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QUEEN EUPHROSYNE AND PRINCESS ELIZABETH: HOSPITALLER *CONSORORES* OR DONATE IN THE 12TH CENTURY?

KEYWORDS

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the chronology of the settlement of the Hospitaller Order of Saint John in Hungary and Central Europe, and render the events a new context, partly through the re-interpretation of charter materials and narrative sources. A characteristic feature of Central Europe is that the members of the dynasty played a significant, sometimes decisive role in the establishment (Hospitallers) and foundation (Stephanites) of hospitaller orders, in contrast to Western Europe, where the establishment and consolidation of a monastic community was mainly ensured by private donations. In the Kingdom of Hungary, the wife of King Géza II, Queen Euphrosyne of Kievan origin, and their daughter, Princess Elisabeth, along with her husband Prince Frederick, played an important role in the early support of the Hospitallers in the Czech lands. The conclusion of the study, partly through a correction of the chronology of the *Annales Posonienses*, is that Euphrosyne made her major donation around 1176, and following it she took the habit of the Order as a *consoror* or *donat*, and she spent her last years in one of its monasteries.

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For several years I have been trying to reconstruct the sequence of the settlement of the Hospitallers in the Kingdom of Hungary,¹ and I believe that the scholarly achievements of the last few years provide an opportunity for some reconsideration. In my view, Queen Euphrosyne of Russian origin remains a key player in this narrative, but certain elements of the context are to refigure.²

During the last two decades, I might have succeeded in dismantling the previously accepted narrative that the settlement of the Hospitaller in twelfth-century Kingdom of Hungary had nothing directly to do with the armies of the Second Crusade (1147–1149) marching through the country.³ There were no Hospitallers among the crusaders, partly because the Order was not yet a knightly order, but was rather a monastic community, which aimed at caring for the poor and other needy, including the establishment, maintenance and operation of monasteries along pilgrimage routes, especially towards the Holy Land.⁴ This situation did not change fundamentally until 1187, the year when Jerusalem was lost, even though the militarisation of the Order became apparent from the 1160s onwards, and in this process Master Gilbert d'Assailly (1162/1163–1170) played a major role.⁵

¹ Zsolt Hunyadi, “A johanniták a középkori Magyarországon: az első évtizedek,” in *Tanulmányok a középkori magyar történelemről*, ed. Sarolta Homonnai, Ferenc Piti, and Ildikó Éva Tóth (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1999), 29–37; Zsolt Hunyadi, “Cruciferi domus Hospitalis per Hungariam et Sclavoniam... A johanniták Magyarországon a 14. század végéig,” *Aetas* 17, no. 4 (2002): 52–75; Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: c. 1150–1387*, CEU Medievalia 13 (Budapest: METEM, 2010); Zsolt Hunyadi, “A johanniták Magyarországon a 12. század közepétől a konstanzi zsinatig,” *Máltai Tanulmányok* 1, no. 1–2 (2019): 11–124.

² Márta Font, *Árpád-házi királyok és Rurikida fejedelmek*, Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 21 (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2005), 138, 162. More recently see Attila Zsoldos, *The Árpáds and Their Wives: Queenship in Early Medieval Hungary 1000–1301* (Roma: Viella, 2019), 16, 194; Myroslav Voloshchuk, *Ruthenians (the Rus’) in the Kingdom of Hungary, 11th to mid-14th Centuries: Settlement, Property, and Socio-Political Role*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages 76 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2021), 161.

³ Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 23–24. See also, id., “Úton a Szentföld felé. A Magyar Királyság szerepe a II. és III. keresztes hadjáratban,” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 133, no. 4 (2020): 753–758.

⁴ Michael Gervers, “Donations to the Hospitallers in England in the Wake of the Second Crusade,” in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), 155–161; id., “Pro Defensione Sancte Terre: The Development and Exploitation of the Hospitallers’ Landed Estate in Essex,” in *Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 3–20.

⁵ Cf. Jochen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)*, History of Warfare 50 (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2008), 65–74; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070–1309* (Houndmills – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 33–36; Alan V. Murray, “The Grand Designs of Gilbert of

Summing up my latest opinion, I came to the conclusion that the foundation of the preceptory at (Székes)Fehérvár may have taken place sometime between 1157 and 1186, and on the basis of sources concerning tithe-disputes dating back to the second decade of the thirteenth century, the original donation can be dated to the period of 1176–1186.⁶ Parallel to the formulation of my ideas, a Hungarian historian Attila Zsoldos touched on this issue, trying to date the donation of Euphrosyne, and he identified an important element of the reasoning led to the ‘solution’ concerning the chronology.⁷ Zsoldos, in his 2016 work, placed the donation between 1162 and 1172, during the reign of King Stephen III (1162–1172), but in his 2019 study he argued for the last years of the reign of King Géza II (1142–1162), that is between 1157 and 1162.⁸

Opposing Zsoldos’ idea, I believe that Géza II’s fondness for the knightly orders can hardly be justified. If he had had such a consideration, he could have supported the Knights Templar in this part of Europe, as they were *stricto sensu* the only knightly order at that time, but they had not yet appeared in the region. What can be taken for granted is that Géza II promoted pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Even if he did not take an active part in the Second Crusade, it can be assumed that the passing armies or their leaders, Conrad III, Louis VII, or Prince Wladyslas II of Bohemia, may have had a strong influence on Géza II. Especially King Louis VII, who also agreed to be the godfather of Géza’s newborn son, Stephen (later King Stephen III).⁹ An interpretation of Pope Urban III’s ‘foundation’ charter of 1187 issued for the Knights of Saint Stephen (Stefanites) suggests that Géza did not actually found an order proper, but he established a guest-house in Jerusalem to accommodate pilgrims (*hospitalem, in qua peregrini et alii transeuntes [...] subsidia recipere*).¹⁰ The house established in Esztergom, with its adjoining estates, was

Assailly. The Order of the Hospital in the Projected Conquest of Egypt by King Amalric of Jerusalem (1168–1169),” *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 20 (2015): 7–24.

