

HALLGATÓI MŰHELYTANULMÁNYOK 3.

REJUVENATING SCHOLARSHIP COLLECTION OF GRADUATE SCHOOL STUDIES IN HISTORY

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„Tudományos képzés műhelyeinek támogatása”



UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN
DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY

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EDITED BY:
PÉTER FORISEK– KATALIN SCHREK– ÁKOS SZENDREI

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Péter Forisek
Katalin Schrek
Ákos Szendrei

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Peer-reviewed by
Róbert Barta, Erzsébet Bodnár, Gábor Bradács, Péter Forisek,
Sándor Gebei, Róbert Kerepeszki, Csaba Lévai, Pál Lővei, György Miru,
Zsolt Molnár-Kovács, László Pallai, Klára Papp, János Rainer M., Ákos
Szendrei, Levente Takács, Umemura Yuko

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Ákos Szendrei

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FOREWORD

The Department of History and the Doctoral School of History and Ethnology of the University of Debrecen, as well as the Association of History Students of the University of Debrecen have already organized several talent nurturing conferences in the previous years. The most outstanding lectures were assorted from two previous conferences in this volume under the title *Rejuvenating Scholarship*, alluding to the fact that the future of erudition lies with the young people, who take upon themselves being engaged in scholarly research, enlarging our knowledge with their results on the world surrounding us, or rather the history of it in this case.

Both conferences were organized within the framework of collaborating interregional Hungarian academic workshops. Our partners were the Institute of Hungarian History of the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, together with the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute of Beregovo, Ukraine. The conferences had been organized by Péter Forisek, associate professor of the Institute of History of the University of Debrecen, Katalin Schrek, PhD candidate of history at the University of Debrecen and Zsolt Molnár-Kovács, associate professor of the Babeş-Bolyai University. The first symposium was held on September 8 and 9, 2014 in Cluj-Napoca supported by the Campus Hungary exchange programme. The second conference was also orchestrated as the joint event of the University of Debrecen and the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, held in the Rezső Soó guesthouse of the University of Debrecen at Síkfőkvút, on April 9 and 10, 2015. These conferences had an interdisciplinary approach, collecting papers on historical, ethnographic and anthropological researches.

Organizing the two conferences, our aim was to develop such professional connections, within the framework of the outstanding scientific and educational cooperation between the University of Debrecen and Hungarian scientific workshops abroad for our students participating in graduate and postgraduate studies, by which they will become acquainted with Hungarian cross-border workshops and enhance further cooperation with them.

For the present volume, we have selected studies from each historical period. In the classical history section, Balázs Antal Bacsa examines the role of *garum* within the Roman culinary, an utterly important condiment of the empire, while the study of Tamás Szebenyi demonstrates a section of ancient commerce

through the segment of trading partnership between the Roman civilization and a barbaric culture, the Sarmatians.

Ádám Novák surveys the diplomatic connections between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Poland. He presents the characters, whom have played an important role in it. Through the analysis of the contemporary seals and the correspondences of the key figures, he tries to present the characters playing the most important role in the Hungarian–Polish relation. Rita Papp assays the crimes committed by the soldiers deployed in Debrecen, from a social historical point of view. Csaba Kis examines the history of the renowned Castle of Eger, after the era of the Ottoman rule in Hungary. The strategic role of the formerly border castle had significantly changed by the eighteenth century, Eger had become the central garrison of the Habsburg army in Hungary.

The paper of Katalin Schrek belongs to modern history, where the author, using the travelogue of a Frenchmen, unveils the political, social and economic nexus of the Caucasus area, which belonged to the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The antecedents of the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the most significant political and diplomatic event of the nineteenth century Europe, is presented by Katalin Váradi in her paper. The British Vernacular Press Act was passed in the very same year, and Márta Kovács summarizes the opinions of the political parties on the subject, focusing primarily on the British conservative press and views.

The block of the twentieth century begins with the paper of Tamás Tóth, who describes the press lawsuit towards Jūichirō Imaoka, a Japanese scientist who was living in Hungary during the 1920s. Imaoka had a consequential role in the Hungarian familiarization of Japanese history and culture. Dániel Molnár presents the role of Géza Sóos, a politician who can be linked to the Horthy-emigration, during the opposition against the Nazi Germany and its Hungarian retainers. The study of Máté Gál is concerned with the relations between the Hungarian government and the Roman Catholic Church after 1956, revealing the anti-ecclesiastical activity of the communist regime through a casework having occurred in the Archdiocese of Eger. Csongor Cserháti examines the specific political and social role of the Hungarian rock music via the history of Hungaroton, the state owned record company, during the communist dictatorship. Júlianna Orosz demonstrates the afflictions and everyday life of the Transcarpathian Hungarians during the socialism, through the reminiscence of three Transcarpathian Hungarian women. At last but not least, the volume is closed with the contemporary study of Tímea Kulcsár, who presents the development of the Carpathian Eurore-

gion after the fall of the Soviet Union and the transition of power in Central and Eastern Europe, focusing primarily on the interregional connections between Hungary and Ukraine.

The editorial works of this book had already come to an end when Prof. Imre Papp, the former director of the Doctoral School of History and Ethnography of the University of Debrecen had passed away. The editors and the authors offer this volume with honour to the memory of their deceased tutor.

Péter Forisek

Ádám Novák

POLYSIGILLIC CHARTERS OF THE 1411–1412 POLISH– HUNGARIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS¹

ABSTRACT

The Polish–Hungarian relations were valorized through the Middle Ages several times, thus our source material tends to be in connection. Diplomas and letters of the royal diplomacy, documents of the trades in the cities and the narrative sources all have a segment in common. Namely, they all provide information to Poland's and Hungary's medieval history. Historians of both countries strive to explore those materials.

The framework of the MTA–DE Lendület Research Group „*Hungary in Medieval Europe*” enables us to carry out basic researches, since the exploration of the foreign source material is far from an end. The task is supervised by the Hungarian National Archives, yet results come slowly due to financial issues.

