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BLESSED EUSEBIUS AND THE PAULINE HERMITS

The history of Blessed Eusebius and the Pauline Order has been the subject of a considerable number of scholarly studies in recent decades.¹ The possible features of the early history of the Pauline Order have been discussed from a variety of perspectives. One inevitable subject of these analyses is the manuscript *Vitae fratrum*² compiled by the Pauline Gergely Gyöngyösi³, and the examination of the veracity of the information it contains. One school of thought treats the person of Eusebius as a purely fictional character, while another sees him as a real-life protagonist of events. This study aims to make some contributions to the complex issue of historical reality.

Gyöngyösi's sources and literary intentions

According to the current state of the research, the earliest work on the one-time canon of Esztergom, Blessed Eusebius, is Gergely Gyöngyösi's *Vitae fratrum*. In it, the interested reader will find an account of the life of Eusebius. We learn

1 Guzsik 2003; Hervay 2007; Koszta 2009; Mályusz 1945; Mályusz 1971; Mezey 1979; F. Romhányi 2010; Sarbak 2007; Scheffer 2020; Tarnai 1984; Török 2003; Hesz 2021. This study is a revised version of the latter.

2 Gyöngyösi, G., pp. 1472–1531. See: Sarbak 2010

3 Gyöngyösi 1988

from it that he was born in Esztergom and rose to become a member of the Chapter. As a canon, he also conversed with visiting hermits, who exchanged the baskets they had made for bread. During these conversations he grew so fond of them that he decided to become a hermit himself. After a long period of reflection, his decision came true after the Mongol invasion. Near Esztergom, in the Pilis Mountains, he built a monastery in honour of the Holy Cross. In 1262 he visited the court of Pope Urban IV and died in 1270, as provincial head of the hermit brothers.⁴ These are roughly the facts that emerge from Gergely Gyöngyösi's work, and we can safely accept them as historically authentic for the person of Eusebius.⁵

At the beginning of his book on the life of the Paulines,⁶ Gergely Gyöngyösi freely used the genre of legend to tell future generations about Eusebius. He himself commented on the sources of his work in the preface⁷ and in the chapter on Márk Dombrói.⁸ He certainly drew his information not only from monastic documents but also by word of mouth in the monastery. In addition, the *necrologia* of each monastery, recording the names of the members of the order who died in the monastery and the day – but not the year – of their death, were probably available after 1308. It was the duty of the prior to keep the relevant records up to date.⁹ It is likely in these records where Gyöngyösi could find a written, though lost, source for the names of the successive prelates of the Monastery of the Holy Cross. Another interesting addition to the sources is Gábor Sarbak's remark that "a historical record predating Gyöngyösi's time existed in the order, so perhaps Mark Dombrói did not follow an unbroken path either."¹⁰ József Török is also convinced of this: "There was a conscious effort to preserve and collect the events of the

4 Gyöngyösi 1988, pp. 38–47

5 Török–Legeza–Szacsavay 1996, p. 15

6 Gyöngyösi 1988, pp. 33–204

7 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 33

8 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 167

9 Świdziński 2009, p. 36. It must be mentioned that a similar provision is currently in place. Furthermore, the founder of the monastery is very strongly remembered by the inhabitants of the house, even going back centuries.

10 Sarbak 1984, p. 50. This is corroborated by Tarnai 1984, p. 202

history of the order, and the chronicle of Gergely Gyöngyösi, cited multiple times, goes back to a serious background.”¹¹

Gyöngyösi’s work was intended for his fellow monks. This is indicated by the fact that it did not appear in print until modern times, only manuscripts have survived.¹² Eusebius is treated separately from the other biographies, the term *vita* being used in the first chapter on him to determine the topic: *Incipit vita fratris Eusebii adhuc secularis*.¹³ The emphasis serves to underline the importance of the person. The essence of his message is, “behold, a distinguished person, both among the excellencies and among the leaders of the Order.” For a long time, the genre of the *vita* was considered to be an account of a notarised authenticity, as it was in other cases, such as that of Saint Paul the First Hermit.