⁶ Hunyadi, “A johanniták Magyarországon,” 45.

⁷ Attila Zsoldos, “Az egyházi Fehérvár: Szentkirály és Ingovány,” in *Székesfehérvár története az Árpád-korban*, ed. Gábor Thoroczkay, Gergely Kiss, and Attila Zsoldos (Székesfehérvár: Városi Levéltár és Kutatóintézet, 2016), 237–243. id., “Személyes elemek az Árpád-kori királynéi intézményben,” in *Királynék a középkori Magyarországon és Európában*, ed. Kornél Szovák, Attila Zsoldos (Székesfehérvár: Városi Levéltár és Kutatóintézet, 2019), 27–43.

⁸ Zsoldos, “Az egyházi Fehérvár: Szentkirály és Ingovány,” 237–39. id., “Személyes elemek,” 38–43.

⁹ Christopher Mielke, *The Archaeology and Material Culture of Queenship in Medieval Hungary, 1000–1395* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan – Springer Nature, 2021), 84.

¹⁰ Cf. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. VII/5, ed. Georgius Fejér (Budae: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), 120–121; *Cartulaire général de l’ordre des Hos-*

intended to provide maintenance of the overseas guest-house. In fact, the Hospitaller order itself had been founded on such a basis (as a hospice for southern Italians) a few decades earlier, and many other confraternities had also obtained papal protection in this way. It strengthens the conviction that there were no Hospitaller presence in the region at that time, as their contribution would have easily ensured 'accommodation' in the Holy Land.

I also have some reservations concerning the role of Archbishop Martirius (1151–1157) in the foundation the preceptory at Fehérvár. As far as I know, no contemporary source has ever stated that the Archbishop of Esztergom intended the institution to be established for the Hospitallers.¹¹ There is an interesting 'slip' in the 1193 confirmation charter of King Béla III (1172–1196): in connection with Martirius, the author mentions the foundation of a church (*in prefata ecclesia lapides posuit*), but in connection with Queen Euphrosyne's activities he mentions a monastery (*monasterium ... complevit*).¹² The role of Martirius cannot be entirely ruled out, yet it is rather unlikely. On the one hand, Béla III thought it important to mention that the building of the monastery was not initiated by his mother, and this may indicate that their relationship was somewhat complicated. But it is also possible that a situation similar to that in Bohemia developed in the Czech lands: the Czech ruler Wladyslas II (1140[pr.–]1158–1172), and later Prince Frederick (1172–1173, 1178–1189) and his wife Elizabeth (? – after 1190)¹³ – daughter of Géza II and Euphrosyne – provided dynastical support for the Hospitallers. As for the comparison, Bishop Henry of Prague (1182–1197) is also important to mention concerning the donations – although he was also a member of the (Přemysl) dynasty.¹⁴

pitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, vol. 1, ed. Joseph Delaville le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), no. 891; *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1, ed. Ferdinandus Knauz (Strigonii–Budapestini: Aegydius Horák, 1874), 132.

¹¹ Hunyadi, "A johanniták Magyarországon," 35.

¹² Budapest. National Archives of Hungary, Collectio Ante-Mohacsiana, Dl. 27; *Az Árpádkori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, vol. I, ed. György Györffy (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 93–96; *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. II, ed. Gregorius Fejér (Budae: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), 283–290; *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, I: 142–147; *Cartulaire*, I: 936.

¹³ Cf. Josef Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí, 1034–1198*, Česká Historie 2 (Praha: Lidové Noviny, 1997), 315–323.

¹⁴ Cf. Martin Wihoda, *Vladislaus Henry: The Formation of Moravian Identity*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages 33 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 43, 64–65, 69.

The dating of the original donation confirmed by Béla III in 1193 is indeed difficult, but as Zsoldos has pointed out,¹⁵ two groups of estates can be distinguished, one of which can be linked to Euphrosyne. It should be emphasized too that Euphrosyne played a manifest role both in the building/completion of the monastery and in the establishment of the settlement of the Order. To reduce the possible time frame, it is worth having a closer look at a hitherto neglected private donation by Wid son Dobica, to which King Stephen III gave his consent in October 1166.¹⁶ The Hungarian charter-calendar edition is somewhat misleading as it speaks of crusaders, but fortunately it also provides the Latin original: *fratres Iherosolimitanes*. The charter does not mention either crusaders or knights, but it does mention that the king included in the charter that the donation was for his own spiritual salvation as well as that of *comes* Wid (*pro remedio anime mee atque sue hoc daret donum*). Wid's origin is obscure, but a certain *comes* Wid appears several times between 1162 and 1172 in the *series dignitatum* of royal charters of the period:¹⁷ in 1162 as royal bailiff and *frater* of a certain *comes* Fulco, and in 1171 and 1172 as chaplain.¹⁸ The *comes* title in 1166 cannot be identified, but it is clear that he was one of the nobles of King Stephen III, and certainly his brother *comes* Fulco belonged to the same circle.¹⁹ This may also be significant because of the wording

¹⁵ Zsoldos, "Személyes elemek," 43.

¹⁶ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, II: 174–175; *Hazai Okmánytár Codex Diplomaticus Patrius*, vol. VII, ed. Imre Nagy (Győr–Budapest: Sauervein Géza betűivel, 1880), 1–2; *Cartulaire*, I, no. 68; *Az Erdődy család bécsi levéltárának középkori oklevélregesztái, 1001–1387*, ed. Éva B. Halász and Ferenc Piti (Budapest–Szeged: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Pest Megyei Levéltára, 2019), 21.