With the help of the research group, in the first week of December 2014, I was able to carry out a research in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie. In this paper, I try to publish the seals of the polysigillic safe-conducts of the 1411–1412 ceasefire and peace talks.

Keywords: Polish–Hungarian relations, sphragistics, 15th century

INTRODUCTION

In the Middle Ages the Polish–Hungarian relations gained importance several times, so their source material meets in many places. Royal letters of diplomacy, trade documents of cities, and narrative sources have common intersections: they provide additions for Polish and Hungarian medieval history. The historians of both countries make efforts in processing these charters.² The Hungarian researchers' work was carried out in Poland within the framework of the Hungarica researches.

The importance of these Hungarica materials was recognized as early as the 19th century and at the turn of the 19–20th centuries, and it already worked in organized conditions. The milestones of this work were the launch of a series of thematic source documents; and in the 1920s, the build-up of the institutional system of the Collegium Hungaricum. The Treaty of Trianon – among many other

¹ The article is supported by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen Lendület Research Group „*Hungary in Medieval Europe*”. This article's lector was Pál Lövei, who gave advices for the author, took marks. Without his contribution the article would not have been published. We would like to thank him for this right here.

² Even the historians of the 18th century like István Katona, György Pray, Márton Kovachich used the documents of the Polish archives. For the similar attitude of the Polish historians see: *Stanisław A. Sroka: Dokumenty polskie z archiwów dawnego Królestwa Węgier IV. Krakow 1998–2000.*

things – overwrote this research project as well. The documents of the Upper Hungarian cities and the well-guarded family archives also had become the part of these Hungarica materials. To reveal them – by the development of new technological methods – the microfilm was used. It made possible to record more archival material in a short time, and the researchers were able to carry out their research at home. Antal Fekete Nagy and Bálint Ila were the first pioneer in using of this method in 1935, while research was made in the archives of the Szepes (Spiš) chapter, which was one of the places of authentication (*loca credibilia*) in the Middle Ages. From that point on the Hungarica research was carried out in shorter or longer research trips, using microfilm technology. Its complete process can be followed through the papers of Iván Borsa and István Kollega Tarsoly published in the *Levéltári Szemle*.³ The result has been published in the MNL (Hungarian National Archives) OL DF database dreamed up by Borsa, and has been realized by György Rác.⁴

Poland was the destination of Hungarian Hungarica researchers many times.⁵ They made microfilm copies of the materials of the local archives, museums, and libraries too, which (the ones from the medieval era) became part of the MNL OL DF database. The most important part of the collection of parchment charters is kept in the Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD). The research of this was conducted by Péter Tóth in the 1980s.⁶ Through his selection 82 charters were filmed, which is today researchable online in black and white microfilm shots.⁷

As part of the MTA–DE (Hungarian Academy of Sciences – University of Debrecen) „Hungary in Medieval Europe” Lendület Research Group, in December 2014, I was able to spend a week in Warsaw researching the archives. My goal was to view the polysigillic charters of 1440 in particular,⁸ but the technological achievements of the 21st century made it possible for me to review the complete section of the Zbiór Dokumentów pergaminowych (Collection of Parchment Documents). During my research, I discovered that many charters related to Hungary escaped the attention of previous researchers. It is due to the

³ Borsa Iván: A magyar medievisztika forráskérdései. *Levéltári Közlemények* 44–45. (1974) 114.; Borsa Iván: A hungarikakutatás aktuális kérdései. *Levéltári Szemle* 36. (1986: 2.) 8–13.; Kollega Tarsoly István: Levéltári hungarika kutatás. *Levéltári Szemle* 42. (1992: 2.) 40–52.

⁴ A Középkori Magyarország Levéltári Forrásainak Adatbázisa (Henceforward: MNL OL DL–DF 4. 2.) CD–ROM. Szerk. Rác György. Budapest 2003. Online from 2009: Collectio Hungarica Diplomatica. Szerk. Rác György. <http://mol.arcanum.hu/dldf>.

⁵ For accounts see: *Fábián Istvánné*: Lengyel levéltárakban. *Levéltári Szemle* 20. (1970) 233–240.

⁶ Péter Tóth shared his experiences with me personally. His statements, comments, and assistance in preparing this paper is gratefully acknowledged.

⁷ MNL OL DL–DF Database.

⁸ 18 January 1440: MNL OL DF 289 005. AGAD 5574.; 9 March: MNL OL DF 289 004. AGAD 5572.; 12 March: MNL OL DF 289 127. AGAD 5573.; 29 June: MNL OL DF 289 006. AGAD 5575.; 17 July: MNL OL DF 289 009. AGAD 5581.

reason that the concept of the Hungarica is still unexplained. István Kollega Tarsoly even cites the relating decree of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in his work.⁹ However, these categories are quite vague and it is sometimes the researcher's responsibility to define something as Hungarica. The number of the relevant but missed charters, of course, is not too high. I found only 4 diplomas from the age of King Sigismund, which had been not microfilmed.¹⁰ Three of these were included in the *Zsigmond-kori Oklevéltár* (Collection of Charters from the Age of King Sigismund).¹¹ From its third volume onward, the editors used the manuscript of Elemér Mályusz, complete with the initially blue-labelled catalogue of the Diplomatai Levéltár (Diplomatic Archive) and the Diplomatai Fényképgyűjtemény (Diplomatic Photo Collection) and later on the DL-DF database. The main principle of editing the subsequent volumes have been based on the latter,¹² so the missing diplomas – even if they had already been published – were not included in the *Oklevéltár*.¹³ Therefore, it is important to draw the attention of the researchers to unknown charters, so these could be included in the DL-DF database, which is the starting point for all researchers.¹⁴

The „Lendület” programs working with early modern sources already pointed out that this may be the right form of a systematic source-surveying work.¹⁵ Our MTA-DE „Hungary in Medieval Europe” Lendület Research Group regards it as a viable way too. Therefore, we try to publish every result of the Hungarica research we have carried out. Therefore, the best technical realization is an online database has been made available, which is now in beta testing phase. We have the agenda of making this database accessible to the public by 2016.¹⁶

⁹ Kollega Tarsoly I.: Levéltári hungarika op. cit. 45–46.

