubul is older name for Šariš castle what was derived the name of Šariš comitatus (*Sarus*)—first time mentioned in 1267 year—from?⁷¹ There is possible Tubul was archaic name for Šariš castle, and we can identify it with the oldest (perhaps brick) tower—the predecessor of donjon who rises to this day.⁷² New castle, risen up after Mongolian invasion in 1241 year, could be named by under-castle settlement which is proved by (the oldest) documents from 1217 year.⁷³ Counterexample of this theory is the fact that the name Tubul (Tobol) is mentioned not until 1249 year.⁷⁴

Opposite opinion (against Tubul and Šariš castles are the same) is supported even by one document from 1315 year within both two castles are explicitly mentioned simultaneously.⁷⁵ Thus Ladislaus's donation from 1274 year solves the Tubul castle localization problem only imaginary. On the contrary there are more question marks because one cannot consider Augustinians from Veľký Šariš as owners of some land or a settlement under Kapušany or Medzianky castle. All of their known estates were situated close to their monastery in Veľký Šariš.

Beyond a doubt there is even interesting to ask for the reason why pure hermit order did settle on the periphery of relatively developed settlement under royal castle? On one hand this area was borderland close to notches with sparsely populated and long time depopulated *konfinum* behind it, on the other there already were “perspective” settlements as Prešov, Veľký Šariš or Sabinov in 13 century there.⁷⁶ Moreover this area was exposed to German, or precisely Saxon, settlers expansion from neighboring Spiš whose arrival is dated to a period after Mongolian invasion (after 1241 year). German are proved already in 13 century by first document mention on Veľký Šariš in 1217 year.⁷⁷ Well, was not their influence over hermits arrival to north Hungarian borders crucial? But why hermit order was settled on periphery of settlement with town privileges, and under eventful life comitatus castle, too?

During the second half of the 13th century transformation of the Order of hermits of St. Augustin was started, namely from hermitic-contemplative to mendicant-pastoral one. It had effect on environment of hermits, too. This process was completed at the beginning of 14th century.⁷⁸ But concerning situation in Veľký Šariš Williamites are in centre of our interest, and they have been preserving hermitic nature and message of St. William of Malavalle till their extinction in 19th century.⁷⁹ One can expect the Order of St. William founded its monastery below royal castle under the decision of prince royal Stephen but in con-

formity with—for instance Benedictian one—hermits built a hermitage at unknown place in mountains around, too.⁸⁰ Maybe this hermitage was situated in Pečovská Nová Ves territory (where local name Mníše is proved), or near Sabinov in the village Orkucany direction (local name Remeta⁸¹), or west by old road into Spiš next to Nižný Slavkov—the locality *sessio heremite (locus Remethehel)*.⁸² Similar process can be indicated with respect of Augustinians in Bardejov town who probably built up wooden hermitage-object nearby settlement Zlatné.⁸³ Such way was used by originally hermitic orders to keep touch with its archetype even in turbulent medieval towns.

But inverse process is possible, too: first Williamites settled in a hermitage close to border notches first and then—after their incorporation into Augustinians in 1256 year (after 1266 year definitively)—they relocated in Veľký Šariš, apparently at kings will.⁸⁴ Identical scenario was applied to Augustinians (Williamites) settling in Sátoraljaújhely. Even in this case hermits were settled in Trňa initially and *translatio* to a town happened later on.⁸⁵

The monastery in Veľký Šariš belonged among poor-ones even after donation from 1274 year. This is in contradiction with donation effect on older orders which often included large estates, whole villages with its lands. As a good example can serve the donation to Premonstratensians in Turiec (Kláštor pod Znievom), to Benedictines from Hronský Beňadik, or Zobor, too. In case of Augustinians (Williamites) we concern mendicant order which mission was already pastoral.

Estates under Šariš castle were dwarfed and supposedly because of this the monastery was no able to live and to fulfill its mission duly.⁸⁶ It could be connected with friars increase. This was obviously the reason for the king Ladislaus IV enlarged their property by a village Záhradné (*Scegekerthe*)⁸⁷ due to prior's Stephen request in 1285 year. There was originally given a mandate on it by taverner Laurencius.⁸⁸ As well Stephen is even the first known prior of St. Stanislav monastery. Paradoxically increase in monastery value was stopped by this donation, and there are known not a single ones in next period.

Summary

Summarizing facts connected with Veľký Šariš area (mostly mentioned above) not only Slovak localities as Bratislava, Nitra, or Spišský hrad – Spišská Kapitula, can stand as a perfect example of medieval society way of life but exactly Veľký Šariš, too.

Let see what we mean by that precisely. As far as High and Late Middle Ages there is typical tripartite model for

society mode of life. Such (traditional) scheme is described in writings by Adalberon from Laon⁸⁹. Simplifying it sorts out people into three status: *oratores*, *bellatores* et *laboratores*.⁹⁰ Figuratively these social status can be assigned to three environments: castle–monastery–settlement (town).