¹⁷ 1166: *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes und der angrenzenden Gebiete der Komitate Wieselburg, Ödenburg und Eisenburg*, vol. 1, *Die Urkunden von 808 bis 1270*, ed. Hans Wagner (Graz–Köln: Böhlau, 1955), 24; *Árpád-kori oklevelek 1001–1196, Chartae antiquissimae Hungariae*, ed. György Györffy (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1997), 65, 318; Katalin Fehértói, *Árpád-kori személynévtár: 1000–1301* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2004), 808; 1171: *Ó-Magyar Olvasókönyv*, ed. Emil Jakubovich and Dezső Paizs, *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* 30 (Pécs: Danubia, 1929), 48; *Árpád-kori oklevelek 1001–1196*, ed. Györffy, 74; Fehértói, *Árpád-kori személynévtár*, 318.

¹⁸ 1171/1392: *sigillo sigillatum per Wydonem capelle magistrum*, see: *Sopron vármegye története. Oklevéltár*, vol. I, ed. Iván Nagy (Sopron: Litfass Károly Könyvnyomdája, 1889), 3–4 (year 1172): *per Vidonem magistrum capelle sigillo regio insignitum* [!], see: *A pannonhalmi Szent-Benedek-Rend története*, vol. I, ed. László Erdélyi and Pongrácz Sörös (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1902), 605; *Árpád-kori oklevelek 1001–1196*, ed. Györffy, 76; Fehértói, *Árpád-kori személynévtár*, 808; Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája: 1000–1301*, *História könyvtár* 11 (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011), 114.

¹⁹ Similar to Wid, there are data for *comes* Fulco between 1162 and 1172 (1162: *Urkundenbuch des Burgenlandes*, I: 24; *Árpád-kori oklevelek 1001–1196*, ed. Györffy, 65; 1163–1164: *Hazai Okmánytár Codex diplomaticus patrius*, vol. VI, ed. Imre Nagy (Győr–Budapest: Typis Alexandri

of the charter: *Widone filio Dobica, suo et multorum meorum nobilium petitione concessi*, although Fulco is not mentioned in this particular charter.

What could make this document more significant than regarded so far? According to Karl Borchardt, in the early period, that is before the end of the twelfth century, the Hospitaller were supported by those who visited the Holy Land either as pilgrims or as crusaders.²⁰ This claim is supported by the promotion of the Czech ruler, Wladyslas II, but – I believe – this feature can be extended to the early thirteenth century, or to the 1217 donation of King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–1235).²¹ This is also important concerning Wladyslas II because his donation – dated between 1158 and 1169²² – appeared to be the first tangible support for the Hospitallers in the region for long time.²³ The donation itself, which enabled

Kocsi, 1876), 3–4; *Árpád-kori oklevelek 1001–1196*, ed. Györffy, 66. 1165; *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára / Codex diplomaticus domus senioris comitum Zichy de Zich et Vásonkeő*, vol. I, ed. Imre Nagy (Pest–Budapest: Societas Histor. Hung., 1871), 2; *Árpád-kori oklevelek 1001–1196*, ed. Györffy, 68. [1169–1172]: 1171; *Ó-magyar Olvasókönyv*, ed. Jakubovich and Paizs, 48; *Árpád-kori oklevelek 1001–1196*, ed. Györffy, 74. 1172; *A panonhalmi Szent-Benedek-rend története*, I: 605; Fehértói, *Árpád-kori személynévtár*, 318, and perhaps identical with Fulco comes of Szolnok in 1166 (Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 209).

²⁰ Karl Borchardt, “Military Orders in East Central Europe: The First Hundred Years,” in *Autour de la première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, ed. Michel Balard, Byzantina Sorbonensia 14 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 248.

²¹ *Nec immerito cum illic personaliter hospitati viderimus innumerum pauperum cetum diurno pastu cotidie sustentari, fessos languidorum artus lectisterniis variisque ciborum copiis refici, mortuorum corpora cum debita veneratione sepeliri, et ut in genere singulorum referamus que per singula generum enarrare non possumus [...] nunc contra Dei adversarios et hostes crucis Christi, adversus etiam Amalech incessabili perfecte militie conflictu de die in diem dimicare*, cf. Sebastiano Pauli, *Codice diplomatico del Sacro militare Ordine Gerosolomitano, oggi di Malta*, vol. I (Lucca: Per Salvatore a Giandomenico Marescandoli, 1733), 109–110; *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. III, ed. Georgius Fejér (Buda: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), 237–238; *Cartulaire*, I, no. 1590; *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, ed. Augustinus Theiner, vol. I, *Ab Honorio PP. III. usque ad Clementem PP. VI.: 1216–1352* (Romae: Typ. Vaticanis, 1859), 15.

²² Berthold Waldstein-Wartenberg, “Das Großpriorat von Böhmen,” in *Der Johanniterorden, der Malteserorden: der ritterliche Orden des Hl. Johannes vom Spital zur Jerusalem: seine Geschichte, seine Aufgaben*, ed. Adam Wienand, Carl Wolfgang Ballestrem, and Albrecht von Cossel (Köln: Wienand, 1988, 3rd edition), 312.

²³ *Cartulaire*, I, no. 81. Cf. Adam Wienand, “Die Kommenden des Ordens in deutschen und böhmischen Großpriorat,” in *Der Johanniterorden, der Malteserorden: der ritterliche Orden des Hl. Johannes vom Spital zur Jerusalem: seine Geschichte, seine Aufgaben*, ed. Adam Wienand, Carl Wolfgang Ballestrem, and Albrecht von Cossel (Köln: Wienand, 1988, 3rd ed.), 387; Borchardt, “Military Orders in East Central Europe,” 248.