¹⁰ 27 April 1410. AGAD 36.; 21st of June, 1410. AGAD 62.; 26 March 1412. AGAD 67.; 19 March 1423. AGAD 5565.

¹¹ Zsigmondkori oklevéltár I–II/1–2. (1387–1410). *Összeáll. Mályusz Elemér.*; III–VII. (1411–1420). The manuscript of Elemér Mályusz was edited by Iván Borsa; VIII–IX. (1421–1422). *Borsa Iván – C. Tóth Norbert*; X (1423). *C. Tóth Norbert*; XI. (1424) *Neumann Tibor – C. Tóth Norbert*; XII. (1425). *C. Tóth Norbert – Lakatos Bálint*. Budapest 1951–2013. (A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai II: Forráskiadványok I, 3–4, 22, 25, 27, 32, 37, 39, 41, 43, 49, 52.) (Henceforward: ZsO). ZsO II. 7525.; 7709.; ZsO III. 1902.

¹² See the prefaces of ZsO III. and V.

¹³ Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia. Pomniki dziejowe wieków srednich do objasnienia rzeczy polskich sluzace. Tom. I–XIX. Cracoviae 1874–1927. XII. 127. reg. According to this we can be certain that King Sigismund waited for the King of Poland and his retinue in Ófalu since 19 March 1423.

¹⁴ For the importance of documenting unknown charters and the history of Hungarica research see: *Horváth Richárd*: Újjonnan előkerült középkori oklevélszövegek a Győri Egyházmegyei Levéltárban. *Levéltári Szemle* 54. (2004: 3.) 3–13.

¹⁵ For example see the publication of the MTA–PPKE „Lendület – Church History” Research Group: *Cameralia Documenta Pontificia de Regnis Sacrae Coronae Hungariae (1297–1536). I: Obligationes, Solutiones. Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae I/9*. Szerk. † Lukács József – Tusor Péter – Fedeles Tamás (et al.). Budapest–Rome 2014.

¹⁶ http://lendulet.memhung.unideb.hu:8080/momentum-web/Momentum_web.html

The advantage of the database is not the open description and text of the charters, but also the pictures of the charters and seals.

As part of the project, the Hungarian-related charters kept in Warsaw will be also published. In the decades after the death of King Louis the Great, the Polish–Hungarian conflicts had recurred several times. To preserve the territorial integrity of his kingdom and his throne, King Sigismund of Luxembourg had to face with the King, Vladislav II of Poland. The introductory section of the recently published study of Norbert C. Tóth is a good summary of the diplomatic events of the time.¹⁷ The polysigillic charters providing *salvus conductus* to the negotiators or recording the agreed terms are additional mementos of the declarations of war and treaties of peace described in detail in the above mentioned paper. Their contents have been well-known to the Hungarian historians, for their texts are available to study in the aforementioned DL-DF database. However, the seals hanging on them have not been published, because the microfilming did not permit their capture and their publication. Among these there are eight charters from the Age of King Sigismund, ranging from an oath confirmed by four seals to an agreement of nearly fifty seals.¹⁸ Our aim is to take pictures of these diplomas and seals, and to register them in the database described above.¹⁹

From the researches of Pál Lővei, we already know that by examining the polysigillic charters we make an easy way to reveal the entire corpus of medieval Hungarian seals.²⁰ My aim concerning the polysigillic diplomas issued between 1439 and 1457 is to examine all the relevant charters – its first results can be seen in this recent study.²¹ In this paper, I try to publish the seals of the polysigillic safe-conducts of the 1411–1412 ceasefire and peace talks, now kept in Warsaw.

ABOUT THE SEALS

The three diplomas originally have been tagged with a total of forty-four seals, seven of which are now lost. Out of the thirty-seven examined pieces twenty-five

¹⁷ C. Tóth N.: Zsigmond magyar és II. Ulászló lengyel király személyes találkozói a lublói béke után (1412–1424). *Történelmi Szemle* 56. (2014; 3.) 339–356.

¹⁸ 4 April 1403: MNL OL DF 288 984. AGAD 5542.; 31 March 1411: MNL OL DF 288 985. AGAD 5543.; 17 February 1412: MNL OL DF 288 991. AGAD 5558.; 9 March 1412: MNL OL DF 288 992. AGAD 5559.; 15 March 1412: MNL OL DF 288 993. AGAD 5560.; 16 March 1412: MNL OL DF 288 994. AGAD 5561.; 19 March 1423: MNL OL DF 288 998. AGAD 5566.; 30 March 1423: MNL OL DF 288 999. AGAD 5567.

¹⁹ The work is really important in the case of the charter written on 4 April 1403. The narration of the diploma do not make any mention of the sealing barons, so the work has a value both in prosopography and political history.

²⁰ Lővei Pál: Sokpecsétetes oklevelek a 14–15. századi Magyarországon. *Ars Hungarica* 39. (2013: 2.) 137–144.