A castle symbolized temporal power—power of emperor, warriors, and aristocracy (*bellatores*), who resided and carried out their defense duties behind its walls. The castle mission was to govern and protect inhabitants. A castle reflected power and status. Because of this it was situated (even symbolically) at good visible place, on natural elevation—hillock. Epitome of its respect was a tower which emphasized castle status.⁹¹

A monastery symbolized spiritual life of medieval society and it represented place of *oratores* residence. This social class mission was to offer up prayers to God for their brothers and sisters—co-wayfarers. Free from ostentation a church played its role. A monastery was a gate into sacred world, into paradise on earth, some sort of God's garden, Holy City on a small scale.⁹²

Laboratores—simplified and inaccurate name—covered those who earn their livelihood by manual work, and who sustained even remaining two social status.⁹³ As a reward armed and spiritual protection was provided by them. Those people life who were working was mostly on a village, after all especially Hungary was one big village in Middle Ages. Let us note a medieval town (with its privileges) was beyond such traditional links and it allowed suitable conditions for trade and crafts.

All three mentioned components of medieval society meet in symbiosis in Veľký Šariš area, too. Namely it consisted from the center of comitatus with comitatus-one castle, with a monastery below the castle, and with a community of guests engaged in work, agriculture, crafts and trade. Up to 13th century the castle was in possession of a king, together with the monastery and the town. An emperor was their founder, patron, donator, and protector, too. A lot of this was changed during history but concerning 13th century all mentioned components were united in some sort of perfect harmonic world, in ideal synthesis of medieval man society. At least seemingly.

In Veľký Šariš, the Order of hermits of St. Augustine history reflects complicated settlement process of borders close to notches and significant road to Poland during 13th century. Protective function of such notches was taken over by castles progressively. As far as area in question it was applied to Šariš, Kapušany (eastward) and Medzianky castles. Let us note hardly any part of Hun-

garian borderlands was fortified so intensely—mostly by stone fortification constructions—in this period. Probably, their development is already connected with north Galician policy of the king Belo III (1173–1196) and his son Andrew II the Jerosolimitan (1205–1235).

Just exactly into Veľký Šariš area first German settlers were coming from Spiš, apparently, at the turn of the 12th and 13th century.⁹⁴ Probably about the half of 13th century this area attracted lesser group of Williamites, maybe right from German space.⁹⁵ Hermits employed sparsely populated area close to notches in borderland near important road to Poland to build their hermitage, perhaps in the neighborhood of nowadays Pečovská Nová Ves or Sabinov. The first donation in the form of share from tax in kind in Šariš Williamites gained probably by prince royal Stephen (*iunior rex*) somewhere around 1262 year. But it does not mean they had to have a seat below Šariš castle neither their community was devoted to St. Stanislav reverence. The bringing of patrocinium, relics and the settling under comitatus—one castle could happened up to the end of 60-ties years of 13th century on prince royal Stephen's initiative, after his arrival from Cracow visit. Similar process occurred in the case of Augustinians in Sátoraljaújhely.

After incorporation of Williamites order into Augustinian-one in 1256 year and definitely after compromise in 1266 year, community membership was changing step by step but older Williamites tradition was still alive and it could be found even in the half of the 14th century.

The land was given to Augustinians by Ladislaus IV the Cuman in 1274 year. Its amount was comprised from the field between Červenica and Pečovská Nová Ves, and a mill such it is unknown if it was built. Even a land with settlement (maybe with a house or a garden) seemingly under Šariš castle was included. It probably has become foundations for the monastery. Its first building stage is dated into the period after 1274,⁹⁶ and without a doubt it was done by a king. This fact is connected with order character changes, namely its transformation from hermitic-one onto pastoral (mendicant) -one. Beside of personal sainthood in seclusion and contemplation monks have started to prefer a work with believers. And for this purpose a place with many people was much more suitable in comparison with countryside.

Income in kind and given land evidently did not suffice for growing up monk community, and thus originally smaller lands were enlarged by the king Ladislaus IV about the donation of village Záhradné in 1285 year. But

the monastery still belonged among more-less poor ones thus it was remaining at mendicant order platform. The location below the comitatus centre predetermined the monastery for carrying out some public function such for example as a credible place (probably up to seal revision in 1353).⁹⁷ Monks from the monastery had become part and parcel of life in the city, its neighborhood and the castle above. They lived here in symbiosis which was broke down in the half of 14th century by lawsuit on territorial boundaries its land next to Červenica. In 1350 year, they even had to ask Slavonian duke Stephen, brother of the king Louis I the Great (1342 – 1282), for protection.⁹⁸

It seems what has stopped aristocratic families from Červenica (lords from Torysa, and Tekule, too) pressure on land boundary revision was just his intervention.⁹⁹ But in 1370 year, monastery protection was again necessary. In order to do this a mother of the king Louis I the Great (1342 – 1382), the queen Elisabeth of Poland (Elżbieta Łokietkówna),¹⁰⁰ took her place. Actually, the monastery with the castle served as accommodation for the king and his mother during their trips to Poland. In the same year Louis has become a king of Poland, too. His mother played the role of regent in Cracow under Polish-Hungarian personal union. (The same reason was probably applied for building a palace construction in Zvolen.)