the Hospitallers to establish themselves in Prague and Manětín, is important too, but the ‘story’ explained in the narrative as the reason for the donation is particularly informative. As a vassal of Conrad III, Wladyslas II was forced to take up the cross and take part in the Second Crusade (accordingly, if not the Hospitallers, the Czech prince presumably marched through the Kingdom of Hungary). In his retrospective, he writes that during his stay in Levant, the (first) Hospitaller Master Raymond du Puy sent one of the Hospitallers (a certain Benedict) with the keys to the castle of Crat (Crak de Chevaliers) and offered them all the accessories/supplies of the fortress for their maintenance while staying in the Holy Land. The donation of Wladyslas (for his own and his wife’s spiritual salvation) was partly in return for the above and for the generous services rendered by the members of the Order to pilgrims visiting the Holy Sepulchre.²⁴ The later charter is clearly dated by scholars to the spring of 1169,²⁵ thus the private donation of 1166 in Hungary, confirmed by Stephen III, was the first in the region. It is not to diminish the importance of the role played by the Hungarian ruler, but the initiator should be sought beyond the rulers of the region. The question arises already in connection with the donation of Wladyslas II: why he waited more than two decades to make the donation? The answer probably to be connected to the agile Master of the Order, Gilbert d’Assailly, who, during his eight years as Grand Master, lobbied hard to strengthen the financial stability of the Hospital.²⁶ It would be hard to prove that the above-mentioned Wid and Fulco ever visited the Holy Land, but it is at least plausible. On the other hand, the Hospitaller Master had an envoy in Constantinople as early as 1163, a certain *Petrus dictus Alemanus*,²⁷ who was presumably a kind of intermediary towards the Central European region. In the spring of 1169, Wladyslas II addressed a charter to Master Gilbert, and a year later, in the first half of 1170, Prince Alexios, later King Béla III of Hungary, made a very substantial do-

²⁴ *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, vol. I/1, ed. Gustavus Friedrich (Pragae: Alois Wiesner, 1904), 216–218. Cf. Libor Jan, “Die Entwicklung des böhmischen Priorats der Johanner,” in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa: Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Borchartd and Libor Jan (Brno: Matice moravská, 2011), 79.

²⁵ On the basis of Michael Skopal, “Založení komendy johanitů na Malé straně. Příspěvek k otázce příchodu řádu do Čech,” *Pražský sborník historický* 26 (1993): 21. See Libor Jan, “... Mortuus est persecutor noster Saladinus. K způsobu komunikace mezi Českými zeměmi a Palestinou ve 12. a 13. století.” *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské Univerzity – C (Historické)* 44 (1997): 19; id., “Die Entwicklung des böhmischen Priorats,” 80.

²⁶ Murray, “The Grand Designs of Gilbert of Assailly,” 17.

²⁷ Borchartd, “Military Orders in East Central Europe,” 251; Anthony Luttrell, “The Hospitallers in Twelfth-Century Constantinople,” in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. I, *Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 225.

nation, also to Gilbert d'Assailly.²⁸ The possibility raised by Karl Borchardt is also to be noted. Accordingly, a certain Bernard, who acted on Béla's donation, might have had connections with the Hungarian 'court' and perhaps received a commission of the same type as Peter, who, against the Master's wishes, applied for papal permission to remain in Constantinople in the service of Emperor Manuel I.²⁹

In the light of the above, it is unlikely that King Stephen III would have approved a substantial donation to the Hospitallers without mentioning a much larger donation from his mother Euphrosyne or the building of the first preceptory at Fehérvár. Of course, it is not possible to reconstruct how the Hungarian ruler came into contact with the Hospitaller Master, but perhaps this was the role of Wid and Fulco. Although Stephen III fought along with Wladyslas II in 1164 against Manuel I and Stephen IV, but the Czech ruler felt 'only' in 1169 that it is high time to support the Hospitallers, thus it is problematic to regard him as a direct model. As a matter of fact, there is one more strange point in the 1166 donation, namely, its chronology. In the charter, dated to 24 October, Stephen mentions his father, Géza II (*filius uictoriosissimi regis Geche*), but neither his mother nor, most surprisingly, his new wife – whom he is said to have married during the summer – are mentioned. Wladyslas II, Prince Béla, and Frederick of Bohemia also made the donation for the spiritual salvation of their wives, but Stephen III makes no mention of her. The donation may have been made earlier, and the content of the charter may have been prepared, but the issue of the document may not have taken place until autumn.

However, there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that in 1166 the Hospitallers were given an existing monastery (*monasterium in honore beati petri dedicatum*), since the appearance of the Templars a few years later (1169) also began with the takeover of an already existing (and perhaps abandoned) Benedictine monastery.³⁰ It is also natural to think that there is no mention of the *defensio Sanctae*

²⁸ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. V/1, ed. Georgius Fejér (Buda: Typogr. Regiae Universitatis Ungaricae, 1829), 284–288; *Cartulaire*, I, no. 309. Martin von Walterskirchen, "Béla III. schenkt den Johannitern Land bei Akkon: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des internationale Zahlungsverkehrs im 12. Jahrhundert," *Annales de l'Ordre souverain militaire de Malte* 33 (1975): 104–105; Ferenc Makk, "III. Béla és Bizánc," *Századok* 116 (1982): 34; Luttrell, "The Hospitallers in Twelfth-Century Constantinople," 228; Hunyadi, "A johanniták Magyarországon," 37.

²⁹ Borchardt, "Military Orders in East Central Europe" 251; Luttrell, "The Hospitallers in Twelfth-Century Constantinople," 225.