²¹ Novák Ádám: Egy kutatási program első eredményeinek bemutatása – Sokpecsétetes oklevelek 1439 és 1457 között. In: Micae Mediaevales IV. Szerk. Gál Judit – Kádás István – Rózsa Márton – Tarján Eszter. Budapest 2015. 199–212.

are different, coming from twenty-three different persons: five prelates and eighteen lay barons and nobles, many of them are previously unknown. Its primary reason is that from the Sigismund era only a few polysigillic charters have been published so far.²² Another reason is that many people did not hold an office having practiced the issue of charters, for example the court officials (Steward, Master of the Horse, cup-bearer), counts (*comes*) (of Szepes [Spiš], of Temes [Timiș, Tamiș], of the Székelys), the Bans of Macsó (Mačva), and the Voivodes of Transylvania. The latter's seals would be enough material for close study, but due to their nature, most of them can only be researched today in Romania personally. The seals of the Masters of the Treasury (*magister tavernicorum regalium*) can also be included; in this regard, however, the researcher's job is greatly eased by the fact, that the archive material of the Sopron, the only intact Hungarian town – staying under the jurisdiction of the Master of the Treasury – was digitalized into the DL-DF database. Among the seals of the prelates usually only the pontifical seals were published. From the report of Pál Lővei we know, however, that in the 15th century the use of this type of seals gradually diminishes on the polysigillic diplomas.²³ Finally, it should also be noted that in these documents the general judicial office-holders did not use their well-known „official” seals, but their „personal” ones. Of these, the private seal of Palatine Miklós Garai and Lord Chief Justice (*judex curiae regiae*) Simon Rozgonyi has been published already.

Generally it can be said that in the examined charters, the seals always follow each other in a special order. First, from left to right are the seals of the prelates in strict ecclesiastical hierarchy, then those of the country's secular officials in order of their dignity. Between the two orders is the red wax seal of imperial Count Hermann of Celje. As a side note, the charter dated 9 March 1412 is worth having a special attention. The seal of Hermann of Celje was followed by the seals of the palatine, the Voivode, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Steward. However, the Master of the Treasury, János Bebek Nagy of Pelsőc is preceded by two former baronial officials, Miklós Treutel, former Master of the Treasury and Miklós Csáki, former Voivode of Transylvania. Thus, in addition to keep their baron title, they could place their seals in more prominent place than the current Master of the Treasury. The most significant counts (*comes*) like Péter Perényi, Count of the Székelys (*Comes Siculorum*), Fülöp Kórógyi, former Count of Temes, and Péter Berzevici, Count of Szepes precede the Queen's Master of the

²² 21st of September, 1402: MNL OL DF 287 045. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA) AUR 1402. IX. 21. (112 seals); *Lővei P.*: Az ország nagyjainak és előkelőinek 1402. évi oklevelén függő pecsétek. In: *Honoris causa*. Szerk. Neumann Tibor – Rácz György. Budapest–Piliscsaba 2009. 149–182.; 10 July 1408: MNL OL DL 9432. (10 seals); *Művészet* Zsigmond király korában 1387–1437. I–II. Szerk. Beke László – Marosi Ernő – Wehli Tünde. Budapest 1987. II. 21: No. Zs. 10. (Imre Bodor); II. 463–464: No. D. 1. (Imre Bodor); II. 464–466: 25 May 1424 MNL OL DL 39 284. (14 seals) No. D. 2. (Imre Bodor).

²³ *Lővei P.*: Sokpecsétetes oklevelek op. cit. 141.

Horse Dezső Garai and even the cup-bearer János Perényi of Alsán. In the following the descriptions of the charters and the seals, as well the pictures of eight seals are published.

REPOSITORY

The three charters were marked as "A" "B" and "C". In the description I impart the date, the place, the brief contents, the DF number, the details of the full text publication and the condition of the charters. In order to assist its retrieval, I give the assumed order of the sealing persons and in brackets the publication number of the seal. The elicitation order of the seals was determined on the basis of the dignity of the owners. To the exact position of the seals I refer with the letter of the charter and the original seal number calculated from the left. I impart the size, the condition, and the image displayed on the seals. I attempted to transcribe the inscriptions - if the condition of the seal made it possible. Finding an analogy in the DL-DF database is crucial, if that may be possible. To the seals which have already been published elsewhere, I give a publication data (even to those of the owner's other seal impressions). For the biographical data of each person I indicated further literature in the footnotes as well.

Charter "A"

Date: 31 March 1411.

Place: Igló (Spišská Nová Ves).

Original serial number: AGAD 5543.

MNL OL number: DF 288 985.

Abstract: Based on the authority given by King Sigismund, the Hungarian envoys in order to settle the feuds between Hungary and Poland consent that 12 Hungarian and 12 Polish prelates and barons shall meet on 11 November in Ófalu (Spišská Stará Ves) to make a valid decision together. (ZsO III. 289.)

Published in: Monumenta medii aevi i. m. XI. 74. reg.

Description: The parchment is stained in some places. Originally 9 seals hang from the plica on unwritten parchment tags in natural color seal nests. Today, two red wax seals of prelates, and six green wax seals of nobles remained.

Assumed order of the sealing persons: János Kanizsai (1), János Hédervári (3A), Miklós Garai (7), Stibor Stiborici (8), Simon Rozgonyi (9A), Miklós Marcali (13) János Pelsőci Bebek, János Maróti (14), Péter Perényi (16).

Charter "B"

Date: 18 February 1412.

Place: Ófalu.

Original serial number: AGAD 5558.

MNL OL number: DF 288 991 (date 18 February).

Abstract: The Hungarian prelates and barons grant *salvus conductus* to the Polish prelates and barons coming to Ófalu to discuss the Hungarian–Polish conflict. (ZsO III. 1767.)

Published in: Monumenta medii aevi historica i. m. XII. 47. reg.

Description: Parchment. Originally 10 seals hung from the plica on unwritten parchment tags in natural color nests. Today, two red wax seals of prelates and seven green wax seals of barons remained.

Assumed order of the sealing persons: Bishop Stibor (2), László Farkasfalvi (5), Voivode Stibor Stiborici (8), Simon Rozgonyi (9B), János Pelsőci Bebek (15), Péter Perényi (16), István Kompolti (21), Péter, son of Henrik Berzevici, János Homonnai (22), János Nagymihályi (23).

Charter “C”

Date: 9 March 1412.

Place: Lubló (Stará Ľubovňa).

Original serial number: AGAD 5559.

MNL OL number: DF 288 992.