In Hungary, Williamites acted as autonomous order only short time. Their monasteries have become a part of the Order of hermits of St. Augustine structure—in 1256 year temporally, and after compromise negotiations in 1266 year forever. This process was concerned even Veľký Šariš area. But Williamitian tradition still has been existing in some monasteries, especially in Sátoraljaújhely (Újhely), Körmend, Zalakomár (Komár), and Esztergom.¹⁰¹ (These five convents belonged among monasteries which have been probably founded by Williamites.) The change for pastoral (mendicant) order was not so simple—Williamites kept their spirituality still several decades after that. For example, in Sátoraljaújhely Augustinians claimed allegiance to St. William of Maleval message up to 1524 year.¹⁰² As far as the monastery of St. Stanislav this tradition was vanishing gradually, and from the second half of 14th century there is no its evidence.

In comparison with king towns in neighborhood economic importance of monastery was marginal. But its cultural and religious value was high. Its vitality is proved by mutually step by step reliance as was indicated by Michal Slivka.¹⁰³ After all, in 1334 prior Herke is mentioned as legal representative of Šariš monastery foundation of Augustinian monastery of the Holy Spirit in nearby

Hrabkov, together with Hungarian Augustinian Provincial prior Iohannes, and the first new monastery prior Nicholas, too.¹⁰⁴ Concerning Šariš area, beside of the monastery in question there was even prior-monastery of St. John Baptist in Bardejov (also maybe in Malý Šariš). In the view of enlarged area (plus Spiš) the order had another prior-monastery of St. Elisabeth in Spišské Podhradie. At turn of the 15th a 16th century so-called Spiš district of the Order of hermits of St. Augustine was formed in this territory, which had own vicar as a head. This function was hold mainly by Bardejov prior.¹⁰⁵ In whole history the most important representative from Veľký Šariš was Stephen who acted as a prior of the whole Hungarian province in 1516 year.¹⁰⁶ The monastery vanished sometimes around the half of 16th century. Monks obviously had gone to the Convent of the Annunciation of the Lord and St. Thomas in Brno where has been brought part of written remains. Nowadays it is located in *Moravský zemský archive Brno*.¹⁰⁷

The monastery in Veľký Šariš represents very interesting cultural and religious centre with rich monastic history. Thanks to acting of hermits of the Order of St. William it belongs among particular localities not only within nowadays Slovakia scope but the whole former Hungary.

Notes:

1. Peter Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů : Seven Přemyslid Cults*, Praha, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Katolická teologická fakulta, Ústav dějin křesťanského umění; TOGGA, 2011, p. 21, or in Peter Olexák, *Oltár – najdôležitejšia súčasť kostola*, In *Studia Archeologica Slovaca Mediaevalia VI*, 2007, p. 141.
2. Jozef Kútnik, *Dejiny kultu sv. Stanislava na Slovensku*, In *Svätec a jeho funkcie v spoločnosti II*, Bratislava, Chronos, 2006, p. 323-332; Štefan Eláš, *Kult sv. Stanislava v Košiciach a na Slovensku*, In *Košické historické zošity 19*, 2009, p. 11-16; Stanislava Kuzmová, *Kult svätého Stanislava a Uhorsko*, In *Medea 3*, 1999, p. 51-61.
3. András Mező mentioned only last three localities, see in András Mező, *A templomcím a Magyar helységnevekben (11–15. század)*, Budapest, Magyar Egyháztörténeti Enciklopédia Munkaközösség, 1996, p. 195. But Kútnik has mentioned Pongrácovce, too.
4. Viliam Judák; Štefan Poláček, *Katalóg patrocíníí na Slovensku*, Bratislava, Rímskokatolícka cyrilometodská bohoslovecká fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave, 2009, p. 214-215. There is possible the patrociniium of St. Stanislav did have older origins and it was connected with Kunhuta activities.
5. Originally, there was devoted whole town to St. Stanislav where one of annual fairs was held on his holy day. This status was obviously kept until the beginning of the 16th century when the patrociniium was replaced by St. Mathias—one. Pe-

ter Vítek, *Dejiny Partizánskej Lupče*, Poprad, Marmota press, 2002, p. 16 or Alžbeta Günterová at alia, *Súpis pamiatok na Slovensku II*, Bratislava, Obzor, 1968, p. 451.

6. Dušan Čaplovič, *Stredoveké zaniknuté dedinské osídlenie na východnom Slovensku – stav a výsledky výskumu*, In *Archaeologia historica* 7, 1982, p. 86 or Martin Homza, *Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša*. In *Historia Scopusii vol. I: Dejiny Spiša I*, Bratislava; Kraków, Katedra slovenských dejín UK; Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego Kraków, 2009, p. 182.

7. Ján Hudák, *Patrocíniá na Slovensku (súpis a historický vývin)*, Bratislava, Veda, 1984, p. 337 or

Viliam Judák, *Katalóg patrocínií*, p. 214.