The *vita* is a possible form of legend writing. The value of the *legend* as a source has changed considerably over the last century. Révai’s Great Lexicon still defines the legend as a reality-based work that bears moral witness,¹⁴ while a literary history published in 1964 considers it merely as a propaganda tool supported by the Church.¹⁵ Thus what was a specific approach to reality, in terms of an exemplary, gospel-inspired way of life, has become simply unreliable, ideological material. Such a change in the assessment of the information contained in the *vita* and the *legend* naturally has a negative impact on the credibility of what is being communicated. For us, however, an interpretation free of any ideological background seems closer to reality. As a thorough and emphatic source-critical processing of historical documents in the field of legendary writing cannot be avoided, so too the avoidance of an ideology-driven approach to questions about the existence or non-existence of a person serves to strengthen scientific credibility. In the case of Blessed Eusebius, we can reasonably assume that he existed. It is not a legend, but only a parable, that is usually created about a non-existent person. It is not advisable to confuse the two concepts, as they have different meanings. This is the reason

11 Török 1990, p. 91

12 Sarbak 2007, p. 233

13 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 38. “The chronicle of the secular life of Brother Eusebius begins.”

14 Révai 1915, pp. 579–580

15 Klaniczay 1964, p. 62

for Gyöngyösi's use of the word. He also wanted to respond to the Dominicans' attack on the Paulines in the mid-15th century and to provide his fellow monks with arguments.¹⁶

The figure of Eusebius in the *Vitae fratrum* and later historical literature

Gyöngyösi first presents the origins of the hermits in Hungary, from the reign of King St. Stephen (997 – 1038) to the time of Béla IV (1235 - 1270). The direct antecedents, in his view, are the hermits of the monastery of Saint James near Pécs, to whom Bishop Bertalan of Pécs gave a very brief code of rules.¹⁷ He then describes the events of the life of Eusebius from chapter five to the end of chapter thirteen.

From this work, we learn about his birth in Esztergom, his early fervent religious zeal, his progress in the sciences and his being a priest, which led to his election among the canons of Esztergom. In this dignity he was frequently visited by the hermits of the area, and he enjoyed their company. He wished to exchange his canonical status, together with his friends and early followers, for the solitude of the hermits, but the Mongol invasion (1241 - 42) prevented him from doing so. After the situation had settled down, surrounded by other companions and adhering to his resolve with great perseverance, Eusebius took leave of his former life and joined the hermits, where he served as a priest.¹⁸ Emphasis on the struggle for vocation and the resulting perseverance in the life of Eusebius, as well as the descriptions in the biographies of the abbots,

16 This will be discussed in detail later, in the context of the naming of the Paulines, because it concerns the order and not Eusebius.

17 Mályusz 1971, p. 257. According to Mályusz, the Rule attributed to Bishop Bertalan was written much later.

18 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 43

considered schematic,¹⁹ which emphasise personal religiousness, seem to support the more recent view that Gyöngyösi's writing was intended to serve as a guide and a mindset-shaping *opus* for the members of the order. During his monastic life, he stood out among his peers in the virtue of hospitality, which he had already practised earlier. The kind-worded hermit was joined by Brothers Benedict and Stephen, who later succeeded him at the head of the province. The site of their hermitage was the Monastery of the Holy Cross near Esztergom, not far from the Hármas-barlang (Triple Cave), where, by a spring, Eusebius and six of his companions led a life of devotion to God.

The founding of the monastic centre is attested to by the author's remark, which reads (in free translation): "[...] he began the foundation of the said monastery so it would become the seat of a regulated way of life someday."²⁰ So he lets us know that, although the monastery of Saint Lawrence above Buda was the seat of the order at the time of writing, the centre was previously in the monastery of the Holy Cross, and that the monks were far from living according to the *Regula*. At best, they could build on each other's good example and efforts. The mention of six companions could also be a reference to the perfection inherent in the number seven, but it is also in line with the currently accepted view of the number of monks in Hungarian Pauline monasteries in the Middle Ages.²¹

A striking habit for the modern reader is the insertion of a *distich* at the head of each chapter, typically the author's own poems, to summarise the point of the respective chapter. With this, Gyöngyösi follows the editorial principles of the Buda Chronicle.²² By way of illustration, he publishes a poem by the Pauline poet István Varsányi on the foundation of the Holy Cross monastery in Pilis, in which he commemorates Eusebius, the holy man, hermit and priest, who asks the Pope for the granting of the *Regula* of Saint Augustine.²³ These lines also set

19 Mályusz 1944, pp. 95–100

20 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 42 "[...] quoddam monasterium, regularis observantiae sedem futuram inchoavit."