Abstract: The Hungarian prelates and barons swear an oath to Vytautas, Grand Duke of Lithuania and grant *salvus conductus* to Vladislav, King of Poland and his retinue on the occasion of the negotiations in Lubló. (ZsO III. 1839.)

Published in: Monumenta medii aevi historica i. m. XII. 48. reg.

Description: Parchment. Originally 24 seals hung from the plica on unwritten parchment tags in natural color nests. Today, three red wax seals of prelates, one red and fifteen green wax seals of barons remained.

Assumed order of the sealing persons: Cardinal Branda Castiglione, János Kanizsai, Bishop Stibor, János Hédervári (3B), István Upori (4), Fülöp, Bishop of Vác, László Farkasfalvi (5), Hermann of Celje (6), Miklós Garai (7), Voivode of Transylvania Štibor Štiboricz (8), Simon Rozgonyi (9B), János, son of Henrik Tamási (10), Miklós Treutel (11), Miklós Csáki (12), János Pelsőci Bebek (15), Péter Perényi (16), Fülöp Kórógyi (17), Péter, son of Henrik Berzevici (18), Dezső Garai (19), Máté Pálóci (20), István Kompolti (21), János Homonnai (22), János Nagymihályi (23).

Descriptions of the seals:

1. János Kanizsai, Archbishop of Esztergom:²⁴ A1.²⁵

Size: 17x14 mm.

²⁴ For biographical data see: *Engel Pál*: Zsigmond bárói. In: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* op. cit. II. 424–427.

²⁵ Publication of the seal: *Körmendi Tamás*: Az Osl nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban. Turul 83. (2010) 3–24. Picture: 16. Description: 20. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. The fourth impression from the left.

Condition: Red wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are both intact.

Description: Around its octagonal field is a minuscular inscription. The charge in the middle is the winged eagle-foot of the Osl family.

Inscription: +IOh(an)nIS ArchI EPI(scopi) STRIGOnI(ensis)²⁶

2. Stibor de minori Stiboric, Bishop of Eger:²⁷ B1.²⁸

Size: 35 mm.

Condition: Round red wax seal. The nest is intact; most part of the coat-of-arms in the field is missing, but its outlines are still visible.

Description: The minuscular inscription is separated on both sides by continuous lines. In the middle of the round field is a rounded base escutcheon party per cross. First and the fourth quarters: dragonhead issuing from a crescent; second and the third quarters: between an increscent and a decrescent cross. Above the escutcheon a mitre.

Inscription: +sigillum+domi(ni)+stibor[...] +epi(scopi)+agri(en)sis

3A. János Hédervári, Bishop of Győr:²⁹ A2.³⁰

Size: 18x14 mm.

Condition: Red wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are both intact, slightly blurred.

Description: Among two dotted lines a majuscular inscription. In the octagonal field a heater-shaped escutcheon, paly of six. Above it in the right a mitre, in the left the upper end of a crosier, below it on the right the other end of the crosier.

Inscription: S IOHANI(s) EPI(scopi) IAU(r)IEN(sis)³¹

3B. János Hédervári, Bishop of Győr: C4.³²

Size: app. 30 mm.

Condition: Round red wax seal, the impression and the nest are intact, the middle slightly blurred.

Description: The four-lobed field on the top and bottom overlie the minuscular inscription between two continuous lines. In its field an escutcheon leaning right, over it a squashed helmet, wings in crest.

Inscription: +marie [...] epi(scopi) +

²⁶ Based on: *Körmendi T.*: Az Osl nemzetség op. cit. 20.

²⁷ For biographical data see: *Sugár István*: Az egri püspökök története. Budapest 1984. 141–144.

²⁸ Publication unknown. Analogy: MNL OL DL 53 756.

²⁹ For biographical data see: *Megpecsételt történelem. Középkori pecsétek Esztergomból*. Szerk. Hegedűs András. Esztergom 2000. 132.

³⁰ Published in: *Lővei P.*: Az ország nagyjainak op. cit. 159. 7th seal. Analogy: MNL OL DL 92 458.; MNL OL D 49 790.

³¹ Based on: MNL OL DL 49 790.

³² Publication and analogy unknown. For picture see appendix I.

4. István Upori, Bishop of Transylvania.³³ C5.³⁴

Size: app. 18x28 mm.

Condition: Red wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are intact, the inscription blurred.

Description: In the dexter and sinister of the octagonal field is a minuscule inscription, in the middle Archangel Michael on the left-hand side, killing a dragon with a spear. Below a round base escutcheon, in nombril a six-petalled rosette, in honour the estoile of the Upori family are depicted.

Inscription: Blurred, its reading is uncertain.

5. László Farkasfalvi, Bishop of Knin.³⁵ B2; C7.³⁶

Size: app. 17x20 mm.

Condition: Red wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are intact. B2: The field blurred; C7: the inscription blurred.

Description: The inscription is separated by a thin line from the octagonal field, in which is a heater-shaped escutcheon with charge of a divided star (?).

Inscription: Blurred, its reading is uncertain.

6. Hermann of Celje.³⁷ C8.³⁸

Size: app. 26 mm.

Condition: Round red wax seal. The nest intact, the coat-of-arms in the field is partly blurred.

Description: In the three-lobed field the Celje family's round base escutcheon, party per cross. First and fourth quarters: three (2+1) estoiles; second and third quarters: barry of five. From the base of the escutcheon are issuing the supporter plants.³⁹

Inscription: none.

7. Palatine Miklós Garai.⁴⁰ A3; C9.⁴¹

Size: 30 mm.

³³ For biographical data see: *Bunyitay Vincze*: A váradi püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig. Nagyvárad 1883. II./3. 107–109.

³⁴ Publication and analogy unknown. For picture see appendix I.

³⁵ László Farkasfalvi, Bishop of Knin (1387–1412): 1387 Abbot of Savnik, 1397–1401 then 1409–1412 Bishop of Knin again. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301–1457. In: Arcanum DVD library IV. Budapest 2003.