8. Jozef Kútnik Šmálov, *Dejiny kultu sv. Stanislava*, p. 328.

9. Georgius Fejér (ed.), *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis: Studio et opera Georgii Fejér*. (abbr. CDH) IX/1, Budae, Regiae Vniversitatis Vnagaricae, 1829 – 1844, p. 335. “*contra Magistrum Rycolphum, filium Rycolphi de Torkw*”. It is interesting that Rikolf—whose family came of Veľká Lomnica originally—used nominal predicate *by Kamenica* which probably refers to colonization of the upper reaches of this river by German settlers from Spiš. But it is well known Rikolf’s descendants used a predicate derived from neighboring village Brezovica. Miloš Marek, *Cudzí etniká na stredovekom Slovensku*, Martin, Matica slovenská, 2006, p. 179. On the topic of this family estates in Spiš and Šariš, mostly in 13th century, see also Peter Labanc, *Počiatky rodu pánov z Lomnice*, In *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia VIII. Vybrané problémy slovenských dejín*. 2009, p. 27–28, or Peter Labanc, *Vývoj šľachty na Spiši do začiatku 14. storočia*, Kraków; Trnava, 2013, p. 17–43.

10. CDH IX/1, p. 334–335. This document was already known in short regesta to Carolus Wagner.

WAGNER, Carolus (ed.). *Diplomatarium comitatus Sarosien-sis, quod ex tabulariis et codicibus manuscriptis eruit Carolus Wagner Hungarus zboroviensis bibliothecae universitatis regiae Budensis custod*, (abbr. DCS), Posonii; Cassoviae, Joannis Michaelis Landerer, 1780, p. 521. Economic situation in Červenica was apparently quite complicated. Except of family of Brezovica (Kamenica) and Augustinians from Veľký Šariš, aristocratic family of Telukovci had its share here.

11. CDH IX/1, p. 334; “*Frater Laurencius Ordinis Fratrum Villermitarum Sancti Augustini de Claustro p. Stanizlay Martyris de Sarus pro priore et Conuentu de eodem Claustro cum procuratoriis Litteris*”

12. To specify see Balbino Rano, *The Order of Saint Augustine*, Roma, Nuova Grafica, 1975, p. 9–14.

13. Original name—the *Order of hermits of St. Augustine* (O.E.S.A.)—was replaced by new one—the *Order of St. Augustine* (O.S.A.) with the approval of the Congregation for religious orders in February 12, 1969; Milan Buben, *Encyklopedie řádů a kongregací v českých zemích III/2. Žebravé řády*, Praha, Libri, 2007, p. 24. Another name—the *Order of friars of St. Augustine* (*Ordo Fratrum p. Augustini*)—is used sporadically. *Lexikon des*

Mittelalters 1. CD-ROM Ausgabe. Verlag J. B. Metzner, 2000, p. 1220–1221. See also Miroslav Hut’ka, *Intelektuálna a vzdelanostná úroveň uhorských augustiniánov v stredoveku*, In *Kultúrna dejiny*, vol. 7, Supplement, 2016, p. 19–21.

14. This order is more-less unknown in local authors work. With exception of several older information on Williamites and their few monasteries one cannot find modern studies. The topic is only in the centre of foreign historians interest, Kaspar Elm.

15. Carolus Péterffy, *Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae Romano-Catholicae in Regno Hungariae celebrata. II*, Posonii, Typis Haeredum Royerianorum, 1742, p. 284.

16. *Ibidem*, p. 278; Here are mentioned only two localities, namely Körmend (St. Kozma and Damian patrociniium, in fact of the Virgin Mary) and Zalakomár.

17. Pál Xystus Schier, *Memoria provinciae Hungaricae Augustiniana antiquae, adservata in schedis P. Xysti Schier ... ac dein per Martinum Rosnak ejusdem instituti alumnium in lucem publicam emissa Anno MDCCLXXV*, Graecii, Typis Haeredum Windmanstadii, 1778, 106 p. Martinus Rosnak made second parts: *De monasteriis Prov. Aust. et Hung. Ord. Erem. p. P. Aug. Succincta Notitia inusum, dumtaxat Juniorum eisdem Prov. Alumnorum*.

18. DCS, p. 575.

19. Damiáni Fuxhoffer; Maurus Czinár, *Monasteriologiae regni Hungariae. Tomus I*, Pestini, Typus Gustavi Emich, 1860, p. 218–219.

20. Ferenc Fallenbüchl, *Az Ágostonrendiek Magyarországon*, Szent István Akadémia II. Osztályának értekezése III/3, Budapest, Stephaneum Nyomda, 1943, 241 p. or smaller study Ferenc Fallenbüchl; Gerhard Ring, *Die Augustiner in Ungarn der Niederlage von Mohács 1526*, In *Augustiniana* 15, 1965, p. 131–174.

21. Kaspar Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wilhelmtenordens*, Köln; Graz, Böhlau Verlag, 1962, p. 89.

22. Kaspar Elm, *Die Bulle “Ea quae iudicio” Clemens’ IV. 30. VIII. 1266: Vorgeschichte, Ueberlieferung, Text und Bedeutung*, In *Augustiniana* 16, 1966, p. 121.