21 Kubinyi 2007, p. 49

22 Gyöngyösi 1983, p. 11

23 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 43

the scene for an important charter issued by Paul, bishop of Veszprém in 1263, by authority of Pope Urban IV, approving the operation of the monasteries. Sándor V. Kovács, in his accompanying study of the three poems preserved by Gyöngyösi, one of which is Varsányi's, notes that it was customary to write poetry in Hungarian at the time, and that a poet only translated poems into Latin if he wished to share it with the public.²⁴ In this context mention should be made of Levente Hervay's criticism who, in his study, expresses his conviction that Varsányi probably wrote his poem about Eusebius at Gyöngyösi's request.²⁵ The claims of the *vita* formulated by Gyöngyösi in relation to the period preceding the hermitage period of Eusebius' life have been convincingly analysed by recent research, which has pointed to a possible interpretation that confirms Eusebius' connection with Esztergom and his status as a canon.²⁶

According to Gyöngyösi, hermits visiting Eusebius often visited the canon's house to exchange their baskets for bread.²⁷ An interesting addition to this is Ferenc Kollányi's study of the Esztergom canons, in which he states that "long before 1397, each canon received one loaf of bread a day from the archbishop. The archbishop redeemed this debt [...] by conceding tithes. The daily dividend, however, remained [...] the members of the chapter [...] received bread enough for one day and 3 denarii."²⁸ Here, then, either Gyöngyösi is incorporating into his narrative a custom that had survived to his day, or else we are dealing with a highly authentic passage. Further research is needed to decide upon this question.

Gyöngyösi's manuscript became known to other important historians of the Baroque period. In 1663, Pauline Andreas Eggerer published a book, edited in the newest style of his time, based on the *Vitae fratrum*, expressly commissioned by the Grand Chapter. He does not shy away from interpreting

24 Gyöngyösi 1983, pp. 19–20

25 Hervay 2007, p. 61

26 Scheffer 2020, pp. 25–31

27 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 39. "Proinde fratres antra desertorum passim incolentes et ideo de heremo dicti domum suam frequenter adibant, ut sportulas viminibus contextas panis alimonia commutarent."

28 Kollányi 1900, XVII

Gyöngyösi's data, which results in his source being thoroughly explained, and a considerable amount of additional information being added to the canon of Pauline historiography. His aim is to formulate the founding of the order in a way that meets the needs of the 17th century. The means he uses for this is inserting the dates into the life of Eusebius and describing his vision.²⁹ In this way, his writing becomes a reference for later works on the person of Blessed Eusebius. Afterwards, his data were used as a source and were considered credible.

New information compared with the previous data is that Eggerer, referring to old memories of the order, believes that Eusebius resigned the dignity of canon in 1246.³⁰ The other theme, which goes beyond Gyöngyösi's wording, is Eusebius' miraculous vision of the flames joining together;³¹ after the appearance of the vision and much prayer, he decided to gather the hermits living in the Pilis around him and, together with six others, he erected a small church in honour of the Holy Cross. In terms of the description of the vision, it should be added that Eggerer certainly knew some Greek and was familiar with the *Book of Wisdom* from the Holy Scriptures. This knowledge influenced the description of the vision, but not its content.

The Greek name *Eusebius* means pious, devout, godly.³² In the third chapter of the *Book of Wisdom*, the fate of the pious and the wicked are compared. Verse seven reads, "The righteous light up and are like a spark that rushes through the reeds."³³ In a translation: "...they shall shine, and shall dart about as sparks through stubble..."³⁴ Eggerer adopts this phrase almost verbatim, integrating it into the life of Eusebius in his description of the night vision of the flames.³⁵ Eusebius would later ask for the regulation of the hermits of Jakab-hegy (Mount

29 Eggerer 1663, p. 74

30 Eggerer 1663, p. 73

31 Eggerer 1663, p. 74 "[...] flammulae in unum coire [...]"

32 Hervay 2007, p. 61

33 Bölcs (Wisdom) 3, p. 7. "Fulgebunt justi et tamquam scintillae in arundineto discurrunt."

34 See The New American Bible, Wisdom 3,6

35 Eggerer 1663, p. 74. "[...], ignes aliqui per sylvam tanquam scintillae in arundineto discurrunt; [...]"

Jacob), who, recognising his excellence, join the Pilis hermits and elect the former canon of Esztergom as their magistrate, provincial. The remainder of the *vita* in Eggerer's book faithfully follows Gyöngyösi's description. The date of death is given here as 20 January. A simple copying error may explain this discrepancy.³⁶ At the end, he justifies Eusebius' title, 'Blessed', by saying that it is well supported by the works of various authors.³⁷