³⁰ Balázs Stossek, "Maisons et Possessions des Templiers en Hongrie," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky, CEU Medievalia 1 (Budapest: Central European University, Department of

Terrae, only of the support of the house of the Hospital, i.e. the holy poor of the Order, by the head of the Church (*fratres et sancti pauperes hospitalis domus ad honorem et laudem dei in perpetuum tenerent*), as presumably, the activities of the Stefanites,³¹ who were on the track to becoming a hospitaller order at this time (*domum vestram, in qua Dei estis et pauperum servitio deputati*). The specific role of Stephen III is difficult to clarify here, since, both he and his mother Euphrosyne were subject to ecclesiastical discipline. It is hard to imagine that a donation of European significance to the Hospitallers, who were closely connected to the papal curia, would not have eased the legate's strictures when the concordat also addressed the poor (*ad usus quoque pauperum, viduarum et orphanorum fideliter debent observare*).³²

It seems unlikely that Euphrosyne, who occasionally exercised reginal power, would have granted the Hospitallers during the reign of Stephen III. The dowager queen could realistically have expected that, since Manuel I had a son from his second marriage in the autumn of 1169, it was foreseeable that the Byzantine chances of her son Béla would radically change soon. In the first half of 1170 the emperor organized the marriage of Béla and Agnes (Anne) of Antioch, relative of the emperor, but in the spring of 1171 Alexios, barely a year and a half old, was crowned co-emperor, and Béla's chances evaporated once and for all. Nevertheless, had Stephen III not died unexpectedly and shockingly young in 1172, Queen Euphrosyne's influence might have remained considerable for some time. However, Béla returned home and, amid great tensions, took the Hungarian throne and was eventually crowned in January 1173. It was clear to the king that his mother would have preferred his younger brother Prince Géza on the throne. Béla took

Medieval Studies, 2001), 245–51; Zsolt Hunyadi, “The Formation of the Territorial Structure of the Templars and Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary,” in *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa: Mittelalter*, ed. Karl Borhardt and Libor Jan (Brno: Matice moravská, 2011), 184.

³¹ *domus ipsa sit hospitalitatis officio dedita, cui est discrete ac provide deputata, et ordo canonicus, qui in ea de auctoritate pie memorie Mamfredi [!], quondam Prenestiensis episcopi, tunc S. Cecilie presbiteri cardinalis, apostolice sedis legati, secundum Deum et beati Augustini regulam institutus esse dignoscitur*, see: *Cartulaire*, I, no. 891. Werner Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. im ersten Jahrzehnt seines Pontifikats (1159–1169)*, Historische Studien 175 (Berlin: E. Eberin, 1928), 123; Gergely Kiss, “A pápaság és Magyarország kapcsolatrendszere a 11–14. században – Áttekintés,” in *Varietas Delectat A pápai–magyar kapcsolatok sokszínűsége a 11–14. században*, ed. Gergely Kiss, DeLegatOnline Könyvek 1 (Pécs: PTE BTK TTI Középkori és Korajkori Történeti Tanszék, 2019), 65.

³² *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, vol. I, ed. Richard Marsina (Bratislava: Academiae, 1971), 88.

this threat seriously and had Géza imprisoned, first in the spring of 1174 and then in January 1177, and his mother Euphrosyne imprisoned in the castle of Barancs in 1175, before the Mother Queen went into exile in Byzantium in 1187. And this is where the story begins to get confused: much of the information comes from the *Annales Posonienses*, but the chronology of this source is very confusing and it is inconsistent with the picture that can be reconstructed from other sources.³³ The chronology of the *Annales* was puzzled partly by Ferenc Makk's research results and partly by an important statement made by Gyula Kristó: he claimed, rightly in my opinion, that "around 1180 the first, important period of the reign of Béla III came to an end. Béla succeeded in crushing the internal opposition and achieving the consolidation of power on which Stephen III had already worked."³⁴ If this was indeed the case, it is not clear why he had to exile his mother several years later. The question does not become clearer when approached from the perspective of the news in the *Annales Posonienses*. In the mid-nineteenth century edition, Endlicher adopted the years indicated in the *Annales* with virtually no criticism, but only a decade and a half later Wilhelm Arndt pointed out that the figures for the last quarter of the twelfth century were incorrect, and he even indicated in the margins of the edition what he considered to be the correct year.³⁵ Fessler's work, which was widely used, already accepted Arndt's corrected dates and put Euphrosyne's imprisonment and exile to 1176.³⁶ The twentieth-century edition of the text was prepared by Imre Madzsar, and although he did not correct the dates in the text, he footnoted the text indicating that some editors had used other dates and listed them in the footnote, but did not name them.³⁷ And the confusion further grew.

³³ Stephanus Ladislaus Endlicher, *Rerum Hungaricarum monumenta Arpadiana* (Sangalli: Scheitlin, 1849), 55–58; "Annales Posonienses a. 997–1203," ed. Wilhelmus Arndt, in *Annales aevi Suevici*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum (in Folio) 19 (Hanover: Hahn, 1866), 571–573; "Annales Posonienses," ed. Emericus Madzsar, in *Scriptores rerum hungaricarum: tempore ducum regumque stirpis arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Imre Szentpétery (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungariae, 1937–1938), 121–127. Translations: *Krónikáink magyarul*, ed. Péter Kulcsár, Történelmi Források 3 (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2006), 10–12; *Írott források az 1116–1205 közötti magyar történelemről*, ed. Gábor Thoroczkay, Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 28 (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2018), 410–412.

³⁴ Gyula Kristó, "A korai feudalizmus (1116–1241)," in *Magyarország története: Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig*, ed. György Székely and Antal Bartha, Magyarország története 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 1244. Makk, "III. Béla és Bizánc," 45.

³⁵ "Annales Posonienses," ed. Arndt, 573.

³⁶ Ignaz A. Fessler, *Geschichte von Ungarn*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1867, 2nd edition), 270.

³⁷ "Annales Posonienses," ed. Madzsar, 127.