23. Beatrix Romhányi, *Ágostonrendi remeték a középkori Magyarországon*, In *Aetas*, vol. 20, 4/2005, p. 91–101; or author’s older catalogue work on chapters and monasteries in Medieval Hungary. Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok és tarsaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest, Pytheas, 2000, 165 p. Next Hungarian author who studied history of Augustinians is Gabriella Erdélyi; she concerns the turn of 15th and 16th century. Compare with, e.g., Gabriella Erdélyi, *Egy kolostorper története: hatalom, vallás és mindennapok a középkor és az újkor határán*. Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005, 275 p.; or Gabriella Erdélyi, *Válság vagy megújulás? Az ágoston-rendi remeték magyar provinciája és a rendi reform ügye a késő középkorban*. In *Egyháztörténeti szemle*, vol 3, 1/2002, p. 51–67.

24. E.g., Elemér Mályusz, *Az ágostonrend a középkori Magyarországon*, In *Egyháztörténet* 1, 1943, p. 427–440 or Gabriel Adriányi, *Die Augustiner-Eremiten in Ungarn*, In *Scientia*

- Augustiana : Studien über Augustinus, den Augustinismus und den Augustinerorden. Festschrift P. Dr. theol. Dr. phil. Adolar Zumkeller OSA, Würzburg 1975, p. 719-732.*
25. Alexander Ruttkey; Michal Slivka, *Cirkevné inštitúcie a ich úloha v sídliskovom a hospodárskom vývoji Slovenska v stredoveku*, In *Archaeologia historica* 10, 1985, p. 333-356; the author of chapter on monasteries was M. Slivka. Besides Michal Slivka, *K problematike eremitizmu na Slovensku*, In Jozef Šimončič, (ed.), *Dejiny a kultúra rehoľných komunit na Slovensku*, Trnava, Trnavská univerzita, 1994, p. 49-70; and, Michal Slivka, *Stredoveké rehoľné domy na východnom Slovensku*. In *Zborník príspevkov k slovenským dejinám*, Bratislava, Slovenský historický ústav MS, 1998, p. 77-88.
26. Ferdinand Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša*, 514 p., or Ferdinand Uličný, *Podiel cirkevných inštitúcií na vývoji osídlenia a hospodárstva východného Slovenska v 12. – 16. storočí*. In *Archaeologia historica* 10, 1985, p. 357-367.
27. Jozef Kúttnik Šmálov, *Kresťanský stredovek Slovenska*, Bratislava, Lúč, 2005, p. 327.
28. Jozef Čizmar, *Starobyľý a pútnický*, 46 p.
29. Lopez Bardón (Fr. Tirso), “*Nicolai Crusenii Ord. S. Augustini. Pars tertia Monastici Augustiniani, Complectens epitomen historicam FF. Augustinensium a magna Ordinis unione usque ad an. 1620, cum additamentis Revmi. P. M. Fr. Josephi Lanteri, ejusdem Ordinis. Tomus I*“. Vallisoleti, 1890, p. 298.
30. Moravský zemský archív (abbr. MZA) v Brně, Fond Augustiniáni Brno (abbr. E 4), inv. č. 5, sign. 41 V. Via work *Alphabeta de Monachis, ac Monasteriis Germaniae et Sarmatiae* by Felix Milensio, the first document is cited by Carolus Wagner, but only in short regesta; DCS, p. 514, note b. This regesta was used in all successive works concerning by history of the monastery. Because of several damages the document was possible to read thanks to effective help of Marek Ďurčo. See also Miroslav Hut'ka, *Uhorskí augustiniáni v historickej a literárnej spisbe (s prihliadnutím na územie Slovenska)*, In *Kultúrne dejiny*, vol. 2/2013, p.193-196.
31. MZA v Brně, E 4, inv. č. 5, sgn. 41 V : 1 “[...*fraters ordinis heremitarum beati Augustini [de civitate nostra] Sarus*”
32. This was already proved by Michal Slivka, *K problematike eremitizmu*, p. 60.
33. DCS, p. 291–292. “*Comes Thomas filius Tecule, cum Fratribus suis Lede, et Martino, ac Andreas filius Budun...*“. Compare also with Ján Beňko, *Osídlenie severného Slovenska*, Košice, Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1985, p. 203.
34. DCS, p. 292, “*Fratrum Gyllermitarum Ordinis p. Augustini se Sárus pretio compararunt*”, or CDH V/2, p. 432-434.
35. Kaspar Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 195 p. a ďalšie práce autora. Next David Gutiérrez, *Geschichte des Augustinerordens, Bd. 1, Teil 1, Die Augustiner im Mittelalter 1256 – 1356*, Würzburg, Augustinus Verlag, 1985, p. 27-31, or Andreas Bönner, *Der Orden der Wilhelmiten : Bedeutend und Vergessen*, Norderstedt, Grin, 2008, 21 p.
36. See also Miroslav Hut'ka, *Rád svätého Viliama a kláštor vo Veľkom Šariši : príspevok k počiatkom Rádu pustovníkov svätého Augustína v stredovekom Uhorsku*, In Vladimír Rábik etc., *Vývoj cirkevnej správy na Slovensku*, Trnava, Filozofická fakulta Trnavskej univerzity, 2010, p. 230-253.
37. St. William did have only two followers in time of his death, namely Albert and Reginald (Rainald) whose fate is in fact unknown; Kaspar Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, p. 20-21.
38. David Gutiérrez, *Geschichte des Augustinerordens. Bd. 1, Teil 1*, p. 27–28.
39. *Ibidem*, or Kaspar Elm, *Italienische Eremitengemeinschaften des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts : Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Augustiner-Eremitenordens*. In Kaspar Elm (ed.), *Vitasfratrum : Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eremiten- und Mendikantenorden des zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Saxonia Franciscana band 5*. Annweiler, Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1994, p. 3-54.
40. Benignus van Luijk, O.S.A. (ed.), *Bullarium Ordinis Eremitarum p. Augustini : Periodus formationis 1187 – 1256*, Wuerzburg, Augustinus Verlag, 1964, num. 163.
41. The bull was published even in edition of G. Fejér; CDH IV/3, p. 347-358.
42. During 1242 – 1253 period he held the post of Ostrihom archbishop. He was the first Hungarian representative who has become a cardinal (Palaestrini) (by the pope Inocent IV sometimes between 1251 – 1252 years). In Rome he acted as a protector of new church orders: Franciscans, Poor Clares, and Williamites: Lajos Varga, *Bánca nembeli I. István 1241. május–1253. november 13. c.* In Margit Beke (ed.), *Esztergomi érsekek 1001 – 2003*, Budapest, Szent István társulat az Apostoli Szentszék Könyvkiadója, 2003, p. 106-111. Even, the note (without Rome activity description) can be found in Ferdinandus Knauz (ed.), *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis (abbr. MES) I, Strigoni, Typis Descripsit Aegydius Horák, 1874, p. 349-352.*
43. Kaspar Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, p. 89.
44. CDH IV/3, p. 358, “*Magistro Paulo Archidiacono Camera-censi (Camarensi) in Ecclesia Strigoniensi*“
45. Kaspar Elm pointed out that the monastery was—according with Österreichische Reimchronik—founded before 1256 year; Kaspar Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, p. 89.
46. Stanislava Kuzmová, *Kult svätého Stanislava a Uhorsko*, In *Medea*, 3/1999, p. 54.
47. In sources Szczecin is mentioned as “*monasterium Val-lis Sancti Guilelmi*“, and Lipiny as “*domus de Lipen*“: Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Zakony na ziemiach polskich w wiekach śred-nich*, In *Kościół w Polsce I : Średniowiecze*, Kraków, Znak, 1966, p. 469. Similarly see also Kaspar Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, p. 89-90. Precisely: Kaspar Elm, *Wilhelmiten in Brandenburg und Pommern*, In *Augustiniana* 16, 1966, p. 89-96.
48. Grzegorz O. Uth, *Szkie historyczno-biograficzny zakonu augustjańskiego w Polsce*, Kraków, Nakładem OO. Augustjanów, 1930, p. 63-64.
49. Jerzy Kłoczowski, *Wspólnoty zakonne w średniowiecznej*