³⁶ Publication and analogy unknown. For picture see appendix II.

³⁷ *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 410–412.

³⁸ *Katja Žvanut*: Pečati grofov Celjskih = Seals of the counts of Celje. Ljubljana 2001. 84. I/2. Analogy: MNL OL DL 105 647.

³⁹ See *Žvanut, K.*: Seals of the counts op. cit. 99–100.

⁴⁰ *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 416–420.

⁴¹ *Művészet* Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 463–64. D. 1/d. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. the 6th impression from the left.

Condition: Round green wax seal. A3: the nest is damaged, one fifth of the impression is lost, and the remaining part is shabby. C9: The nest is intact, the upper half of the impression is missing, and the left side is slightly blurred.

Description: The two lines of minuscular inscription are divided by the elongated four-lobed field. In the field is the leaning escutcheon of the Garai family, serpent erect to dexter. Above the escutcheon a mantled helmet, the crest is the same as the charge.

Inscription: S Nicolai d(e) gara – regni hungar(iae) palat(e)ni – filii q(uon)da(m) – nico(lai) palati(ni)⁴²

8. Stibor Stiborici, Voivode of Transylvania:⁴³ A4; B3; C10.⁴⁴

Size: app. 30 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. A4: the nest and the impression are both intact, in good condition. B3: The nest and the impression are both intact, slightly blurred, soiled. C10: The nest and the impression are intact, slightly blurred.

Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the field by a dotted line. In the field is a round base escutcheon party per cross, first and the fourth quarters: a dragonhead issuing from a crescent; second and the third quarters: between an increscent and a decrescent a cross. The escutcheon is surrounded by gleams.

Inscription: + stibor [...]

Analogy: MNL OL DL 26 767.

9A. Simon Rozgonyi, Lord Chief Justice:⁴⁵ A5.⁴⁶

Size: app. 27 mm.

Condition: Round green wax impression of the judicial seal. The nest is broken; the right half of the impression is missing.

Description: The majuscular inscription is separated from the field by a high rim. In the field the feathers of a swan without escutcheon.

Inscription: +S(igillum) COMITIS SIMONIS DE ROZGON IUDI(cis)⁴⁷

⁴² Based on: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 463–64. D. 1/d.

⁴³ *Dvoráková Daniela*: A lovag és királya – Stiborici Stibor és Luxemburgi Zsigmond. Bratislava 2009.; *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 444–448.

⁴⁴ Publication unknown. The impression is very similar to: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/h. Only differs in inscription, and the dragon is missing from the fourth quarter. For picture see appendix II.

⁴⁵ For biographical data see: *C. Tóth N.*: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósa (1409–1414). In: „Fons, skepsis, lex.” Szerk. Almási Tibor – Révész Éva – Szabados György. Szeged 2010. 49–75.; *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 440–444.

⁴⁶ *C. Tóth N.*: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósa op. cit. 52. Judicial seal. Analogy: MNL OL DL 78 892.

⁴⁷ Based on the judicial seal in: *C. Tóth N.*: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósa op. cit. 52.

9B. Simon Rozgonyi, Lord Chief Justice: B4; C11.⁴⁸

Size: 22 mm.

Condition: Round green wax impression of the private seal. B4: The nest and the impression are intact, very soiled. C11: The nest and the impression are intact, clean, in good condition.

Description: The majuscular inscription is bordered with continuous lines. In the middle of the field is a round base escutcheon, swan with wings displayed and elevated.

Inscription: +S(igillum) COMITIS SIMONIS DE ROZGON⁴⁹

10. János, son of Henrik Tamási, Steward:⁵⁰ C12.⁵¹

Size: 21 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are both intact and in good condition.

Description: The majuscular inscription is bordered by continuous lines. In the middle of the field is the Héder family's round base escutcheon, paly of seven.

Inscription: +S . IOH(ann)IS . F(ili) . HENRICI . DE . TAMASI⁵²

11. Miklós Treutel, former Master of the Treasury:⁵³ C 13.⁵⁴

Size: app. 20 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, slightly shabby, blurred.

Description: The majuscular inscription borders the field without separation. The field displays a charge (possibly a squirrel) without escutcheon.

Inscription: Its reading is uncertain.

⁴⁸ C. Tóth N.: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósa op. cit. 53. Private seal. Analogy: MNL OL DL 10 056.

⁴⁹ Based on the private seal in: C. Tóth N.: Rozgonyi Simon országbírósa op. cit. 53.

⁵⁰ János, son of Henrik Tamási (1387–1416): 1387 *familiaris* of the King, 1389 relator of the Queen, 1390–1395 Master of the Horse of the Queen, 1402–1403 Master of the Horse, 1403–1409 Voivode of Transylvania, 1403–1409 Count of Szolnok, 1409–1419 Steward, member of the Order of the Dragon. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.

⁵¹ Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/i. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. Third impression from the left.

⁵² Based on: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/i.

⁵³ Miklós Treutel of Nevna (1369–1421): 1387–1408 Count of Pozsega, 1394–1397 Ban of Macsó, Count of Baranya and Bodrog, 1402–1408 Master of the Treasury. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.

⁵⁴ Publication and analogy unknown. For similar impression see: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 470. D. 15.; *Lővei P.*: Az ország nagyjainak op. cit. 162. Seal 23. For picture see appendix III.

12. Miklós Csáki, former Voivode of Transylvania:⁵⁵ C14.⁵⁶

Size: app. 20 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, clear, slightly blurred.

Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the field by a strong line. In the middle of the field is a charge (a head with a hat) without escutcheon. The charge overlies the inscription on the top.

Inscription: Blurred.

13. Miklós Marcali, former Voivode of Transylvania:⁵⁷ A6.⁵⁸

Size: app. 26 mm.

Condition: Green wax impression of a signet ring. The nest and the impression are both intact, but soiled.