In 1692, Gábor Hevenesi published a summary of *Ungaricae sanctitatis indicia* with biographies of saints and blessed who lived in or connected with Hungary.³⁸ In collecting and processing the biographies, he certainly took into account the data collection criteria of the Bollandists. The experience he gained in editing the work may have influenced the methodology he formulated a few years later: "By giving detailed instructions to researchers, it sets out a precise direction for the collection of sources. In addition to the extraction of printed works and bibliographical descriptions, he placed the main emphasis on the collection of sources supported by charters, but he also stressed the importance of collecting written artifacts and authentic oral traditions. With regard to the latter, he warned against recording tales and idle gossip. He required collectors to give precise details of the location and other external circumstances of the source data and the copied sources, and to copy proper names alphabetically."³⁹

It was during the extraction of printed works that he came across the legend of Blessed Eusebius. The memorial, compiled after Eggerer, already contains all the elements. The birth in Esztergom, the membership of the Chapter, the waiving of income and the retreat to the hermitage in 1246, the vision of the flames, the foundation of the hermitage of Pilis in 1250, the efforts to obtain the *Regula* of Augustine, the action of Paul, Bishop of Veszprém, the provincial office held for twenty years and the death on 20 January 1270, when Eusebius gave his innocent soul back to heaven.⁴⁰ Hevenesi's work, along with many other medieval Hungarian saints, brought Blessed Eusebius nationwide fame.

36 Gyöngyösi 1988, pp. 21–24

37 Eggerer 1663, p. 82

38 Hevenesi 1692

39 Hóman 1925, p. 456

40 Hevenesi 1692, pp. 94–95

Relations between the evolving hermit order and the Hungarian elite

Eggerer's biography of Eusebius is quoted almost up to the present day. Indeed, it was even expanded with further details. In his study on the bishops of the Diocese of Pécs, László Koszta states that Bishop Achilles led a Chapter, as Provost of Esztergom, and Eusebius was a member⁴¹ although this is doubted by several researchers.⁴² This places Eusebius among the important figures of his time, with an extensive number of acquaintances, although the latter is unlikely.

The successor of Achilles, Bishop Job,⁴³ readily took on conflicts. One example of this was the rejection of the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Esztergom by Job's representatives at the Synod of Buda in 1263. This and other contradictions, not described here, may answer the question why Gyöngyösi is silent about the joining of the hermits around Pécs and their further support by the bishops, although this should logically follow after the demonstrable goodwill of Bishops Bertalan and Achilles. Bishop Job preferred to support other causes.

After his death, from 1287, the diocese was led by Bishop Paul, who was initially the administrator. Bishop Paul was the nephew of the former Bishop of Veszprém⁴⁴, also named Paul, who in 1263, at the request of the Pope, had examined the financial situation of the hermits in his diocese. Several members of the family of Paul, Bishop of Pécs had been in the service of the queens for decades. This earned him considerable influence, and he also enjoyed the confidence of Archbishop Lodomér, who appointed him head of the Esztergom Cathedral Chapter in 1287. Until his death, he was a loyal supporter of András

41 Koszta 2009, p. 78

42 Pl.: Hervay 2007, pp. 57–65

43 Koszta 2009, pp. 77– 83. Achilles was the head of the Diocese of Pécs in 1251-52, and Job between 1252 and 1280.

44 Koszta 2009, p. 84, pp. 1262–1275

III (1290 - 1301) and then immediately of Charles Robert I (1301-1342). His successors, Bishops Manfred and Peter⁴⁵, followed the same path. Bishop Peter was accompanied by Cardinal Gentilis, papal legate,⁴⁶ in 1308-1309. This was the latest time when the hermitage monasteries of the diocese of Pécs could join the Pauline Order. The role of the bishops of Pécs, as described above, makes more personal the statement of Beatrix Romhányi F. that “the Hungarian ecclesiastical and secular elite worked fairly in unison to pave the way for the Paulines between 1291 and 1308”⁴⁷.