Polsce, Lublin, Institut Historii, 2010, p. 288.

50. Ferdinand Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša*, p. 349.

51. MZA v Brně, E 4, inv. č. 5, sgn. 41 V : 1 “Propterea ob salutare remedium anime domini Stephani quondam victorisimi regis Ungarie pie memorie karissimi predecessoris nostri in nostram perpetuam elemosinam concessimus ordinavimus et statuimus eisdem fratribus dari et persolvi de Clicio nostro de Sarus per officialem nostrum de eodem loco in singulis annis singulos [entum]acones ex quibus quinquaginta de frugum et quinquaginta de brasio cum acone cuiusdem clici nostri volumus solvantur sicut etiam his premissa seu singula premissorum [...]re per collacionem predicti karissimi predecessoris nostri possidebant percipiebant pariter et habebant.” See also Damian Fuxhofer, *Monasteriologiae*, p. 218.

52. August Bielowski (ed), *Rodzник Franciszkański Krakowski I*, In *Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Tomus 3*, Lwów, Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1878, p. 49, “Eodem anno (1268) 7 Calendas Septembris (26. augusta) Stephanus rex Ungarie venit Cracoviam, Visitare Kimina sancti Stanislai, et at videret ducem Boleslaum sororium suum, utpete qui habebat dominam Kyngam germanam suam.” This visitation is dated by the end of summer 1270 (elsewhere autumn) in Jan Długosz, *Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królestwa Polskiego*, 7 - 8. (Ed. a trans. Julia Mróková), Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974, s. 214. and Martin Homza, *Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša*, p. 283.

53. Stanislava Kuzmová, *Kult svätého Stanislava*, p. 59.

54. Elena Miroššayová; Anton Karabinoš, *Kláštor augustiniánov vo Veľkom Šariši*, In *Pamiatka a múzeá*, 2/2005, p. 20 a 23.