Description: The octagonal field is bordered by a majuscular inscription. In the field a heater-shaped escutcheon, bend sinister, in honour fleur-de-lis (?).

Inscription: Blurred, its reading is uncertain.

14. János Maróti, former Ban of Macsó:⁵⁹ A8.⁶⁰

Size: 18 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact but soiled.

Description: The minuscular inscription is not separated from the field. In the field a round base escutcheon, triple pile.

Inscription: + S . (io)hannis . bani . de . marot⁶¹

15. János Pelsőci Bebek, Master of the Treasury:⁶² B5; C15.⁶³

⁵⁵ Miklós Csáki (1379–1426): 1394–1402 Count of Krassó (Caras), 1395–1402 Count of Zaránd (Zárand), 1398–1403 Count of Békés and Bihar, 1399 Count of Csongrád, 1409–1426 Count of Békés and Bihar, 1402–1403 Voivode of Transylvania for the first time, 1415–1426 for the second time, 1415–1426 Count of Szolnok, member of the Order of the Dragon. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.

⁵⁶ Publication and analogy unknown. For different impressions see: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* op. cit. II. 465. D. 2/f. For picture see appendix III.

⁵⁷ For biographical data see: *Engel P. – Lővei P. – Varga L.*: Zsigmond-kori bárói síremlékeinkről. *Ars Hungarica* 11. (1983: 1.) 29–30.

⁵⁸ Publication and analogy unknown. For different impression see: *Lővei P.*: Az ország nagyjainak op. cit. 161. 14th seal. For picture see appendix IV.

⁵⁹ János Maróti (1391–1434): 1393 courtly knight, 1397 Ban of Macsó for the first, 1398–1402 for the second, 1402–1410 for the third, 1427–1428 for the fourth time, 1406 Governor of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa, count of several counties, member of the Order of the Dragon. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.

⁶⁰ Published in: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/f. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. Eighth impression from the left. Compare with MNL OL DL 24 705.

⁶¹ Based on: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* op. cit. II. 464. D. 1/f.

Size: 22 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. B5: The nest and the impression are intact but soiled. C15: The nest and the impression are intact, but the green wax is thin, the natural color of the nest shows through, slightly blurred.

Description: The minuscular inscription is separated by a dotted line from the three-lobed field, which breaks the inscription on the top and the bottom. In the field's lower lobe is a round base escutcheon leaning right, cross patriarchal. Above the escutcheon is a helmet, in the crest a woman issuing between two fishes addorsed.

Inscription: + S ioanis – tavarini⁶⁴

16. Péter Perényi, Count of the Székelys:⁶⁵ A9; B6; C16.⁶⁶

Size: 20 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. A9: The nest and the impression are intact, in good condition. B6: The nest and the impression are intact but shabby and soiled. C16: The nest and the impression are intact, slightly blurred.

Description: The majuscular inscription is separated from the field by a continuous line. In the field a helmet to dexter, its crest is the Perényi family's eagle-winged, bearded head to dexter. The eagle-wings broke the inscription on the top.

Inscription: S CO(mitis) . PETRI . DE . PEREN⁶⁷

17. Fülöp Kórógyi, former Count of Temes:⁶⁸ C18.⁶⁹

Size: app. 30 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, in good condition.

Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the field by a thin continuous line. In the middle of the field is a round base escutcheon, party per cross, leaning right. Above it a helmet with elaborated mantling and a crest dog sejant to dexter.⁷⁰

Inscription: S domini . philippi . de . gorog

⁶² For biographical data see: *Rácz György*: Az Ákos nemzetség címere. Turul 67. (1995) 15–34. 31th seal.

⁶³ Publication unknown. Analogy: MNL OL DF 202 036. For different impression see: *Rácz Gy.*: Az Ákos nemzetség op. cit. 34.

⁶⁴ Based on: *Házi Jenő*: Sopron szabad királyi város története. I–II. Sopron 1921–1943. I/2. 55. reg.

⁶⁵ For biographical data see: *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 437–440.

⁶⁶ Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 470. D. 14. Analogy: MNL OL DL 87 771.

⁶⁷ Based on: Művészet Zsigmond király korában op. cit. II. 470. D. 14.

⁶⁸ For biographical data see: *Neumann T.*: Találkozó Konstanzban. In. Turul 86. (2014). 104–108.

⁶⁹ Publication and analogy unknown. Interestingly, this is the last non red wax impression of the Kórógyis before they earned the title Count (Graf). For its picture see appendix IV.

⁷⁰ See *Neumann T.*: Találkozó Konstanzban op. cit. 108.

18. Péter, son of Henrik Berzevici, Count of Szepes:⁷¹ C19.⁷²

Size: 15 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, slightly blurred.

Description: On a trimount an ibex rampant, to sinister. On its right an unidentifiable mark.

Inscription: None.

19. Dezső Garai, Queen's Master of the Horse:⁷³ C20.⁷⁴

Size: 16 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, in good condition.

Description: The majuscular inscription is separated from the field by a continuous line. In the middle of the field is a heater-shaped escutcheon, serpent erect, crowned, mound crossed in its mouth.⁷⁵

Inscription: Its reading is uncertain.

20. Máté Pálóci, Castellan of Diósgyőr:⁷⁶ C21.⁷⁷

Size: app. 19 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. The nest and the impression are intact, in good condition.

Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the charge by a continuous line. In the middle of the field a round base escutcheon, bearded man's head.

Inscription: + [...] . d(e) . paloc . .

⁷¹ For biographical data see: *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 408–410.

⁷² Publication unknown. Analogy: MNL OL DF 202 277.; 202 341.; 202 515.; 204 793.

⁷³ Dezső Garai (1399–1440): 1408–1415 Master of the Horse of the Queen, 1419–1427 Ban of Macsó for the first, 1431–1438 for the second time, count of several counties. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.

⁷⁴ Published in: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* op. cit. II. 463. D. 1/a. Analogy: MNL OL DL 9432. First impression from the left.; MNL OL DL 79 650.