The relationship between the Paulines and the secular elite should also be mentioned in relation to the hermitages of Pilis. On the basis of the research by Zsuzsa Pető⁴⁸, Beatrix F. Romhányi analyses the above question in detail in her study.⁴⁹ The charter issued by Paul, Bishop of Veszprém in 1263 and later amended by his successor, Bishop Benedict in 1291, was cited in its entirety only once by Gergely Gyöngyösi. In the transcription, he only noted the difference: he inserted two new hermitages before the previous seven. These are the Church of the Holy Cross in Pilis and the Church of St. László in Kékes, followed by Fülöpsziget, first mentioned in the 1263 charter, and the others.⁵⁰ In the charter of 1263, Bishop Paul forbade the founding of another hermitage in his diocese. In 1291, however, the names of two new hermitages are mentioned, which preceded the earlier foundations in prestige. The reason for this is probably that hermits were highly popular among the common nobility at this time. Through their intercession they were able to gain the support of the Archbishop of Esztergom and the King, as well.⁵¹

Béla IV spent the last five years of his reign in Esztergom, in and around the archbishop's seat. The Holy Cross hermitage is about fifteen kilometres from

45 Koszta 2009, p. 89–91. Manfréd elected bishop 1306, I. Péter 1307–1314

46 VMO I/2 title page data. The mandate of Cardinal Gentilis de Monteflorum in Hungary lasted from 1308 to 1311.

47 F. Romhányi 2016, p. 16

48 Pető 2014, pp. 52–57 and Pető 2018, pp. 20–22

49 F. Romhányi 2015, pp. 755–764

50 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 45

51 F. Romhányi 2015, p. 757

here. In the royal forest of Pilis, even a simple hermitage could only obtain possessions and a settlement permit “with the king’s knowledge and consent, in short, from his donation”⁵². A charter of 1289,⁵³ which commemorates the benevolence of King Béla IV towards the hermits of the Holy Cross and the approval of László IV (1271 - 1290), refers to this early situation. The successive charters of 1289 and 1291 show the close support of the king and his court. The development of the hermitages after 1260, and their approval by the bishops, can only be truly appreciated if we take into account the strong tensions, even leading to military campaigns, between King Béla IV and his son King Stephen V (junior king from 1262 - 1270) during that decade. This development seems all the more valuable in the light of the following remark: “In the year of our Lord 1289, the same King László [IV] donated to the monastery of the Holy Cross certain grassland and uninhabited land as compensation for the damage which it had suffered by his will and with his knowledge.”⁵⁴

The later order’s headquarters, the St. Lawrence monastery near Buda, was founded at the end of the reign of King András III: “It was closely connected with the rise of the country’s new capital. The growing importance of Buda is reflected in the increasing number of royal charters dated from here.”⁵⁵ In the 1290s, the unification of the future hermit order gained considerable momentum. The foundation of Budaszentlőrinc must be interpreted in this light.

The events leading to the recognition of the order in 1308 also point to a close connection to the royal power. The hermitage of St. László in Kékes is the site of a negotiation between Cardinal Gentilis and the provincial lord Máté Csák. The building’s insignificance and location ensured that both parties could avoid surprises. The consequence of the successful negotiations was that the hermits were granted permission to use the *Regula* of Saint Augustine.⁵⁶ Furthermore, at the end of the Middle Ages, there were nine Pauline monasteries in the *Medium*

52 F. Romhányi 2015, p. 757

53 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 50

54 Gyöngyösi 1983, p. 54

55 F. Romhányi 2015, p. 759

56 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 58

Regni (“center of the kingdom”), predominantly founded by monarchs. This number is proportionally superior to the other orders. “Many elements of this system of relationships were already in place at the time the order was created. This is reflected in the appearance of the order in the immediate vicinity of Esztergom around 1270 and the transfer of its headquarters from the monastery of Szentkereszt to Szentlőrinc around 1300.”⁵⁷

The study by Beatrix Romhányi F. analysing the relationship between the *Medium Regni* and the Paulines sheds light on why it was possible to ignore the excommunication clause of the 1263 charter issued by Bishop Paul. The application of the formula in 1263, however, requires an explanation. It was in the middle third of the 13th century that the decades-old conflict between the Hungarian cathedral chapters and the lower clergy over the distribution of revenues was settled by the king. The process can be traced through the events of the diocese of Veszprém, where between 1226 and 1262 there were several periods of litigation between the parish priests and the members of the cathedral chapters.⁵⁸ In the last round of the litigation, around 1260, Pope Alexander IV appointed the Dominican and Franciscan provincials and the provincial head of the Augustinian hermits as judges. Together with the chapter, Zlaudus, Bishop of Veszprém protested against the judge’s appointment of the provincial of the Augustinian hermits⁵⁹. They claimed that the person in question is biased against the diocesan leadership because he intends to occupy three churches in Zala county. The titles of the three churches, Saint James, Saint Helena and Saint Mary Magdalene, may be of interest. The same titles were given to the hermitages of Bakony, Fülöpsziget and Kőkút. According to Solymosi, the appeal could have been rejected and therefore the canons and parish priests reached a compromise instead.⁶⁰ It is more likely that the majority of dioceses were affected by the financial tension between the chapter and the parish priests, as well as by the royal decrees that sought to settle the