Some parts of the literature have treated the dates of the *Annales* without criticism, while others have corrected obvious errors (e.g., the year of the death of Géza II, the return of Béla from Byzantium, or the deposition of Archbishop István of Kalocsa) or dates where more reliable control data/sources were available (e.g., Géza's flight to Austria). The relevant research of László Veszprémy has helped to clarify the chronology to some extent, but it still requires further investigation.³⁸ The present study cannot take the burden of such thorough examination as it would go far beyond the scope of this analysis. I shall confine myself here to point out that Arndt's and Fessler's convincing proposal for correction – in my view – is more likely to justify the imprisonment and exile of Euphrosyne as taking place after 1176 than after 1186. Only the insertion of a single element is somewhat problematic: 1186 [...] *soror eius* [sc. of Prince Géza] *nupsit in Grecia*. The *soror* is mostly identified by the historians with Mary, the Hungarian wife of Emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195), with whom the emperor married at the end of 1185. However, Gábor Thoroczkay, in his commentary on the recent Hungarian translation of the *Annales*, points out that the *soror* in the text can also be translated as a female relative, so the identification is far from unequivocal.³⁹ On the other hand, while for the year 1186 (correctly 1175), after the death of *comes* Ampud, the text says 'in the same year' (*eodem anno*), for the following year 1187 (presumably 1176),⁴⁰ when Euphrosyne is exiled, it is already written as 'in the same time' (*eodem tempore*). In my view, this could be an indication of events close to each other, but not necessarily in the same year.

On the basis of the above, my 'solution' is that Euphrosyne made a significant donation to the Hospitallers sometime around (probably before) 1176, which was certainly documented by a donation charter, and the boundaries of the landed estates were also determined.⁴¹ I would like to add a further argument to this proposal. The first papal privileges were granted to the Hospitallers settled in the Kingdom of Hungary between 1180 and 1183, almost at the same time as they were

³⁸ László Veszprémy, "Megjegyzések korai elbeszélő forrásaink történetéhez," *Századok* 138, no. 2 (2004): 341–347; id., *Történetírás és történetírók az Árpád-kori Magyarországon / History Writing and Historians in Hungary during the Reign of the Arpad Dynasty*, *Rerum Fides* 2 (Budapest: Line Design, 2019), 79–85.

³⁹ *Írott források*, ed. Thoroczkay, 411 note 2235.

⁴⁰ Cf. József Udvardy, *A kalocsai érsekek életrajza: 1000–1526*, *Dissertationes Hungaricae ex Historia Ecclesiae* 11 (Köln: Görres Gesellschaft, 1991), 71–73, 76.

⁴¹ Hunyadi, "A johanniták Magyarországon," 45. Zsoldos, "Személyes elemek," 43.

granted in the Czech territories.⁴² I have already argued that their transmission to the ‘provinces’ of the Hospital was accelerated by the Third Lateran Council (1179),⁴³ but perhaps I have not sufficiently emphasized that it made sense if the Order had significant lands before 1179. The private donation of 1166, authorized by Stephen III, would not in itself have justified the claim for the privileges, and there is no (in)direct knowledge of any other donation in this period.

There is one further point in the argumentation of Attila Zsoldos to be replied. Accordingly, after the marriage of Stephen III in 1166, Euphrosyne was clearly regarded a widowed mother queen, and thus it is unlikely that she would have given up a larger estate in the hope of insecure maintenance. I have already indicated above that, on the one hand, Stephen III would probably have referred to a significant donation before 1166 in connection with Wid, and on the other hand, the extension of the ecclesiastical threat to Euphrosyne suggests that the queen mother was not at all overshadowed by her son. I do not dispute, of course, that it was not easy to take a decision of such weight and of such a magnitude that it was hardly reversible. Here I risk to propose a ‘solution’ on the basis of a charter of 1186 by Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Euphrosyne, wife of the Czech Prince Frederick: *sequens vestigia Eufrosine, matris mee, que domum Hospitalis Jerosolimitani semper dilexit et promovit, in qua et habitum religionis postmodum suscepit, eandem domum amare et amplificare pro modulo meo cepi*.⁴⁴ I have already indicated that Elizabeth made several donations to the Hospitallers in Bohemian territories,⁴⁵ therefore it seemed somewhat odd that she should speak of following her mother’s footsteps, when in fact she was following the path set out by her husband and the Bishop of Prague, who, in the context of the first (known) grant, referred to the earlier donations of Wladyslas II.⁴⁶ But having looked through the Czech/Moravian donations (1183–1188), it seems that this 1186 is the only one where Elizabeth alone made a donation to the Hospital, and in this respect she indeed followed her mother. On the other hand, Elizabeth suggests that her mother took on the habit

⁴² Zsolt Hunyadi, “Papal–Hungarian relations in the late twelfth century: Remarks on the *Hungaria Pontificia*,” *Specimina nova, pars prima sectio mediaevalis* 6 (2011): 73–82.

⁴³ Hunyadi, “A johanniták Magyarországon,” 44.

⁴⁴ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, II: 230; *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Moraviae. Urkundensammlung Zur Geschichte Mährens*, vol. I, ed. Anton Boczek, Berthold Bretholz, and Vincenz Brandl (Brünn: Ex Typographia Caroli Winikerli, 1836), 316; *Cartulaire*, I, no. 770.

⁴⁵ Hunyadi, “A johanniták Magyarországon,” 36. *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Moraviae*, I: 317; *Cartulaire*, I, no. 802. Cf. Jan, “Die Entwicklung des böhmischen Priorats der Johanniter,” 87.

⁴⁶ 1183: *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Moraviae*, I: 307; *Cartulaire*, I, no. 650.

of the Order as a *consoror* or *donor*. On the basis of the relevant literature, I have assumed that the *confratres* or *consorores* made regular donations to the Hospital, but only took the habit of the Order upon the end of their lives, in which they were often buried in one of the Hospitaller cemeteries.⁴⁷ Donors, on the other hand, typically made a one-time large donation, and in effect they acquired the right to enter the Order at any time they chose, and were only bound by the fact that if they do take the monastic habit, it must be that of the Hospitaller. Recently, however, Myra Bom's research showed that this model, which was later consolidated, did not necessarily fit the twelfth century in many respects.⁴⁸ In short, prior to the thirteenth century, there is no clear distinction between *consorores* and donors, and the recipients of both states acquired the right to move into a house of the Order and live there for the rest of their lives, while the Hospitallers take care of them and bury them in the Order's cemetery. On the basis of the sources, it can be assumed that Euphrosyne made this decision around 1176, and that she dared to alienate such a large property because she fully trusted the Hospitallers to look her after for the rest of her life. This may explain the – hitherto strange – wording by Elizabeth: she speaks in the past tense and refers to the fact that her mother always helped the Hospital, so implicitly she seems to be suggesting that her mother is no longer alive, but she does not *expressis verbis* refer to her as being late. In fact, she may formulate this way because by 1186 Euphrosyne had joined a religious order and had moved to one of the houses of the Order, thus she was certainly no longer able to provide active help: she had transferred her property to the Hospitallers and could hardly use her dynastic influence (given her relationship with her son). Perhaps what the Czech princess was suggesting is that, although she was follow-