55. Jozef Kútnik Šmálov, *Kresťanský stredovek*, p. 256-257.

56. Michal Slivka, *K problematike eremitizmu*, p. 57.

57. MZA v Brně, E 4, inv. č. 5, sgn. 41 V : 1 “occurrere pio studio regum favoris remediique stipendio salutaris propterque predictis fratribus ordinis memorati dedimus et donavimus in territorio Sarus quendam ortulum in quo locus pro molendino aptus continetur”

58. MZA v Brně, E 4, inv. č. 5, sgn. 41 V : 1 “Item quoddam fenetum ultra indagines existens seu adiacens. Cuius quidem prime mete prout in literis Ladyzlai comitis de Sarus fidelis nostri conspeximus hoc ordine distinguntur. Prima quidem meta dicti feneti progreditur a parte septemtrionali iuxta portam indaginis super cacumine cuiusdam montis sa[...]s exinde tendit ad partem orientalem ad quendam montem [...] cetey vulgariter nuncupatur et ibidem meta terrea satis antiqua deinde descendit ad partem meridionalem ad quendam locum qui Cepu dicitur [...] tra deinde egressa reflectitur ad locum priorem et sic terminatur. Ipsam tamen terram recte per medium a capite usque ad finem discurrit quedam aqua que proprio vocabulo Lituna vocitatur.”

59. Vincent Sedlak (ed.), *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistularia Slovaciae* (abbl. RDSI) II, Bratislava, Veda, 1987, p. 346-347. As a monastery prior, friar Nicholas (*frater Nicolaus*) is mentioned in 1322.

60. DCS, p. 546. “quod quendam particulam terrae, et silva-

rum inter metas Ujfalú et Vörösalma haberet Conventus”

61. MZA v Brně, E 4, inv. č. 5, sgn. 41 V : 1 “Item unum fundum curie in castro nostro Tubul nuncupato.”

62. Michal Slivka, *Hrady a hrádky*, p. 135.

63. Miroslav Plaček; Martin Bóna, *Encyklopédia slovenských hradov*, Bratislava, Slovart, 2007, p. 204-205, or Michal Slivka; Adrián Vallašek, *Hrady a hrádky*, p. 159-162.

64. Ferdinand Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša*, p. 351. Author's older opinion concerned Šariš district arose during 20-ties–40-ties years of 13th century: Ferdinand Uličný, *Vznik a vývin Šarišskej stolice v 13. – 14. storočí*, In *Slovenská archivistika*, vol. 13, 1/1978, p.143-155.

65. DCS, p. 53. “Castrum suum Regale Moglod dictum”. Richard Marsina has considered the castle Kapušany and Tubul identical, too; Richard Marsina (ed.), *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistularis Slovaciae* (abbr. CDS) II. Bratislava : Obzor, 1987, p. 321–322.

66. In 1410 the king Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387 – 1437) was “seu Frotalitium Kapy in Comitatu de Sárus ab antiquo constructum“ to magister Andrej from Kapušany DCS, p. 59 and 72, or in 1468 year, when Šariš towns were asked for engagement against the “Castrum Kapy vocatum“ by the king Matthias; DCS, p. 72.

67. Michal Slivka; Adrián Vallašek, *Hrady a hrádky*, p. 159. This castle is known from documents up to 15th century, in which it is presented as Chmeľov (“Jacobus de Posaga Castris Chmelow Capitane”) or Komlóš “Fortalitii Komlos”; DCS, p. 63 a 66.

68. Miroslav Plaček; Martin Bóna, *Encyklopédia slovenských hradov*, p. 149.

69. Jozef Vojtas, *Z minulosti krížovníckeho prepoštvstva v Lendaku*, In *Vlastivedný zborník Spiš 1*, 1967, p. 57-87. On their activities in East Slovakia compare also with Michal Slivka, *Rádové domy v štruktúre osídlenia Slovenska a v jeho politických a sociálno-ekonomických vzťahoch (so zreteľom na krížovnícke rády)*, In *Archaeologia historica 12*, 1987, p. 393-396.

70. For example Gusztáv Wenzel (ed.). *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus – Árpád-kori új okmánytár 7*, Pest, Eggenberger Ferdinánd Akanemiai, 1872, p. 361-362. “existentes infra castrum Tubul... fidelem nostrum Mychaelem Comitem de Sarus...” or Emricus Nagy (ed.), *Codex Diplomaticus Patrius – Hazai okmánytár VIII*, Pestini, Typis Victoris Sauerwein, 1865, p. 54. “castris sui de Tobul... per Tekus comitem de Sarus...”

71. Ferdinand Uličný, *Vznik a vývin Šarišskej stolice*, p. 145.

72. Michal Slivka; Adrián Vallašek, *Hrady a hrádky*, p. 136.

73. Ferdinand Uličný, *Dejiny osídlenia Šariša*, p. 348. This year Detus from Veľký Šariš accused Detrik of stealing a house. The case was decided on so-called God court in Oradea.

74. Michal Slivka, *Hrady a hrádky*, p. 135.

75. DCS, p. 322. “Joseph filius Dominici fidelis serviens Magistri Henrici Fratris ipsorum Magistrorum supradictorum, et quodam Comititis, et Castellani de Tobol, et de Sarus ad alia...”