57 F. Romhányi 2015, p. 762 and Petó (2014) 2018, pp. 54–56

58 Mályusz 1971, pp. 49–53

59 1244–1262

60 Solymosi 2005, p. 19

tension. This may also have resulted in a compromise between the stakeholders of the diocese of Veszprém. The aim was to restore peaceful relations within the church among the various parties with different interests.⁶¹ This certainly also applied to the hermits. This is how the excommunication clause of the 1263 charter becomes understandable.⁶² According to this clause, the bishop left the royal monasteries of the former Williamite foundation in his diocese in the hands of the Augustinians,⁶³ thus following the papal decree, while the hermitages founded by nobles, which the Augustinians wished to annex, were placed under the authority of the provincial governor of the hermits, the later Paulines. In this way, he both showed mercy to the future Paulines and asserted the peace efforts of Béla IV within the Church, and, in essence, did not undermine the papal will either. This solution indeed suited the Queen's chancellor, Bishop Paul, who had shortly before been appointed as head of the diocese of Veszprém.⁶⁴

The naming of the Paulines

Embedded in the life of Eusebius was how Gyöngyösi presented the uncertainties surrounding the naming of the order. Chapter XI of the work discusses why they were called the Order of Bishop Saint Augustine. An example is the monastery of Sátoraljaújhely, which was sometimes called the house of the Pauline hermits but sometimes also the house of the Augustinian hermits. In fact, both orders had monasteries in the small town.⁶⁵ This uncertainty can also be found in the diocese of Eger and in Zala county. The situation in Sátoraljaújhely is unique, while in other cases the solution to the problem has to be sought elsewhere. The main reason is the similarity of the names. This is reflected in the title of a work

61 Mályusz 1971, p. 52

62 Holler 2007, pp. 121–133. Holler holds a different view.

63 F. Romhányi 2005, p. 92

64 MREV I, p. 150. Bishop Paul took over the governance of the bishopric of Veszprém in 1262.

65 Guzsik 2003, p. 61

by Gergely Gyöngyösi: *Directorium singulorum fratrum officialium ordinis sanciti Pauli primi heremitaie sub regula Beati Augustini epscopi militantium*.⁶⁶ The contemporary name of the Augustinians was *Ordo heremitarum Sancti Augustini*, as attested by the charter of the Chapter of Eger.⁶⁷ This may indeed lead to misunderstandings, and it caused uncertainty. But it is not just a matter of everyday word usage. In 1256, with his bull *Licet ecclesiae catholicae*, Pope Alexander IV created the Order of Augustinian hermits from the various European hermit groups, including the Williamite Order.⁶⁸ This was reaffirmed ten years later by the Apostolic Holy See in relation to the houses of the Williamites in Hungary.⁶⁹

In Chapter XII, Gyöngyösi describes the fact that a document issued by Cardinal Gentilis in 1308, which constituted a papal confirmation, addressed them as *fratribus Sanctae Crucis de heremo*⁷⁰. From this we learn another – also common – name for the order at this time: the Hermit Brothers of the Holy Cross. This name, according to the charters, continued to accompany the Paulines for some time,⁷¹ even though Pope John XXII already called them the Brothers of Saint Paul the Hermit.⁷² For Gyöngyösi, it was extremely important to clarify the name of the order. In the face of the attack on the Dominicans in the 15th century, which was caused by considerable tensions within the Dominican order, he wanted to prove the only correct name for the Pauline order and its ancient origins.⁷³ As a general prior, he obtained a charter from

66 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 14

67 Schier and Rosnak 1778, p. 69

68 Hervay 1993, Vol. I, p. 84

69 F. Romhányi 2005, p. 92

70 VMO I/2. p. 180

71 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 46. The problem of the naming of the order was a matter of great interest to Gyöngyösi. Cf. Sarbak 1984, p. 148. The time when Gyöngyösi was abbot of the order is established by a document from Cardinal Bakócz, dated 1521, concerning the correct naming of the order.