⁷⁵ See *Novák Á.*: The Seal Usage of Hungarian Aristocrats in the 15th Century. In: *Műveltség és társadalmi szerepek: arisztokraták Magyarországon és Európában* (Education and social roles: aristocrats in Hungary and Europe). Ed. Attila Bárány – István Orosz – Klára Papp – Bálint Vinkler. Debrecen 2014. 67.

⁷⁶ For biographical data see: *Engel P.*: Zsigmond bárói op. cit. 434–436.

⁷⁷ Publication and analogy unknown. To compare with the seal of Imre Pálóci, Castellan of Diósgyőr see: *Művészet Zsigmond király korában* op. cit. II. 466. D. 2/m. For picture see appendix V.

21. István Kompolti:⁷⁸ B7; C22.⁷⁹

Size: app. 15x22 mm.

Condition: Green wax impression of a signet ring. B7: The nest and the impression are intact, shabby, slightly blurred. C22: The nest and the impression are intact, slightly blurred.

Description: The octagonal field is surrounded by a majuscular inscription. In the field is a charge without an escutcheon: helmet, its crest: eagle, wings displayed and elevated, issuing from a coronet.

Inscription: Its reading is uncertain.

22. János Homonnai:⁸⁰ B9; C23.⁸¹

Size: app. 18 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. B9: The nest and the impression are intact; the natural color of the nest shows through, strongly shabby, blurred. C23: The nest and the impression are intact, slightly shabby.

Description: The majuscular inscription is separated from the field by a continuous line. In the field a heater-shaped escutcheon, party per cross, its charges are possibly the arming-buckles and thrushes overt of the Drugeth family.

Inscription: DRVGET [...]

23. János Nagymihályi:⁸² B10; C24.⁸³

Size: app. 20 mm.

Condition: Round green wax seal. B10: The nest and the impression are intact; the natural color nest partly shows through. C23: The nest and the impression are intact; the natural color nest strongly shows through.

Description: The minuscular inscription is separated from the field by a dotted line. In the field is a round base escutcheon, charge unidentifiable, possibly a gate.⁸⁴

Inscription: + magister . iacob . fi(lii) . ianus The fourth quarter of the inscription-field is occupied by floral ornaments.

⁷⁸ For biographical data see: *Körmendi T.*: Az Aba nemzetség címerváltozatai a középkorban. Turul 84. (2011) 109–122.; 129–130. 120th seal.

⁷⁹ Publication and analogy unknown. For different impression see: *Körmendi T.*: Az Aba nemzetség op. cit. 130. For picture see appendix V.

⁸⁰ János Homonnai (Druget) (1398–1415): 1403 Count of Ung (Užská župa) and Zemplén, appointed by the rebelling barons, 1411–1415 member of the royal court. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.

⁸¹ Publication and analogy unknown. For picture see appendix VI.

⁸² János, son of Jakab Nagymihályi from the Kaplyon family (1393–1421): 1398 young courtier, 1415 member of the royal court. *Engel P.*: Magyarország világi archontológiája op. cit.

⁸³ Publication and analogy unknown. To compare with the seal of János Nagymihályi, Vice-count of Ung: MNL OL DL 31 319. Middle seal. For picture see appendix VI.

⁸⁴ To compare with the coat-of-arms of the Nagymihályi family see MNL OL DL 85 682.

Assumed owners of the lost seals:

1. Cardinal Branda Castiglione: C1.
2. János Kanizsai, Bishop of Esztergom: C2.
3. Stibor Stiborici, Bishop of Eger: C3.
4. Fülöp, Bishop of Vác: C6.
5. János Pelsőci Bebek, Master of the Treasury: A7.
6. János Alsáni, cup-bearer: C17.
7. Péter, son of Henrik Berzevici, Count of Szepes: B8.

Translated by Sándor Kiss

Appendix I.⁸⁵

C4: János Hédervári, bishop of Győr



C5: István Upori, bishop of Transylvania

Appendix II.



C7: László Farkasfalvi, bishop of Kün



A4: Stibor Stiborici, Voivode of Transylvania

⁸⁵ The photos were made during my research in the AGAD by the freely available machines. The images are provided with the watermark of the archive, I only made amendments for the better disclosure. The photos are the property of the MTA–DE Lendület „Hungary in medieval Europe” Research Group.

Appendix III.



C13: Miklós Treutel, former Master of the Treasury



C14: Miklós Csáki, former Voivode of Transylvania

Appendix IV.



A6: Miklós Marcali, former Voivode of Transylvania



C18: . Fülöp Kőrögyi, former count of Temes

Appendix V.

**C21: Máté Pálóci, count of Diósgyőr****C22: István Kompolt**

Appendix VI.

**C23: János Homonnai****B10: János Nagymihályi**

LIST OF AUTHORS

BALÁZS ANTAL BACSA

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
fecsek@hotmail.com

CSONGOR CSERHÁTI

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
csonesz@t-online.hu

MÁTÉ GÁL

Doctoral School, Institute of History, College of Eger
galmate87@gmail.com

CSABA KIS

Doctoral School, Institute of History, College of Eger
csabesz0213@gmail.com

MÁRTA KOVÁCS

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
martykovacs@freemail.hu

TÍMEA KULCSÁR

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
matea2007@freemail.hu

DÁNIEL MOLNÁR

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
molnar.daniel04@gmail.com

ÁDAM NOVÁK

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
tavernicorum@gmail.com

JÚLIANNA OROSZ

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
o.julia90@gmail.com

RITA PAPP

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
papprita1988@freemail.hu

KATALIN SCHREK

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
schreckata@hotmail.com

TAMÁS SZEKENYI

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
szebi87@gmail.com

TAMÁS TÓTH

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
tamas.toth900130@gmail.com

KATALIN VÁRADI

Doctoral School, Institute of History, University of Debrecen
vkata89@freemail.hu