76. Vladimír Rábik, *Nemecké osídlenie na území východného Slovenska (Šarišská župa a slovenské časti žúp Abovskej, Zemplínskej a Užskej)*, Bratislava, Karpatonemecký spolok na

Slovensku, 2006, p. 55-58.

77. Miloš Marek, *Cudzie etniká*, p. 174.

78. Milan Buben, *Encyklopedie řádů a kongregací*, p. 25-27.

79. Kaspar Elm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, p. 170-171.

80. Michal Slivka, *K problematike eremitizmu*, p. 52-53.

81. Jozef Kútnik Šmálov, *K problematike eremitizmu*, p. 272-273.

82. Ján Beňko, *Osídlenie severného*, p. 200.

83. Michal Slivka, *Stredoveké rehoľné domy na východnom Slovensku*, In *Zborník príspevkov k slovenským dejinám*, Bratislava, Slovenský historický ústav MS, 1998, p. 79.

84. Such scenario was already anticipated by J. Kútnik Šmálov, namely he stated that Augustinians “did not come from Poland, and their patrocinium of St. Stanislav was not original.” Jozef Kútnik Šmálov, *K problematike eremitizmu*, p. 257.

85. Alexander Avenarius, *Problém pravosti privilegia*, p. 126. Compare also with Ferdinand Uličný, *Začiatky a vývoj kresťanstva na východnom Slovensku v stredoveku*, In Mária Kohútová (ed.), *Kresťanstvo v dejinách Slovenska*, Bratislava, Historický ústav SAV, 2003, p. 38.

86. Ferencz Fallenbüchl, *Az Ágostonrendiek Magyarországon*, p. 51-52.

87. Ferdinandus Knauz (ed.), *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis* (abbr. MES) II, Strigonii, Typis Descriptis Gustavus Buzárovits, 1882, p. 199, num. 179. “*Quod frater Stephanus, prior ordinis Heremitarum sancti Augustini de claustro monasterij sancti Stanizlai de Sarus.*” G. Fejér writes “*monasterii p. Stanislai de Sár*”; CDH V/3, p. 294.

88. MES II, p. 198.

89. Jacques Le Goff, *Středověký člověk*, In Jacques Le Goff (ed.), *Středověký člověk a jeho svět*, Praha, Vyšehrad, 1999, p. 16-17.

90. There were published many works on tree kinds people topic lately. E.g., see at least Georges Duby, *Tři řády*, Praha, Argo, 2008, 400 p., or Jiří Bílý, *Trojí lid*, Praha, Libri, 2000, 345 p.

91. Michal Slivka, *Veže ako dominanty dominií (Symbolika a geneticko-typologický vývoj na Slovensku)*, In *Archaeologia Historica Polonia* 12, 2002, p. 9-29.

92. Michal Slivka, *K problematike eremitizmu*, p. 63-64.

93. Manual work was carried out also by many aristocrats (mostly gentry), and a lot of middle aristocratic took a part on maintenance their estates. Even high aristocratic family of Turzovci was known by its entrepreneurial spirit (but this was exception). After all, many monks and priests had to earn their livelihood by own work.

94. Miloš Marek, *Cudzie etniká*, p. 174.

95. B. Romhányi already pointed out strong German influence in the process of Augustinians spreading into Hungary; Beatrix Romhányi, *Ágostonrendi*, p. 96.

96. Elena Miroššayová, *Kláštor augustiniánov*, p. 20. This archeological research did not prove existence of a monastery from the half of 11th century which was based on the refer-

ence about the king Aba Samuel burial at *Sárus* in Dubnická chronicle; Július Sopko (ed.), *Kronika zvaná Dubnická*, Budmerice, Rak, 1998, p. 38. The monastery in Sárus is connected with Benedictine abbey in Abasár, Hungary. Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok*, p. 56.

97. Damián Fuxhoffer, *Monasteriologiae I*, p. 219.

98. The document was issued by duke Stephen in June 27, 1350. MZA v Brně, E4, inv. č. 22, sgn. 41 V : 8.

99. DCS, p. 521-522.

100. Dezső Csánki. *Magyarország történelmi földrajza I*, Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1890, p. 287.

101. Beatrix Romhányi, *Ágostonrendi*, p. 92. Kaspar Elm, Die Bulle “*Ea quae iudicio*” Clemens’ IV. 30. VIII. 1266 : Vorge-schichte, Überlieferung, Text und Bedeutung. In *Augustiniana* 16, 1966, p. 119-123.

102. Beatrix Romhányi, *Ágostonrendi*, p. 92.

103. Alexander Ruttky, *Cirkevné inštitúcie*, p. 346.

104. DCS, p. 517.

105. Porovnaj napríklad listinu z roku 1516: “*Fratribus Benedicti de Lippa pro tunc ejusdem Conventus Prioris, et Vicarii Districtus Scepusiensis, etc.*” DCS, p. 540.

106. DCS, p. 547-548 or Ferencz Fallenbüchl, *Az Ágostonrendiek*, p. 28.

107. Unfortunately, only five documents are in question.

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