72 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 61

73 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 97. The reason for the malicious attack was most probably the internal conflict within the Dominican order. At that time, the Hungarian Dominican province was being drawn into the so-called observant movement, pervaded by reformist aspirations, which ensured the renewal of the order. Cf. Harsányi 1938, p. 34

Cardinal Tamás Bakócz, with which he unified the naming of the community after Saint Paul the First Hermit in the order's charters.⁷⁴ This was certainly applied retrospectively in subsequent transcriptions as well. The next step was to prove the ancient origin of the order. For Gyöngyösi a proof of this origin was a regulation, dated 1215, given by Bertalan, Bishop of Pécs, to the hermits of Jakab-hegy.⁷⁵ According to this, the foundation would have occurred one year earlier than that of the Dominicans. This attempt by Gyöngyösi to clarify the origin of the order from a legal point of view was used by Eggerer to support the foundation of the order.

Another 13th-century phenomenon is worth noting in connection with the naming of the order. Very often, the official name of a monastic order does not contain the name of the founder, but the central objective and charisma of the order. The Latin name of the monastic order known in current Hungarian colloquial usage as the Franciscans ("ferencesek") is still *Ordo Fratrum Minorum*,⁷⁶ i.e. the Order of Minor Brethren. The members of the order seek to serve the Church and follow the example of Saint Francis of Assisi by living their humble simplicity. Also known colloquially as the Dominicans, the official name of the order is still *Ordo Fratrum Praedicatorum*,⁷⁷ i.e. the Order of the Preaching Brethren, who follow the example of Saint Dominic through their scholarly and well-prepared preaching. The Cistercian Order founded a century earlier, *Sacer Ordo Cisterciensis*,⁷⁸ takes its name from the site of the first monastery, expressing their desire to follow the way of life practised there. Similar logic applies to the Olivetines, founded in the 14th century, who also took the name of their order from their first house, *Congregatio S. Mariae Montis Oliveti, OSB*.⁷⁹ The implicit logic behind the naming of each order is that monks who follow the monastic tradition take their name from the first house of the order, while those orders that live an active pastoral life seek to

74 Gyöngyösi 1988, p. 180

75 Mályusz 1971, pp. 257–258. He considers the charter to be false.

76 *Annuario Pontificio*, 1983, p. 1248

77 *Annuario Pontificio*, 1983, p. 1247

78 *Annuario Pontificio*, 1983, p. 1242

79 *Annuario Pontificio*, 1983, p. 1240

express their specific vocation. This may explain why the future Paulines could be called *fratres Sanctae Crucis de heremo* in the charter of Cardinal Legate Gentilis, and why the Paulines insisted on preserving the hermit tradition throughout the Middle Ages.

Summary

The cautious, restrained communication of Gergely Gyöngyösi's *Vitae fratrum* regarding Eusebius was elaborated in detail by historians in later centuries, especially in the Baroque period. It was this gradual exposition that earned the distinguished hermit of Pilis criticism bordering on denial from some authors.⁸⁰ What is logically certain, on the basis of Gyöngyösi's work, is the authenticity of the person of Eusebius, his close connection with the Esztergom Chapter, the foundation of the Holy Cross hermitage near the Hármas-barlang by him, and the sudden strengthening of the leading role of the *eremitorium* at the end of the 13th century. There is no doubt about the hermit nature of the order in the Árpád era, as it is the source of the veneration of Saint Paul the First Hermit and his hermit traditions, which continue to this day. Further, more in-depth research is needed to analyse Gergely Gyöngyösi's intentions as a writer; the relationship of the Paulines with the king and the nobles; and the study of the relationship between the Pauline hermits and the church leadership. We hope that our modest study will help to explore these questions.

According to Gergely Gyöngyösi, Eusebius' "noble lineage encourages us to follow noble virtues, his education inspires us to learn, his asceticism challenges us, his leadership sets an example of proper community life, his atoning devotion encourages patriotism and responsibility. He is one of ours, as a Pauline monk of any era might have thought, and so might we, who as his heirs have been witnessing his influence for eight hundred years."⁸¹

80 E.g. Mályusz 1971, p. 257

81 Bojtos 2020, p. 567

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