⁴⁷ Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 85; Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, 266. As was the case of King Andrew of Hungary in the beginning of the thirteenth century: *nos equidem huius sacraei collegii non tantum caritatis affectu, verum etiam numero participare volentes, et ut eorum ita nos communicare consortio, et mereremur orationum et beneficiorum participes fieri, confraternitati eorum ita nos astrinximus devote, ut tam nos quam successores nostri pro redemptione animarum predecessorum nostrorum, et nostrarum singulis annis predictae domui in obsequio pauperum [...] conferremus*; cf. *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam*, I: 14–15; *Cartulaire*, I, no. 1614.

⁴⁸ Myra M. Bom, *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 65–72. See also Jörg Oberste, “Donaten zwischen Kloster und Welt. Das Donatenwesen der religiösen Ritterorden in Südfrankreich und die Entwicklung der städtischen Frömmigkeitspraxis im 13. Jahrhundert,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 29 (2002): 20.

ing her mother's example, she did so in her own way and to her own extent (*pro modulo meo cepi*) and had no plans to join/enter the Order.⁴⁹

The exile to Byzantium, however, should be inserted in the newly proposed sequence of events if it is to be re-dated, i.e. 1186/1187 instead of 1177. My earlier reconstruction is not overturned by the re-dating, i.e. if Béla only sent his mother to the castle of Barancs, it can be related to the fact that the Mother Queen was *in Greciam mittitur*.⁵⁰ Béla recaptured Barancs in 1182 which implies that this area was under Byzantine rule before this time. My proposed solution would fit to the idea of Attila Zsoldos, formulated somewhat earlier, as a part of a new chronology: in 2016 he put forward the idea that “Béla III [...], upon capturing Euphrosyne, confiscated her widow's property and made the exiled queen to donate it to the Hospitallers.”⁵¹ Despite the strained relationship between mother and son, Béla instead of forcing, persuaded Euphrosyne to support the Hospitallers and to retire to one of their monasteries. This solution does not, of course, exclude the possibility that the Mother Queen accompanied Géza to Byzantium and joined the Hospitaller monastery in Constantinople, since as a *consoror* or donat she had the right to choose where she wished to spend the rest of her life.

In this way, of course, the Jerusalem hospital could also be considered, since most of the literature also knows about Euphrosyne's journey to the Holy Land. In recent years, I have made several attempts to clear the 'story' of Euphrosyne from confabulations and misunderstandings.⁵² Accordingly, it is to clearly distinguish the widow of Géza II from Euphrosyne of Polock (ca. 1110 – ca. 1173),⁵³ who, as the daughter of Prince Svyatoslav of Polock, lived for many years in a monastery and then, in the last period of her life, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁵⁴ Dur-

⁴⁹ For her later activity, see Martin Wihoda, *Morava v době knížecí: 906–1197*, Česká historie 21 (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2010), 232–233.

⁵⁰ “Annales Posenienses,” ed. Madzsar, 127.

⁵¹ Zsoldos, “Az egyházi Fehérvár: Szentkirály és Ingovány,” 238.

⁵² Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 25; id., “A johanniták Magyarországon,” 26.

⁵³ Elena B. Emčenko, “Lebensformen in altrussischen Frauenklöstern,” in *Monastische Kultur als transkonfessionelles Phänomen: Beiträge einer deutsch–russischen interdisziplinären Tagung in Vladimir und Suzdal*, ed. Ludwig Steindorff and Oliver Auge, Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Moskau 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 131–132.

⁵⁴ Several elements of the previously obscure story have been reconstructed and for a much clearer picture, see *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, ed. B. de Khitrowo, Publications de La Société de l'Orient Latin, Ser. Geog. 5 (Genève: Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1889); B. de Khitrowo, “Pèlerinage en Palestine de l'abbasse Euphrosine Princesse de Polotsk (1173),” *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895): 33–35; Edmund Weigand, “Das Theodosioskloster,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 23, no. 1 (1919):

ing her long journey she was received in Constantinople by both Emperor Manuel I and Patriarch Michael III (1170–1178). According to her *Vita* of the later canonized Euphrosyne, she was received by King Amalric I of Jerusalem (1162–1174) in the Holy City.⁵⁵ During her pilgrimage, she suddenly fell seriously ill and asked the abbot of the monastery of St. Sabas for permission to find rest there. The abbot, however, refused her potential burial in the monastery, and Euphrosyne was finally buried in the Lavra of St. Theodosius, south-east of Jerusalem, around 1173.⁵⁶ Finally, her body was elevated and returned to Kiev around 1187 and buried in the Monastery of the Caves.

The ‘timing’ of the above story is also important, because the shift of balance of power in the Holy Land in 1187, in fact Saladin had been steadily bringing the hitherto Christian territories under Muslim control from 1174 onwards, moving it eastwards towards the coast, and this had a manifest impact on pilgrimage. Euphrosyne hardly undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land after 1186, and if she had done so before this time, her daughter Elizabeth would most likely mentioned it. Unfortunately, we have no tangible information about when Euphrosyne died, and neither Elizabeth’s nor Béla III’s statements are informative in this respect. As already pointed out, the Czech princess’s wording refers to her mother’s earlier activity, and thus implicitly refers not to her death but only to her retirement from the mundane activity. Béla III’s confirmation of 1193 does not refer to her mother as late, nor, of course, a queen (*domina mater nostra instictu diuine inspirationis accensa, pro remedio anime sue et pro anima mariti sui patris nostri pie memorie*

167; L. Haroška, *Sv. Jeřufrašina Pradštava Polackaja* (Paris, 1950); Alexander Nadson, “The Life of Saint Euphrosyne of Polack,” *Journal of Belarusian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1969): 3–24; Laura Minguzzi, “Eufrosinia de Polotzk: Sentido Real y Simbólico de su Peregrinación,” in *Libres Para Ser: Mujeres Creadoras de Cultura en la Europa Medieval*, ed. Marirí Martinengo (Madrid: Narcea, S.A. de Ediciones, 2000), 267–303; Kerstin S. Jobst, “Im Kontext von Hagiographie und nationalen Diskursen: Die Vita der Eufrosinija von Polack,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 284, no. 1 (2007): 311–344; Valentine A. Melnichuk, “Presentation of the Twelfth Century History in Stepennaya Kniga (The Book of Degrees of Royal Genealogy),” *Universum Humanitarium* 1, no. 2 (2016): 143–158; Andrew Jotischky and Bernard Hamilton, “Orthodox Monasteries in the Crusader States: A Survey,” in *Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States*, ed. Bernard Hamilton and Andrew Jotischky (Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 302.

⁵⁵ Jobst, “Im Kontext,” 343–344; Albina Semianchuk, “Eufrozyna – Przedślawa – Prakседа – Paraskiewa w białorusko-litewskich kronikach XVI wieku,” *Studia Białorusinistyczne* 14 (2020): 18, 21.

⁵⁶ Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 272; Jotischky and Hamilton, “Orthodox Monasteries in the Crusader States,” 313.

regis Gejjsa, et pro salute nostra). The opinion of Attila Zsoldos seems to be convincing: the charter “indicates the conditions in force during the reign of Béla III as the will of Queen Euphrosyne”,⁵⁷ since both Stephen III and Prince Géza were omitted from the donation for their soul. The original donation was made around 1176, perhaps included their names and it was seen by the *auditor* of Pope Innocent III around 1215,⁵⁸ but later, after the conclusion of the trials on tithes, the original donation lost its importance due to the extended list of landed estates in 1193 and therefore it is not preserved.

In the light of the above, I cannot interpret the confirmation of Béla III in 1193 or the extension of the endowment as (even indirect) proof of Euphrosyne’s death. The donation of Béla can be more explained by the internal development of the Order. Already in the spring of 1186, there were clear signs of an intention to (re)organize the houses founded in the Central European region into a province of some kind. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, this process was probably accelerated in order to improve the efficiency of contacts with the Holy Land and the delivery of financial support (*responsio*). As a further sign of papal support, in 1192 the Hospitaller preceptory at Fehérvár was included in the *Liber Censuum*,⁵⁹ and by 1193 the Hungarian ‘province’ had a master of its own in the person of a certain Martin, thus presumably ending the previous structure covering too large geographical area.⁶⁰ This process was given a decisive impetus by the donation/confirmation of Béla III, but this may have been initiated by the founder of the Hospitaller preceptory in Prague⁶¹ and later the veteran organizer in the Holy Land, the Hospitaller Prior Martin, who mediated several times between the Order and the emerging Central European province(s). The close links between the Czech and Hungarian provinces in the 1180s–1190s even raise the theoretical possibility that Euphrosyne retired to one of the Czech monasteries, close to her daughter. What is more, from 1182 there was a (rather rare and short-lived) female Hospitaller monastery in

⁵⁷ Zsoldos, “Személyes elemek,” 39.

⁵⁸ [...] *in clyte recordationis B[ele] regis ac E[uphrosyne], matris ipsius, regine Hungarie, privilegia exhibuit*, cf. *Cartulaire*, I, no. 1438.

⁵⁹ *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae*, II: 282.

⁶⁰ 1186: *preceptor Ungarie, Boemie, et omnium aliarum terrarum ab oriente et meridie et septentrione adjacentium*, cf. *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Moraviae*, I: 317; *Cartulaire*, I, no. 802. Cf. Jan, “... Mortuus est persecutor noster Saladinus,” 32; id., “Die Johanniter in Böhmen: Bild des Lebens,” in *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Ritterorden: Die Rezeption der Idee und die Wirklichkeit*, ed. Zenon H. Nowak and Roman Czaja, *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica XI* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2001), 185; id., “Die Entwicklung des böhmischen Priorats der Johanniter,” 87.

⁶¹ Jan, “Die Entwicklung des böhmischen Priorats der Johanniter,” 87.

Manětín (*ecclesia in Manetin, in qua sorores vestre morantur*).⁶² Martin himself was involved in its establishments. This would also an explanation explain why Béla III said nothing about the fate of his mother in the 1193 charter. It is hard to believe that if Euphrosyne had retired to the monastery of the preceptory at Fehérvár, it would not have been mentioned by the king in connection with the donation, or if she would have found eternal rest there by that time. Moreover, the origin of the brethren in the Fehérvár preceptory in the first decades, but the early thirteenth century suggests French presence,⁶³ whereas in the Czech lands brethren of local origin can be found in the Hospitaller monasteries,⁶⁴ with whom Euphrosyne of Kievan origin, would have easily communicated.

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⁶² *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, I, no. 298; Jan, “Die Entwicklung des böhmischen Priorats der Johanniter,” 83–84. Helen J. Nicholson and Anthony Luttrell, “Introduction: A Survey of Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages,” in *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 10, 13; Myra Struckmeyer, “The Sisters of the Order of Saint John at Mynchin Buckland,” in *ibid.*, 92.

⁶³ Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, 208.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Cartulaire*, I, nos. 643, 861, 913, 921, 959; Hunyadi, “A johanniták Magyarországon,” 38.

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